KU LEUVEN
FACULTEIT THEOLOGIE EN RELIGIEWETENSCHAPPEN

MAKING SENSE OF
THE ATTACK ON CHARLIE HEBDO
A QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS
OF *DE STANDAARD* AND *AL ARABIYA*

Scriptie,
Master in de
wereldgodsdiensten, de
interreligieuze dialoog en de
religiestudie

Promotor

Prof. Dr. Mehdi AZAIEZ

Copromotor   door

Prof. Dr. Johan VERSTRAETEN   **Linde VAN GOETHEM**

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Linde VAN GOETHEM

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Linde Van Goethem, Making Sense of the Attack on Charlie Hebdo. A Qualitative Content Analysis of *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya*.

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Na de aanslag op Charlie Hebdo op 7 januari 2015 werd duidelijk dat mensen op heel verschillende manieren een betekenis geven aan en reflecteren over de oorzaken van een dergelijke gebeurtenis. Om deze reden werd besloten een kwalitatieve inhoudsanalyse uit te voeren van twee kranten, De Standaard (66 artikels) en *Al Arabiya* (33 artikels), aangevuld met enkele grafieken gebaseerd op een kwantitatieve analyse. Op deze manier zou het mogelijk worden om een beter begrip te krijgen van tenminste twee verschillende perspectieven op de aanslag op Charlie Hebdo, waarbij De Standaard een Westers perspectief reflecteert en *Al Arabiya* een Arabisch perspectief. Er werd gekozen voor een vergelijkende aanpak met als doel te zoeken naar gelijkenissen en verschillen tussen beide kranten. Hierbij moet opgemerkt worden dat het geenszins de bedoeling is een onderscheid te maken tussen een Arabische/Islamitische en een Westerse manier van denken.

Een analyse op basis van negen systematische vragen werd uitgevoerd op alle artikels uit beide kranten en nadien vergeleken. Het gaat om vijf descriptieve vragen (datum, auteur, lengte, publiek en context) en vier analytische vragen (teksttypes, thema's, overeenkomsten en evolutie) Hieruit bleek dat op veel vlakken de kranten gelijkend waren zoals bijvoorbeeld een sterke overeenkomst in de thema's die aan bod kwamen en de teksttypes. Daarnaast kwamen echter ook enkele verschillen naar boven zoals bijvoorbeeld verschillen in het doelpubliek van beide kranten die hoogstwaarschijnlijk geleid hebben tot verschillen in de nadruk die gelegd werd in de inhoud van de artikels op een specifiek thema.

Aangezien dit onderzoek uitgaat van een kwalitatieve onderzoeksmethode werd geopteerd voor een inductieve aanpak. Er werd dan ook besloten om een derde hoofdstuk in te voegen waarin nagegaan werd of de gevonden thema's gekoppeld konden worden aan bepaalde wereldbeelden of terug te vinden waren in theorie. Aangezien de aanslag op Charlie Hebdo gezien werd als een Islamitische aanslag op de Westerse democratische waarden, bleek dat in beide kranten het thema wortels van radicalisering sterk naar voren kwam. Er werd geopteerd voor het bekijken van verschillende radicaliseringstheorieën en deze te vergelijken met de resultaten uit beide kranten. Hieruit bleek dat bijna alle thema's die aan bod kwamen in de artikels ook naar voren kwamen in de literatuur.

Concluderend kan gesteld worden dat de analyse van de krantenartikelen leidde tot een beter begrip van de verschillende perspectieven op de aanslag op Charlie Hebdo. Het werd duidelijk dat er veel verschillende meningen bestaan met betrekking tot de oorzaken van dergelijke aanslagen, wat leidde tot verschillende meningen ten aanzien van beleid, dit zowel in De Standaard

als in *Al Arabiya*. Verder werd duidelijk dat er betekenisvolle verschillen bestaan tussen beide kranten met betrekking tot de nadruk die gelegd wordt op een bepaald thema. Dit neemt echter niet weg dat beide kranten zich focussen op een andere zijde van dezelfde munt: het tegengaan van verdere radicalisering en het vermijden van terroristische aanslagen in de toekomst.

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INTRODUCTION

After the attack on the offices of the French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo on January 7th 2015 and the following days, referred to as "terror in Paris", it became clear to me that there was a high amount of variation between people's responses and overall perspectives on this event. In this research, I will try to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of such a variation by reflecting upon it more deeply. To do this, I needed to find a method that would allow me to actually take a closer look at, at least, two differing perspectives within their given contexts. For this reason, I chose the approach of a qualitative content analysis of articles from the two newspapers *De Standaard* (representing a Western perspective) and *Al Arabiya* (representing an Arabic perspective).

I believe it is important to understand the ways in which people react and reflect upon atrocious events, such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo, to be able to come to a better understanding of these societies' cultural reflections on said attack. Obviously, I do not want to divide between societies or groups of people. I simply want to come to a better understanding of the both of them. Although sometimes a generalization is made to make the analysis more comprehensive, this means that I am aware that these are generalizations that do not reflect the heterogeneity of said societies and the different meanings people attach to an event.

The first chapter of this research consists of a description of the background of Charlie Hebdo and the events on January 7th, 8th and 9th. The second chapter will go deeper into the research questions and methodology. The research questions, the concrete methods used, the data collection and the way in which this data will be analysed, by looking at the systematic questionsn, will all be described in this chapter. The third chapter encompasses an analysis of articles on the subject found in both *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard*, and a comparison of both newspapers. In the fourth and last chapter, I will look at the ways in which these findings could be placed within existing literature on the subjects that appear in the articles.

CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT AND EVENTS

The attack on Charlie Hebdo in Paris on January 7th 2015 was the inspiration for this research. Immediately some questions presented themselves about the meaning of such an event and the way in which people interpret or should interpret it. It seemed the most interesting to focus on a media analysis of the event, because there was an enormous response all over the world, initiated and cultivated by the media. I chose to use different media from different parts of the world to be able to compare a "European" to an "Arabic" perspective on the event and to see if there is a difference between both of them or not. Which media will be used and the reasons why these media have been chosen will follow in the next chapter on questions and methodology. It has to be clear that it is not the purpose of this research to divide between "Western people" and "Muslims", or between "Western civilization" and "Arabic civilization". The object is to come to a better understanding of how people interpret atrocious events such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo, by analysing the way in which they reflect upon this event. To do this, it seems important to come to a better understanding of what exactly happened in Paris on January 7th and the days that followed. First of all, there will be a short background of the magazine Charlie Hebdo itself. This way, it will be possible to come to a better understanding of the reasons for the attack on the January 7th. Next, I will give an objective account of the events to sketch the context of the articles I will use for my analysis.

1. CHARLIE HEBDO[1]

Charlie Hebdo is a satirical magazine that sympathizes with radical far-left ideas and is famous for its cartoons, which mock and provoke all ideologies and religions, including the left-wing parties. It can be placed in a very long French tradition of comic strips and satire, as a type of humour that is silly and mean ("*bête et méchant*") and provokes the establishment. The magazine was founded in 1970 after its precursor Hara Kiri, which became famous in the 1960s, was banned for mocking the death of former president Charles de Gaulle. The name refers to the character Charlie Brown from the Peanuts comics and Hebdo is the short version of *hebdomodaire* (weekly). Charlie Hebdo did not publish any magazines between 1981 and 1992 due to a lack of resources because of the limited amount of readers. In 1992 it rose from its ashes and continued its path as if it had never been gone. After 9/11 the magazine started focusing more on Islam and radical Islamism. In 2006 the magazine became famous because of the republication of different Muhammad cartoons from the Danish paper *Jyllands-Posten,* which had led to protests amongst Muslims all over the world. This led to the indictment of the magazine by different French Muslim Associations ("Great Mosque of Paris" and the "Union of Islamic Organisations of France"). However the judge, who said the cartoons referred to radical Islam and not Islam as a whole, dismissed the case. In 2011 the magazine published a special version, called "Charia Hebdo", in response to the election of the Islamic party

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[1] M. GIBSON, *The Provocative History of French Weekly Newspaper Charlie Hebdo* (7th January 2015); http://time.com/3657256/charlie-hebdo-paris-attack/ (entry 16th July).; BBC NEWS, *Charlie Hebdo and its place in French journalism* (8th January 2015); http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-15551998/ (entry 16th July).; UNDERSTANDING CHARLIE HEBDO CARTOONS, *Understanding Charlie Hebdo Cartoons* (2015); http://www.understandingcharliehebdo.com/ (entry 16th July).; L. DE ROY, *Charlie Hebdo, een bewogen geschiedenis* (7th January 2015); http://deredactie.be/cm/vrtnieuws/buitenland/1.2201928 (entry 16th July).

"Ennahda" in Tunisia. This led to the firebombing of the editorial office and the hacking of the website on November 2nd of that year, on the same day the magazine was published. Luckily no one was injured. After this, Charlie Hebdo continued publishing cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad and was discredited for it. Although the Charlie Hebdo magazine has a limited circulation of only 45,000 – 60,000 copies, it belongs in the heart of the French culture being a symbol for the freedom of press.

2. JANUARY 7TH UNTIL JANUARY 9TH: TERROR IN PARIS

This section will give an objective description of the events based upon the VRT and VTM news and *De Standaard*. I chose to use the VRT (*Het Journaal*) and VTM (*VTM Nieuws*) 7 o'clock newscasts[2]. These are competing channels in Flemish television and are easily accessible for the researcher, being a Flemish student. VRT, "*Vlaamse Radio en Televisieomroep",* is the Dutch speaking public-service broadcaster and VTM, "*Vlaamse Televisie Maatschappij"*, is the main Dutch speaking commercial television station. Furthermore, I used articles from *De Standaard* because this is a newspaper that is easily accessible for the researcher and it is one of the quality newspapers of the Flemish region. In addition, articles from *Al Arabiya* were used because it is an easy accessible English Arab News Channel. Both papers are the papers that will be used for the media analysis. You will find more information about this in the next chapter. I decided to use only the four sources mentioned above to be able to come to a cohesive and comprehensive description of the events in Paris. Regarding the time frame I decided to use articles from January 8th (7th for *Al Arabiya*) until January 21st[3]. This to give the news channels some time to analyse the attack on Charlie Hebdo and to be able to obtain some more background on the attackers themselves and the developments in Paris. I chose to use only the television newscasts from January 7th, 8th and 9th, the days of the events themselves.

