

**Media Representation of Ethnic Identity Post-September 11th: A
Comparative Case Study**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the framing of ethnic, in particular Muslim, identity for the time period of one month following the attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11th, 2001. Using a both quantitative and qualitative approach, several framing strategies of the Canadian *Globe and Mail* and the German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* were identified. The portrayal of ethnic minorities is closely related to questions of minority inclusion and democracy, but the media representation of minorities has in the past been criticized for simplifying issues and for relying on stereotypes. As Edward Said and others have argued, specifically the portrayal of Muslims juxtaposes them to the modern, rational, secular “West,” and has continuously depicted Muslims as “the Other.” This thesis argues that, despite an obvious awareness of the problems of stereotyping and misrepresentation among journalists themselves, the two newspapers examined still continue to adhere to framing strategies which are unfavourable to Muslims and could affect the way in which minorities are perceived within Canada and Germany.

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Introduction

In the aftermath of September 11th, minority groups in North America and Europe called attention to the increase in ethnic profiling, which seemed to become more and more common. Undeniably there were numerous backlashes against darker skinned peoples, especially in the United States. One of the main features of these kinds of backlashes is the fact that the violence is experienced by all kinds of visible minorities. Sikhs and other East Indian people, who were neither Muslim nor in any way related to the events of September 11th, were singled out and attacked by enraged and violent individuals. This shows that some Westerners have not only difficulty with understanding fundamentalist terrorists' motives, and the fact that these have nothing to do with most Muslims, but also difficulty with distinguishing between various visible minority groups. Some critics¹ at the time of the backlashes saw a direct correlation between the way the media framed the terrorist attack and the way in which visible minorities were singled out and the amount of racism these groups experienced.

If we were to maintain that the media has an impact on public opinion about and knowledge of minorities, a number of questions arise. What are the implications of the media's framing of conflicts such as the September 11th attack on polyethnic² societies and the minorities living within them? Do the media maintain existing stereotypical ideas the mainstream majority may have about minorities? Does the framing of ethnic identity in the media reinforce existing misconceptions about the history of Muslim and non-Muslim societies and

thereby support hostile antagonism rather than peaceful co-existence between Muslims and non-Muslims?

It is generally argued that the media and the making of news, or the news processes, foster nationalist sentiments and thus consciously, or unconsciously, strengthen nation states. In the face of increasing migration to Western Europe and North America, and the rise of polyethnic states, this could pose a threat to the unity of and peace within these states. Nationalist sentiments can lead to open racism and might thus be partially responsible for the increase in ethnic conflicts within and outside of nation states. The media are involved in this process by having the power to shape opinions and identities, to sway both public opinion and perhaps affect political decision-making. If we assume that the mainstream media is the main and often only source of information and knowledge people have about events, issues and other cultures, then it becomes clear that the media inevitably also affects the way in which we interact with other people and cultures.

In the following thesis I explore how the reporting or framing of events and the common use of adversarial language affect minorities within Canada and Germany. Even though the effects on minorities are difficult to gauge in this type of study, a close look at the framing strategies of two main liberal³ newspapers can give an indication of how much the media help to mediate between different cultures, and in how far they perhaps aggravate existing conflicts by perpetuating stereotypes.

The significance of this research can be justified by its strong link to questions of democracy and public information, and by its attempt to examine the paradoxes faced by polyethnic societies. The very essence of democratic societies is involvement of an informed citizenry, but the availability of information influences public participation and democratic processes.

One of the main tools for democratic processes are the various media. The media, in an ideal democratic state, monitor, inform, hold accountable those in power and give voice to those not in power. Democracy indeed depends on an informed citizenry, and in most cases the citizens depend on the information they receive through a medium, via newspapers, magazines, television, and increasingly the Internet.

Some would say that the media as a tool to provide information has a responsibility towards the public, and an important role in the democratic process, and thus it is important to examine its effect on polyethnic states and to shed light on the possible negative effects of media reporting on democracy in these societies. By examining my research questions I hope to contribute to the current debate concerning the media's role in the interaction between Muslims and "Westerners,"⁴ and the implications of the framing of certain ethnic identities on polyethnic societies.

The question of the media's effect on polyethnic states is of significance in light of recent developments in the United States and the Middle East. In response to September 11th, Western governments led by U.S. efforts have decided to take military action. The action was declared to be a "war on

terrorism” and thus a security necessity. The intervention had to be justified by the Western states to their own citizens and other governments and alliances. Voices of dissent were largely ignored. Since then the governments of both Canada and Germany, among others, seem to have learned a lesson in public approval of military interventions. The role of the media in helping to build popular support for armed interventions is crucial and needs to be investigated. There are similar studies on the media involvement in cases such as Kosovo and the first war in Iraq, but September 11th put a new spin on these issues, because it was a direct and brutal attack on American (or “Western”) soil. Moreover, the motives for military action were not “humanitarian intervention”, as had been argued in the case of Kosovo, but a war for “freedom” and security from terrorism. Opponents to the war would indeed argue that the war in Afghanistan was less an attempt to secure “freedom”, but rather a retaliatory war. In all three cases of military intervention the media have played an important role in the public discussion of motives, causes and proceedings of these military interventions. How does media representation of these issues and the involved actors influence public opinion to either support or oppose a war?

If one were to take this study one step further, it would be interesting to examine the media’s role in a country’s ability to build multiculturalism, to implement multicultural policies and its ability to strengthen a multicultural community within. However, this would be too large a topic to examine sufficiently in this study. The main research question of this study centres on the representation of Muslims in two mainstream newspapers and the similarity in

framing of these ethnic identities within the two newspapers. Both Germany and Canada have substantial ethnic minorities living within their borders and it could be expected that two liberal newspapers of about the same political leaning and with a similar readership would take a similar stance on the pending war in Afghanistan, for instance. It could also be expected that the *Globe and Mail* and the *SZ* would have similar framing patterns in relation to Israel, various Arab states and most importantly the dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims within the state and internationally.

In the following chapters I will lay out my analysis for both the *SZ* and the *Globe* individually, including the reasoning behind the process of categorization and its importance for the overall research questions. The descriptive part of this thesis includes chapters Two, Three and Four, which are specifically about the two newspapers followed by a comparative examination of the *Globe* and the *Süddeutsche*. Chapter Two focuses on my findings from the *SZ* and lays out the main topic clusters, which were covered in the German newspaper in relation to Muslims. Chapter Three is a presentation of my findings from the *Globe and Mail* and the specific topics which were most prominent in the Canadian newspaper, while Chapter Four is a comparative analysis of the *Globe* and the *SZ* and their framing strategies. Lastly, in Chapter Five I will discuss some of the related theories and current ideas in mass communication and Middle Eastern studies, and explain how my findings confirm or undermine them.

Chapter 1

The Media: Catalyst for Ethnic Differences or Mediator in Crises?

To examine the representation of Muslims in two leading newspapers I have chosen two newspapers, one the German *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)*, the other the Canadian *Globe and Mail*. Both are mainstream liberal newspapers and comparable in scope and readership. For this study I have selected a time frame consisting of one month following the September 11th attack, during which I have examined and categorized the articles of both newspapers based on the previous questions.

One of the most interesting aspects to a comparative study between these two countries is that they are currently at different stages of building a pluralistic or multicultural society, with Canada having a longer tradition of multi-ethnicity and Germany being affected by its location and different history.

Although both Canada and Germany are polyethnic societies, the histories and circumstances in both states are very distinct from each other. Canada is a nation of immigrants with a minority of Aboriginal peoples, while Germany has a majority of people with a direct German heritage, and has only fairly recently admitted large numbers of immigrants. Moreover, the location of both countries affects the quantity of immigrants seeking to enter as well as the procedure, and most likely the attitude towards them. As a member of the European Union, Germany is bound by agreements granting European members free movement, and it is to be expected that the number of ethnic groups other than Germans will rise in the future. This, in combination with historical factors, might affect the

media and the framing of news in both countries. Moreover, unlike Canada Germany has no official multi-culturalism policy yet, but may be moving towards one in the future.

By analyzing the conflict following September 11th and its framing in the media in both Germany and Canada I will seek to uncover any differences in the framing of the event. What are the implications for Muslims living within Canada and Germany since September 11th and how have these been influenced by media? What are possible links between media coverage and racism as experienced by minorities?

For this I suggest to look at Teun van Dijk's⁵ work on racist discourse:

Racist discourse is a form of discriminatory social practice that manifests itself in text, talk and communication. Together with other (nonverbal) discriminatory practices, racist discourse contributes to the reproduction of racism as a form of ethnic or "racial" domination. It does so typically by expressing, confirming or legitimating racist opinions, attitudes and ideologies of the dominant ethnic group.⁶

According to van Dijk there are two types of racist discourse.

Firstly, "racist discourse *directed at* ethnically different Others,"⁷ which plays itself out in a more active and blatant form, including slurs, but also more subtle forms such as interrupting minority speakers, ignoring topics, speaking too loudly and so on.

Secondly, there is "racist discourse *about* ethnically different Others," which is usually addressed to other dominant group members and "may range from informal everyday conversations or organizational dialogues (such as parliamentary debates), to many written or multimedia types of text or

communicative events, such as TV shows, movies, news reports, editorials, textbooks, scholarly publications, laws, contracts, and so on.

The overall characteristic of such racist discourse is the negative portrayal of *Them*, often combined with a positive representation of *Ourselves*. The corollary of this strategy is to avoid or mitigate a positive representation of the Others, and a negative representation of our own group. Typical for the latter case is the denial or mitigation of racism.”⁸

In addition, van Dijk identifies three main topic classes into which most text and talk about minorities can be categorized. One of these classes focuses on all discourse which stresses the *difference* of Others, who are then often “evaluated negatively: the Others are portrayed as less smart, beautiful, fast, hardworking, democratic, modern, etc. than We are.”⁹ Van Dijk notes that this “usually also implies that They are all the same (and We are all individually different).”¹⁰

Second is a class of topics featuring discourse that portrays the behaviour of the Others as *deviant*, thus breaking “Our norms and rules,” and with the conclusion “that they do not adapt, and should adapt to Us. On the other hand, even when they totally adapt, the Others will still be seen as different.”¹¹

In the third class Others are portrayed as a *threat* to us (especially when talking about immigration), and one of the main focus points within this class is crime, and more recently post September 11th terrorism.

According to the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, neutral or positive topics about Us are preferred, whereas the negative ones are ignored or suppressed. Thus, a story may be about discrimination against minorities, but since such a story is inconsistent with positive self-presentation, it tends to be relegated to a less prominent part of the page or newspaper.

Other levels of this form of racism, as van Dijk identifies it, are subtler and include choice of words and sentence-structure. In this case there tends to be a distinction between active vs. passive sentences in which "Their" bad behaviour or attributes are emphasized by active sentence structures while "Ours" are expressed in passive sentence structures.¹² Other subtle tools include emphasis and mitigation, the use of (usually white) "experts" and "authorities" and visual information such as page layout and pictures.

The forms of racist discourse as described by Teun van Dijk have, of course, to be considered in addition to institutions, practices, actors, societies and the interrelations between these, which work in combination to produce and reproduce stereotypes, prejudices, and ideologies. In a larger study one might also have to consider another factor: the political economy of the mass media, its corporate ownership and the restraints, which are placed on journalists to present issues in certain ways and which, as shown in a number of studies, often result in self-censorship. However, as this is too broad a topic, it will not be touched in this study.

Returning to the question of media coverage and minorities, racist backlashes against minorities have often been attributed to media stereotyping. The way in which minorities are portrayed in the media is closely connected to

the way in which the majority interacts with the minority and the ways in which minorities feel included or excluded within society, which is confirmed by numerous studies on the subject.¹³ In order to be more inclusive governments have implemented different policies and increasingly speak of multiculturalism as a reality, rather than an ideal, which leads to the assumption that multiculturalism is working well presently. As Kymlicka has noted, one of the main problems with the debates surrounding multiculturalism is governments' failure to distinguish between different groups of minorities.¹⁴ However, leaning on Kymlicka, one can say that both Germany and Canada are polyethnic states at different stages of development, but both moving towards increasing multiculturalism. Unlike Germany Canada has an official multi-culturalism policy. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act has been implemented to

Recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance, and share their cultural heritage [...] multiculturalism was set up as a national symbol for Canadians and fulfilled the need for a distinctive Canadian identity [...] which could serve as a source of pride...¹⁵

One could question whether these objectives are at all reflected in the framing of ethnic identities in the mass media.

In an ideal world, assuming that the media are trying to help protect cultural diversity, I would expect the mainstream media to distinguish between Islam and the interpretation of Islam by extremists; grant free speech to oppositional voices with equal access in terms of space and airtime; provide a

good historical context; present testimonies from families of victims of the attack who do not condone violent retaliation; provide ongoing coverage of the thousands of people that were detained in the U.S. since September 11th; adopt a critical stance on the possibility of racial profiling as a result of the attack; and so on. In brief, I would expect the media in the interest of society to ask many uncomfortable questions to all sides involved and present a case, which reflects its society's ethnic make-up.

Admittedly, there are a lot of assumptions at the onset of this comparative case study. For one, I assumed that the media have an interest in promoting cultural diversity and perhaps a responsibility to report in a critical and varied way, which reflects the current make-up of their society and is inclusive, maybe even more inclusive than government or private actors. Even though it is difficult to argue for any ethical or moral idealistic standard of the media, this assumption is based on the idea that both Canada and Germany, which present themselves as open, democratic and inclusive states would have media that encourage these ideals as set forth in documents such as the Multiculturalism Act.

Secondly, it was assumed that the Canadian and German mainstream media are comparable and would be very similar to each other in their attitude and methods. Underlying all this is the basic assumption that minorities within Germany and Canada have the same opportunities and democratic rights as the majority and are not in any way treated or represented as second-class citizens. This would include that a variety of voices are heard in mainstream media and that these voices receive the same opportunities to be heard and considered

without having to sacrifice their ideological, cultural, or religious beliefs or having to assimilate. These assumptions are, of course, completely subjective and based on what I would perceive to be an ideal.

Methodology

For the comparative case study between the Canadian and German media I have chosen one particular international event, September 11th, and am mostly interested in the framing of ethnic identity following the attack. The interest here lies not so much in the causes and details of September 11th, but in its greater implications for media framing during a crisis, and thus for social and political processes in two different states. The underlying assumption of most mass media research, including my own, is that news are not neutral and in being subjective have an effect on political processes.¹⁶

For a variety of reasons I found this study to be open to both qualitative and quantitative mass media research, including content analysis, as well as discourse analysis and theoretical frameworks of nationalism, identity building, and multiculturalism.¹⁷ In recent years mass media research has become an increasingly important tool for political analysis. The mass media in the Western hemisphere has been criticized for reflecting only one ideology, liberalism, or at other times conservatism, and for ignoring alternative or critical views and thus concealing the truth and hindering democratic processes. These criticisms have been based on two types of mass media research, quantitative and qualitative

research. The general assumption has been that both methods are somehow mutually exclusive and any political analyst would subscribe to one of these methods. This assumption, however, is a false dichotomy, since quantitative and qualitative research of mass media are not mutually exclusive but complementary approaches, which can serve to uncover a variety of questions.

Some of the best research in mass media analysis has employed either one of the methods, although there have been criticisms of both methods. What emerged out of the 1960s was a debate among scholars as to which methodology is best suited for valuable research, and which of the methods would offer the most objective results. Three decades later it can be argued that the best approach to mass media research is a combined method which incorporates both quantitative data and qualitative research, and which has been utilized by a variety of scholars since the 1980s. It appears as though qualitative research, by nature of the term, is better suited for passing value judgments about the mass media, the media's intentions and working processes, and generally the more 'valuable', 'qualitatively higher' method. However, unlike quantitative research, qualitative research is much more interpretive, and, as some would argue, can be more subjective. It has been argued that qualitative methodology is perceived as crucial in analyzing contextual meaning of texts, while quantitative methodology cannot stand on its own. Contrary to the methodological debate, they both complement each other in most cases, and when used in combination can help to validate the researcher's findings.

In terms of qualitative mass media research, a number of problems arise, such as the sampling of content, and the main problem here refers to representation. The sampling should not only represent the population it is supposed to represent, but must be representative in terms of time. Available information varies at different days of the week and accordingly news will have a different volume on certain days. Every day should have an equal chance for being drawn for a sample, which is why I decided to include every day of the week for a whole month.

In addition, there is the problem with the reliability of coding. In cases where there are several coders they need to agree on a common frame of reference, a common definition of categories in order to achieve consistency of classification.

In terms of other mass media research, I am prone to favour a combined method. Many researchers, including Lance Bennett, Todd Gitlin, Robinson and Sheehan, and Hackett and Gruneau, have recently utilized the method of combined methodologies. Lance Bennett uses quantitative facts and statistical data, along with qualitative analyses of biases in the news.¹⁸ Essentially, Bennett, as many others, deals with the question of democracy and public participation based on availability of truthful information. In the appendix of Gitlin's work the author presents the reasoning behind his choice of using both approaches:

I chose both methods: to identify key categories of content and also to analyze examples of news treatment selected for their political significance. [...] It needs to be said, I suppose, that the

“literary” [qualitative] choice emphatically does not amount to a choice of the intuitive against the objective. Both qualitative and quantitative methodologies rely on preliminary interrogation of the material, interrogations which proceed, at least implicitly, from “intuitive” assumptions about what matters in the content, what needs to be either analyzed or counted. [...] In any event, it is late in the day for me from methodological exclusivity.¹⁹

Generally, articles can be divided into straight news on the one hand and editorials, opinion pieces and feuilletons or feature sections. The former are mostly brief and factual articles, while the latter are often more descriptive, can be considered more subjective and feature catchier headlines. For this study I included both news and features such as opinion pieces and editorials.

A major consideration for this study was the time frame on which my observations would focus. In the end I decided to limit my research to one month following September 11th, that is from September 12th, 2001 to October 12th, 2001. This one month provided plenty of articles from both newspapers, and allowed me to get a good idea of the structure and most consistent framing strategies in both papers.