A. JANUARY 7TH: THE ATTACK ON CHARLIE HEBDO

On January 7th at 11.00 a.m. there was a weekly editorial meeting at the office of Charlie Hebdo. Around 11.30 a.m. Corinne Rey, one of the cartoonists better known as Coco arrived a little later at the meeting. She let in two heavily armed masked men who tried to crack the code of the building. They went directly to the meeting room and opened gunfire. They killed nine members of Charlie Hebdo and one cleaner. Afterwards, it became clear that they shouted *Allahu Akbar* (الله أكبر: "God is the greatest") and said they handled in name of Al Qaeda. They also stated not to shoot at women. After their killing spree they ran into the streets and killed a policeman in cold blood before fleeing in a black Citroën C3. The police found the getaway car later that day. In it were several jihadist flags, some Molotov cocktails and the identity card of one of the perpetrators. This led to a nation-wide manhunt of no less than 88,000 men for the three suspects named

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[2] Retrieved from STEUNPUNT MEDIA, *Uw aanspreekpunt en expertisecentrum voor nieuws en media* (2015); http://www.steunpuntmedia.be (entry March 2015).
[3] You can find an exhaustive list of the articles used in the bibliography. I decided not to make concrete references because this would make the context section confusing and less readable. For this reason, I analysed the television newscasts and articles by hand to come to an objective, coherent and chronological description of the events.

Chérif and Saïd Kouachi, two brothers, and their brother-in-law Hamyd Mourad. The latter turned himself in as soon as he heard he was being searched for.

The attack was quickly labelled a terrorist attack due to the testimonies of eyewitnesses, who talked about the exclamations of the perpetrators, and due to the nature of the attack that appeared to be highly prepared and professional. Next to that it was instantly believed to be an attack on the republican values of France (*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*) and especially the freedom of press. Although there were different disciples of both IS and Al-Qaeda, who immediately heralded the attack, an official statement of Al Qaeda Yemen (Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula or AQAP) was only published on the 9th of January.

On the evening of January 7th, there was a first gathering at the *Place de la République* in Paris and in other cities around the world to sympathize with the twelve victims that fell that day: Frédéric Boisseau, Franck Brinsolaro, Jean Cabut (Cabu), Elsa Cayat, Stéphane Charbonnier (Charb), Philippe Honoré, Bernard Maris, Ahmed Merabet, Moustapha Ourrad, Michel Renaud, Bernard Verlhac (Tignous) and Georges Wolinski. At this gathering, many people held a pen above their heads as a symbol for freedom of speech and to let the terrorists see that the pen is their weapon. Simultaneously, there was a wave on social media under the hash tag #JeSuisCharlie, followed by many other hash tags such as #JeSuisAhmed. By condemning the attack as being atrocious and barbaric, many world leaders from different countries showed their sympathies with the victims and their survivors. On the first Sunday after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, January 11th, there was a procession, "*une marche pour l'histoire",* of about 1.3-1.7 million people for the Republican values in the heart of France, in which almost all world leaders walked together for unity.

B. JANUARY 8TH AND 9TH: MONTROUGE, PORTE DE VINCENNES AND DAMMARTIN-EN-GOËLE

On the morning of January 8th, there was a shooting in Montrouge, a little village in the Southern Parisian suburbs. A gunman with an automatic rifle opened fire and killed the policewoman Clarissa Jean-Philippe. At first, there was no concrete evidence that the shooting was related to the terrorist attack the day before. Later, it became clear that the attacker was called Amedy Coulibaly and had associations with the Kouachi brothers. Additionally, on the morning of January 8th the brothers Kouachi robbed a fuel station and stole some food and a car in Villers-Cotterêts, a small village in Picardy in Northern France.

On the morning of January 9th the Kouachi brothers stole another car and then hid themselves in a printing office in Dammartin-en-Goële, around 10 kilometres northeast of the Charles de Gaulle Airport. It was believed that they had taken one hostage, the chief of the printing shop, but later it became clear that the Kouachi brothers did not know about the hostage because he had hidden himself in a box. This led to a siege of the town, in which schools were evacuated and people were told to stay inside. Some time later that day, BFMTV (a French news agency) phoned the printing shop and managed to speak to Chérif Kouachi. He seemed to be very calm and told the station that they belonged to Al Qaeda Yemen, that they only killed soldiers, no civilians, and that the Charlie Hebdo editorial office staff should be seen as soldiers. Last but not least, he told them that he and

his brother wanted to die as martyrs, making it very clear that they would not turn themselves in.

Meanwhile Amedy Coulibaly took hostages at a Jewish supermarket at the Porte de Vincennes in Paris around 1 p.m. Coulibaly phoned BFMTV himself to tell them that he belonged to Islamic State (IS) and said he did not kill civilians, only soldiers, referring to the on-going problems between Israel and Palestine. Then he told them to liberate the Kouachi brothers; otherwise he would kill all hostages. In the supermarket a young Muslim, Lassana Bathily, who works there as a shop assistant, saved some people by putting them in one of the refrigeration rooms. His name showed up in the media, in which people considered him a hero. Around 5 p.m., there was a simultaneous action in both the printing shop in Dammartin-en-Goële and the supermarket at the Porte de Vincennes. The police and other forces opened fire at both places. In Dammartin both Chérif and Saïd Kouachi were killed, luckily there were no other casualties. In Porte de Vincennes Amedy Coulibaly was killed. Alas, Coulibaly killed four other people before the siege.

C. INFORMATION ABOUT THE PERPETRATORS

Chérif Kouachi, also known as Abou Issen, was born on November 28th 1982 in Paris. He was the younger of two brothers: Saïd Kouachi was born on September 7th 1980. Both were abandoned by their Algerian parents at a very young age and were put in foster care. Chérif is the one who was known by the intelligent services for his role in different terrorist networks. In 2005 he was arrested before he could go to fight U.S. troops in Iraq. He met Amedy Coulibaly in prison where they were influenced by Djemal Beghal (founder of *"Tafkir wal Hidja"*, predecessor of Al Qaeda), a charismatic radical preacher who was prisoned for plotting an attack on the U.S. embassy in Paris. Chérif was released from prison. In 2008 he was charged and convicted for terrorism and sentenced to three years in prison, with a suspended period of 18 months. In 2010 both Kouachi brothers were linked to, but not prosecuted for, the plot for a prison escape by Smain Ait Ali Belkacem (GIA). Saïd Kouachi stayed under the radar for a longer time but it is known that he went to Al Qaeda camps between 2009 and 2013 and that he studied at Sana'a's (Yemen) al-Iman University where he was under the influence of a radical preacher called Abdel Majid a-Zindani. The third suspect Hamyd Mourad, born in 1996, was wrongly linked to the attack due to the fact that his sister Hyzazana Hamyd was Chérif's wife. Hyzzana Hamyd seemed to have contact with Hayat Boumeddiene, Amedy Coulibaly's wife, who probably is in Syria at the moment. This knowledge led to an indication of an alliance between the Kouachi brothers and Coulibaly. At the time of the articles not much more was known about Amedy Coulibaly. He did appear in a video that was put online on January 11th, stating that he pledged allegiance to the Caliphate (IS)[4]. Furthermore, he affirms the connection between the attack on Charlie Hebdo by the Kouachi brothers and his own attacks and states to have financed both of them. He legitimizes the attacks by referring to France's involvement in the war against IS (vengeance) and accuses it of killing civilians.

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[4] You can watch the video here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFJ6DYOqypg&bpctr=1437061840

CHAPTER 2: QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

Now that we have a better understanding of the background of Charlie Hebdo and the events on the 7th, 8th and 9th January, it is time to go a little deeper into the questions and methodology. In this chapter follows a thorough description of the development of the research questions, the concrete methods of analysis, the data collection and the systematic questions used to analyse every article.

1. DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The original idea for this research was to look at the ways in which the media reflected upon a tragic event such as the London bombings on July 7th 2005. In this case, it was the idea to look at the way in which people reflected upon violence and more specifically suicide terrorism. By doing this, it should have been possible to come to a better understanding of different condemnations and legitimations (for example, the legitimation of a suicide bombing by the perpetrators themselves) of the use of certain kinds of violence towards the other. It was not the object to condemn one way or the other, but to try to understand all different parties involved, including both victims and perpetrators. The terrible attack on Charlie Hebdo on January 7th 2015 made it impossible to ignore the actuality of "radical Islamists" and their actions in the Middle East and Europe. As mentioned before, I have chosen to focus on a media analysis, due to the enormous response all over the world, initiated and cultivated by the media. This made it interesting to look at different ways of interpreting the event. Evidently, this meant that it was necessary to change the subject of this research somehow. Instead of looking at violence and suicide terrorism, it seemed to be better to start from scratch and let the chosen data speak for itself.

Therefore, there is no concrete or specific research question, meaning a question that bares in itself a specific theme or topic. Such a question would mean a limitation of the research. By this, I mean that at the very beginning of the research there were a lot of expectations about the topics and themes that would appear during the analysis of the data. To give some examples: there was the expectation to find opinions about violence and the legitimate use of violence, the expectation to find thoughts on the notion of freedom and what is meant when talking about it, and the expectation to see a discussion about the radicalization of Muslims in European societies. Although most of these themes appeared in the analysis of the data, it seemed important not to specifically search for them. This way, it would be possible not to overlook other themes that might be important as a result of being blinded by one's own expectations.

A. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I decided to make use of broad research questions in which there is no reference to specific expectations except the expectation to find some structure or keywords. The research question is, *which are the topics that come up by analysing the data?* By using this question as the basic question of the research, it should be possible to come to a more or less objective analysis of the data in which the data is allowed to speak as much as possible for itself. A second research question will be, *is it possible to categorize the topics*

found? By categorizing the topics, I hope to be able to come to a better understanding of the ways in which different authors reflect upon the attack on Charlie Hebdo. Furthermore, this would lead to the possibility of finding larger or more abstract themes or clusters, in which the topics could be combined. This way, it would become possible to search for are relations between the topics and clusters. This second question will be partly answered in the first section of the analysis, which is a more descriptive part, and partly in the second section of analysis, which will handle a deeper analysis of the data and reflections on the data. By analysing the data based on these research questions, I hope to achieve a better understanding of the different perspectives on the event and the discussions this event has provoked.

Last but not least, I want to look for certain categories that reflect an on-going discourse in society and to see if it is possible to link the opinions found in the article to theory. This means that in the final chapter, I will try to answer the question, *do these categories reflect or refer to certain worldviews; and is it possible to find them in theory?* As you can see, this is an inductive approach; more information about this follows in the next section. The word "theory" is used to refer to certain sociological or philosophical theories would be linked to the data. To give an example, some articles talk in one way or another about identity construction, which is a very interesting theme and could be linked to on-going research and different theories about identity and the self. This means that often the articles do not explicitly refer to a certain theory or a certain philosopher/sociologist but that it is possible to put these themes and the way in which they are written upon in a 'theory'. I am aware that this last question will not be easy to answer and will be a lot harder to analyse objectively. This because I will move on to more abstract and deeper reflections on the data based on both the data and personal affection with the topics, which means that it will be influenced by my background in philosophy and religious studies.

I want to make clear that I have decided to make use of these research questions for the simple reason that I wanted to be able to obtain as much information as possible from the data used to analyse. By not using one specific question, I should be able to come to more objective information and to come to unexpected ideas, realizations and concepts. The reason for deciding to look at the representations of the terrorist attack on Charlie Hebdo in the media is above all out of curiosity: *how do people react to the world around them? How do they make sense of such an event?* By analysing the data, I hope to be able to answer these questions. By looking at the media representations of a tragedy that seems to have struck the heart of the European world, I hope to come to a better understanding of our societies but also of other societies, as they exist in the Arabic world. I am convinced that such tragic circumstances are very interesting for analysis and can tell us a lot about how people make sense of such events in a globalized world, in which almost everyone hears about them and has the possibility to reflect upon them. This does not mean, though, that I am not aware of the diversities between people in various parts of the world or that I am not aware that there might be contrasting representations due to both power mechanisms and cultural differences. Although these are interesting subject, it is not the object of this research unless it comes up by analysing the data. What I want to make clear is that I believe that it is only possible to come to a better understanding of such events by

analysing the different perspectives on such an event. To truly understand, if possible, means for me to listen to as many voices throughout the world as possible. By looking at all these perspectives I believe it could be possible to come to a better understanding of the others and ourselves.

B. CONCLUSION

To summarize, in the process of developing a concrete research question to be able to come to a better understanding of different perspectives on an atrocious event such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo on January 7th, it became clear that a specific question would only limit the research. For this reason, I decided to use some very broad questions in which there are no concrete presuppositions of what would or should be found in the data analysed. Three basic questions came up:

1. Which are the topics that come up by analysing the data?
2. Is it possible to categorize the topics found?
3. Do these categories reflect or refer to certain worldviews; and is it possible to find them in theory?

It must be clear that these broad research questions need a very specific research method. A description and legitimation of these methods will be given in the next section. Furthermore, the nature of these research questions asks for the development of more systematic questions that would enable me to come to a systematic analysis of the data. These questions will be defined after the description of the methods and the data collection.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

It was not easy to find a method for this research. Initially, I thought I could make use of a discourse analysis but after reading and thinking about it, it was clear that such a way of analysing is not easy. Furthermore, are there so many different methods that fall under the broad term "discourse analysis" that it would be necessary to come to a more specific way of analysing. Because there were a lot of expectations of what should be found in the data, it was clear that letting these expectations lead the research would probably limit it, as explained in the previous section. This made it necessary to use a method that would enable me to look at the data itself and to let it speak without assumptions about the possible topics in it. I am aware that these expectations could still influence this research and I have to state that it was not easy to exclude them but it was fascinating and eye opening to look at the texts with an open and empty mind, as much as possible. After developing the research questions as stated above, it became clear that the best option would be a qualitative content analysis. This because it would give me the space to develop my own categories and to let the data speak for itself up to the hilt. Therefore, I opted to do a qualitative analysis but this does not mean that there will be no quantitative measurements included. Some of the systematic questions hold in themselves a need for statistics, for example, the date of the articles, the number of words or information about the writers. For this reason, I used charts that were made with the help of Microsoft Excel.

I have chosen to use this program because other more advanced programs are hard to handle for a beginner and are often not free to use. The use of some statistics should make some of the analyses more clear and are a valuable supplement for and often a foundation of the qualitative methods used in this project.

A. QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

This section will talk about the reasons to choose for a qualitative content analysis. Because this method is a combination of two methods, namely a qualitative analysis and a content analysis, I will look at both of the parts as a whole. Because there was a lot of literature about these methods, I chose to use one handbook to be able to come to a comprehensive description of the methods used. This handbook is called "The practice of Qualitative Research" and is written by Sharlene Nahy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy[5].
　　　Although it seemed clear that the best way to answer the research questions stated above would be a qualitative approach, there are some words needed to legitimize this choice. First of all, it is important to understand what is meant by a qualitative approach. A good description of what it contains is the following,

> "Qualitative researchers are after meaning. The social meaning people attribute to their experiences, circumstances, and situations, as well as the meanings people embed into texts and other objects, are the focus of qualitative research. (…) More than a concept or a series of techniques that can simply be employed, qualitative research is an intellectual, creative, and rigorous craft that the practitioner not only learns but also develops through practice"[6].

It is clear that the way in which people search for meaning or make meaning of an event, such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo, is the underlying question of this research. Furthermore, should it be clear that this research is in a way explorative because the subject has not been examined before and that it is a learning experience for me.

1. Interpretative and inductive approach

Due to the nature of the research questions, it became clear that this research needed an interpretative approach. These are approaches that, "presuppose meaning is constructed via the interaction between humans or between humans and objects. Therefore, meaning does not exist independent of the human interpretive process. Researchers working from interpretive traditions value experience and perspective as important sources of knowledge"[7]. By looking at the different perspectives of different writers upon the attack on Charlie Hebdo, it should be possible to come to a better understanding of this event itself. This means that I believe that, for example, an attack can only be a terrorist attack in as far as it is seen by the bystanders, in this case the writers of *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard*, as committed by terrorists. I am aware that this is a very specific way of

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[5] S.N. HESSE-BIBER & P. LEAVY, *The Practice of Qualitative research (Second Edition)*, Los Angeles, SAGE Publications, 2011.
[6] S.N. HESSE-BIBER & P. LEAVY, *The Practice,*, p. 4.
[7] S.N. HESSE-BIBER & P. LEAVY, *The Practice*, p. 17.

thinking about reality and that it could have an influence on this research in such a way that I will be focused on the interpretations of the event and not on the actual event itself.

As mentioned before, I decided to use an inductive approach, which is compatible with an interpretative approach. With an inductive approach is meant an, "(…) approach (…)[that] generates theory directly out of the data"[8]. By choosing an inductive approach, the process of this research has been determined. As you can see, after the description of the event, I constructed some research questions. These research questions led to choice for the qualitative method described in this section. In the upcoming sections and chapters you will find the reasons to choose for a specific data set, after which the data will be analysed based on some systematic questions constructed for this research. In the final chapter follow some commentaries that have something to do with bigger theories or discourses found in the data. This way, it would be possible to come to a better understanding of the data by framing them in theory. Furthermore, this means that it would have been interesting to add an additional chapter in which the theory would be linked again to the data. By re-examining the same dataset in the light of the theories found after a first reading, it could be possible to come to an even better understanding of the data. Due to the need for limitation of this research, this will not be done.

2. Content analysis

Because qualitative analysis could be conducted using a lot of different methods, such as in-depth interviews or focus groups, I needed to find a qualitative method that would enable me to analyse texts. It is important, though, that this means that I believe that it is possible to understand society by looking at material items such as texts. This means that I believe that, "(…) we can learn about social life, whether it be norms or values or socialization or social stratification, by looking at the things we produce that reflect macro social processes and our worldview"[9]. First of all, is content analysis seen as a hybrid method, meaning that it can be both quantitative and qualitative or combining the two, as I will do in the analysis of the data. Furthermore, is, "[t]he strength of this method (…) that it enables researchers to examine patterns and themes within the objects produced in a given culture"[10]. By looking at the texts, I should be able to conduct certain codes that could be placed under topics or themes that will be examined more closely by referring to the articles. I did not find a concrete method that explained how a text should or should not be coded but I did find some hints in the handbook mentioned above. I decided to use codes that were named in the texts themselves (keywords), referred to as "literal codes". By looking at these keywords, it was possible to find some bigger topics or themes, referred to as "interpretative analytical codes" and to look at associations between these topics[11]. As you will see in the analysis, I used of Adobe InDesign to make some diagrams in which the topics are categorized. Obviously, this is only one component of the analysis but it is a good example of the way in which I conducted this research.

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[8] S.N. HESSE-BIBER & P. LEAVY, *The Practice*, p. 5.
[9] S.N. HESSE-BIBER & P. LEAVY, *The Practice*, p. 227.
[10] S.N. HESSE-BIBER & P. LEAVY, *The Practice*, p. 233.
[11] S.N. HESSE-BIBER & P. LEAVY, *The Practice*, p. 233, p. 311.

B. COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Due to the nature of the event under analysis, I chose to use a comparative approach. It could have been possible to do a media analysis of only one newspaper or of different newspapers in one society (for example, to use only Flemish newspapers) and this would have been interesting but the attack on Charlie Hebdo being seen as an attack of '"radical Islamists" on the "ground values" of the French, and by extension European/Western societies, made clear that it might be more interesting to compare different perspectives of different nations (for example Belgium vs. Saudi Arabia) or groups ('Western' views vs. 'Arab' views) on the event. By looking at different media from different parts of the world, it would be possible to come to a better understanding of both similarities and differences in interpretation and a better understanding of different societies. Comparative research can be seen as, "a way to improve the understanding of society through comparing other systems, structures, cultures and patterns of thought and action"[12]. Or as elsewhere stated it, "[a]ims [to] include improving understanding of one's own country; improving understanding of other countries (…); improving international understanding"[13]. Learning about the other can be seen as a way to learn about one's self.

Furthermore, the underlying goal of a comparative approach is, "to search for similarity and variations between the entities that are the object of comparison"[14]. For this research different articles from two different newspapers were chosen (more about the data collection follows in the next section), which means that a comparative approach enables me to look at differences and similarities within one paper (intra-) and between two papers (inter-). To be able to make a clear comparison, it seems necessary to limit the research to a case study, namely the attack on Charlie Hebdo, and to use a standardized set of questions that will be used to describe all articles. For this reason, I resolved to make use of systematic questions, which will be described later. This way, it became possible to compare the perspectives on the event due to the equivalence of the analysis. Looking at both differences and similarities within and between papers makes it possible not to fall in a typical pitfall of comparative research, namely, "(…) the search for differences only serves to exacerbate national stereotypes, overstating internal homogeneity while underplaying heterogeneity, ambiguity and borderline phenomena"[15]. As repeatedly stated before, generalizations will occur to make it easier to compare but looking at internal differences makes it possible not to see both newspapers as a homogenous whole. It is for this reason that I will not only look at differences, with the danger to divide between perspectives or groups, but also at similarities.