The categories are quite similar for both newspapers, but of course, correspond to the national character of Germany and Canada. For instance, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) features a number of articles on the role of the media during the crisis, some of which are highly critical of the media itself. These are included in a category titled “Terror and the media”. In addition, the SZ offered various articles on Neonazis, Skinheads and right-wing violence, which are issues that are of almost no concern in a Canadian context. Likewise, the *Globe*

and Mail dealt a fair amount with Canada's role as the immediate neighbour of the United States, its supposed role as a "haven for terrorists", and questions of security related to its close proximity to the U.S.

Due to the similar scope and political leaning of the two papers, the initial assumption in this study was that the coverage of the *Globe* and the *SZ* would be almost identical. In both newspapers there are a number of topics, which appear in clusters, and were therefore combined into a category depending on their subject matter. Initially I identified a larger amount of topics or categories, but in both cases I decided to cut the number down for greater focus and a more in-depth analysis. The initial number of categories and the final result will be discussed in greater detail in the according chapters.

All of the topics and categories are, of course, interrelated, and often overlap. Since the events of September 11th have had the biggest impact on Muslim groups in particular, both national and abroad, the main focus of the framing of both newspapers is on Muslims living in Germany and Canada, as well as the framing of Muslims and Muslim societies internationally. Some of the issues are fairly broad and often overlap with other issues, but articles were assigned depending on the main focus of the article, even if some of the other issues were present. Even though each category for each newspaper was based on different factors and will be further explained later on, an example of how articles were chosen for different categories is as follows.

For instance, both newspapers focused largely on Muslims themselves, Muslim states, Islam and the relationship of the West with Muslims and Islam.

This category, here named *The West vs. Islam*, includes all articles that could easily be classified as portraying the events of September 11th and the relationship between the Western and Islamic world as polarized and in binary language. These articles either depicting the “West” and “Islam” as engaged in a struggle, or call for a dialogue between Islam and Christianity, presupposing that there is a fundamental difference between the two religions. This category also includes articles that highlight either religion and address Muslims living in Western states, directly or indirectly. Religion, culture, multiculturalism and the history between Western and Oriental peoples are keywords in this category. Also present here are articles containing terminology such as “civilization - barbarism”, “radicalism – freedom”, “East –West”, “new world order” and Islamic peoples or countries as “the enemy”. Roughly, the articles within this category can be divided into favourable and less favourable representations of Muslims. A large majority of them consist of calls for solidarity with Muslim groups, demands for a better dialogue between Christians and Muslims, analyses of the misrepresentation of Islam and Muslims in the West and so on.

After flagging all articles that fit into this category, they were counted and examined to see whether they could be divided into certain framing strategies, that is, whether they were obviously binary and favourable towards Muslims or rather unfavourable. This system is of course quite subjective but fits within a qualitative and quantitative research model. The final categories for the SZ are

The West vs. Islam; Terrorists; Afghanistan and the Taliban; Terror and the Media; Israel and Jews;

Palestinians; Iraq and Saddam Hussein; Turkey and Turkish peoples; Other groups/Immigration/Integration of Foreigners; Opposition to the pending retaliatory War; Pakistan and its Role in the Region; and Neonazis/Right-wing Extremism and/or Violence.

In comparison, the final categories for the *Globe and Mail* are

Muslims vs the West; Terrorists; Afghanistan and the Taliban Pakistan and other Arab states; Israel and Palestinians; Voices of Dissent from Within Western society (towards the pending war); Security and Individual Rights; Canada's dilemma with its location as the United State's neighbour (and its reputation in the U.S. as a 'haven for terrorists') and the Media.

For more information on the categorization used, please see chapters Two and Three.

One more difference between the *Globe* and the *SZ* was the format in which I worked on both newspapers. I got a hold of the *SZ* in electronic form on CD Rom only, which means that there were no pictures and photos available. The *Globe* was available in hardcopy format and thus includes photos and other visuals. Lastly, because the *Globe and Mail* is written in English and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in German, Chapter Three on the *Globe and Mail* contains a larger number of direct citations, while most of the relevant information in

Chapter Two on the SZ is paraphrased. In a different study it may have been helpful to professionally translate the German articles into English.

Chapter 2 Süddeutsche Zeitung

The Readers

In this chapter I will introduce the German Süddeutsche Zeitung, explain its role as one of the leading newspapers in Germany and examine its framing of minorities from September 12th to October 12th, 2001. The way in which the Süddeutsche Zeitung frames Muslims and other minorities can be separated into different issues, some of which I will mention briefly but have to largely leave out of the analysis, due to the length constraints of this study. As will be seen, the Süddeutsche is considered to be one of the opinion leading newspapers in Germany. Thus the way in which ethnic identity is framed in this newspaper is highly relevant to this study, because one could argue that the Süddeutsche sets the standards for other newspapers and perhaps influences public opinion.²⁰

With a sold distribution of about 400,000 and a readership of 100,100,000 the SZ is one of the major and most influential national German newspapers, and its distribution exceeds other major papers such as *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, *Die Welt*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, and *Das Handelsblatt*.²¹ In fact, Kai Hafez notes that the SZ is one of two German newspapers, which are said to be “the most influential ‘papers of record’”. Polls among journalists have revealed that these papers are ‘journalistic opinion leaders,’ which means that coverage in them is most likely to have an impact on the coverage in other mass media which tend to copy the agendas, arguments and frames of these newspapers.”²²

Out of the over one million readers of the SZ, 57 percent are between the ages of 20 to 49, 50 percent have secondary education, while 46 percent are in managerial jobs and 53 percent have a gross income of 30,000 Euros or more.²³ The main target group for the SZ thus consists of fairly young, well educated consumers, the current and future corporate leadership of the country.

In scope, readership and its mainstream-liberal leaning the SZ seemed to be comparable to the Globe and Mail.²⁴ Consequently the initial assumption in this case study was that the coverage of the Globe and the SZ would be almost identical. Like the Globe and Mail, there are a number of topics, which appear in clusters. Initially I identified seventeen topics, but decided to cut it down to twelve for greater focus and a more in-depth analysis. The main focus of the framing of both newspapers is on Muslims living in Germany and Canada, as well as the framing of Muslims/Muslim societies internationally.²⁵

The Issues

The following table illustrates the topics identified and the frequency of their coverage in the SZ from September 12th to October 12th, 2001. Even though some of the issues are fairly broad, there was usually a fairly clear main focus the articles.

Issue	Number of articles
West vs. Islam	205
Terrorists	104
Afghanistan and the Taliban	103
Terror and the Media	63
Israel and Jews	56
Palestinians	18
Iraq and Saddam Hussein	7
Turkey/Turkish people	29
Other groups/Immigration/Integration	138
Opposition to the pending retaliatory war	52
Pakistan and its Role in the Region	38
Neonazis/Right-wing Extremism/and/or Violence	50

Generally, articles can be divided into straight news on the one hand and editorials, opinion pieces and feuillets or feature sections. The former are mostly brief and factual articles, while the latter are often more descriptive, can be considered more subjective and feature catchier headlines. This table contains both news and features such as opinion pieces and editorials, and the following analysis will include both kinds of articles.

In comparison to the *Globe and Mail*, it is interesting to note several topics which were not present in the Canadian newspaper at all, for instance *Terror and the Media*, which includes quite a few articles directly related to how the media deal with and present terror, terrorists, oppositional voices and so on. Another topic rather specific to the SZ are *Turkey and Turkish people*, which of course can be easily explained by the large number of Turkish immigrants in Germany, while numbers in Canada are small in comparison to other immigrant groups. In her study of the extreme German right Irmgard Pinn notes the differences in

focus of right wing groups in France and Germany and the immigrants these groups draw their attentions to, which she notes can be explained by the origin of those immigrants: "Whereas in France most immigrants are from Maghreb countries, more than 90 percent of all migrants living in Germany are of Turkish origin. This is why the French perception of Islam is mixed with elements of Arabic customs and traditions, whereas Germans perceive the same religion as a derivate of the agrarian and patriarchal Turkish society."²⁶

Likewise, articles which fit the category *Neonazis and Right-wing extremism and/or violence* differ from the Globe and Mail in that violent acts of a right-wing extremist nature are often described as such, and are being related to Neonazis or Skinheads, while the Globe and Mail seems to describe them in a different manner. In the G&M they are, while being identified as violent acts against minorities, rarely if at all linked to Nazism or skinheads. Again, this might be based on different cultural and historical circumstances in both countries, and the simple fact that these acts are not often carried out by what can be identified as skinheads in Canada.

Initially, *Israel and Jews* had been divided into two separate categories, namely *Israel* and *Jewish* peoples, but it soon became clear that most of the articles which would fit in these categories would fit either category or be directly related to Israel. A small exception are a few news and editorials, which deal with Jewish peoples in Germany or German-Jewish history. Since these do not directly complement an analysis of the portrayal of Muslim minorities, I will leave these out of the discussion. This category includes all articles on Israel, its history

and political and economic conditions, and naturally overlaps with the following category, *Palestinians*. Whereas *Israel* contains all articles that deal with Israel, its Jewish population and the conflict in the region as it relates to both sides, *Palestinians* contains articles directly related to Palestinians mainly, Hamas, Arafat and the Palestinian response to September 11th or to Israeli aggressions. The criteria under which articles were selected for one category and not the other is admittedly subjective and based on what I personally perceived to be the main focus of the article.

A very small but perhaps significant number of articles deal with Iraq and the Iraqi response to the attacks. In light of American perceptions of Iraq as a threat and/or enemy I decided to assign a separate category to the few articles contained within it.

One of the more important issues in terms of the portrayal of Muslims in the media and its possible consequences nationally is *Turkey-Turkish people*. Whereas the *Globe and Mail* is bound to focus on other immigrant groups, it was to be expected that the *SZ* would pay significant attention to Turkish reactions to the "war on terrorism". However, more interesting and also more prominent are other topics related to Turks in Germany and in Turkey. While the Turkish response to the violence is important to Western journalists, other articles may give better clues about the position of Turkish migrants in Germany and the effects September 11th may have on the Turkish community in Germany. Despite a generally sympathetic and friendly tone towards Turks, some of the articles within this category criticize Turkish institutions for not denouncing the assault on

America appropriately enough, or vaguely linking Qu'ran schools in Germany with Islamic fundamentalist organizations and thus posing them as a potential threat to national security and cultural integration.

Edith Pichler and Oliver Schmidtke identify five framing strategies used in media discourse in Germany: Value Priorities (national interests vs. human rights), Social Order (law & order vs. integration/socialization), Distribution (social burden vs. social enrichment), Cultural Identity (Cultural homogeneity vs. multiculturalism) and History (German normalcy vs. German guilt)²⁷. Even though my analysis of the SZ does not follow these categories put forth by Pichler and Schmidtke, they could offer a comprehensive and useful guideline if one was to look at the articles in the SZ, especially articles on ethnic minorities in Germany, in more detail in another study.

The next category, *Other Groups*, is much broader and more general and includes all of those articles that were difficult to categorize in that they fit in neither of the other categories, or dealt with other nationalities and/or topics, and occurred in much smaller numbers individually, so that they were all grouped together. It also includes material on integration and socialization, but not specifically focused on Turkish peoples. Articles on Serbia, Macedonia, Iran and foreigners in relation to crime are prominent here, and are sometimes not even related to Muslims.

Opposition includes all articles related to oppositional voices critical of the pending "War on terrorism". Similar to the Globe and Mail there are fewer articles in this section than would have been expected from a liberal newspaper,

especially in light of the large anti-war protests in Germany and other European states.

Pakistan takes on a special role in trying to mediate the Western and Islamic countries, involuntarily some would say, but it is nonetheless caught in the middle and thus receives more space than other Islamic states. The last category of importance to this study is *Neonazis* and deals with right-wing extremism and violence towards minorities in Germany. Most of the articles in here focus on means to end racism, aggression towards minorities and Jewish institutions, and means for a better understanding of racism and racist violence.

Some of the categories have been omitted in favour of a greater focus, but they are related and should be mentioned briefly at this point because the reading of articles in these categories will have influenced my general understanding of the framing of Muslims in the SZ. A variety of articles and letters to the editors discuss the possibilities and significance of *War* as a means of retaliation and prevention, and it can be said that generally the tone of these features was against war as a response to the terrorist strikes. Also related are a number of articles questioning the failure of national and international security agencies to foresee and prevent such large-scale strikes. This section on *Security Services* is, however, not directly linked to the portrayal of Muslim minorities and has thus been left out as well. A few articles on *Russia* could be of interest here, because the conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in Chechnya and the Russian response to it is closely related to the topic of this thesis. Yet the Russian conflict qualifies as foreign news and does not seem to

directly affect the Muslims living in Germany or Canada. The role of the *United States as a Superpower* gave way to various features on the roots of European-US relations, America's relations with other parts of the world and the post-WW II world order. This somewhat overlaps with *The West vs. Islam*, but is more focused on criticism of US politics and European anti-Americanism. Lastly, some parts of the Business section can be categorized as *Capitalism - Consequences of Terror for the World's Financial System*. It is interesting to note that relatively little space was given to the events in New York in the business section, and what is present are deliberations about the failure of the terrorists to really hurt the current financial system, but there is absolutely no discussion about the possible reasons these people wanted to hurt the system or at least one of its major symbols in the first place.

The Dialogue between the West and Muslims

The West vs. Islam, the largest identified category, includes all articles that could easily be classified as portraying the events of September 11th and the relationship between the Western and Islamic world as polarized, or articles which stress the importance of a Muslim-non-Muslim dialogue and cooperation between Christians and Muslims.

In fact, most of the articles condemn misunderstanding of Islam as a religion and violent attacks on Muslims, attempt to provide a better understanding

of the religion, and report on successful Judeo-Christian and Muslim relations among religious, public and private institutions and people. Some of the articles present an effort to bridge the perceived gap between Muslims and non-Muslims, but in either case Muslims and Judeo-Christian people are seen as fundamentally different and in need of a better dialogue. Overall the articles highlight the differences rather than the similarities between Muslim and non-Muslim peoples. This great focus on inter-cultural dialogue seems paradoxical in light of the focus on conflicts between Muslims and Westerners, which the SZ adheres to. While promoting a better understanding and greater tolerance for Muslims on the one hand, highlighting differences between “us” and “them” maintains if not increases binary discourse patterns and seems to stand in the way of inter-cultural dialogue.

Muslim Responsibility

Another possible problem with the SZ's framing of events are a number of articles, which demand greater Muslim involvement in condemning the terrorist attacks and Muslim fundamentalism, in general. Although a few of these articles are merely quoting political figures and religious spokespersons, they leave plenty of room for placing responsibility on Muslim groups. Violence inflicted on Muslims, or the threat thereof is hereby explained by the failure of Muslim groups to adequately condemn Islamic fundamentalism, and responsibility for their own well-being is placed upon Muslims themselves. The failure to explicitly deny

sympathy for fundamentalist and violent groups automatically makes every Muslim suspicious or a possible victim of violence. As Arzu Merali points out:

Just as victims of rape are sometimes accused of "asking for it", Muslims - the targets of amongst other things hate crime and legislative paranoia in the West, and despotism and dictatorship in the East - are deemed to warrant their plight because of their religious identity.²⁸

Guilty until proven innocent seems to be the motto behind this attitude. I will get back to this point in Chapter Four.

Afghanistan and the Taliban

The third issue, which relates to Muslims, is the portrayal of Afghans both in and outside of Afghanistan. Articles in this category had to match only one criteria: they had to be about Afghanistan's people, history, social, political or economic conditions, relations with other countries, political leaders and/or Afghans living in Western countries. These criteria were fairly easily determined and include news as well as editorials. Much of the reporting on Afghanistan is focused on the social and economic conditions there, and the anticipation of immense numbers of refugees into neighbouring countries.

There are five main themes to be found in the reporting on Afghanistan in the SZ, all of which tend to follow particular frames. It is important to note that most of the articles in Afghanistan appeared in the news section rather than editorials or opinion pieces. One of the most common issues in this category is Afghanistan's primitivism since the Taliban rule. The country is repeatedly

compared to the stone age, Afghans themselves are compared to mountain goats in an editorial, and the pending war predictions maintain that a war between the modern West and the Stone-age warriors in such a territory is bound to be difficult due to various reasons. This also includes the Taliban's treatment of women, the lack of freedom for women to work, study, or even leave the house by themselves, and human rights violations by the Taliban in general. These last issues in particular are presented as yet another justification for Western intervention, as human rights violations of that magnitude cannot be accepted by the international community. Interestingly, very few of the authors mention the fact that these human rights violations have been grave for a number of years, that organizations such as Amnesty International had long tried to draw the world's attention to the conditions in Afghanistan, and that, despite all this, hardly anything had been done by the international community and especially the United States, to better the situation for the people in Afghanistan who were not in support of the Taliban.

Another common theme in this category is the opposition of many Afghans inside and especially outside of Afghanistan to the Taliban. These articles read like pleas for understanding and tolerance with a clear "we are with you, not with the Taliban" message. This is particularly important in light of increasing violent attacks on foreigners, especially Afghans, in the US and Europe, and can be seen as an attempt by the media to create a better understanding of Afghans living in Western states and as an attempt to protect Afghans from violence and suspicions. It could, however, also be understood as another way of presenting

Muslims with non-Western values as inherently violent and anti-Western, and put a lot of responsibility on Muslims to prove that they and their religion are, in fact, not automatically fundamentalist and violent.

A small number of articles focus on the current political organization of Afghanistan, especially the plans for an Afghanistan after the war. This includes discussions of possible political leaders, the exiled monarch and the traditional tribal structures. All of these articles stress the primitivism of the current Afghan social and political system, the backwardness of the Afghans, and the continued need for Western intervention after the pending war. Some of the journalists voice their hopes that the Northern Alliance will help to drive back the Taliban and eventually help the United States and its allies in gaining control over the area again, but none of them sees any members of the Northern Alliance fit for ruling in Afghanistan after the war, and instead suggest that only the currently exiled monarch or other members of the elite could take those positions of power.