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[12] J. G. BLUMLER & M. GOREVITCH, in M. OLLER, & D. BARREDO, *International Comparative Studies: Towards the Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Methods*, in *European Scientific Journal* 9:17 (2013) 207-228, p. 212.
[13] S. LIVINGSTONE, "Comparative Research" in *On the Challenges of Cross-National Comparative Media Research*, in *European Journal of Communication* 18:4 (2003) 477-500, p. 479.
[14] L. GIVEN (ed.), "Comparative Research" *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, Thousand Oakes, Sage, 101-104, p. 101.
[15] S. LIVINGSTONE, *On the Challenges*, p. 479

3. DATA COLLECTION

It took quite some time to decide which media should be used for analysis. At first, I thought about an analysis of both television and newspapers but this would take the research too far. For this reason, I decided to make use of newspapers in text format. Because of the open research questions, I thought it best to analyse two newspapers. This because an analysis of more newspapers would give us an amount of data that would be too much to be analysed in a short time period and by only one researcher. I also considered an analysis of only one newspaper but in the end I realised that it would be more interesting to be able to use the comparative approach mentioned above. This led me to the question which newspapers should be used.

I thought it would be interesting to analyse one Flemish paper because Dutch is my mother tongue and it would be easier to access these papers as a Flemish student than to find access to papers from another region or another country. I also thought it highly important to analyse a quality newspaper, which meant there was a choice between *De Standaard*, *De Morgen* and *De Tijd*. In the end, *De Standaard* was opted because this paper was the most easily accessible simply because I have a subscription and would be able to have access to both the morning paper as the on-line version. For the analysis, I finally chose to only use morning papers. Regarding the second newspaper, I thought it would be interesting to look at an Arab newspaper because of the nature of the event being an attack by Muslims or 'Islamists' on the French society. By looking at an Arab newspaper, it would be possible to look at different perspectives on the event and to see if there are differences or similarities between them. The second newspaper chosen is *Al Arabiya*. This paper was chosen because it is easily accessible via Internet and because it is in English. Another option would have been *Al Jazeera* but *Al Arabiya* has an easier on-line access and it was not possible to obtain the paper versions of one of them.

I am aware that this work and a comparative approach would be more interesting if I were able to use the Arabic versions of the newspapers but, unfortunately, it was not an option to have these papers be translated. Next to that, it would have been very interesting to use a wider range of newspapers from different regions (for example, more Flemish papers, other papers from France...) but this option was discarded due to the lack of time and resources.

A. PRESENTATION OF THE NEWSPAPERS

In this section, it is the objective to introduce the two chosen newspapers. By writting down some background of the papers, it should be possible to come to a better understanding of these papers and of the articles used to analyse. Every newspaper has its own points of view and has a specific target audience, which means that the background of a newspaper could say a lot about the articles that are published in it.

1. De Standaard[16]

De Standaard is a Flemish quality newspaper that has existed for quite some time. It came to existence in May 1914 but was only published for the first time on the 4th of December 1918 due to the outbreak of the First World War. It was formed by the Flemish intellectuals who rebelled against the use of the French language for all administration and education in Flanders. They wanted education in Dutch for everyone. In the inter war period between the First and Second World War it became one of the most important newspapers in Belgium and was known for its approval of the neutral position of King Leopold III, its anti-communist position and the fact that they were against the New Hedonism of Germany (Hitler). Afterwards, there was a period in which *De Standaard* became more and more neutral but this did not last that long and *De Standaard* went back to its basic values and supported the Flemish and Catholic cause. It was also known for its progressive writers. In 1976 NV *De Standaard* went bankrupt and was saved by, amongst others, the journalists themselves. They kept an eye on the basic principles of the paper, which were the Christian and Flemish cause, free economy and pluralistic democracy. Today it belongs to *Mediahuis* that also publishes popular Flemish papers such as *Gazet van Antwerpen* and *Belang van Limburg*. In March 2014, it had a reach of 540,220 readers (both paper and on-line access), which makes it the second biggest Flemish newspaper of *Mediahuis*. It also changed ideologies over the years by distancing itself from the Christian or Catholic ideology to a more pluralistic vision in which Christianity is a philosophy of life amongst others.

2. Al Arabiya[17]

Al Arabiya News Channel is a leading news channel in the Arab world. The English version of the website, the one that is used for this research, was established in August 2007 and could be seen as a bridge between the Arab and English-speaking world. To quote the website: "*Al Arabiya* News seeks to reach an international audience in order to deepen understanding of Arab societies, cultures and economies"[18]. This is exactly the reason why it was decided to use an Arab newspaper. The Arab version of *Al Arabiya* News Channel and Internet were respectively established in 2003 and 2004. It is a Saudi-owned news channel that is based in Dubai Media City in the United Arab Emirates. There are a lot of speculations that state that *Al Arabiya* came into existence as a competitor for *Al Jazeera* because the latter criticized the Saudi regime. For this reason, there is a lot of criticism from outsiders who think that *Al Arabiya* has a pro-Saudi agenda. Of course these are points of view that cannot be proved objectively but it seems important to keep this in mind while analysing the articles. It was not possible to find any statistics about how many

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[16] Based on: DE STANDAARD, *Geschiedenis De Standaard* (2015); http://www.standaard.be/over (entry 10th July).; P. VANDERMEERSCH, *Tachtigste jaargang nummer één* (4th december 2003); http://www.standaard.be/cnt/dss02012003_001 (entry 10th July).; P. VANDERMEERSCH, *Waarom deze krant van formaat verandert* (8th March 2004); http://www.standaard.be/cnt/gv34cjnq (entry 10th July).; P. VANDERMEERSCH, *AVV-VVK niet langer kop van De Standaard* (7th September 1999); http://www.standaard.be/cnt/dst9909070002 (entry 10th July).

[17] Based on: AL ARABIYA, *About Al Arabiya News* (2015); https://english.alarabiya.net/tools/about.html (entry 10th July).; A. HAMMOND, *Saudi Arabia's Media Empire: keeping the massas at home* (Fall 2007); http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=420 (entry 10th July).

[18] AL ARABIYA, *About Al Arabiya News* (entry 10th July).

viewers and visitors these news channels (both the Arab and the English versions) have. The only statistic that is stated on the website itself is that it had 22 million page views in 2008 by people all over the world[19]. As you can see, in the chart on the *Al Arabiya* website over 20% of all visitors to the website come from Saudi Arabia and another 20% are brought under the category "Other". Next there are some people from countries that visit the website often, namely the United States (10%), United Arab Emirates and Egypt (both 7%) and Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany and Morocco (all 3-4% of all visitors). Other countries for which figures are given are Syria, Kuwait, Algeria, Qatar, Palestine, Bahrain, Oman, Jordan and France, all of which have a share between 0,5% and 3%.

B. PRESENTATION OF THE ARTICLES

After choosing which newspapers would be used, I had to decide which articles should be taken into accounts for this research. Both newspapers contain a lot of articles, which means it was necessary to narrow this number down to an amount that could be analysed by only one researcher. To start with, I did some research by simply using the keywords "Charlie Hebdo" on the website of *Al Arabiya* and in a database which is called GoPress Academic for *De Standaard*[20]. This database exists of all articles of most Belgian newspapers and magazines and provides every article with keywords. By doing this, it was possible to narrow the results down for both newspaper but there were still hundreds of articles to be read. It was necessary to find a way to select the articles that were most interesting for the analysis.

1. Opinions

Because of the large volume of articles, I chose to use only opinions. This because I believe these articles reflect what is going on in society and bring up the different perspectives on the attack on Charlie Hebdo itself. Furthermore, they show how this event brings up other on-going discussions in a specific society. To give an example, through a first reading of the articles chosen it became clear that in *De Standaard* there has been a lot written about the meaning of "freedom" and "freedom of speech" or "freedom of expression". At the same time the articles in *Al Arabiya* reflect more upon national and international politics and policies to combat the rise of the Islamic State (IS) in the Arab world. This shows how different authors reflect upon the same event; give different meanings to it and how the event invokes different discussions in society. These discussions were probably already present but were stirred up and strengthened in the light of the attack on Charlie Hebdo. Because this is only an example it is not possible to go further into detail in this section but it will become clear why these examples can be seen as a difference of understanding of the event in the following chapters.

It is important, though, that I do recognize that it is not possible to use these opinions in these two newspapers to generalize to a whole society. It must be clear that it was necessary to limit the amount of data by using only two newspapers, which means that the research in itself is also limited. There are very different opinions to be found in different newspapers, which clarifies that by analysing only one newspaper as an example

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[19] AL ARABIYA, *About Al Arabiya News* (entry 10th July)
[20] GOPRESS ACADEMIC *GoPress Academic*; https://academic.gopress.be/nl/vowb-login (entry February 2015).

of society, it is impossible to find and learn to understand all the different perspectives on the event in the society as a whole. This means that when I speak of of "society" or "Arab world" or something like that, it is a generalization of the opinions of the authors that have written for *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya*.

Another reason to decide to only use opinions was that both *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard* have a subdivision that is called "Opinion" on the *Al Arabiya* website and "*Opinie & Analyse*" (Opinion & Analysis) in the morning papers of *De Standaard*. This was helpful because it gave a direction as to whether or not an article should be used. I opted to only use the articles that belong to these subdivisions. There is only one exception to this rule, namely that the opening pieces in *De Standaard* by Karel Verhoeven have also been taken into account. This because he is the Editor in Chief of *De Standaard* and it is believed that he has an influence on the paper so it would be interesting to analyse his opinions, too.

2. Time frame

By only using articles that belong to the opinion-sections of both papers, it was possible to narrow the results down. There still had to be a decision made about the concrete time frame to be used, though. I chose for a time frame of one month, namely from January 8th 2015 until February 7th 2015. I chose to use this time frame to narrow the results down and to be able to see if there is a certain kind of evolution in the articles. It was clear that a shorter time frame would limit the research because it would be harder to look for evolutions or to see which discussions would manifest themselves when emotions ebbed. Otherwise, it was not possible to make use of a larger time frame because of the number of articles that needed to be analysed to obtain a more or less correct understanding of what is going on in society and because of the limited time for this research.

3. Articles chosen

Combining this timeframe with the keyword 'Charlie Hebdo' in the search function of GoPress Academic gave a result of 154 articles from *De Standaard*. Unfortunately, this database says nothing about the subdivision of the paper. Therefore, I was forced to use the morning papers (which are available on the website for subscribers) and check every paper within the time frame and see which articles should be taken into account. I decided to use articles that did not explicitly refer to Charlie Hebdo but that did react upon a previous article or belong to a discussion that was stirred up because of the attack on Charlie Hebdo. In the end 66 articles from De Standaard were selected.

The same needed to be done for *Al Arabiya* but this was a little more difficult. I did not find a database, which collects articles of English or Arabic newspapers, such as *Al Arabiya*. This is why I had to make use of the archives on the website. Unfortunately, these archives were not that clear because there was no possibility to make a selection by date, which meant I had to use the keyword "Charlie Hebdo". Fortunately, it was possible to make a selection based on subdivision, which made it slightly easier to find the correct articles to use for this research. By looking through all the pages of the archives to see which articles should be included, it was possible to make a selection of 33 articles based

upon three criteria, namely the date, the reference to Charlie Hebdo, and whether or not it belonged to the subdivision "opinion".