A fourth group of articles deals with the pending humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan, the food and medical aid that will be needed there, and the fate of the international aid workers, many of whom are expected to leave in light of the expected bombing by the United States and its allies. In addition, there are a few Western journalists who have entered Afghanistan at their own risk and against the advice of their respective countries and various organizations, and have been captured by the Taliban. These articles reflect the uncertainty surrounding these matters, as there are split opinions about whether aid workers should stay and

risk being injured during the war, or leave and abandon the people they went to help in the first place. In the same manner, there are varying attitudes toward the journalists. Some journalists consider their entry into Afghanistan reckless and almost egotistical, while others use the stories to draw attention to the lack of freedom of expression and movement in Afghanistan.

Fifth, there are some articles dealing with the Taliban's relations with Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, other Arabic states, their power and allies in the region. Especially Pakistan is under close scrutiny, because it not only has to deal with the masses of refugees from Afghanistan at its borders, but their own people, many of whom consider helping the U.S. wrong and would like to see Pakistan stand by another Muslim country.

Since there were no photos available for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, it is difficult to say whether large photographs accompanied the articles on Afghanistan and Afghans, showing just how backward, ragged, and poor the people there are, as in the *Globe and Mail*. There are, however, quite a few articles in the SZ, which allude to the involvement of the United States in helping the Taliban come to power, and U.S. failure to deal with the Taliban after the war with Russia.

The Muslim Terrorists

Terrorists includes all articles related to the people who carried out and were involved in or assumed to be involved in the violent acts of September 11th

and associated acts by Islamic fundamentalists. This means all news and editorials analyzing the 'terrorist psyche', the family background of the terrorists, Osama bin Laden, the possible existence of a global terrorist network and similar articles fall in this category. Similar to the Globe and Mail, the focus here is particularly on national issues related to the terrorist attacks, that is the role of Germany as a possible 'haven for terrorists' and as a venue for the planning of past and future terrorist endeavours. Since some of the suspects had been living in Germany for a number of years and are assumed to have planned the attacks there as well, journalists are concerned about questions of national security and the failures of German intelligence agencies. A number of the articles in this category also deal with the need to name an enemy, and a number of them stress the unlikelihood of an "international terrorist network" and question whether some of the organizations named by US officials are really related to Osama bin Laden's network. Many journalists for the SZ also stress the 'normalcy' of the terrorists and their ability to just blend into German, American, or Canadian society.

In this case, the articles on terrorists mostly fit into the analysis on Muslims versus the West, since much of the reporting on terrorists relates to the physical appearance of the terrorists and their ability to conform to Western lifestyles almost completely for years. On September 17th, 2001 the SZ featured an article on page two describing the often completely inconspicuous lifestyles of the presumed terrorists.²⁹ The author stresses that the appearance of the terrorists was not that of the Taliban, but instead "men with manners" who

“dressed like businessmen, booked via the internet, traveled first class” and often seemed to be perfectly assimilated to a Western lifestyle only to later destroy the symbols of this lifestyle.³⁰ Three days earlier the headline on page two reads “Deckmantel Normalitaet” (cloak of normalcy) and describes a “terror nest” in Hamburg, where some of the presumed terrorists had been living for years.³¹ The author repeatedly mentions the unobtrusiveness of the men who lived in a district of Hamburg where foreigners are common and in a city, which prides itself on its worldliness. Twice it is suggested that Hamburg was also the centre of an Islamic net of terror, and despite lack of evidence so far the article strongly suggests that this net existed. In one paragraph the author claims that, even though there was no indication the men were planning the attack, neighbours had heard oriental music and loud praying, and noticed that the men were wearing black beards, often had many visitors and once even saw a woman in a veil.³²

On September 13th, 2001 Rudolph Chimelli maintains that Islamic fundamentalists are a “national-religious movement” which views the community of all practicing Muslims as one nation.³³ Chimelli goes on to explain that “between Islamists from Kashmir to the Balkans or Chechnya there exists a net of sympathy and cooperation”³⁴, even if there is no linear system of command. As both Edward Said and Karim H. Karim have pointed out, there is a subsistent belief in a “pervasive presence of generally Middle Eastern, more particularly Arab and/or Islamic, terrorism, Arab or Islamic terrorist states and groups, as well as a ‘terrorist network’ comprising Arab and Islamic groups and states.”³⁵

Other clusters include the rise of Islamic and Muslim fundamentalism (“the return of Islam”), the Middle East as a place full of ‘ancient’ tribal, religious or ethnic hatreds, the Middle East as a contested site between the civilized democratic West (including Israel), and the Middle East as a place of re-emergence of anti-Semitism.³⁶ Most of the articles in the *Globe and Mail*, which attempt to analyze the extent of Islamic fundamentalism, adhere to exactly this scheme as outlined by Said and later Karim Karim. The *Globe’s* journalists frequently treat Islamic fundamentalism as an easily identifiable entity with possible links between all the different states and cultures, and which span across differences in language and history. At the same time, no one would have dared to suggest that Timothy McVeigh or the IRA were closely linked to the world’s Christian community and had possible ties to any and every Anglo-Christian organization. Yet, as Karim Karim points out as well, northern media generally tend to present especially Muslim actions in religious frames.³⁷

Other articles about the terrorists are a bit more balanced. Evelyn Roll on September 29th provides a better description of what one of the terrorists’ lives and last days may have looked like, while asserting that all accounts about the terrorists can only be speculations.³⁸ Mohammed Atta is described as intelligent, educated, sympathetic, hard working, disciplined, a person of integrity, and a good listener, but mutated from a nice student into the terrorist with long beard and turban. The author repeatedly questions Atta’s acquaintances and peers for not noticing the changes in him, but refrains from focusing too much on Atta’s appearance as a clear indication that he was turning into a fundamentalist and

eventually a terrorist. Roll maintains that the pieces of information about Mohammed Atta are merely parts of the story and sometimes speculative, and most of her wording remains careful.

Three days earlier there was another article about Atta featured on page three, in which the father of the suspected terrorist upholds that his son could not have been responsible for flying a plane into the twin towers because he had called his father 36 hours after the strike.³⁹ The father, as Heiko Flottau reports, presents a for the “Arabic-Muslim world” typical conspiracy theory according to which it was Mossad or the CIA that flew the planes into the World Trade Centre. Apart from the generally sarcastic undertone of the article, the generalization that conspiracy theories are “typical” in the “Arab-Muslim world’ can be problematic as well, as will be seen later on.

A number of articles in this category imply that there are quite a few terrorists or ‘sleepers’ in Germany, planning the next strikes. The title of an interview with Gerhard Forster, a government official for the protection of the constitution,⁴⁰ is implying that Bavaria is infiltrated with Bin Laden’s people, even though Forster in the interview itself repeatedly stresses that only a very small fraction of Muslims in Bavaria may be susceptible to extremist influences.⁴¹ Forster admits that individuals had been observed and in some cases arrested, but asserts that these are individual cases and that generally there is no militancy among Muslims in Bavaria yet. Yet both the headline and subtitle of this interview seem to suggest that there is an immediate danger in Bavaria through local Islamists. As many media analysts have shown in the past, the images of a

coming catastrophe, especially the image of a flood, is often used in reference to immigration in the mainstream media. Moreover, some studies suggest that readers continuously tend to believe that the numbers of immigrants coming from other countries are ever increasing, even if statistically the numbers have been going down, and that immigrants are most often presented as a threat to the social and economic structure of the country.

"Immigration scare stories' in television and press coverage are shrouded in racist overtones, says Lisa Beattie of the Glasgow Media Research Group. Slanted stories prevented reasoned discussion of immigration, the most sensitive public policy issue of the mid-1990s, she says. Beattie's report on Migration and the Media points to the frequent use of evocative words like the "flood" and "tidal wave" of immigrants. They give an image of an impending catastrophe threatening the survival of Britain and European nations."⁴²

On September 21 the SZ featured a news item titled "Terroristen auf Abruf" (Terrorists on Call), where the reader learns that there are as many as one hundred 'sleepers' with links to Osama bin Laden on call in Germany, while about 500 of the 1.1 million Muslims are thought to be sympathetic to extremist measures.⁴³ Three days later a news article by Hans Leyendecker approaches the subject much more carefully. Leyendecker carefully avoids the use of inflammatory language and definite answers to the role of Islamists in Germany in the attacks.⁴⁴ Unlike other journalists who are feeding the media's need for sensational news, Leyendecker makes use of words such as "supposed," "potential," and "perhaps" when speaking about Atta and other potential terrorists, and admits that everything is still unclear at this point.

Conclusion

One of the most interesting issues in the SZ is the willingness to take a critical look at media itself. In the section titled *Terror and the Media*, these articles are attempts to both analyze the media's response to 9/11 as well as the structure of the media industry, with obvious attacks on the competition. Some of the articles are highly critical of American media, others are cautioning journalists to dig much deeper in their analyses and some are directed at television media in particular. A more detailed analysis can be found in Chapter Four.

All in all, it is surprising to see that a liberal newspaper such as the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, with a clear awareness about stereotyping and the shortcomings of media, nonetheless follows quite rigid patterns in its reporting. The way in which the SZ reports about various groups such as Afghans is surprisingly consistent throughout the one month covered. By consistent I mean that there are few if no surprises for the reader in terms of the SZ journalists' opinions of, and attitude towards Afghanistan and its people.

The focus in the SZ is slightly different than in the *Globe and Mail*, less on the preparations for the war on Afghanistan, and more on the socio-political meaning of the events. The journalists of the SZ are generally critical of United States foreign policy, and of American media responses to September 11th in particular. At the same time, they seem in agreement with public spokespersons and politicians in that Muslims are not doing enough to denounce the attack, and

tend to highlight the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims rather than the similarities. Similarly, Christian leaders are presented as more willing to enter into a dialogue with Muslims, and as more open to inter-cultural happenings. Similar to North American media, the SZ shows quite an interest in the 'normalcy' of the terrorists, partly due to the fact that some of them are said to have lived in Germany for years, and adheres to a similar framing of Muslims as laid out by Edward Said and others years ago. But there is also a rather critical approach to popular theories such as the clash of civilizations. Despite all the claims by SZ journalists that there needs to be more inter-cultural dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims, and assurances that not all Muslims are violent, there seems to be whiff of superior colonial attitude toward Muslims in many articles.

Chapter 3 The Globe and Mail

The Readers

In this chapter I will introduce the second case study, the Canadian Globe and Mail, and examine its framing of ethnic identities. Similar to the SZ, the issues in the Globe and Mail are here separated into different categories, which vary slightly from the German newspaper. I will present the issues and discuss the most relevant issues to the topic and the peculiarities of the framing of the Globe and Mail before moving into a comparison in Chapter Four.

Like the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the Globe and Mail is a leading liberal paper with a large national readership and perhaps a similar influence to that of the SZ. With a readership of 950,000 readers each weekday and 1,019,000 readers for the Saturday edition, the Globe has an audited circulation of 327,568 copies on weekdays and 402,914 on Saturday,⁴⁵ the Globe is indeed comparable to the SZ, as the distribution of both papers is roughly the same. In terms of national popularity, however, one has to keep in mind that the population of Germany is about three times the population of Canada, and thus the Globe and Mail is read by a larger percentage of the total population than the SZ.

According to the Globe's homepage, a "study found that an average weekday issue of The Globe and Mail will reach almost 7 in 10 (69%) C-Level Executives in English Canada, more than any other publication (be it business or general news and information) measured in the 2002 Executive Business Pulse Survey,"⁴⁶ and that the Globe "deliver[s] the largest national circulation -- by a 27 per cent margin on weekdays and 46 per cent margin on Saturdays."⁴⁷ Other

stats inform the reader that the Globe “reaches better than 6 in 10 (63%) of Canadian Chairmen/Presidents/CEOs/Owners/Partners in Canada's largest, most important corporations”⁴⁸ and that “89% have post secondary education,” “88% are MOPE's,” and that the average household income of Globe readers is \$107,000.⁴⁹ Moreover, the Globe has reportedly been awarded three National Newspaper Awards, “which are considered the “Oscars” of Canadian print journalism” and the homepage claims that “for the past four years, The Globe and Mail has been honoured with more winners and finalists for the NNA Awards than any other newspaper in Canada.”⁵⁰

As mentioned in the previous chapter on the SZ, the two newspapers seemed to be comparable not only in readership, but also in scope and liberal leaning, and so I worked on the assumption that the framing of news would be very comparable, if country-specific, as well.⁵¹ Similar to the material for the SZ, nine topics or issues initially stood out in the reporting of the Globe. Some of these are more relevant than others, and although there is a great amount of material available for each one of them, the focus of this chapter will be on the first one, in order to perform a comparison between the two papers in the following chapter. Again, many of the topics overlap and could be assigned to several of the categories.

The Issues

The following table shows the issues and frequency of articles in the categories. The time frame here is the same as for the SZ, the articles span from September 12th, 2001 until October 12th, 2001.

Issue	Number of articles
Muslims vs. the West	129
Terrorists	88
Afghanistan and the Taliban	103
Pakistan and other Arab states	51
Israel and Palestinians	31
Voices of Dissent from Within Western society (towards the pending War)	19
Security and Individual Rights	37
Canada's Dilemma	23
Media	8

As was to be expected, some of the topics in the Globe do not compare to those found in the SZ, but are specific to location and culture. For example, topics such as Neonazis and Turkey/Turkish peoples do not appear at all in the Globe, simply because they are not predominant in Canada. One topic that is specific to Canada is *Canada's Dilemma*, referring to Canada's problems, which result from being the United States' closest neighbour and its reputation as a "haven for terrorists" in the US. Due to Canada's close proximity to the United States, Canadian domestic and foreign policy is affected much more by American policies, which is of course also reflected in its media. Another thing to

consider is how close various American and Canadian media have been and still are, so it seems safe to assume that the Globe enjoys less freedom in the framing of certain issues and events, because this might inevitably result in political consequences. Moreover, Canada and the US are closer culturally than any European state would be with the United States, which may also have an effect on the framing of news in the Globe. It is of no surprise then that there were various criticisms the US voiced about Canada's role in the fight against terrorism, its potential role as a passage into the US for terrorists, and its stance on the whole issue in the aftermath of September 11th. Even though Germany, out of all the European states, happened to be of special interest to the United States because some of the terrorists had been living in Germany for a while, the pressure on Canada to conform to US policy was much greater. In order to defeat her reputation as a "haven for terrorists" Canada had to make special efforts to prove her solidarity and support of the War on Terrorism as laid out by the US. Since this topic is too extensive for this chapter and would require another closer study, let me only say at this point that the growing concern about border security and the question of providing a platform for terrorists from which to access the United States has resulted in a defensive attitude from Canada. It has also affected immigration, and resulted in the new Anti-Terrorism bill, Bill C 36.⁵²

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the SZ has a whole series of articles on Terror and the Media, which I had believed to be absent from the Globe. At second glance, however, I found a handful of articles that deal with stereotyping

of minorities in the media, and the way the media has handled September 11. Unfortunately, these are almost irrelevant for this discussion, because none of the articles deals with print media or journalism, but rather with the lack of humour on American television following September 11th, or the way in which Much Music has covered the events. One large article on October 3, 2001 titled "The Making of a Stereotype"⁵³ and written by a self-identified Arab-Canadian looks promising at first, but again merely addresses the portrayal of Muslims on North American television and in the movie industry. Any critiques of print media or even other newspapers are completely absent.

Even though this chapter will focus mostly on the first category *Muslims vs. the West*, related articles, which could also be taken from other categories, will be included as long as they fit the research questions. An article within *Muslims vs. the West* usually displayed the same characteristics as articles for the same category in the SZ. Even though there seems to be a shift in focus between the Globe and Mail and the SZ, the articles had to deal with either the dialogue between Muslims and Westerners, or centre around the perceived conflict between the two. This includes positive as well as negative representations of the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslim Westerners.

Terrorists, Afghanistan, and Pakistan and other Arab States, even though identified as distinct categories in the previous table, will be briefly discussed in *Islam vs. the West*, as most if not all of these articles could fit in either category and are closely linked to the topic. If one were to do a more extensive study on

the Globe's treatment of specific ethnic identities, there would be sufficient material to lay out patterns in which certain ethnic groups are presented.

Israel and Palestinians follows the same criteria as in the previous chapter about the SZ and includes all articles that are related to the Middle East, its history, political and economic conditions, and the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians as well as issues specifically related to Palestinians. Again, as is the case with the representation of Pakistanis, Afghans and other ethnic groups, a larger study could be made on the framing of Palestinians in the Globe and Mail.

A fairly small but significant number of articles in the Globe relates to *Voices of Dissent from Within Western Society*. There are a number of news features, which report about dissenting voices to the pending war on Afghanistan, and most of these in some way or another negate the validity of the dissenters by portraying them as the minority or as aggressive and unreasonable in their views. Very little mention is made of the anti-war marches and efforts by peace advocates, and if so these articles are delegated to the very back of the paper and are very small.

Lastly, *Security and Individual Rights* could have been a much broader category had I included all the articles, which indirectly dealt with security questions about airports and other public places, but in this category I only qualified the articles, which were related to security and individual rights, or the pending infringement of such rights in the form of increased state control and loss of privacy (such as Bill C-36 which was believed to lead to a loss of freedom of expression and civil rights and a coming police state). As in the other cases,

this topic is not directly related to the portrayal of minorities per se, and will therefore not be included in the following analysis.

Islam and the West: Dialogue or Clash of Civilizations?

In the wake of the tragedy it was clear that there would most likely be implications for Muslims in Western society in the form of racist violent repercussions. Despite official anti-racist statements and preventative measures taken there were a number of racist backlashes⁵⁴ against dark-skinned people in the U.S., and also in Canada. At the same time, the media, under pressure to prove themselves particularly sensitive to issues of race and ethnicity in these times of crisis, made real efforts to support not only the 'War on Terrorism', but also the 'War Against Racism'. So from September 17th onwards *The Globe and Mail* included weekly essays by Canadian immigrants in its special section entitled "Passages to Canada", in which more or less famous immigrants offer their immigration story to share with the rest of Canada⁵⁵.