This means that there are substantially more articles from *De Standaard* than there are from *Al Arabiya*. This could be due to different reasons. First of all, it could be possible that there are more articles in *De Standaard* due to the proximity of the events. France could almost be seen as the backyard of Belgium, or maybe better the other way around. Secondly, there has been an on-going problem with and discussion about the radicalization of young Belgian Muslims who leave to fight in Syria, the so-called Jihad fighters or Syria warriors. Next to that, there was an 'anti-terror action' in which two people were killed in Verviers on January 15th 2015, which could be the reason for an on-going debate about 'fundamentalists' in Belgian society. More about this will follow in the next chapter. Another reason for the difference could be the nature of the data collection. Thanks to the possibility of using GoPress Academic and full access of he archives of *De Standaard,* it has been easier to find all articles in *De Standaard* relevant to this research. Because this was not possible for the *Al Arabiya* website, it could be that some articles that did not refer explicitly to the Charlie Hebdo attack remained unidentified.

4. SYSTEMATIC QUESTIONS

To answer the research question based on the analysis of the chosen data, it is necessary to make use of a very clear method by which the articles will be analysed. This way, it should be easier to come to a more or less objective analysis of the data and it should be possible to analyse the large amount of articles in a systematic way to find some structure. For this reason, I decided to construct 9 systematic questions that will be answered for every single article. The difference between these systematic questions and the research questions stated above is simple. The research questions refer to the whole amount of data while the systematic questions refer to a single article. Thus, by answering the systematic questions, I should be able to answer the research questions.

A. DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONS

For a start, there are some questions, which are very objective and do not involve any qualitative analysis yet. These questions are the ones that will be answered first in the analyses. The first question is *what is the date of the article?* By answering this, it should be possible to come to a quantitative measurement of the amount of articles written each day of the time frame. Furthermore, this could give an indication of the presence of an evolution in each newspaper and enables me to look at similarities and differences between both newspapers. The second question is *of how many words does this article exist?* By looking at the number of words of each article, it would be possible to categorize the articles in 6 different categories, namely 0-399, 400-799, 800-1199, 1200-1599, 1600-1999 and 2000-2399. This way, I can look at the common length of an article in a newspaper and see if there is a difference between shorter or longer articles. The next question is very important: *who is the author of the article?* This question consists of some basic smaller questions about the author, namely the name of the author, the gender of the author and the profession of the author. It would have been interesting to look at more characteristics of the author (for example, background questions on education and age)

but due to a lack of time, resources and privacy considerations this was not possible. The next question taken into account is *what is the context of the article?* Due to the nature of the data collection, this question was in many cases answered the same. This means that most articles are written in the context of the attack on Charlie Hebdo. Furthermore, some articles were written in response to a different event (for example, anti-terrorism raid in Verviers) or in response to an earlier article. Still, this is an interesting question because it enables me to look at an evolution in time and thus it is strongly associated with another question that comes up later. Last but not least, there is a question about the audience, namely *for whom is this article written?* Due to the nature of the data collection, this question had a similar problem as the previous one. Because the data exists of only two newspapers, the articles are often written either for the readers of *De Standaard* or for the readers of *Al Arabiya* Online. It was possible, though, to find some other audiences next to the readers of the newspapers. In many times these were not well defined and thus a matter of interpretation, as you will see later.

B. ANALYTICAL QUESTIONS

The next couples of questions are less descriptive and involve a deeper qualitative analysis of the chosen data. This means that they will be answered partly in the descriptive part of this research and partly in the analytical part, in which a deeper reflection on the content analysis will follow. The first question is *which are the topics of the article?* By looking at the topics of an article, it should be possible to come to a better understanding of the ways in which the authors of both newspapers write about the attack on Charlie Hebdo. This question is essential for this research because it is the point of departure for the classification of the articles based on their topics. This way, it should be possible to see links between the different articles and between different topics. In the third chapter of this research, I will look at this question in a descriptive manner. By examining the associations between these themes, in the fourth chapter, I will obtain a better understanding of the possible theories reflected in the articles. The next question is the following: *which is (are) the type(s) used in the article?* This question is harder to analyse because it refers to specific literary types that could be used in the articles. By looking at these various types, it might be possible to come to different categories than the ones found by looking at the topics. Due to my own personal background, I decided to examine the texts and see if I could find any similarities or differences in ways of writing or in the contents of the articles with the objective to construct types of texts. Because I am not a trained linguist, the contents of the articles are analysed more closely. In chapter three, I will describe all types that appeared in the articles and compare them to literary types retreived from literature. Due to the nature of the data being articles of the opinion sections of the newspapers, I decided not go deeper into the genres of the articles.

Last but not least, there are two questions that involve all articles in the chosen time frame. First, there is the question about similarities and differences, namely *is there any concordance between the articles or not?* Obviously, this question can be answered by looking at the categorization of both topics and types, but also by looking at other specificities of the article, namely author and date. Logically, this means that this question

can be answered for one newspaper in itself or for both. To conclude, there is the following interesting question: *can an evolution be seen?* This question can be split in two. It is possible to examine an evolution of the articles in time and an evolution of the articles by author. Due to the nature of these questions being questions answered for all articles in the data set, the last two questions will be answered in one section.

CHAPTER 3: QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

In this chapter of the research, follows a descriptive analysis of the chosen data. Obviously, it is not possible to answer every systematic question for each of the 99 articles analysed. This means that the answers on these questions will be used to categorize the articles. Concretely, the following questions will be answered: What is the date of the article? Who is the author of the article? Of how many words does this article exist? What is the context of the article? For whom is the article written? Which are the topics of the article? Which is (are) the type(s) used in the article? Is there any concordance between the articles or not? And, Can an evolution be seen? The last two questions will be answered at the same time in one section.

It is the objective to describe the data by answering these questions for both *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya* and to compare both analyses. Although this is a descriptive part, this does not mean that some first commentaries or deeper analyses will be stated. This part is meant to achieve a better understanding of the data and to be able to start a deeper analysis in the next chapter. I will start with an analysis of all systematic questions of *De Standaard*, after which *Al Arabiya* will be analysed. Finally, *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya* will be compared to look at both similarities and differences.

1. DE STANDAARD

In this part all the systematic questions will be answered for all 66 articles from *De Standaard*. Because *De Standaard* is a Dutch newspaper, I decided to translate all quotes shorter than 40 words; you can find the original quote in the footnotes.

A. DATE

As mentioned before, I chose to use articles from January 8th until February 7th. In this section, I will look at the distribution of the articles by date. If you take a look at the chart (Figure 1), you will see the amount of articles on the y-axis and the date on the x-axis. There are a number of days (January 11th, January 18th, January 25th and February 1st) that there are no articles written. By looking closely at those dates, it shows that there was an article written every day except the Sundays. *De Standaard* does not have a morning paper on Sundays because they distribute a larger weekend paper each Saturday. Furthermore, you see that the largest amount of articles is written on the first and second day after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, namely January 8th and January 9th. This seems logical because the impact of the event was very fresh at that moment and a lot of people had the feeling they needed to say something about it. Although there is a slow decline towards February 7th, the chart shows that the number of articles by date it is very gradual and steady. The average amount of articles per day is two what could be seen as low given that the minimum (without counting Sundays) is one and the maximum is six articles on the second day after the attack on Charlie Hebdo. If you look at it in terms of percentage (Figure 2), you see that not one percentage of one day exist of more than 9% of the total amount of articles. This shows a very steady distribution of the articles. There are some

time periods that the average amount of articles is a little higher, namely around January 14th until the 21st and January 27th. At the moment it is not clear why there are more articles written these days but this will be explained when elaborating on the contextual references later.
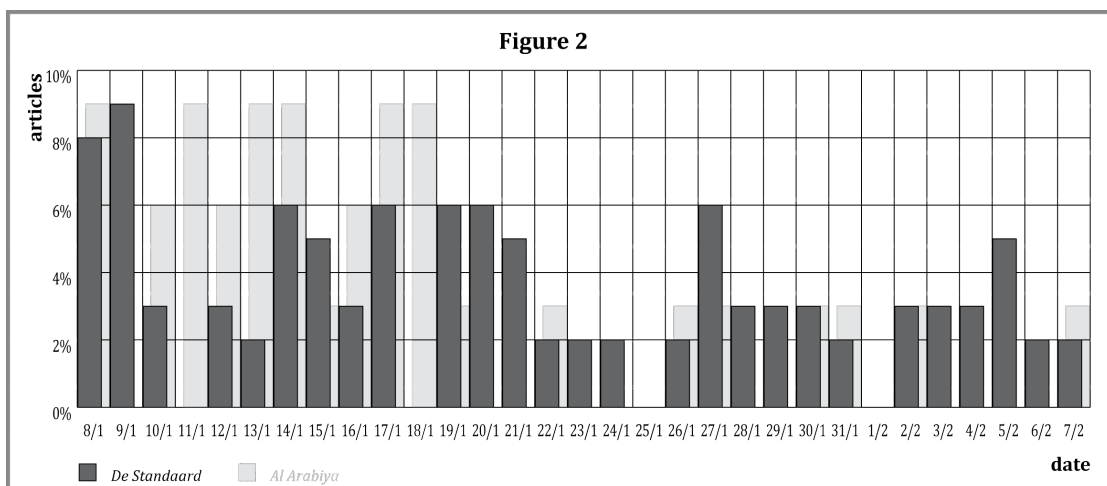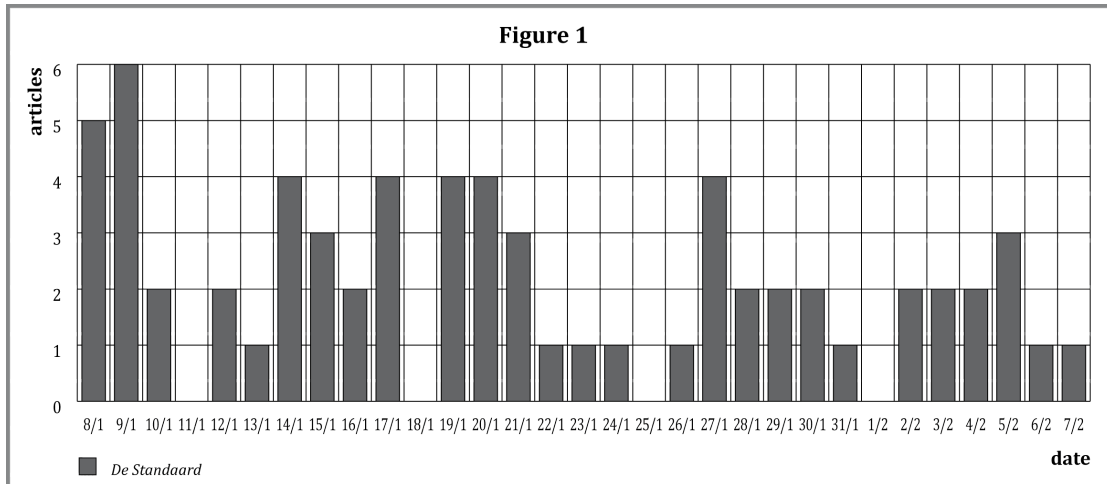
Figure 1

Figure 2

B. AUTHOR

As mentioned before, is the total amount of articles from *De Standaard* 66. There are 48 different writers who wrote these articles, which means that some writers wrote two or more articles. Figure 3 shows the number of authors on the y-axis and the number of articles on the x-axis. You can see that most of the authors, namely 37 of them, wrote only one article, seven wrote two articles, two wrote three articles, one wrote four articles and one wrote as many as five articles. Most, if not all, of the writers who wrote more than one article, are connected to *De Standaard* as being a regular columnist or having another close relationship to the paper, for example one of these writers is Karel Verhoeven, who is the Editor in Chief of this newspaper. A chart about the professions of the different authors will follow later. First I, will take a look at Figure 4. This chart speaks for itself as the x-axis consists of gender and the y-axis gives us the number of authors. Most of the authors of these articles are men, namely 40 (83%) of them, compared to only eight (17%)

women. Of the authors who wrote more than one article three (30%) are women and eight (70%) are men. This means that there are an unequal proportion of men amongst the authors. This could have an influence on the topics that appear in the articles, but this is not sure and very hard to examine. For this reason, there will be no further elaboration on the role of gender in this analysis.
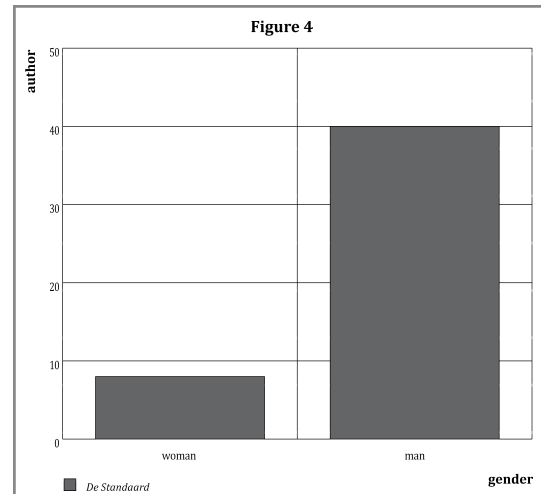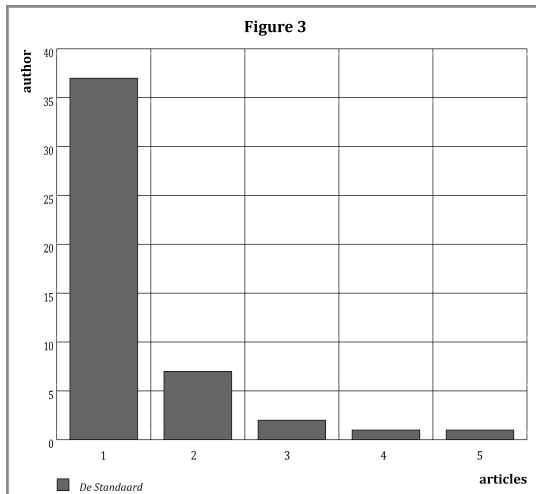
The last thing to examine about the author is the profession. Due to the large number of different professions, I decided to make classifications. Figure 5, in which you find the professions on the x-axis and the number of authors on the y-axis, illustrates this. Under the profession "Arts" are categorized all professions that have something to do with arts and culture (for example, singer, documentary maker). The profession "Academic/Education" consists of everyone who works in an educational context (for example, researchers, professors, teachers, rector). The profession "Author/Journalist" consists of everyone who writes either books or for newspapers or something else (for example, columnist). Next, there is the profession "Politician", which evidently consists of people who are active in politics. I also included activists in this category because activists also political are most of the time. Subsequently, there is "Manager", a category that consists of people with high functions that are not in an educational context (for example, Editors, Director *Minderhedenforum*). Last but not least, there is the category "Other" that consists of professions that do not belong to one of the other categories (for example businessman). It must be clear that there are a lot more professions than there are authors. The reason for this is simply that a lot of authors seem to combine two or more professions such as a combination of "Author/Journalist" with "Arts" or a combination of "Author/Journalist" with "Academic/Education". In numbers, this means that there is a total of 99 professions, of which 40 different professions, compared to a total of 48 authors meaning that most of the authors combine two or more professions. Of these 99 professions 43 (44%) fall under the category of "Academic/Education", 31 (31%) are categorized as "Author/Journalist", nine (9%) fall under the category of "Arts" and another nine (9%) were categorized as "Politician", five (5%) fall under the category of "Manager"

and two (2%) were classified under the category "Other". Most of these professions consist of higher functions or functions that, in many cases, individuals with a higher education obtain. This is of course a generalization but it was, as mentioned before, not possible to look at the educational background of every author due to privacy concerns and a lack of resources.

Figure 5
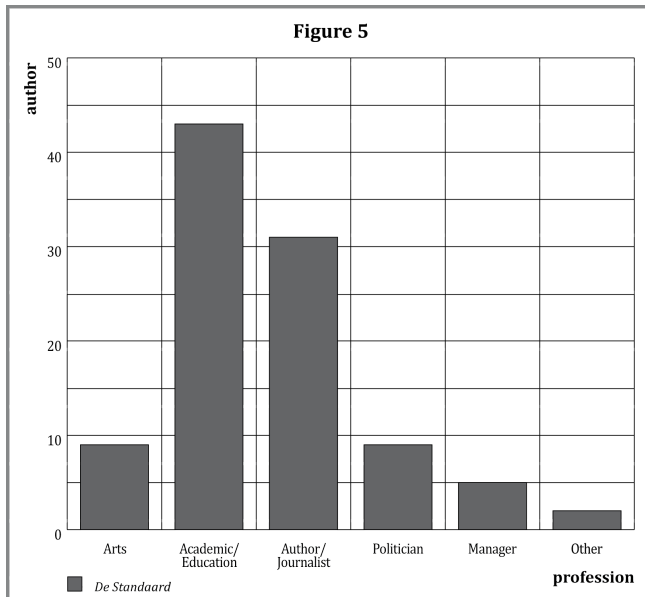
C. NUMBER OF WORDS

There were six different categories created under which the articles could be placed by looking at the number of words in it. The categories are the following: 0-399, 400-799, 800-1199, 1200-1599, 1600-1999 and 2000-2399. This way, it should be possible to see what is the common lenght of an article in *De Standaard*. If you look at Figure 6, in which the number of words is on the x-axis and the number of articles is on the y-axis, you can see that there is one category that stands out. This is the category of articles that consist of a number of words between 400 and 799, in which 50 (76%) articles could be placed. It should be fair to state that this is a regular number of words for an article in *De Standaard,* or at least for articles that belong to the subdivision "Opinions" of this newspaper. The rest of the articles fall under other categories: four (6%) could be placed in the category of 0-399 words, eleven (17%) are classified in the category of 800-1199 words and one (2%) could be placed in the category of 1200-1599 words. The last two categories stay empty.

Figure 6
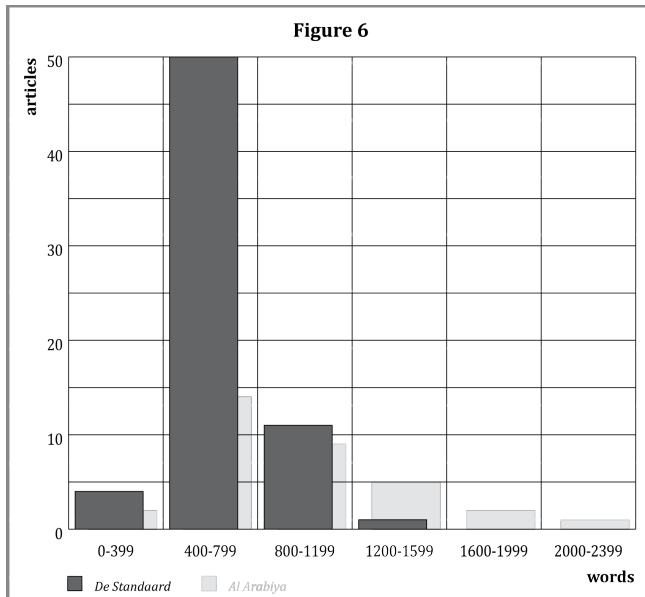
D. CONTEXT

Regarding the context, I made use of four time frames under which the most important events that had an influence on or were mentioned in the articles could be categorized. The categories are the following: the first days after the attack (January 8th until January 14th), one week after the attack (January 15th until January 21st), two weeks after the attack (January 22nd until January 28th) and three weeks up to one month after the attack (January 29th until February 7th). These categories are based upon the articles but there will be referred to the date of the event itself when it is mentioned in a later stadium. It seems obvious that the first day after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, there are no references to other events than the attack itself and the raid on the perpetrators. The second day after the attack, there are more articles that reflect or react upon responses of other people on the event, such as responses throughout the world.

A significant event seemed to be a television broadcast of *Reyers Laat* on January 7th[21]. This is a late evening program on Canvas, a public television broadcast that belongs to the VRT (*Vlaamse Radio en Televisieomroep*), the Dutch speaking public-service broadcaster. This episode was dominated by reflections on the attack on Charlie Hebdo that same day and had five guests, namely Mia Doornaert, one of the authors for *De Standaard*, Bart De Wever, mayor of Antwerp, Meyrem Almaci, chairwomen of a political party called "*Groen"*, Alex Agnew, a Flemish Comedian, and Claude Blondeel, reviewer. It is not the purpose to replicate the discussions that rose up during the program, you can watch the episode on the website as referred in the footnote, but it is necessary to understand that this episode has been seen as a heated discussion (for example, about Islam and racism), and that there were some authors who were truly disappointed by the so-called polarizing voices in it. The second important reaction, is the reaction of Ahmed Aboutaleb, the mayor of Rotterdam. By saying "*ROT OP"[22]*. Aboutaleb showed a very hard condemnation of the event and of radical Muslims, who do not like European values such

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[21] You can watch the broadcast here:
http://deredactie.be/cm/vrtnieuws/videozone/programmas/reyerslaat/2.37104
[22] http://nos.nl/artikel/2012214-aboutaleb-tegen-jihadisten-rot-toch-op.html

as freedom of speech, humour and satire. It is difficult to translate this statement because it is a very strong way of telling people to leave.