In the same manner some of the headlines following the attack emphasize that "our enemy is fanaticism, not Islam"⁵⁶ and assure us that our "PM [is] ashamed by attacks on Muslims."⁵⁷ On October 3rd, again in the special section 'Pastime and Obituaries', one author stresses the point that "all Arabs are not alike"⁵⁸ and this theme is continued in the 'Arts' by an article entitled "The Making of a Stereotype."⁵⁹

The October 4 issue again situates an article entitled "An Artist Looks Beyond the Veil,"⁶⁰ which covers an exhibition by Shirin Neshat about Islamic

women at home and in exile, in the Review section on 'Pastimes' and 'Obituaries'. This poses interesting questions as to why articles with positive headlines in relation to Islam are left to the back of the paper, in the Obituaries and Pastimes section. The previous and following examples are not, as could be assumed, simply the opinion of one author but reflect the general framing pattern of the *Globe and Mail* on these issues.

Racist Backlashes

Articles related to hyphenated Canadians' or hyphenated Americans' experiences with or fears of racist backlashes, however, are given more attention and a better location within the paper. Titles such as "Arab Canadians duck to avoid harassment,"⁶¹ "Some Muslim schools closed,"⁶² "Neighbours as collateral damage: Terrorism's aftershocks are destabilizing society, as Muslim Canadians are targeted for stereotyping and abuse,"⁶³ and "Attacks spawn racial backlash,"⁶⁴ all made it to the front of the paper. On September 25th, two weeks after the attack, Jeff Sallot points out that the "spectre of racist backlash worries many in Canada,"⁶⁵ based on a poll by Ipsos-Reid which indicates the worries of 1,000 Canadians about attacks on Muslim Canadians and their own suspicions towards Muslims since September 11th. The same issue of *The Globe and Mail* sports an article on a racist attack on an Iranian family after the events of September 11th, titled "The other American targets of terror: My friend's family had to pay for the terrorist attacks, just because they're outsiders."⁶⁶ It is

interesting to note at this point that the title refers to the family as ‘outsiders’, while the author in the article itself points out:

In the 20 years Farida’s parents have lived in their community, they have been *the epitome of good Americans*. They are community leaders who have given generously to the local mosque, school, and hospital. They sponsor a local children’s soccer team. They have worked hard and prospered by their own hands. But they are also known to the local police – not because of anything that they’ve done, but because of what other people have done to them. *Anytime the media mention “Arab terrorist” or “Muslim extremist” something happens*⁶⁷ [my emphasis].

This article is interesting on at least two accounts. First of all, the family has lived in Canada and the U.S. for twenty years and has been the “epitome of good Americans”, yet the title suggests that they are the “outsiders”, that the family does not belong, that they are foreign. Secondly, the author interestingly connects violent attacks on her befriended family with images of Arabs or Muslims portrayed as terrorists in the media. Does this imply that *The Globe and Mail*, unlike the media the author refers to, offers a more realistic and non-judgmental picture of Arabs and Muslims? This type of approach is maybe similar to the articles on terrorism and the media.

The “Adapted” Muslim

There is also another way in which Muslims living in the West are portrayed, and here one can observe a obvious bias towards “Westernized Muslims” who openly embrace liberal ideals and lifestyles, as opposed to Muslims who still retain most of their non-Western, non-liberal, and thus

“uncivilized” values. One of the articles which appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, titled “Life Goes on in the Shadow of Death,”⁶⁸ features a large photograph of a dark-skinned short-haired young man, who refuses to leave New York City, despite the terrorist attack. At first sight the article seems just like another account of survivors of the vicious attack, like a tale of courage and perseverance. However, in the middle of the article Krista Foss writes:

“And for the first time, the son of East Indian immigrants *who are non-practising Muslims* feels a knot of worry about traveling across the Canada-U.S. border because of his skin colour and name⁶⁹ [my emphasis]. It is not quite clear why it would be of relevance to include that the young man’s parents are non-practising Muslims, since we seldom see the term non-practising Christians or non-practising Jews applied to Canadians, unless we are required to include explanatory or apologetic adjectives.⁷⁰

Another article, along the same lines was published the next day. The title reads “Slain publisher’s son fights on: B.C. Liberal backbencher wants to see nations everywhere get tough on terrorism,”⁷¹ and is accompanied by a photograph of a man, short-haired and in a suit, in front of a family picture that shows an older Sikh man surrounded by his family. The story goes on to explain that the MLA’s father, who is the one on the background picture, had been killed three years ago, because of his criticism of Sikh separatists and extremism. The family is publishing North America’s largest Punjabi newspaper, and had been victim to terrorist violence for years. The last line of the article, in speaking about the slain publisher, not surprisingly reads: “He believed in freedom and

democracy.”⁷² The story can be interpreted as an attempt to emphasize that religious and cultural minorities are far from being terrorists or criminals, that minorities indeed fit well into our society and have embraced ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’. It could also be interpreted as an attempt to promote assimilation and deliver an image of the ‘good immigrant’, the kind who readily embraces Western lifestyle, clothing, and ideals. This could prove to be problematic for other religious or cultural minorities living within Canada, if they are well adjusted but still retain their religious and cultural practices without being involved in crime and violence, but also without being easily spotted as a ‘good immigrant’ in Western dress. Perhaps Sikhs in traditional dress could thus be perceived to be linked to terrorism, or extremism. Moreover, the apologetic nature of these articles, the need to explain that not all Arabs are bad and not all minorities are extremist can be counter-productive in that it perpetuates already existing notions of Western cultural superiority and a colonial past, in which the dominant colonizer is righteous and the subjects have to be passive and apologetic.

Again, these examples follow the *Globe*’s framing strategy and were singled out because they are typical of the way in which the *Globe* handles these issues.

The Truth about History and Terminology?

There are other representations of Muslims in *The Globe and Mail* as well. John MaLachlan Gray compared the attack and the terrorists to the 11th century:

When the ayatollah condemned Salman Rushdie to death for heresy, it was an event that could easily have occurred in Europe – in the Middle Ages. [...] Hasan ibn al-Sabbah, the 11th – century leader after whose tactics the word ‘Assassin’ was coined, built strongholds of devoted terrorists throughout Persia and Iraq, with agents throughout the neighbouring caliphates. The story has it that a visiting Prussian general, in a discussion with Hasan about European tactics and technology, asked the grandmaster for the Assassin equivalent. In reply, Hasan pointed to a 150-metre tower, whereupon a man immediately jumped to his death. Then to another. And another. ‘There is my power,’ he replied. America’s weakness has been a tendency to underestimate the nature and depth and sincerity of its enemy, to treat the enemy like a movie villain – the Terrorist, the Communist – and not as part of a deep historical wave.⁷³

The article refers to the superiority of Western technology, which the author points to at another point in the article as well, and counters it with primitive suicide terrorism, while pointing out that not so much has changed since the 11th century. The author stresses the strength of America, and claims that it, too, has been underestimated by the enemy. In spite of the despicable nature of the attack, the image given here is that Europeans, back then, and Americans, now, will always rise from the ashes and overpower the Persians (then and now).

One headline, published exactly one month after the attack, posed the question “why are Muslims involved in so many conflicts?”⁷⁴ In this article William Johnson opposes the ‘root causes’ theory that assumes the origins of terrorism can be found in poverty, colonization, and despair:

“Only the naïve believe that poverty is the root. Ideology is what arms terrorists. The most pervasive doctrine breeding terrorism was developed in the 20th century to fight colonialism.” He goes on to argue that the colonizers were not responsible for any of the Third World’s troubles, since Muslims and Hindus were slaughtered even right after the British left India.⁷⁵ Johnson continues:

The Third World is born good, but is corrupted and plundered by the West. That doctrine was consecrated at the 1955 Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, Indonesia. It inspired a whole generation of tyrants and terrorists. And it dominated the recent Durban conference on racism. [...] The doctrine inspired the anti-American rants of Sunera Thobani, of Arundhati Roy in *The Guardian*, and of Concordia University's student Union in a publication titled *Uprising*. In much softer terms, it animates Naomi Klein's book, *No Logo*. It arms much of the indignation of the anti-globalization movement. **A more specific proneness to violence is manifest in large Muslim populations – in their culture, not the religion.** This was **demonstrated persuasively** by Harvard political scientist **Samuel Huntington** in his 1996 book, *The Clash of Civilizations*. From his research and that of others, **he shows that violent clashes in different parts of the world predominantly involved Muslims.** [...] **'Islam's borders are bloody, and so are its innards,'** Prof. Huntington concluded. **More specific, still, is the violence-prone culture of the Middle East and its antagonism towards Israel.** [my emphasis]⁷⁶

It is not so much Johnson's opposition to the 'root causes' theory which is of concern here, but the fact that he lumps together dependency theory, theories of colonialism and post-colonialism, and the anti-globalization movement, and pretends that all of these rest on the same ideology, which is rooted in hatred of the West and is the main basis for terrorism. It is a bit of a stretch to claim that any of these theories have "inspired a whole generation of tyrants and terrorists," indeed, that the believers of these theories have any links at all to terrorism. What is most worrisome is the statement that Muslim cultures are simply more prone to violence, which is left at that. A problematic comment like this might be appropriated by people who are already suspicious of Muslims, and just needed 'scientific proof', as is provided by Huntington and Johnson.

There are countless analyses, which attempt to define Islam, explain *jihad* and predict what will happen in other Muslim countries. In "Mullahs to ponder religious war's meaning"⁷⁷ Michael Valpy cites Earle Waugh, an "expert on Islam"

from the University of Alberta: “Afghanistan’s importance as a model within Islam is immense. Political life, law, and religious practice in the country are inextricably woven together through Islam.”⁷⁸ Unfortunately, the article does not dig deeper into the subject, since many other experts on Islam, as well as Muslims themselves despise fundamentalism or extremism, and point out that there is no link in either the Qu’ran or ‘Muslim cultures’, whatever their definition, to the kind of interpretation the Taliban has given. The Taliban is, for most Muslims, hardly a model for Islam, but a deviation from it. As Professor Akhbar Ahmed pointed out in a lecture at the University of Victoria on Islam and its relations to the West since September 11th, Islam is a conceptual framework of first, one’s relationship to God, and secondly, one’s relationship to society. A good Muslim should strive for a balance between the two elements. The likes of Osama bin Laden and the Taliban, indeed all extremists, can hardly be considered ideal Muslims, or a model for all Muslims.⁷⁹

In a small article on October 8, 2001 Michael Valpy, the Globe’s “Religion and Ethics Reporter” informs the readers that al-Qaeda does not have the right to declare jihad against the West, because jihad can only be proclaimed by the highest religious authorities, the ulama, who according to Valpy have denounced bin Laden.⁸⁰ In the article, Valpy laments the fact that al-Qaeda’s call for jihad is “bad or questionable theology” and that bin Laden’s followers used “the correct definition of jihad and its purpose”. This is a potentially informative article, as it states that the highest Muslim religious authorities do not stand behind al-Qaeda and do not even condone the call for a jihad. However, the article is rather small,

at the bottom of page A8, and Valpy does not inform the reader what the correct definition of jihad and its purpose really is. Scholars and religious leaders, as Karim H. Karim notes, sometimes argue about the real meaning of jihad, and there are several kinds of jihad, so it is questionable whether Michael Valpy himself understands the correct definition and purpose of this widely debated concept. Again, terms related to Islam and Muslims such as jihad are simplified and defined by non-Muslim “religion reporters” and handled as if it was clear who would have the authority to call out a jihad, what exactly it is, and what its purpose is.

Few, isolated attempts at fair and multi-layered reporting of the definition of Islam and Muslims are present, such as “Arabs on side if Islam is not targeted, U.S. told,”⁸¹ “Bin Laden’s program is a big idea gone wrong,”⁸² “Whither the ‘hypocrites’ of the Muslim world?,”⁸³ “Bin Laden appeals to Arab frustration, not religious values,”⁸⁴ and “He doesn’t speak for me,”⁸⁵ but they come late, not until weeks after the attack, and are far outnumbered by articles that express the exact opposite. These include titles such as “Islamic Radicals could overpower Pakistan’s regime: From a heartland of extremism, Geoffrey York reports on the West’s ultimate nightmare,”⁸⁶ “Muslims prepared for holy war on U.S., Arab activist says,”⁸⁷ and “Prime suspect in attacks now a poster boy to Pakistan’s youth,”⁸⁸ in which the author describes Osama as a “hero of Islam”.

The worst instances of misrepresentation, however, occurred on October 2, 2001, and on October 6, 2001. Margaret Wente in her comment “Tiptoeing through Islam”⁸⁹ addresses the need for politically correct terms in relation to

Muslims by the Western press. Wente argues that, although the West is reminded of the dangers of hate speech and the linking of the terms Muslim and terrorist or extremist, which she sees as another proof for our “fair-minded, pluralistic society” with free speech and a democratic base, Muslim societies on the contrary are constantly committing the crime of hate speech themselves. Here the author refers to media in authoritarian states in which the population is Muslim, but whose governments are not representative of the religion. Wente goes on to pinpoint “two realities of Muslim culture,”⁹⁰ namely sexism and Anti-Semitism, both of which she expands on, and concludes by pointing to Egypt’s and Jordan’s media and the hate they express towards Jews, as well as the joy one reporter felt after watching the planes crash into the World Trade Centre. Again, Margaret Wente simplifies the complex problems of Middle Eastern societies by equating Muslims and Islam with these countries’ authoritarian and extremist governments and elites, and their limited interpretation of Islam.

A few days after Wente’s examination of Muslim troubles, *The Globe and Mail* featured a centrepiece in its Focus section entitled “Islam’s Wild Side,”⁹¹ in which Miro Cernetig reports that the new middle class in Pakistan wishes to enjoy Western pleasures, which are currently prohibited under the regime, such as drugs, drinking, and dancing. This could have been a potentially good article on the Pakistani middle class and the dilemmas they face in light of strict authoritarian rule, and their desire for a more secular state. Instead, the article is accompanied by three large photographs displaying the three sins; drugs, dance, and drink, and a small paragraph on the side explaining “Islam’s” position on

homosexuality, gambling, sexual abstinence, and so on. This feature aims at emphasizing Pakistani, and thus Muslim, hypocrisy. The pictures and title imply that drugs, drinking, and dancing are the negative, or 'wild' side of Islam, even though the religion itself neither condones nor encourages such behaviour.

Although there may be segments of the population in Muslim oriented states who live lifestyles as described in this article, the linking of Islam with drugs and hypocrisy is potentially problematic.

Both Wente and Cernetig, along with numerous other Globe journalists in the time frame covered, naively link culture to politics, and thus distract from the validity of any criticisms they may have had about Pakistani society or the press in various Muslim states. As will be seen in Chapter Five, Edward Said has argued that both the Western and the non-Western press tend to focus on the small point of conflict instead of the larger area of similarities and contact between the cultures. Wente and Cernetig pick out behavioural patterns of individuals in Muslim countries and with sweeping generalizations convey the idea that there is such a thing as "the Muslim culture" or "the Muslim political conviction" and that these are not only closely linked with each other, but also typical across national borders and various Muslim cultures and language groups.

Portraying Different Minorities or The Different Shades of “Arab”

In the same manner in which *The Globe and Mail* frames Islam and Muslims, it generally refers to Pakistanis, Palestinians, and Afghans in particular. Despite the wealth of information on each of these groups, some of these articles are closely related to *Islam vs. the West*, and although this chapter will not look at these in detail, I would like to present a selection of headlines:

“Pakistan pressed over bin Laden: U.S. demands cooperation from country that recognizes Taliban in Afghanistan,”⁹² “Palestinian refugees celebrate in streets,”⁹³ “Palestinians massage their messages: Leaders try to contain the damage caused by images of people celebrating in the streets,”⁹⁴ “Pakistan risks revolt if it helps U.S. strike,”⁹⁵ “Grateful Palestinians show loyalty [to bin Laden],”⁹⁶ “What is the Pakistani press saying about the U.S. attacks?”⁹⁷ and “Pakistani’s world view grew on the prairies.”⁹⁸ The list goes on and on, but there are some common trends in the framing of Pakistanis, Palestinians, and Afghans.

It seems as though Muslim groups abroad are seen as simple, easily manipulated by their leaders, and cheerful about the attack on the WTC, except for the Afghans who now have to leave in the face of a war threat. The majority of all three groups are presented as poor and backwards, ragged and dirty.⁹⁹ Palestinians and Pakistanis in particular are generally portrayed as being opposed to the U.S, and in support of Osama bin Laden, while also being highly anti-Semitic. People from Afghanistan living in the West are given special

attention, since they are the educated wealthy elite that is non-extremist, liberal, and willing to return to Afghanistan to build up a new country based on Western liberal values. Afghans still living in Afghanistan or in exile in Pakistan and neighbouring countries were not presented as the enemy, but rather as poor and desperate victims of the Taliban in need of Western intervention. Although this is true to a certain extent, this position is also highly patronizing and in it lies the danger that only the Western educated elite will be able to run Afghanistan after the end of the war. This leaves little potential for a democratic society to develop.¹⁰⁰ It is true that high rates of illiteracy and lack of education and any economic infrastructure require educated Afghans and capital, but at the same time one could wish for more sensitivity and insights into the issue.