Another important event that appeared during the first days after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, is the publication of the new roman "*Soumission*" by Michel Houellebecq, a French writer. It is a book about the hypothetical situation of the rise of Islam in France and the election of a Muslim president. It seems logical that this book is mentioned in a lot of articles because of the moment of publication right before the attack on Charlie Hebdo. Then there are some other events mentioned in different articles, namely the PEGIDA (*Patriotische Europaër gegen die Islamisierung der Abendlandes*) demonstrations in Germany that can be seen as very anti-Islam; the meetings of different politicians, both national and international, about counter terrorism policies; the fact that there were a lot of different attacks in Nigeria between January 3rd and the 7th, known as the 2015 Baga massacre, by Boko Haram, a radical Islamist group, and the fact that they were barely mentioned in the news; and different suicide bombings in Yemen.

Next, there are the events from one to two weeks after the attack on January 7th. A lot of the articles evolve around the social and political discussion about the sense and nonsense of civil education and discussions about citizenship. This means that a lot of these articles are reactions upon one another and involve in a discussion about LEF, *Levensbeschouwing, Ethiek en Filosofie* (Philosophy of life, Ethics and Philosophy), an older idea for education of Patrick Loobuyck. Subsequently, there is the raid on Verviers on January 15th. This was a demolition of a so-called terrorist network of radical Islamists, in which two alleged young Jihadist fighters died. This action led to a renewed attention for safety and anti-terrorist measurements in Belgium. Thirdly, there was the incident with Dieudonné M'bala M'bala, a controversial French comedian who has been discredited before for being anti-Semitic. Dieudonné said he felt like Charlie Coulibaly referring to both Charlie Hebdo as Amedy Coulibaly, suspect of the *Montrouge* shooting on January 8th and the hostage taker and gunmen at the *Porte de Vincennes* siege on January 9th. Lastly, there are some references to politicians and their cry for safety policies. Al these events have had an influence on the amount of articles. As mentioned before, there was a larger amount of articles from January 14th until January 21st, which becomes clear in the light of the raid on Verviers, the LEF-discussion, and a renewed discussion about the freedom of speech as a result of the arrest of Dieudonné.

Subsequently, around two weeks after the attack there are two events worth mentioning. First, there is the remembrance of World War II and the Holocaust. The International Remembrance Day for the Holocaust is on January 27th. Next, there was an incident with a soccer game. On January 25th, there was a game between Standard and Anderlecht in Sclessin, a district of Liège. Because one of the soccer players, Steven Dufour, transferred from Standard to Anderlecht, some fans made a tifo (banner) with the slogan "Red or Dead" and a Rouche (name for a fan of Standard) who holds the head of Dufour. There were a lot of mixed reactions on this banner and it raised a lot of questions about the freedom of speech. Both events have probably led to a peek in the amount of articles on January 27th.

To close this section, there were some events that were important for the articles three weeks or more after the attack on Charlie Hebdo. First, it was suggested to take away the Belgian nationality of Jihad fighters with a double nationality, which provoked a discussion. Next there was an article of Marion van San, a Dutch researcher, who has a

very specific view on radicalization. More about this will follow later, as her article has been taken into account for the analysis. Finally, there was an incident with a secondary school that decided to report radicalizing pupils to the police. This provoked a discussion about the possibility to inscribe a law in Belgium that would make it possible to punish people with radical thoughts or people who justify certain acts, such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo.

E. AUDIENCE

Even though the question of audience could be very interesting, it was not concretely possible to see for whom those authors wrote their articles. Due to the fact that the data consists of articles from one newspaper, it was obvious that all articles are written for the readers of *De Standaard*. In addition, it could be said that these articles are written for all citizens of Belgium with the purpose to make them think about certain topics and about the way to react on the attack on Charlie Hebdo. Subsequently, it could be possible that some articles are written for the author her/himself, meaning that some articles are written in such a way that it seemed that the author is trying to make sense of the attack on Charlie Hebdo and of the reactions of others on the event. By writing their feelings down, it could have been possible that they made it more understandable for themselves. Especially in the first days after the attack, there were quite some articles that could have been a message to the writer her/himself. For example, the first article in analysis is titled "Angry instead of anxious"[23] and is written by a comedian. For this reason, it could be seen as both an appeal to citizens not to be fearful, and a way to make clear for himself to keep on going and not be afraid. As you can see, it is possible to read such articles as some kind of guideline being written for the readers, being citizens of Belgium, an open and free democratic state.

In addition, it became clear that many of the articles are written for other authors as if it were a conversation between the authors about a certain topic. Two examples of such conversations have been mentioned before in the context section, namely the LEF-discussion and the discussion about the correlation between integration and radicalization based on Marion van San's research. Both discussions will be described more thoroughly in the section about the topics. Finally, there were quite some articles that made an appeal to specific politicians or political parties or more generally to politics. An example of such an article, is an article that has been titled "Terrorism-Democracy: 2-1" and warns politicians for the negative consequences of limiting the freedom of speech. Moreover, it talks about the "security theatre" as being a set of political measures that pretend to improve safety but instead are believed to undermine democracy[24].

F. TYPES

This section deals with a more difficult question, namely *which is (are) the type(s) used in the article?* I thought it best to let the data speak for itself and to see which possible types appeared. As said in the section on the development of the systematic questions, these forms will be compared to literature. It was decided to do this in the comparison between

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[23] J. VANDECASTEELE, *Boos in plaats van bang*, in *De Standaard*, 8th January 2015.
[24] M. VERMEULEN, *Terrorisme-democratie: 2-1*, in *De Standaard*, 13th January 2015.

both papers, as you will see later. Figure 7 shows the 14 types found in the articles on the x-axis and the number of articles that fall under a certain category on the y-axis. As you can see, there are more articles (157) in this chart than the total amount of articles of 66. This means that a lot of the articles are categorized under one or more different types. An analysis of the combination of types will follow later, after an analysis of the number of articles in each category. In the end, I will look at the different types as in how they should be interpreted. If necessary, an example of one or more articles will be used to explain the types. Due to the amount of data and different types, I will enlighten the types that seem to be most important. This way, it is possible to describe the types more thoroughly and with more examples. To choose which types these are, I will look at the amount of articles that fall under this type. I have chosen to describe the 5 largest categories under which more than 20% of the articles are classified.

Figure 7
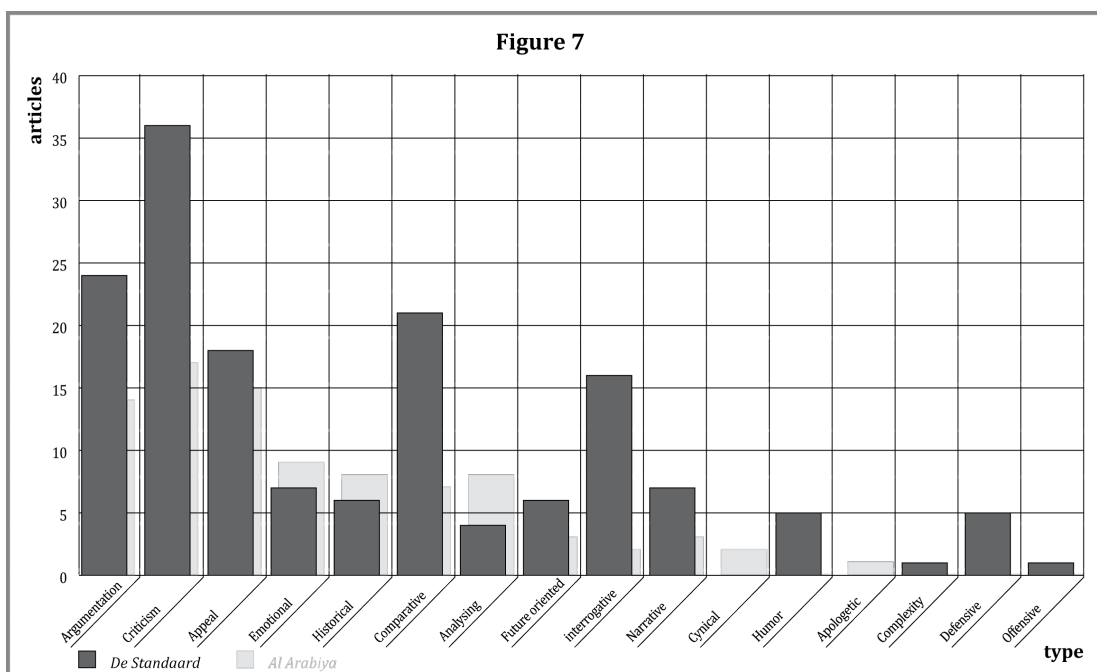
1. Statistics

Under the category "Humour" no more than five articles can be classified, which is only 8% of the total amount of articles (66). The next category "Criticism" consists of the most articles, namely 36 or no less than 55% of all articles. Thirdly, there is the category "Argumentation" that consists of 24 (36%) articles. Then there are the categories "Historical" and "Future oriented" that both consist of only six articles or no more than 9%. Subsequently, there is the category "Appeal" that consists of 18 or 27% of the articles. Sixthly, there are two categories that consist of only one (2%) article, namely the types "Complexity" and "Offensive". Next there are the types "Emotional" and "Narrative" that consist of seven (11%) articles. The following category "Interrogative" is a bigger category under which 16 (24%) of the articles fall. Then, there is the category "Comparative" that consists of 21 or 31% of the articles. Subsequently, there is the category "Analysing" consisting of only four (6%) articles. To conclude, there is the small category "Defensive" consisting of five (8%) articles. As you can see, you will find more than 20% of the articles

in five categories, two categories with more than 30% and one that consists of over 50% of the articles. These types are respectively from larger to smaller: "Criticism", "Argumentation", "Comparative", "Appeal" and "Interrogative".