In fact, in an interview with a former SAS fighter who had been involved in the war between Russia and Afghanistan in the 1980's, Afghans are repeatedly likened to animals.¹⁰¹ In the interview with Tom Carey, who according to this article is some sort of an expert on war with Afghanistan, calls the mujaheddin who fought against the Russians "mountain goats," states that they hid food and ammunition every where which made them "like squirrels," and goes on to inform us that "they don't go by maps" because "they can't even read maps," and that if there are places listed on maps they are usually different in local language.¹⁰² Moreover, Carew claims that "they love weapons," "Fighting is their hobby," have a "desire for martyrdom," and are "fearless and brutal with the enemy," followed by an anecdote of Carew witnessing villagers hacking and mutilating a Russian helicopter pilot. For fairness' sake I have to mention that two or three sentences

in this almost full page article also state that the “West is to blame”, that “the Afghan people themselves are very nice people,” and that Carew “appreciates the Afghans as a people, but has little time for the Taliban.” Apart from these concessions, the entire article is full of generalizations about the mujaheddin, who are presented as reckless, bloodthirsty, and beast-like. While blaming the condition of the country on the West, Carew says that bad American foreign policy and the abandonment of Afghanistan left the country “untidy” and “open to exploitation”. What may be perceived as sympathy and understanding for the Afghan people and the situation in Afghanistan could just as easily be understood as an innate inability of the Afghan people to govern themselves and be “exploited” by other forces. Despite the fact that there may be some truth to the mujaheddin and the Taliban taking over the power in the country, and thus exploiting it, Carew seems to reflect a colonial attitude in which there has to be another power present in order to keep the place “tidy”.

Articles such as this one are the majority of articles in the Globe, filled with “expert opinions” on what Afghanistan needs, and all are more or less in agreement that Western intervention is the one and only necessary solution. Again, despite the fact that, for a variety of reasons including human rights, intervention by the world community is needed, there is a definite tendency to portray Afghans as inferior, less able and willing to produce a good society, and extremely primitive or animal-like. Headlines such as “Wild Frontier Town Lives by the Gun,”¹⁰³ “Warrior From Past Holy War Begs for Bread,”¹⁰⁴ and “Ragtag Army Dubious as West Girds for Battle”¹⁰⁵ which are accompanied by the

appropriate photos of long-bearded men in dirty clothes and worried looking faces support these claims.

Shortly after the attacks on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon, the Globe repeatedly reports about media in the Muslim world propagating conspiracy theories and the supposed widespread denial of Muslims being responsible for the acts. Many of these articles are in fact true, as some media in some Muslim states have reportedly come up with a variety of theories as to who could be responsible for the attacks, as well as why Muslims themselves were being blamed. The western media, and particularly the Globe, could be perceived as using this information as another means to portray Muslims as irrational, emotion-driven peoples with an inability to think logically and clearly. At the same time the Globe includes a handful of articles in which the authors believe the world to be short of the apocalypse.¹⁰⁶ As much as Globe journalists like to ridicule the 'Islamic/Muslim press' for the spread of conspiracy theories, paranoia, and hatred of the West, the framing of events by the Globe sometimes resembles just that: the spread of hatred towards the "fanatics" and "barbarians" in the East, the spread of far-fetched theories about a clash of civilizations and the end of the world. John Ibbitson foresees the danger of nuclear attack and the destruction of the world by Muslim terrorists on a two page spread on September 22, 2001, and on September 12, 2001 an article by Alanna Mitchell, in which she merely describes Canadian's reactions to the previous day and the fact that some people are reminded of past wars, is titled "Apocalypse Now, Canadians Fear."¹⁰⁷ And these two are by no means the only ones of this kind.

The Muslim Terrorists

Other issues that might have an effect on Muslims in Canada are the framing of terrorists, the voices of dissent and issues relating to the American request for increased security. The framing of terrorism offers a wealth of material in the time period discussed here. What is most prominent about *The Globe and Mail's* definition and framing of a terrorist is the ability to just blend in. The articles stress the fact that the hijackers and many of the suspected terrorists seem like the normal, average, suburban Westerner, the proverbial 'guy next door'. Headlines such as "Hijackers blended in well in U.S.,"¹⁰⁸ "Portrait of a Terrorist as a youth on holiday: World's most wanted man is remembered as disco-loving 'hippie' from jet-set clan,"¹⁰⁹ and "Terrorists exuded air of suburban banality,"¹¹⁰ all point out that "an Arab male is not going to stand out in this community" and "could blend in very easily."¹¹¹ Other articles relate that it is ridiculously easy to become a terrorist and go about your business uncovered.¹¹² The underlying message here is perhaps, that if the hijackers blended in so well and seemed perfectly adjusted to Western society, then there must still be many out there. Consequently every Arab or dark-skinned male could potentially be suspicious.

While objecting to the 'root causes' theory, Lysiane Gagnon defines terrorism as "a cultural phenomenon" that "sometimes takes specific forms. For instance, Muslim fundamentalists and Tamil Tiger terrorists seem to be the only

ones who happily volunteer for suicide missions.”¹¹³ According to Gagnon, terrorism is also “more prevalent in certain cultures and certain regions.”¹¹⁴ Although she continues to argue that poverty cannot be the root of terrorism, since most people living in the same regions do not become terrorists, although they are under the same pressures, it seems quite dangerous to consider terrorism in cultural terms. Terrorism can perhaps be described as a historical, political, or even regional phenomenon, but certainly should not be linked to culture. Such a link would assume that certain cultures are therefore more prone to violence and terrorism, such as the attack on the WTC and the Pentagon. To take this one step further, it would affirm theories of cultural superiority and have negative implications for people whose cultures have been deemed violent.

As much as there was a wealth of information on Muslims and terrorists, *The Globe and Mail* dedicated little to dissent on the war or critical voices on any of the related issues. The coverage of anti-war protests and anti-racism rallies was limited and, if acknowledged, did not receive a very prominent place in the paper. It is not until September 26, 2001, that there are any critics of the war mentioned. In the section entitled ‘Briefing and Index’ the newspaper states:

Safwan Javed, drummer of the Saskatoon band Wide Mouth Mason, feels compelled to express his controversial opinions about the U.S.-led war on terrorism. ‘I think both sides have been as guilty as each other of committing so-called terrorist acts, yet only one side is repeatedly called terrorist.’¹¹⁵

On page A5 the paper features an article dedicated to the “controversial” drummer, in which it is states that “Mr. Javed [...] took pains to emphasize that he does not condone the Sept. 11 attacks,”¹¹⁶ yet the title declares him to be anti-

U.S.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Jill Mahoney informs us that Mr. Javed's parents are from Pakistan, that he has family in Pakistan, and that he is a "Muslim with a bachelor's degree in religious studies" who "believes his rich cultural background enables him to 'see both perspectives' and may be the reason he decided to speak out."¹¹⁸ The article ended with a quote by an angry person that had been posted at the band's website: "Look at your world Safwan," the posting reads. 'Look at Hussein and Hamas and Islamic Jihad and bin Laden. Look at the facts and realize what your religion stands for.'¹¹⁹ The open ending could be interpreted as Jill Mahoney's agreement with the anonymous person, but also as her disagreement and astonishment at people's ignorance. I hope it is the latter.

The next victim of public scorn for her oppositional views is Sunera Thobani. In "Just Another Chance to Berate the Americans"¹²⁰ the unnamed author of the article refers to Ms. Thobani's speech delivered to a conference on women and the prison system in Ottawa, a "poisonous diatribe" and laments the fact that apparently "quite a few Canadians" agree with Thobani.¹²¹ The criticism of Thobani goes on in Margaret Wente's "Two reasons to thank Sunera Thobani."¹²² In this anti-feminist and offensive article Wente calls Thobani "an idiot" and a "living demonstration of the values that we must defend,"¹²³ since this, the right to free speech, is what the terrorists are trying to destroy. Wente also argues that "the emancipation of women anywhere on this planet depends solely on the spread of Western democratic values," because women are nowhere as free as here.

Where in the world, I wonder, do they [feminists] think women are more equal than they are here? In Muslim countries, where

men can have four wives? In China, where the state forces women to have abortions? In Tanzania (Ms. Thobani's homeland), where wife beating is widespread? Perhaps she and her friend could explain why they seem to be so fond of the regimes of thugs, dictators, and fascists.¹²⁴

Wente's article presents quite harsh generalizations about feminists, other cultures, and the residents of whole countries or regions.

Like the SZ, the Globe also featured a number of brief news features, government officials warning the public of condemning all Muslims as potential terrorists, and reports of violent backlashes and fears of these by the Muslim minority in Canada. And like the SZ, there are interviews with Muslim and Christian leaders, historical articles on Muslim-non-Muslim relations, and definitions of terms. One topic, namely the dialogue between Westerners and Muslims, seems more prominent in the SZ, and not prominent at all in the Globe, at least not prominent enough to make up a sub category. The focus in the Globe and Mail is much more on the terrorists themselves and the stories surrounding them, Afghanistan and the pending war, security in North America and Canada specifically, and Canada's role as the neighbour of the United States. Hence it looks as though the framing of news in the month following September 11th is closer to US reporting styles than the framing of the SZ, despite the similarities between the two newspapers.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the framing of Muslims as juxtaposed to Westerners in *The Globe and Mail* seems to follow clear patterns, all of which amount to a rather

problematic representation of Islam and Muslims. The linking of terrorism with a whole culture or religion has proven to be problematic by other scholars and in light of race-based backlashes in the aftermath of the attack. In terms of the main research questions at the centre of this study, it seems as if the *Globe and Mail* fails to deliver what one might consider the promise of a liberal democratic newspaper. Most of the framing strategies seem quite one-sided, as we have seen, and are in fact obviously following very straightforward and almost simplistic patterns. Thus the *Globe* conforms to the exact model which Orientalist scholars and researchers such as Teun van Dijk have warned us of.

The rhetoric of the 'War on Terrorism' includes adversarial and dualistic language and focuses on the 'civilized, free and democratic West' versus 'uncivilized, barbaric Islam', seen as being strongly linked to terrorism and religious fundamentalism. The now common phrase "You're either with us or against us" is being replicated in the media, and further propagates the dichotomous nature of the war. It also creates a dilemma for many states and individuals who do not condone the terrorist attack, but are also critical of retaliatory war.

To sum up, according to the picture painted by the *Globe*, Muslims, and here I include Afghans, Pakistanis and Palestinians in particular, are only 'good immigrants' or good people if they are Westernized or openly embrace liberal democratic attitudes. The Muslims in the 'problem areas', that is in the Middle East, if they are not to be feared, they are only to be pitied because of their raggedness, their simplicity, poverty and lack of education. Terrorists themselves

are very much like the guy next door and 'blend in so well' that we need to watch out for them. Pakistan is a more difficult case, because the general population there, if one follows the framing of events in *The Globe and Mail*, is opposed to any U.S. support from their government, and might become terrorists as well, if the chance is given. Palestinians, similarly, are presented as bloodthirsty anti-Semitic extremists and Osama bin Laden's main support system. And, as has been expected by many Orientalist scholars, Muslims and Islam are often seen as homogenous entities with no sensitivity to varieties in culture, language, history, socio-political situation, and so on. Even though Muslim minorities in Canada are, as the Globe reports, under threat of increased harassment and stereotyping, most of the framing strategies in the Globe are quite consistent in their insistence that Islamic societies and Muslims are somewhat inferior unless they are Westernized and adhere to Western political and social ideals.

Chapter 4

The Globe and the SZ in Comparison

The Scope

The Globe and Mail, as has been mentioned in a previous chapter, is often perceived as Canada's most influential newspaper, and if we believe the company's data "the Globe and Mail will reach almost 7 in 10 (69%) C-Level Executives in English Canada, more than any other publication (be it business or general news and information) measured in the 2002 Executive Business Pulse Survey"¹²⁵. Similarly, the Süddeutsche Zeitung has been named one of Germany's most influential "papers of record", and a "journalistic opinion leader",¹²⁶ which makes these two newspapers suitable for comparison on their coverage of Muslims. As mentioned earlier on, both papers are clearly of a liberal leaning and popular among the business elites, the affluent, and the educated. Consequently, it would be easy to assume that the reporting in both of these newspapers is largely similar and that they both follow the same framing strategies as far as September 11 and minorities are concerned. Small differences, which can be traced back to distinct German and Canadian concerns, as well as slightly different country-dependent issues are to be expected, but overall I began this study with the hypothesis that the Globe and the SZ would adhere to the same narratives, similar presumptions and framing strategies of Muslims, and a similar variety of voices on the issues.

The following chapter will lay out the similarities and the differences in the framing of minorities in the Globe and Mail and the Süddeutsche Zeitung, and

perhaps suggest how the differences may affect the minorities in both Canada and Germany. This chapter is at the same time an examination of the liberal nature of these papers, and an attempt to question whether the Globe and the SZ indeed allow a wide variety of opinions and voices.

As I have shown in Chapters Two and Three, some of the issues, which were most prominent in the two newspapers, are slightly different from each other. Much of this can be explained by national concerns, such as the coverage of Neonazis and a great focus on Turkish people in the SZ and the articles dealing with Canada's dilemma as "haven for terrorists" in the Globe. Since I have decided to pay attention to the issue of "Muslims vs. the West" (or "Islam vs. the West"), the following comparison will centre on the coverage of articles within this category in the two papers and have a narrower focus than could have been in a larger study. If one were to expand this analysis, one could of course compare all the different categories and patterns as they relate to each and every topic, but due to space and time constraints, I have decided to omit a detailed examination of each category.

Similarities

At this point let me mention briefly that some of the issues and framing strategies seem strikingly similar. Both newspapers covered Pakistan/Pakistanis, Afghanistan, Israel and Palestinians, Terrorists, and

Dissent/Opposition to retaliatory military action, and did indeed use very similar framing strategies for these issues.

Generally speaking, there are some common trends in the framing of Pakistanis, Palestinians, and Afghans in the German and Canadian newspapers. First of all, almost all Muslim groups abroad are seen as simple, easily manipulated by their leaders, and cheerful about the attack on the WTC, except for the Afghans who now had to leave in the face of a war threat. The majority of all three groups are presented as poor and backwards, ragged and dirty. Palestinians and Pakistanis in particular are generally portrayed as being opposed to the U.S, and in support of Osama bin Laden, while also being highly anti-Semitic. People from Afghanistan living in the West are given special attention, since they are the educated wealthy elite that is non-extremist, liberal, and willing to return to Afghanistan to build up a new country based on Western liberal values. Afghans still living in Afghanistan or in exile in Pakistan and neighbouring countries are not presented as the enemy, but rather as poor and desperate victims of the Taliban in need of Western intervention.

Muslims, and here I include Afghans, Pakistanis and Palestinians in particular, are only 'good immigrants' or good people if they are Westernized or openly embrace liberal ideals and lifestyles, as opposed to Muslims who still retain most of their non-Western, non-liberal, and thus 'uncivilized' values.

The Muslims in the 'problem areas', that is in the Mid East, if they are not to be feared, they are only to be pitied because of their raggedness, their simplicity, poverty and lack of education. Pakistan is a more difficult case,

because the general population there, if one follows the framing of events in *The Globe and Mail*, is opposed to any U.S. support from their government, and might become terrorists as well, if the chance is given.

The framing of terrorism also offers a wealth of material in the time period discussed here. What is most striking about *The Globe's* and the *SZ's* definition and framing of a terrorist is their ability to just blend in. The articles stress the fact that the hijackers and many of the suspected terrorists seem like the normal, average, suburban Westerner, like the proverbial 'guy next door'. Headlines such as "Hijackers blended in well in U.S.,"¹²⁷ all point out that "an Arab male is not going to stand out in this community" and "could blend in very easily."¹²⁸ The same is true for articles about the terrorists in the *SZ*, particularly because some of the 9/11 suicide bombers had been living and studying in Germany for years before they came to the United States.

As much as there is a wealth of information on Muslims and terrorists, as little does *The Globe and Mail* dedicate to dissent on the war or critical voices on any of issues related to the topic. The coverage of anti-war protests and anti-racism rallies is limited and, if acknowledged, does not receive a very prominent place in the paper. The *SZ* seems a bit more open to dissent and features more critical opinions on the subject, but like the *Globe* these do not appear in the front and are rather scattered in the time frame discussed here.¹²⁹ The fact that the *SZ* features a larger number of articles on dissent may also be due to the fact that opposition to the war has generally been more pronounced in Europe and the fact that the European audience has been much more outspoken about the issue

than North American audiences. The Canadian audiences may also have felt a larger threat, because they are close to the United States and are often perceived as holding onto the same beliefs and ideals as Americans, all of which may have made opposition to the war less popular in Canada.

Media and Terror

It is interesting to note that in comparison to the SZ, the Globe and Mail did not cover the issue of media and terrorism in the same manner. There is a section in the Süddeutsche titled "Media," and within it there appear articles and editorials on the responsibility of media in crisis situations, diversity of opinion, information about large media conglomerates (usually others than that to which the SZ belongs), and the media's performance in reporting about crisis situations, including television programs and so on. Even though the section is continuous, the articles mentioned above are sometimes very critical of censorship, political involvement or the 'media machine', and at other times a less critical and more focused on individuals. There is no such section in the Globe, and there are very few and scattered articles about the media in the Canadian newspaper at all. The few features there are in the Globe, all deal with television programs, or the movie industry, and are very general observation about stereotyping in the movies and the absence of humour on TV in the aftermath of September 11. Any critical reflection of the print media's role is completely absent, so let's delve a bit deeper into the SZ articles.

One of the main antagonists of SZ journalists is, it seems the publishing group Springer, one of the biggest publishers in Germany. Three days after the horrible attack the SZ featured an article in which they highlight the Springer publishing groups' questionable clause added to its employees' guidelines, which requires them to acknowledge the groups' "friendship to the United States," ("Unterstützung des transatlantischen Bündnisses und die Solidarität in der freiheitlichen Wertegemeinschaft mit den Vereinigten Staaten").¹³⁰ On September 20, 2001, after the new guidelines had been legally included in Springer employees' contracts, Wolf Schneider comments on the problems of such a clause.¹³¹ The new clause, Schneider fears, will affect journalists' critical reflection of America, and is, unlike Springer's other clause, which requires solidarity with Israel, not based on guilt and a step further towards a censored press.

Some articles point to the fact that terrorism seems to have expanded journalism in the United States for the time being, as opposed to the narrow mostly local focus American media used to have beforehand.¹³² Others offer a critique of censorship in American and also British and German media,¹³³ and scrutinize the American and British media's lack of free speech in times of crisis. The American military is used to getting involved in the distribution of news ever since the Gulf War over a decade ago, but even German media, as seen in the new contracts for the employees of the Springer group, are being controlled by outside forces.

A few articles within the media section of the SZ discuss the role of the media, both print and television, in times of crisis and grapples with questions about the appropriateness of humour in times like these, the media's power to help eliminate prejudices, journalistic conspiracy theories, and the so called "experts" on television programs.

Jakob Augstein, in an article on September 29, declares that the media in Germany polarize issues and are preparing their readers to go into a war.¹³⁴ In this interesting article Augstein claims that we are witnessing a change of paradigm in German media, which from a tradition of support for non-military solutions is moving towards a linking of militarism with pride or confidence. Underlying this article is, again, a sharp critique of the Bild Zeitung, the largest German boulevard newspaper published by Springer, and the object of many of the SZ's media critiques.

It seems as though many of these articles are, in spite of the many valid criticisms of the media's role in the aftermath of September 11, more about the SZ's personal feud with the Springer Publishing House and its policies. It is also noteworthy that by showing such an awareness for media faults and weaknesses, the SZ should itself be highly critical of their framing strategies and reporting. I will get back to this point in the next chapter, in an attempt to examine whether the SZ follows the standards it has set for itself and others by tackling an issue such as "the media".

The main issue to be compared between the Globe and Mail and the Süddeutsche is, of course, "Islam versus the West", which can be subdivided into

five smaller topics, all of which offer a wealth of comparison between the Globe and Mail and the Süddeutsche.

Predictions, Facts, and the Definition of Terms

In both the Globe and Mail and the Süddeutsche, journalists attempt to increase the understanding of the perceived conflict between the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds by defining terms such as “jihad” and “Taliban”, providing brief background information on people like Osama bin Laden and his associates, making predictions about the reactions and future of some Islamic countries, and generally giving the reader some brief and very broad facts.

Both newspapers dedicate small sections in the paper to a definition of terms, but usually fail to provide a historical and social context for these terms. The SZ seems much more critical of the role of the United States in the support of the Taliban in the 1980s than the Globe and Mail, but both attempt to explain the main players and concepts in the conflict as briefly as possible. Even though it is understandable that readers, many of whom may not have heard of any of Osama bin Laden’s supporters or Arabic terms, would be interested in learning more, it is questionable whether this form of isolated non-contextual information does the concepts justice.

The Globe and Mail features many more articles predicting a “clash of civilizations” and a coming nuclear or biological war than the SZ. In fact, SZ journalists do not seem to have much respect or patience for such theories at all,

despite a few articles declaring a coming apocalypse shortly after the event. But there are no writers like the kinds of Wente and Johnson at the SZ, and less sweeping generalizations of Muslims being involved in more conflicts than others or the takeover of Pakistan by Muslim fundamentalists.

The facts are, as is self-explanatory, also quite similar in the Globe and the Süddeutsche, but sometimes journalists from the SZ tend to word their articles a bit more carefully, as has been mentioned in Chapter Two.

Public Commentaries and Racist Backlashes

The second heading includes all articles, which are meant to increase understanding and sensitivity towards the effects of the attack on Muslim minorities living in Canada and Germany. Most of the articles in this section are fairly brief news items, quotations from government officials and other public figures, condemnations of the attacks and requests addressed at Muslims themselves to condemn terrorism. As was to be expected, the aforementioned brief news and quotes are quite similar in both the Globe and the SZ, consist mostly of political and often polemical commentaries by leaders, and are nothing unexpected in crisis situations.

Both the German and Canadian commentaries lament the deaths, declare that not all Muslims are the enemy, but also demand a greater involvement by Muslims in denouncing Osama bin Laden and terrorism. There were more racist

backlashes in Canada than in most European states, and thus there are a larger number of articles asking for more tolerance. The articles in the SZ on the topic are more about the fears of Muslims in Germany that they will now be stereotyped and may be prone to violence, while Muslims in Canada may have already experienced a new wave of hatred towards them. At the same time, there seem to be more portraits and statements by Muslim Canadians in the Globe, in order to counteract hate crimes I imagine.

The tendency of both the Globe and Mail and the Süddeutsche to imply that the responsibility for condemning terrorism lies with Muslims themselves can be interpreted in two ways. It could be interpreted as a request for more dialogue. In this case Muslims themselves would be asked to inform Westerners about their culture and religion, as opposed to interpretations made by Westerners themselves. This would mean that the West is willing to open up a bigger space for Muslims to express themselves and help to demystify their culture, as one author had put it. Hence it could be interpreted as an attempt to share power and reduce stereotyping and prejudices. Another interpretation rejects the idea that Muslims should be responsible for condemning terrorism in the name of their religion, because it should be clear that suicide bombings and other such acts are not in any way to be explained or caused by Islam as a religion. Moreover, by placing greater responsibility for the acts of individual fanatics to Muslims living in Canada or Germany, one is led to believe that the terrorist acts and the Muslim identity are inextricably linked somehow. Again, as mentioned in chapter three, the underlying implication that terrorism and suicide bombings are simply part of

Muslim culture (whatever 'the' Muslim culture may be) is potentially dangerous and does nothing to aid intercultural dialogue.

Muslims as Convenient Enemies

Interestingly, there are bigger differences in the framing of the Globe and the SZ in this category than in the previous ones. As the heading suggests, both newspapers show an interest in the Judeo-Christian and Muslim history, both grapple with questions about Muslims as the "new" enemy of the Western world, and what may have brought on this perception which links Muslims with fundamentalism and terrorism, but the tone in the Globe is very different from the tone in the SZ. These articles focus on Muslim history, society, and culture, often as juxtaposed to "Western civilization", and thus prone to employ dichotomous language. Both newspapers employ binary language, often simplify circumstances, terms and issues, and adhere to similar framing patterns about Pakistanis, Afghans and Afghanistan, Iraq, and terrorists.

Some of the more obvious differences lie in the openly hostile views of Globe contributors such as Margaret Wente, John MacLachlan Gray, William Johnson, and perhaps John Stackhouse, all of whom either support Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" theory, link Muslims with a history of violence and barbarism, explain the recent fundamentalist terrorism in cultural terms, or highlight only some of Muslims admittedly problematic relationship with Israel,

human rights, and women's rights, while generalizing and simplifying hundreds of years of history and jumbling together millions of Muslims from different time eras, areas, linguistic groups and cultures.¹³⁵ The journalists of the *Süddeutsche* are less accusatory and more careful in their wording, while it also seems as if they researched the history of the area better when writing about it, and assume that some information, such as the role of the United States in supporting certain authoritative regimes all over the world, is already widely known. That is to say, the articles in the *SZ* presuppose more background knowledge and thus tend to simplify less and dig a bit deeper than the very sweeping generalizations of some of the journalists of the *Globe*. As will be seen in chapter five, Edward Said attributes this to the fact that European journalists often have a better background in the area they write about, and are stationed in the respective countries much longer than North American journalists.

In all of the articles in the *SZ* within the time period covered, there is not one article, which supports Huntington's thesis, but the *SZ*, like the *Globe*, does employ bible-inspired metaphors and tends to present Muslims as one unified entity. However, the *SZ* frequently features reminders that the Western world and Muslims should not let individuals manipulate and interpret Islam. Even though this notion is sometimes mentioned in the *Globe* as well, the Canadian paper focuses much more on the "violent history and culture" of Muslims, than on the fact that there is no such thing as "all Muslims," specifically people who call themselves Muslims and kill thousands of people while clearly being quite removed from Islamic ideas.

The SZ has no articles comparable to “Islam’s Wild Side,”¹³⁶ by Miro Cernetic, in which the author highlights Muslim “hypocrisy”¹³⁷ because of the new middle class’s supposed thirst for drugs, drinking and dancing, all of which are, as Cernetig informs us, considered to be sins in Islam. This article is highly sensational, especially because of the accompanying pictures. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, there were no pictures and photographs available for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, as it is in electronic form and includes only articles, so I cannot be certain at this point that the SZ does not indeed have similar sensational footage. However, drawing conclusions from the articles alone, there was no inflammatory article of the same magnitude in the SZ as far as I can tell. In fact, in a comparable article in the SZ titled “Vier aus einer Milliarde-Die Anderen: Warum der Islam ein Dankbares Feindbild Abgibt”,¹³⁸ the author Navid Kermani warns readers of equating Islam and Muslims generally with fundamentalism and terrorism. The author reminds the readers that we are not witnessing a war of civilizations, but instead a conflict which runs through the Muslim world itself, and, in remembrance of Oklahoma City, also through other cultures. In almost all of the articles matching this category within the SZ the titles alone suggest that there is danger of condemning Muslims as fanatical and suggest that Islam has been misrepresented in the media, that Muslims suffer from the misperceptions about them and that there needs to be a more sensitive and accurate representation of Muslims.

The only article which draws conclusions that are comparable to what journalists of the *Globe* favour is the article by Rudolph Chimelli,¹³⁹ in which he

points to the “net of sympathy and cooperation” that supposedly exists “between Islamists from Kashmir to the Balkans or Chechnya.” Yet, even this article does not suggest that there is a cultural link between terrorism and Islam, and could be understood as a misconception the fundamentalist Islamists have themselves.

Similarly, the Globe and Mail does, more often than not, suggest that there is a historical and cultural link between Muslims and violence, that aggression and terrorism is indeed part of Muslim cultural heritage. If one was to only read headlines like “Why Are Muslims Involved in so Many Conflicts?”¹⁴⁰, “Islam’s Wild Side,”¹⁴¹ “Whither the ‘Hypocrites’ of the Muslim World?”¹⁴², “Arabs Prepared for Holy War on U.S., Arab Activist Says,”¹⁴³ and “Tiptoeing Through Islam,”¹⁴⁴ one may get the idea that hypocrisy, wildness and violence are typical and common Muslim features.

Strangely, these are counterbalanced by titles such as “The Making of a Stereotype”¹⁴⁵ and, “Neighbours as collateral damage: Terrorism’s aftershocks are destabilizing society, as Muslim Canadians are targeted for stereotyping and abuse”¹⁴⁶. However, there are not enough articles, nor is the language within them as strong as that utilized by Wente, Johnson and others to really truly counterbalance the impression that violence and conflict comes natural to “the Muslim”.

Integration

Integration refers to Muslims living in Germany and Canada respectively, to Muslim organizations in either country and the way in which Muslims have

managed to adapt to a Western lifestyle. One could say that some of the articles clearly show a bias towards the “Westernized” Muslim, the easily identifiable, often short haired, un-bearded and un-veiled kind who respects Western laws and embraces Western lifestyles. The groups focussed on are mostly East Indians in the *Globe and Mail* and Turkish people in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, but also Afghans living in both countries. As mentioned in chapter 3, the *Globe* dedicated an entire new section, called “Passages to Canada” to immigrants and their stories, while other articles focus on hyphenated Canadians’ or hyphenated Americans’ experiences with or fears of racist backlashes. There seems to be a great focus on assimilated immigrants, as I pointed out in Chapter Three, and as mentioned earlier these articles receive a better place in the paper.

The representation of Turks in the *SZ* is generally favourable, as many of the articles are related to work problems and lack of educational or apprentice opportunities for young Turks in Germany. The topics of these articles are fairly widespread, other than work related issues, and range from shootings to Turkey’s human rights violations, which are keeping Turkey from joining the European Union.

In contrast, the portrayal of East Indian immigrants in the *Globe and Mail* is often related to bombings of airplanes, the different physical appearance of East Indian people and the resulting troubles they run into as potential targets of hate mongers. Other representations favour, as mentioned in chapter three, the “westernized”, assimilated immigrant in Western dress and with a strong belief in

Western values and law. This is also an issue in the SZ, in relation to Muslim schools in Germany, but is not as pronounced as in the Globe and Mail.

The Dialogue Between Muslims and Non-Muslims

The dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims is more prominent in the SZ than it is in the Globe, yet is important in both newspapers as it touches on the most fundamental issue in this study, namely the co-existence between Muslims and Christians, in simplified terms.

In the SZ there is a large focus on inter-cultural dialogue, as it is seen as the best alternative to warfare and perceived to be the main problem between Muslims and Westerners. The articles in the Süddeutsche are also quite varied, and include interviews with religious leaders from both faiths, discussions of Muslim organizations and educational institutes in Germany, everyday interactions between German citizens and Muslim Germans, and so on. Moreover, the SZ has a tendency to consult Muslims in form of interviews, despite the fact that it is sometimes questionable how far these individuals are authorized and qualified to speak for other Muslims, whereas the approach of the Globe and Mail is to speak for and about Muslims rather than letting Muslims speak. The focus in the Globe is much more on fanatical religious leaders from al-Qaeda and what they want the world to know, than on other lower profile Muslims. Indeed, in reference to the story in the Globe about Farida and her

family, or other Muslim Canadians, one might conclude that it is better to be a non-practising Muslim (whatever that is), unless one is simply explaining that violence is not one of the cornerstones of the Islamic faith and that no moderate Muslims are going to declare and rise to a 'jihad' against the West. The so-called dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims also, in both newspapers, consists rather of an almost reproachful approach by the Judeo-Christian side, which proclaims that Muslims are not doing enough to shed light on their religion and practices, and to denounce terrorism and extremism, while the Muslim side is seen as adopting an almost stubborn silence and defensive mechanism. Moreover, some religious spokespersons from the Western tradition maintain that Muslims are not making as much of an effort to keep up a dialogue between the cultures, and this is strikingly similar in both newspapers.

All in all, the *Globe and Mail* seems closer to various mainstream American media in some senses. The focus on individuals, victims of the attack, individual immigrants into Canada, individual terrorists or potential terrorists, and the common acceptance of American theories of ancient conflicts between the West and East¹⁴⁷ all support this idea. According to numerous critiques of mainstream American media, a focus on individuals and a hero-victim model are often used to make stories more sensational, but at the same time simplify events. Even though the *SZ* has similar framing strategies in some of the topics, the articles are more carefully worded and less inflammatory.

Both newspapers stay true to their liberal ideals, in that they attempt to show several sides of a story, but are more conservative in their political leaning

than one might have thought. As mentioned in chapter three, the *Globe* fails to challenge a military retaliation as the only means available, and leaves little room for voices of dissent. The *Süddeutsche*, even though it claims to work against conflict scenarios between Muslims and Judeo-Christians, still makes use of dichotomous language and highlights the differences between the cultures rather than the commonalities. Both newspapers also tend to simplify and over-generalize, although the *Globe* does this more so than does the *SZ*.

Most importantly, both newspapers agree on the inferiority of Afghan people and accept the idea that the Middle East is in need of Western intervention and Western ideals of democracy, free press, women's rights, etc. All of these framing strategies do not help to increase inter-cultural understanding and respect, but maintain old Western approaches towards Muslims, which not only perceive Muslims as inferior, but also as completely opposed to the Western mind and as the eternal 'Other'.

Chapter 5

Towards a More Critical Representation of Muslims in the Media

In the vast and ever-expanding array of literature on media studies, and within this, specific case studies, there are a number of case studies on minorities and the media and Muslims in the media in particular. In the past three years the interest in Muslims and media has naturally increased and seems to be greater than ever before. Large-scale terrorist attacks, ethnic wars such as in Bosnia, and news of a coming 'clash of civilizations' appear to increase the interest in all things Muslim for periods of time and then ebb again, once other issues become more interesting. Since September 11th Muslims and Islam have become very important to the Western media and Western scholars once again, and there are a number of very interesting studies on the portrayal of Muslims in the media, as well as case studies on the media in Muslim countries and so on. Many of these predate September 11th, but the conclusions the authors draw are often surprisingly similar to later studies. It appears as though the portrayal of Muslims in Western media does not change that much, regardless of which events and circumstances are reported, whether it is a hijacking, a suicide bombing, the Iran-Iraq war or news of various distinct Muslim groups in different areas of the world, in all cases scholars perceive overgeneralizations and often even wrong factual information in the media.

One of the founding studies on Muslim-Western relations is Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which, although not directly related to media studies, still remains the building block for all works on the perception of Muslims in the West. In

Orientalism Said traces the historical relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, particularly the English and French, and identifies old stereotypes and prejudices. The book also highlights the fact that the relationship between Europeans and Muslims has always been that of a strong (the Europeans) and a weak partner (the Easterners), and suggests that instead of demystifying Islam and Muslims the practice of Orientalism has been based on the assumption that Muslims are the complete opposites of the Europeans. Moreover, Said argues that both "Islam" and "the West" are concepts with no ontological stability, but concepts made up by human effort.¹⁴⁸ What Said calls Orientalism, he argues, has promoted the differences between the familiar West and the "strange" Orient.¹⁴⁹ In fact, according to Said "the European encounter with the Orient, and specifically with Islam, strengthened this system of representing the Orient and, as has been suggested by Henri Pirenne, turned Islam into the very epitome of an outsider against which the whole of European civilization from the Middle Ages on was founded."¹⁵⁰

In a later study on the portrayal of Muslims in Western media titled *Covering Islam*, Said supports his Orientalism thesis by taking a closer look at the media's role in supplying specific pictures, stereotypes, and simplifications of Muslims.¹⁵¹ Before venturing into some specific case studies, Said delivers some more general observations, many of which are a continuation of his arguments in *Orientalism*. The media are not free, but political¹⁵², Said maintains, and are instrumental in creating a reductive image of Islam as well as creating confrontational political situations, which pit "us" versus "them".¹⁵³ This

perception of a confrontational contact does disservice to both Muslims and non-Muslims, as such a narrow focus neglects what else is going on socially and politically, or, to quote Said:

Both the Islamic community of interpretation and the Western or American community as formed mainly by the mass media have tragically staked much of their energies on the narrow point of confrontation between them, and in the process have ignored what did not concern this confrontation.¹⁵⁴

Thus the focus on all negative aspects leads to a Western view which associates Islam “with what many Muslims themselves are opposed to in the current scene: punishment, autocracy, medieval modes of logic, theocracy.”¹⁵⁵

One of the other main criticisms Edward Said has about Western mass media and Orientalist discourse are labels like “Islam” and the “West”, in particular because “Islam” is seen to be “one unchanging thing that could be grasped over and above the remarkably varied history, geography, social structure, and culture of the forty Islamic nations and the approximately 800 million Muslims who live in Asia, Africa, Europe, and North America (including many millions in the Soviet Union and China) [...]”¹⁵⁶ As will be seen later on, this problem of the essentialist Western view of Islam as a monolithic anti-Western and primitive entity also determines how the media dealt with Muslims post September 11th, the kinds of framing various distinct Muslim groups received, and the demands which were placed upon Muslim leaders to denounce the attack by a small number of terrorists, who were nonetheless identified within the larger unit of “all Muslims”.

In the second part of his critique Said identifies certain media patterns in form of small case studies, such as documentaries on Islam and, most interestingly for this study, comparative analyses between European and American media. One can detect a difference in reporting in American and French media, with European media generally being more varied, more accurate and less sensational than American reporting, the author maintains. Said observes that European journalists are generally better suited to report about Muslim issues because they for one spend more time in their assigned country, unlike American journalists who often get moved from one place to the next in a matter of months. Moreover, many European journalists are able to speak the language of the country to which they are assigned, and are thus better able to fully grasp the countries social, economic and political circumstances, while their American counterparts, along with a lack of local languages, also tend to have no background in the area.¹⁵⁷ So despite good intentions from American journalists, their European counterparts are at an advantage in reporting about all things “Muslim”, which, according to Said, shows in the quality of the news.

Lastly, in *Covering Islam* the author is highly critical of the so called “experts” on Islam, who are brought in frequently whenever there is a “crisis” or another “confrontation” with Muslims of any kind, and Said concludes that experts are brought in as emergency measures when the West has been caught “unprepared”¹⁵⁸ and needs solutions and “how-tos”. The public, it is argued by Said and others, has an increasing demand for specialists in an ever-increasing bureaucratized world, and academia is seen to play a huge role in mass-

producing these experts.¹⁵⁹ Academic scholars are, despite all denial of political orientation in the academy, bound by demands from all kinds of interests, institutional demands and what Said calls the “scholarly honour and integrity of the field [which] are upheld against critical outsiders”¹⁶⁰ and ultimately make almost all scholarship political. The most progressive work in the field evolves when scholars are not affiliated with certain institutions, governments, universities and the corporate world, which is not often the case as the structure of the system makes scholars dependent on funding and jobs which require them to be affiliated with certain institutions.

To sum up then, in *Covering Islam* Edward Said contends that

the canonical, orthodox coverage of Islam that we find in the academy, in the government, and in the media is all interrelated and has been *more* diffused, has seemed *more* persuasive and influential, in the West than any other ‘coverage’ or interpretation. The success of this coverage can be attributed to the political influence of those people and institutions producing it rather than necessarily to truth or accuracy. [...]this coverage has served purposes only tangentially related to actual knowledge of Islam itself. The result has been the triumph of not just a particular *knowledge* of Islam but rather of a particular *interpretation* [...]¹⁶¹

The significance of Edward Said’s body of work becomes apparent in the large number of scholars who have followed in his footsteps and built their work on and around his Orientalism thesis. Much of the recent literature¹⁶² on the media still adheres to the basic idea that Islam and Muslim people and societies have been and still are misrepresented by Western scholars and media and are subjected to ancient stereotypes and assumptions of what Islam is and what it

stands for. One of the major influences for this thesis has been the work by Karim H. Karim, whose *Islamic Peril: Media and Global Violence*¹⁶³ is also based on the Orientalism idea.

In this very detailed analysis of certain events and the media's consequent framing of these events, one gets the idea that not much has changed in the twenty years since Said first observations of Western framing of Muslims and Karim's study. Karim identifies clear media framing patterns, very similar to Said's identification of these patterns in *Orientalism*. *Islamic Peril* is relevant insofar as it is much more detailed and less generalizing than "Covering Islam" and acknowledges that the media is not one monolithic entity and can function as a site of contestation between various views, despite the still overwhelming dominant discourse.¹⁶⁴ One of the main tenets of Karim's research is the fact that Western media, along with the myriad of misperceptions about Islam and Muslims, tend to focus on the negative aspects in some Muslim states, and identify Muslims with violence. In contrast, the author notes that the massive violence, which has shaped today's world order, such as colonization, is rarely questioned.¹⁶⁵ Similarly, there are several types of narratives (which Karim bases on the ideas of Edward Said, Jack Shaheen, Teun van Dijk and others), all of which place the discourse in dichotomous and polarized terms. According to Karim, the dominant cognitive models view Muslims and Islam as barbaric, hierarchical, heretic, emotional, primitive, ruled by religious frenzy and/or greed, anti-Western, patriarchal, tyrannical, instable, and generally in stark opposition to "the West" which is characterized by rationality, order, democracy, free speech,

and so on. The same observations have been made by numerous other scholars in the field.

Karim Karim also grapples with the misconceptions Westerners have about Oriental history and terminology, such as the true meanings behind “jihad” and the historical and social context of the Sunni-Shi’ite conflict (in many circumstances violent and militant Islamism is attributed to Shi’ites by the media in order to distinguish between “good” Muslims and “bad” Muslims)¹⁶⁶. By describing various instances in which the media have liberally used specific terms Karim shows how little distinction there is in identifying numerous very diverse situations, with no sensibility to the historical and social circumstances.

In Chapters Two and Three we have seen that Karim’s findings on this matter are very much congruent with the SZ’s and the Globe’s treatment of terms such as jihad, with the Globe showing even less sensitivity to “Muslim” histories and the journalists’ tendency to link culture to politics and history and explain current terrorist acts by individuals in socio-historical terms, while generalizing about so called “Muslim history”.

Another main argument in Karim’s book is the notion that Islam is presented as the new enemy in order to construct a post-Soviet threat after a vacuum created by the downfall of communism. Leaning on Gramsci, Karim maintains that the dominant discourses are not really concerned with areas such as Chechnya, but rather that the

dominant discourses [...] present Northern states as guardians of the global order, which terrorist elements form the South periodically threaten. Integration propagandists engineer world-wide consensus on the

legitimacy of the global hegemony of Northern powers by naming Southern terrorism as a global problem, by defining its causes as 'Oriental irrationality,' and then prescribing Northern military action as a solution.¹⁶⁷

Based on Teun van Dijk, Karim argues that the "image of the military other has accommodated different enemies in various periods"¹⁶⁸ and that in the absence of communism and National Socialism, "Islam seems to be the only other global ideology standing in the way of the complete triumph of Western capitalism."¹⁶⁹

At the same time the conflict between "Islam" and the "West" is portrayed as a millennial struggle and the new peril, and Karim suggests that this helps to erase the memory of the Cold War.

Two other observations are important here. The mainstream media's tendency to portray news in a hero-victim-villain construction does disservice to the Muslim-Western dialogue, as it draws on readers' emotions and sympathies, while drawing the spotlight to individuals rather than the larger social and political context.¹⁷⁰ This system of individualization of specific events and people, while almost ignoring the big picture is common in other instances as well. Often, as Karim proves, incidents such as hijackings are removed from their social context and attributed to religious frenzy, even if the demands of the hijackers or terrorists are entirely economic or political. In the same manner, news reports tend to focus on individuals, leaders, terrorists, or victims, without providing adequate contextual information, or any of the different causes of various distinct incidents and instead lumping completely separate incidents together into one problem. Especially the *Globe and Mail* tends to emphasize individuals from the hijackers to religious leaders to individual immigrants into Canada, while linking

culture with politics and economics, and thus maintaining the exact pattern as described by Karim. The *Süddeutsche* is guilty of this as well, but in a subtler and less sensational way than the *Globe*.

Similar to Karim Karim's study on the portrayal of Muslims in North American media, Elizabeth Poole has published a work on the portrayal of Muslims in Britain.¹⁷¹ Very much along the lines of both Said and Karim, Poole's analysis is even more detailed, because she incorporates three different approaches to media studies into her research. Poole combines a quantitative content analysis with qualitative analysis and a discourse analysis, all situated within a basic theoretical framework. In comparing various British newspapers' coverage, Poole concludes that coverage is varied, not homogenous, with each newspaper reflecting slightly different values and framing. The framing, Poole observes, is fairly consistent within each paper, and common themes such as the economy, inclusivity, loyalty and so on were central in all newspapers.

Analogous to Karim Karim's and Edward Said's research, Poole found that there

are some persistent ideas that have found their expression in coverage of British Islam: that Islam is static and that Muslims are resistant to progress, engage in antiquated and repressive practices that abuse human rights, and often use their religion to manipulative ends. The use of specific terminology and extreme individuals to reveal the hierarchy of access in which Muslims are unable to represent themselves is also apparent. That Islam is deemed an alien culture with the allegiances of its people held elsewhere is equally evident. Islam is given consistently as the prime motive for (anti-social) behaviour, which renders social causation with a group of people for this aspect of their identity

(Muslimness) and the prefers a solution based on control. The resulting picture of the more rational, humane, democratic and superior host country or culture is inevitable.¹⁷²

Elizabeth Poole notes the continued significance of the ideas of “Orientalism”, and argues that the portrayal of the internal “other” helps to maintain the existing hegemony, which is “functional in that it allows the Other to be managed”¹⁷³ and “it absolves responsibility for including them.”¹⁷⁴

Poole’s findings are even more detailed than Karim Karim’s and Edward Said’s in *Covering Islam*, and chapters Two and Three of this thesis seem to confirm the findings of Poole and Karim. As we have seen, both the *Globe* and *Mail* and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* highlight the differences between the non-Muslim majority and the Muslim minority more so than the commonalities, while over-generalizing and stereotyping certain “cultural” features. By portraying the rational, civilized, Christian Western world in contrast to the irrational and barbaric Islamic world, both newspapers adhere to the “Them vs. Us” attitude, which has been propagated for centuries and most recently by the US government, and which both newspapers claim to detest.

It seems as though the rhetoric and the message are incongruent in both the *Globe* and the *SZ*. The rhetoric consist of calls for solidarity with Muslims, attempts to increase acceptance of and interest in Muslims, and a number of close looks at adapted Muslims and their normal everyday behaviour as fellow citizens in the democratic West. The message, however, still leads us to believe that Muslims are quite different from us all in all, and that Islam has the potential

to ignite irrational behaviour and hatred towards the West, and poses an imminent threat to our peaceful co-existence.

Another sector of mass media research needs to be mentioned at this point, and it relates to the interactive process between media and the audience in the creation of meanings. If we take a look at the research of Karim H. Karim, Edward Said and Teun van Dijk, one comes to the conclusion that the media has been and still is inherently biased and prejudiced, that various factors from lack of knowledge, effort and understanding to language barriers, editing and media processes are so faulty that a simplified and stereotypical view of Islam and Muslims is almost inevitable, and that journalists, even if they mean well, seem to fall into the same traps again and again. From the general research on the political economy of mass media one would be likely to conclude that existing class differences and ownership of the media dictate the content and that this content is, in turn, based on the status quo, which serves the interest of the media moguls.

Other researchers are more interested in the findings of Elihu Katz, which have "a common focus on agency and a rejection of the notion that media text has a monolithic meaning for an atomized, passive audience"¹⁷⁵ and from which one can conclude

"that media texts provide a certain flow of cultural material from producers to audiences, who in turn use them in their lifeworld settings to construct a meaningful world and to maintain a common cultural framework through which intersubjectivity becomes possible, even among those who may never come into contact with one another."¹⁷⁶

Katz and others stress the fact that the audience is most likely not that easily manipulated merely by the mass media, and that the creation of meaning is interspersed with daily experiences, cultural background, education, and so on of the individual reader.

We come perhaps closest to the truth in saying that there is a bit of truth to all these ideas and types of research, and if we acknowledge that there has to be a variety of factors that need to be taken into account, including Orientalist images, various case studies, research on discourse, and the political economy of the mass media. I would also contend that, despite readers' personal educational, social and political background, stereotypical framing as produced by the SZ and even more so by the Globe, may have negative effects.

One could argue that it keeps the level of discussion and debate rather superficial, because a constant repetition of the same stereotypes makes a real dialogue not only impossible, but it makes the debate stagnant. As has been seen, Muslim history and culture are often taken out of context and simplified, conflicts are explained in religious terms and are wrongly dated back to ancient feuds. If the perpetuation of such stereotypes continues, Muslims will not be able to shake these beliefs about their various cultures and their religion, and without an understanding and acceptance of each other's cultures there can be no inter-cultural dialogue. Moreover, often minorities are forced to develop an understanding of the majority culture they live in, and are encouraged to

accept its norms, values, history, and so on. This is not so much the case for the majority, which is hardly forced to learn about the minority culture, and has the luxury of being able to remain ignorant. This means that it requires an effort on the side of the majority as well, and this also means that it is problematic for religious and political Western leaders to put all the responsibility for an understanding of the minority culture onto the minority itself.

Secondly, as has been proven by countless studies in the last years, negative stereotyping of the “other” results in increased hate crimes, and thus makes living together much more difficult. The fact that minorities are often associated with crimes when in the news has been proven to affect people’s preconceptions about people from other cultures. Especially in Germany, immigrants are often identified by their ethnic background in news about crime, as opposed to German criminals, which somehow gives the impression that the crime is linked to their ethnic background.

Thirdly, the perpetuation of the idea that non-Westerners need constant Western intervention and supervision is based on the idea that the other culture is inferior to the Western model, and that ‘we’ know what is best for other societies and cultures. This highly patronizing attitude has also been at the heart of colonial expansion in the last centuries, and is now in some circles accepted as being highly problematic. It is not quite clear, though, why educated journalism would want to ignore this and continue to maintain an air of Western superiority over other cultures?

Lastly, it is difficult to hold onto one's personal experiences and beliefs about other cultures in light of such an overwhelming bombardment with the same stereotypical framing over and over again, as there are far more news on a regular basis than most people come in contact with minorities every day. Even if there is a keen interest in another culture and society, much of the media and educational sources are fairly similar in their Western liberal leaning, and it seems almost impossible for individuals or the minority itself to try and counter this, especially when there exists a nervousness about contact with minorities among the majority.

The Globe and Mail and the Süddeutsche both convey a certain sense of identity of each group to both the majority and the minority groups, whether this be entirely conscious or not. The daily news could be seen as serving this need of providing information to the non-Muslim majority about the minority living in their midst and thus could have the potential to really teach the majority reader about these people "who [they] may never come in contact with". Not only do readers from the majority group get a sense of what "the typical Muslim" believes, looks like, does, aspires to, and so on, but the minority gets a sense of what it takes to be accepted into or even just tolerated by the majority group (i.e. a beardless, unveiled appearance, no association with Islamic groups or extracurricular activities, acceptance of Western ideals, abidance by Western law, and so on).

If both newspapers are acknowledged as one of the biggest paper in their respective countries and as opinion leaders, the findings of this thesis become a

bit worrisome. Despite continued research in the past thirty years on stereotyping, Orientalist images, media and minorities, and the specific interest of the *Süddeutsche* in particular in the role of the media, it looks as though the lack of detail and context and the continuous simplification of Muslims in the media is still going on as much as it has been at the time of Edward Said's *Orientalism*.

What is at the crux of all this research is the notion that Muslims have been and still are perceived as fundamentally behind the West, as inferior not only in terms of infrastructure and technology, but culturally. Apart from the political repercussions that such an attitude may have, it does not bode well for an equal co-existence between Muslims and non-Muslims in Canada and Germany.

This thesis has concentrated on questions of how two mainstream media in Germany and Canada deal with the representation of Muslim identity. In chapter one I introduced the relevant questions within this topic and some of the current research on racist discourse, as well as the methodology employed and reasons for this choice. Chapters two and three are case studies on the German newspaper the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the Canadian *Globe and Mail*, which I then compare in chapter four. Even though there are some differences in terms of what topics are covered, where the emphasis lies in the issues, and how various minorities and Muslims in general are portrayed, I found both the *Globe* and the *SZ* to be lacking in their abilities to distinguish between different Muslim cultures, religious beliefs, areas, and histories. Chapter five, finally, introduces

some of the most essential literature on this topic and my conclusions based on the quantitative research and the literature reviewed.

Returning to some of the research questions posed in the first part of this paper, it seems as though not much of the research done by scholars such as Edward Said and others has been taken to heart by the two mainstream media examined. The Western media, in the case of both the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the *Globe and Mail*, seem to be aware, at least to some extent, of the problems of stereotyping in media and the types of backlashes against minorities that are suspected to be partly a result of the media framing of visible minorities. As we have seen, specifically in the case of the *SZ*, some journalists for the *SZ* are fully aware of the media's role in the widespread ignorance about Muslims, Islam as a religion, and the lack of commitment towards a real dialogue between Muslims and Westerners and a better mutual understanding. Much of the research on Muslims and the media or Muslim and non-Muslim relations has been out for over thirty years. Even though journalists in both Canada and Germany are aware of the pitfalls of simplified reporting and stereotyping, they fall in the same traps as generations of journalists before them and use little of their potential to increase inter-cultural understanding. In comparison the two newspapers, despite some minor differences, follow surprisingly rigid patterns in framing ethnic identities and certain minority groups and rarely stray from assigning qualities, characteristics, belief systems, values, and so on to these groups. The ambivalent attitude displayed towards Muslims and minorities and the frequent call for solidarity with Muslims seems a tad bit hypocritical in light of the

continuous portrayal of Muslims as an inferior Other. All of this does not bode well for the creation of a truly democratic polyethnic society in either Germany or Canada.

By helping to maintain the essentialist ideas commonly accepted about Islam and Muslims, and applying all the ethnic stereotypes to certain groups as we have seen in chapters two and three, I would argue that both the *Globe and Mail* and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* engage in an Orientalist discourse which has been proven to have negative repercussions for Muslims inside Canada and Germany as well as abroad. As has been mentioned before, this analysis of the *Globe* and the *SZ* offers fresh evidence to the fact that mainstream Western ideas about Muslims are highly simplified and essentialist, and journalists seem to confuse culture with politics when they assume religion to be the foundation of terrorist political activities. Indeed, it seems as though the *Globe* and the *SZ* perpetuate the idea that there is a causal relationship between being Muslim and being prone to violence, especially in the case of the *Globe and Mail*, unless one's Muslim identity is influenced by Western ideals and principles (Western dress, belief in Western democracy, separation of religion from other parts of one's life/secularization) and far enough removed from traditional Islam as not to be a threat to non-Muslims.

What this thesis has achieved then is not so much adding new elements to the debate, with the exception that a comparison between the *Globe* and the *SZ* had not been done before. Rather, my findings reconfirm old patterns in media representation of Muslims and attest to the fact that there has been little change

in what Edward Said has coined Orientalist discourse. The relations between Muslims and Westerners have become increasingly strained since the airplanes crashed into the World Trade Centre on September 11th, and regardless of a new surge of interest in Islam and Muslims, the problems with media discourses on Muslims remain. At the same time September 11th could also be regarded as a new starting point for the framing of Muslims in mainstream media, with the possibility of greater sensitivity and depth to the issues. The current increase in interest in Islam could be utilized to tackle the problems of media discourse again and again, and to make non-Muslims more aware of the implications of Orientalist discourse within and outside of the media.

September 11th and the following backlashes against visible minorities have shown that Western attitudes towards Muslims have generally not been influenced by attempts of intercultural dialogue, at least not as much as one could have assumed before the tragedy. This is not to say that the general population approved of violent backlashes against minorities, or even supported such behaviour. Yet the general distrust towards Muslims that was felt following the attack and, as I would argue, can still be felt today is proof of the weaknesses of the intercultural dialogue and the dialogue about Muslims as it is currently in use, which is reason enough to continue addressing these issues.

Endnotes

¹ See for example Noam Chomsky, Znet at <http://www.zmag.org/ZNET.htm>, Fairness and Accuracy in the Media at <http://www.fair.org>.

² I prefer to adopt Will Kymlicka's term polyethnic, rather than the term multicultural. "Multicultural" is a rather vague term which can refer to anything from a policy to an ideal, and does not, as Kymlicka has shown in *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 10-33, quite capture what one would identify either Germany or Canada as. Kymlicka distinguishes between multicultural states, multi-national states and polyethnic states, on the grounds that there are various forms of minority groups in any modern state, which is not captured by the term multicultural. Canada and Germany are very different in terms of the stage of polyethnicity at which they are, in terms of the types of minorities who live in these two states, and the fact that Germany has no national minorities as Canada does. Thus the term polyethnic describes the state of both Germany and Canada at this point, and is well suited for a comparative study of the two countries.

³ I use the word mainstream liberal here in reference to newspapers, which reflect a slightly right-of-the-middle political ideal, based on capitalist ideals but neither right- nor left wing. The liberal worldview, as it is used in this thesis, is also characterized by a strong interest in individual rights, gender equality, human rights, and Judeo-Christian ideas or often secularism.

⁴ I hesitantly use the terms "Westerner," "the West," and "Muslim" throughout this thesis, because they are very general terms for people in large areas and from various cultures. I realize that by using these terms I may be contributing to the dichotomous use of language which I criticize in this thesis, and am at the same time negating the numerous differences and distinctions within both Muslims/Muslim societies and Westerners/Western societies. However, I have not found any other suitable terms which describe these areas very generally, and will be using "Westerners" and "Muslims" to include all culturally diverse groups, which in a very simplified way could be characterized as either "Western" or "Muslim"/"non-Western".

⁵ Teun Van Dijk. "Discourse in Society." Departament de Traducció i Filologia Barcelona, Spain. www.discourse-in-society.org/Racist%20Discourse.htm
www.discourse-in-society.org

⁶ Teun Van Dijk. "Racist Discourse." Departament de Traducció i Filologia Barcelona, Spain. www.discourse-in-society.org/Racist%20Discourse.htm

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² For example: "Two black men killed an Indian man on Thursday in a shooting outside a nightclub." As opposed to "A black man was killed last week in a shooting involving three men from Vancouver."

- ¹³ See for instance Kai Hafez, (ed.) *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalizing World* (Cresskill, N. J.: Hampton Press Inc., 1999).
- ¹⁴ Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- ¹⁵ V. M. Esses and R. C. Gardner, University of Western Ontario, "Multiculturalism in Canada: Context and Current Status." www.cpa.ca/cjbsnew/1996/ful_edito.html
- ¹⁶ See for instance James Winter, R. Hackett and R. Gruneau, with D. Gutstein, T. Gibson and NewsWatch Canada, as well as Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, among others.
- ¹⁷ Even though the end result of this study features little quantitative content and, due to time and space constraints, does not focus much on multiculturalism and nationalism.
- ¹⁸ Lance Bennett, *News: The Politics of Illusion* (New York; London: Longman, 1988).
- ¹⁹ Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 304-305.
- ²⁰ Kai Hafez, "Imbalances of Middle East Coverage: A Quantitative Analysis of the German Press" in *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalizing World*, ed. Kai Hafez, (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press Inc., 2000).
- ²¹ *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Argumente," Marketing Forschung Süddeutsche Zeitung, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/imperia/md/content/pdf/mediadaten/argumente.pdf>
- ²² Kai Hafez, "Imbalances of Middle East Coverage: A Quantitative Analysis of the German Press" in *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalizing World*, ed. Kai Hafez, (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press Inc., 2000), 182.
- ²³ *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Argumente," Marketing Forschung Süddeutsche Zeitung, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/imperia/md/content/pdf/mediadaten/argumente.pdf>
- ²⁴ Please see Chapter 4 for further comparison between the newspapers.
- ²⁵ It is important to note that my analysis of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* does not include photographs, since it was read on disc and not in the original hardcopy, and the disc did not include pictures and photographs.
- ²⁶ Irmgard Pinn, "Right-Wing Movements, Islam and the Media: The Influence of the Media on Ethnic-Religious Integration in Europe," in *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalizing World*, ed. Kai Hafez, (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press Inc., 2000), p. 93.
- ²⁷ Edith Pichler "Eine vergleichende Analyse der sozialstrukturellen Situation dreier Migrantengruppen in Deutschland," in *Die Einhegung des Anderen. Symbolische Gewalt, Assimilation und Ausgrenzung* ed. K. Eder., V. Rauer, O. Schmidtke, forthcoming 2004.
- ²⁸ Arzu Merali, "Islam and Modernity," BBC News: UK Edition. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/talking_point/special/islam/3132128.stm
- ²⁹ Stefan Ulrich, "Die netten jungen Maenner von nebenan: Attentaeter von New York und Washington lebten bis zu den Anschlaegen voellig unauffaellig," 17. September 2001.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, "Deckmantel Normalitaet: Terrornest im Hamburger Kiez," 14 September 2001.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Rudolph Chimelli, "Immer Wieder Schwarzer September: Die Attentaeter von New York kombinierten altbekannte terroristische Methoden mit neuesten Techniken," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13. September 2001.
- ³⁴ Ibid.

- ³⁵ Karim H. Karim, *Islamic Peril: Media and Global Violence* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2000) p.61.
- ³⁶ Ibid., p. 61-62.
- ³⁷ Ibid., p. 30-41.
- ³⁸ Evelyn Roll, "Anleitungen für den Todesflug in's Paradies: Er soll gefleht und gefastet haben in den Stunden, kurz bevor Tausende durch ihn den Tod fanden- Mutmassungen über den Weg eines Terroristen" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 29 September 2001.
- ³⁹ Heiko Flottau, "Mohammed, der Mustersohn: Vater Atta Wehrt Sich," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 26 September 2001.
- ⁴⁰ Präsident des Landesamtes fuer Verfassungsschutz
- ⁴¹ "Das Netz von Bin Laden Reicht bis nach Bayern: Gerhard Forster, Praesident des Landesamtes fuer Verfassungsschutz, zur Bedrohung durch Islamisten," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 14 September 2001.
- ⁴² The Chronicle World, "Media Racism and Stereotypes."
<http://www.thechronicle.demon.co.uk/archive/mediarac.htm>.
- ⁴³ Hubertus Gaertner, "Terroristen auf Abruf-Behrens: In Deutschland stehen hundert 'Schlaefer' bereit," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 21 September 2001.
- ⁴⁴ Hans Leyendecker, "Gotteskrieger im Ruheraum" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Montag, 24. September, 2001.
- ⁴⁵ The Globe and Mail. "Circulation-Readers." Media and Marketing Edition.
<http://www.globeandmail.com/advertise/circulation>
- ⁴⁶ Executive Business Pulse 2002 - Maritz/Thompson Lightstone & Co.
- ⁴⁷ <http://www.globeandmail.com/advertise/whyGlobeNewspaper.html>
- ⁴⁸ Executive Business Pulse (500+ Employee size companies - eng. Canada. Maritz/Thompson Lightstone & Co. - 2002).
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<http://www.globeandmail.com/advertise/circulation>
- ⁵⁰ <http://www.globeandmail.com/advertise/whyGlobeNewspaper.html>
- ⁵¹ Please note that unlike the analysis of the SZ, the material I had accessible for the Globe included photos.
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- ⁵⁶ Amos Oz, "Our Enemy is Fanaticism, not Islam," *The Globe and Mail* 13 September 2001.
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⁶⁵ Jeff Sallot, "Spectre of Racist Backlash Worries Many in Canada: IPSOS/REID/Globe and Mail/CTV Poll," *The Globe and Mail*, 25 September 2001.

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⁶⁸ Krista Foss, "Life Goes on in the Shadow of Death: Winnipeg Native Won't Quit N.Y. Despite the Daily Reminders of Attack", *The Globe and Mail*, 1 October 2001.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ In addition, the same page (A7) dedicates one quarter of it to an advertisement for a show on the history channel and features a large picture of Saddam Hussein's face, with the title "The Gulf War was over. But another battle was just beginning", which creates a link between the Gulf War and the War on Terrorism, despite the fact that the show is not on the War on Terrorism but on an UN intervention in the Gulf. In both "wars" the common feature is that the enemy is dark-skinned, Middle Eastern, and Muslim.

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⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ John MacLachlan Gray, "The Unbearable Lightness of Words," *The Globe and Mail*, 13 September 2001.

⁷⁴ William Johnson, "Why Are Muslims Involved in so Many Conflicts?" *The Globe and Mail*, 11 October 2001.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Michael Valpy, "Mullahs to Ponder Religious War's Meaning," *The Globe and Mail*, 19 September 2001.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Akhbar Ahmed, "Islam and Its Relations to the West After September 11th," Paper presented to the University of Victoria, 15 March 2002.

⁸⁰ Michael Valpy, "Does al-Qaeda Have the Right to Declare Jihad Against US?" *The Globe and Mail* 8 October 2001.

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⁸² Marcus Gee, "Bin Laden's Program Is a Big Idea Gone Wrong," *The Globe and Mail*, 29 September 2001.

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- ⁸⁹ Margaret Wenthe, "Tiptoeing Through Islam," *The Globe and Mail*, 2 October 2001.
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- ⁹³ Paul Adams, "Palestinian Refugees Celebrate in Streets: Political Leaders Condemn Carnage, Rush to Distance Their Organizations From Attacks," *The Globe and Mail*, 12 September 2001.
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- ⁹⁶ Mark MacKinnon, "Grateful Palestinians Show Loyalty: Refugees Point to Schools Fugitive Built, and to Power of his Wealth," *The Globe and Mail*, 18 September 2001.
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- ⁹⁹ See many of the articles and pictures, which portray Afghans and Pakistanis wearing ragged clothes, especially members of the Northern Alliance, who were in support of the U.S., but were seen as inadequately equipped with weapons, food, or clothes. See Geoffrey York, "Brandishing Their Kalashnikovs, Ragged Rebels Travel by Donkey," *The Globe and Mail*, 2 October 2001. and Geoffrey York, "Anti-Taliban Capital Lacks...Capital," *The Globe and Mail*, 1 October 2001.
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- ¹⁰⁵ John Stackhouse, "Ragtag Army Dubious Ally as West Girds for Battle" *The Globe and Mail*, 24 September 2001.
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- ¹⁰⁸ John Stackhouse, "50 Suspects Are Sought in U.S.-wide Terror Group; Hijackers Blended in Well in U.S.," *The Globe and Mail*, 15 September 2001.

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¹¹⁰ Doug Sanders, "Terrorists Exuded Air of Suburban Banality," *The Globe and Mail*, 20 September 2001.

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¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, 26 September 2001.

¹¹⁶ Jill Mahoney, "Canadian Drummer's Anti-U.S. Remarks Spark Angry Postings to Band's Web Site," *The Globe and Mail*, 26 September 2001.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ "Just Another Chance to Berate the Americans," *The Globe and Mail*, 3 October 2001.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Margaret Wente, "Two Reasons to Thank Sunera Thobani," *The Globe and Mail*, 4 October 2001.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, "Circulation-Readers," Media and Marketing Edition.

<http://www.globeandmail.com/advertise/circulation>

¹²⁶ see Chapter 2 and Kai Hafez. 2000. "Imbalances of Middle East Coverage: A Quantitative Analysis of the German Press" in Kai Hafez (ed.) *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalizing World*. (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press Inc.), 182.

¹²⁷ John Stackhouse, "50 Suspects Are Sought in U.S.-wide Terror Group; Hijackers Blended in Well in U.S.," *The Globe and Mail*, 15 September 2001.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Please note here that in later months, as a retaliatory war becomes more likely and eventually a reality, the SZ offers an array of critical voices and generally reflects the German populace, which was strongly opposed to military action in Afghanistan. At the time frame examined in this paper, the war on Afghanistan was only one of many options and not yet a clearly outlined likelihood.

¹³⁰ "Pflicht zur Freundschaft: Springer Ergänzt Leitlinien, die fuer Verlag und Redakteure Gelten," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 14 September 2001.

¹³¹ Wolf Schneider, "Solidarität im Übersoll: Springer's Neue Arbeitsverträge," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 20 September 2001.

¹³² Burkhard Müller-Ullrich, "Alles ist Wahr: Der Amerikanische Journalismus Will den Ernst Entdecken," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 24 September 2001 and Robert Jacobi, "Amerika ist Überall: Die Terroranschläge Haben den Blickwinkel der US-Medien und Ihres Publikums Erheblich Erweitert-für wie lange?" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 26 September 2001.

¹³³ See Hans Leyendecker, "Nichts Negatives: Das 'Pool-System' Amerikanischer Medien Garantiert den Militärs und der Politik Kontrolle ueber die

Kriegsberichterstattung," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 9 October 2001 and "Bush ist Nicht Feige: Amerikanischer Journalist Wird Nach Kritik an Präsidenten Entlassen," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 28 September 2001, as well as Willi Winkler, "Was Gibt's da zu Lachen? Antiamerikanismus Gehört sich nicht. Zuwiderhandlungen Werden ab Sofort Bestraft," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 22 September 2001 and "Maulkorb: Britische Regierung Erlegt Medien 'Zurückhaltung' auf," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27 September 2001.

¹³⁴ Jakob Augstein, "Deutsche, Wollt Ihr Ewig Beben? Der 11. September hat die Begriffe Verschoben: Wie die Medien Sich und ihr Publikum auf den Kampf Vorbereiten," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 29 September 2001.

¹³⁵ See Chapter 3.

¹³⁶ Miro Cernetig, "Islam's Wild Side," *The Globe and Mail*, 6 October 2001.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 3.

¹³⁸ Navid Kermani, "Vier aus einer Milliarde-Die Anderen: Warum der Islam ein Dankbares Feindbild Abgibt," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13 September 2001.

¹³⁹ Rudolph Chimelli, "Immer Wieder Schwarzer September: Die Attentaeter von New York kombinierten altbekannte terroristische Methoden mit neuesten Techniken," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13 September 2001.

¹⁴⁰ William Johnson, "Why Are Muslims Involved in so Many Conflicts?" *The Globe and Mail*, 11 October 2001.

¹⁴¹ Miro Cernetig, "Islam's Wild Side," *The Globe and Mail*, 6 October 2001.

¹⁴² Jeffrey Simpson, "Whither the 'Hypocrites' of the Muslim World?," *The Globe and Mail*, 10 October 2001.

¹⁴³ Mark MacKinnon, "Arabs Prepared for Holy War on U.S., Arab Activist Says," *The Globe and Mail*, 22 September 2001.

¹⁴⁴ Margaret Wente, "Tiptoeing Through Islam," *The Globe and Mail*, 2 October 2001.

¹⁴⁵ Kamal Al-Solaylee, "The Making of a Stereotype," *The Globe and Mail*, 3 October 2001.

¹⁴⁶ Mohamed Elmasry, "Neighbours as Collateral Damage: Terrorism's Aftershocks are Destabilizing society, as Muslim Canadians are targeted for stereotyping and abuse," *The Globe and Mail*, 14 September 2001.

¹⁴⁷ See chapter 5.

¹⁴⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books Edition Random House, 1979), xvii.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁵¹ Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 101ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 160.

¹⁶² See for example Kai Hafez, Elizabeth Poole, Karim H. Karim.

¹⁶³ Karim H. Karim, *Islamic Peril: Media and Global Violence* (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 2000).

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 24.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 28.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 121.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 120.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 129.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 128.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 92ff.

¹⁷¹ Elizabeth Poole, *Reporting Islam; Media Representations of British Muslims*.

(London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2002.)

¹⁷² Ibid., 250.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 251.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Jeffrey C. Alexander and Ronald N. Jacobs, "Mass Communication, Ritual and Civil Society" in *Media, Ritual and Identity*, edited by Tamar Liebes and James Curran

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¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 27.

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