2. Combination of types

Most of the articles can be placed under two or more types: only 6 (9%) articles are classified in only one category. There are 37 (56%) articles that can be placed under two types, and 18 (27%) that are categorized under three different types. Finally, there are four (6%) articles that fall under three different categories and only one (2%) that belongs to five categories. To demostrate this, I will at the five biggest types to see if they coincide with other types. To start with, there is the type "Criticism", the biggest type that overlaps with almost every other type except two types that have been left out of further analysis. If you look at the combinations more closely, you can see that the biggest types with which the type "Criticism" goes together are "Argumentation" (eight articles), "Appeal" (nine articles), "Interrogative" (nine articles) and "Comparative" (15 articles). This seems to be logical because those are the other four largest categories found in the analysis. Digging a little deeper into analysis, you can see that of these overlapping types many are also combined with other types. For example, there are four articles that belong to all three types "Criticism", "Appeal" and "Interrogative". Of these articles one belongs even to four categories and combines previous categories with the type "Comparative". When doing the same for the second biggest type "Argumentation", you can see that the largest categories, other than "Criticism" it coincides with are "Appeal" (six articles) and "Interrogative" (three articles). The next category "Appeal" has the most articles combined with the categories "Interrogative" (six articles) and "Comparative" (six articles). As you can see, the previous type is always excluded and the combinations that consist of one or two articles are left out of analysis. Subsequently, there is the type "Interrogative" that is combined most with only "Comparative" (eight articles). Finally, there is the type "Comparative" that does not go together in a relevant way with any other type than the previous categories.

3. Description of types

As you can see, there are five big categories that are also the categories that are combined the most with each other. Therefore, I concluded to describe these types more thoroughly by looking at examples of the articles.

3.1 Criticism

As mentioned before, the type "Criticism" appears in no less than 36 out of 66 articles, which shows that most of the articles from *De Standaard* are critical towards something or someone. Criticism can be defined as both, "[t]he action of criticizing, or passing judgement upon the qualities or merits of anything; *esp.* the passing of unfavourable judgement; fault-finding, censure" and, "[a]n act of criticizing; a critical remark, comment;

a critical essay, critique"[25]. It seems logical that most articles in the opinion section of *De Standaard* are critical towards both incidents/events in society and reactions upon them, and towards political parties and politicians. It is fair to say that the opinion section exists for this reason; it is a place where people can react upon news or previous articles, a place to engage in dialogue in a constructive and respectful manner.

Due to the enormous amount of possible examples, I decided to use some quotes taken from the articles and explain them by looking at the contextual references in them. The first examples are excerpts from different articles that in one way or another address different policies or certain politician's or political parties' ideas. There are many articles that refer to different safety measures that are believed to limit freedom and privacy instead of protecting them. One writer expresses it this way: "People went down to our streets to defend our democracy. By limiting our freedom, we score an own goal"[26]. This kind of criticism comes forward in many articles and is in most cases combined with a criticism towards citizens themselves, who are sometimes the ones expecting extreme measures. As said beautifully by the next writer: "The perception of threat is suddenly that big that everyone would be willing to freeze elementary civil rights, as a cure for the fearful heart. Or even better, the government is willing to do it in our place"[27]. A little further in the same article, the same writer says that the government, "(...) creates the illusion that 'something' is happening as soon as the threat is coming nearer. This is the same as that other default-illusion, namely the fact that it is only possible to keep terrorism at bay by limiting our freedom"[28]. Evidently, it is also possible to see these quotes as a form of argumentation or an appeal to people not to be blinded by fear and to keep an eye on politics. Lastly, there is one writer who is very critical and even cynical: "Terrorists do not need to pick up their Kalashnikovs when a nation states organizes intimidation. No matter how big the craving to consolation and solidarity after such a tragedy, cynicism is never mistaken"[29].

Another example of criticism towards policies that often appears in the articles comes from some writers who criticize the possibility of taking away the nationality of radicalized young Belgian Muslims, who have two nationalities. One author says that, "even if you want to attack 'democracy' itself, you commit a crime and should be judged by the laws of your country"[30], pointing at the arbitrariness of such a policy. She also makes a reference to Dutroux, a sexual offender who murdered some of his victims back in the 90s and asks if she has fewer rights than him. With this, she makes plain that he only has the Belgian nationality and cannot be excluded from society, while she herself has two

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[25] OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015*)*; http://www.oed.com (entry July 27th 2015).

[26] "Mensen kwamen op onze straat om onze democratie te verdedigen. Met het inperken van onze vrijheden, scoren we daarentegen alleen maar een owngoal" in M. VERMEULEN, *Terrorisme-democratie: 2-1,* in *De Standaard,* 13th January 2015.

[27] "De perceptie van dreiging is plots zo groot dat iedereen bereid zou zijn om prompt als balsem voor het bange hart, elementaire burgerrechten in het vriesvak te stoppen. Of liever, de regering is daartoe bereid in onze plaats" in M. REYNEBEAU, *Zo dichtbij en toch zover*, in *De Standaard*, 21st January 2015.

[28] "Maar ze wekt wel de illusie dat er toch 'iets' gebeurt zodra een dreiging te dichtbij komt. Het is net zo met die andere default-illusie, dat alleen het inperken van vrijheden het terrorisme op een afstand kan houden" in M. REYNEBEAU, *Zo dichtbij en toch.*

[29] "Als een staat de intimidatie organiseert, hoeft de terreur er de Kalasjnikov niet meer voor boven te halen. Cynisme vergist zich niet van kamp, hoe groot de hunker ook is naar troost en samenhorigheid na zo'n tragedie" in M. REYNEBEAU, *Niet bang, echt?*, in *De Standaard*, 14th January 2015.

[30] "Je pleegt een misdaad en wordt beoordeeld volgens de wetten van je land. Ook als wil je de 'democratie' zelf aanvallen" in D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Een nieuwe paradox*, in *De Standaard*, 6th February 2015.

nationalities and thus could be excluded from society. I thought this was a very interesting contribution to the discussion because she lays bare the injustice of such a policy, and raises questions about the fairness of a policy that can only be executed if the perpetrator has two nationalities. Another interesting point that is made by another writer, who also haves a migration background, evolves around the question which nationality should be taken away. After all, radicalized youths in Belgium are also raised in Belgium,

> "Ja, neem hun Marokkaanse, Algerijnse, of welke andere nationaliteit dan ook, af en laat ze inderdaad naar hun eigen land terugkeren. Naar het land waar ze geboren en getogen zijn. Het land dat hun wereldbeeld heeft gevormd, of eerder misvormd, in aanraking met zijn onderwijs, zijn politiek, zijn politie, zijn arbeids- en woningmarkt, en zijn media. Laat ze maar oprotten uit Syrië en Irak, uit Libanon, Libië of ander landen en hun bevolkingen met rust laten. Europa heeft een geschiedenis in het exporteren van Europese minderheden, die ze zelf heeft getraumatiseerd, naar andere delen van de wereld waar ze dan ravages aanrichten om hun trauma's te verwerken"[31]

Last but not least, there were some criticisms that have something to do with freedom of speech and religion. To give an example, the following writer is being critical towards people who commit crimes such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo when he says that, "[s]atire is criticism of the so-called untouchable, to let them feel that no one eventually is invulnerable. If you cannot accept criticism, then you do not deserve to be critical, in any way possible"[32]. Another writer expresses it differently and directs himself to a very specific group of people, namely Muslims, asking them why they are offended by cartoons and not by those who kill for these cartoons,

> "Wat is immers het meest beledigend: cartoons waarin een afbeelding van hun profeet gebruikt wordt om een mensonterende ideologie te bekritiseren waar ook veel moslims slachtoffer van zijn; of de jihadi's die de profeet gebruiken om cartoonsten af te knallen, mensen te onthoofden en aan de lopende band op gewelddadige manier mensenrechten schenden? Over selectieve verontwaardiging gesproken"[33]

3.2 Argumentation

The second category is called "Argumentation" and can be defined as, "[t]he action or operation of inferring a conclusion from propositions premised; methodical employment or presentation of arguments; logical or formal reasoning" and, "[a] sequence or chain of arguments, a process of reasoning"[34]. It is clear that many critical articles can also be seen argumentative articles. Due to the connotation of both words, a division seemed logical. "Criticism" has a more negative connotation: being critical towards something/someone is

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[31] D., ABOU JAHJAH, D., *Neem hun nationaliteit af*, in *De Standaard*, 30th January 2015.

[32] "Satire is kritiek op zogenaamde onaantastbaren, om hen te laten voelen dat niemand onaantastbaar is. En als je geen kritiek kunt hebben, dan verdien je er ook geen te uiten. Op welke manier ook" in J. VANDECASTEELE, *Boos in plaats van bang*, in *De Standaard*, 8th January 2015.

[33] P. LOOBUYCK, *De Ultra's zijn geen Charlies*, in *De Standaard*, 27th January 2015.

[34] OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015*);* http://www.oed.com (entry July 27th 2015).

asking questions about it/her/him and showing the negative sides. "Argumentation" seems to have a more positive connotation in that it is an argument in favour of something/someone. This way, critical essays use argumentations to reply to arguments made in other essays, while argumentation per se can be seen as a way to explain one's ideas to the reader and one's self. I am aware that this is an arbitrary division but I hope to clarify this with some examples.

A first example of an article that has been classified under the type "Argumentation", is the same article as the last one cited in the previous section. If you look at this quote,

> "Wat is immers het meest beledigend: cartoons waarin een afbeelding van hun profeet gebruikt wordt om een mensonterende ideologie te bekritiseren waar ook veel moslims slachtoffer van zijn; of de jihadi's die de profeet gebruiken om cartoonsten af te knallen, mensen te onthoofden en aan de lopende band op gewelddadige manier mensenrechten schenden? Over selectieve verontwaardiging gesproken"[35]

you can see that the writer uses arguments to show why he questions people who are offended by the Muhammad cartoons and not by the ideologists that misuse their ideologies. This is why he speaks of selective indignation. This is interesting because he seems to make a scale of the degree of feeling offended compared to the reasons why you should be offended. Furthermore, ths reasoning can lead to the believe that being offended by Muhammad cartoons is the same as not being offended by the misuse, or even abuse, of your ideology. I do not mean that the author does this on purpose but that this is a possible outcome of such generalizing statements.

Another good example of "Argumentation", is found in an article that addresses the difference between extremism and fundamentalism and is thus raising questions about the use of words. At a certain point, the writer writes the following,

> "Wanneer slaat met andere woorden radicaliteit over in fundamentalisme en extremisme? Iemand wordt extremistisch als hij een enge, fundamentalistische, naïeve en dikwijls uit de context getrokken interpretatie gaat geven aan de boodschap die de godsdienst brengt, en zich gaat afzetten tegen eenieder die de interpretatie niet deelt. Fundamentalistisch zijn zij die zichzelf als de beteren wanen en zich geroepen voelen om te gaan strijden in woord en daad, tegen wie er een andere mening op nahoudt"[36]

By looking at the definition of fundamentalism and extremism he reaches a logical conclusion on the meaning of both terms and why there should be made a distinction when using them.

Last but not least, there is a very obvious example of argumentation in the articles, namely the LEF-discussion. Almost all articles evolving around this discussion about education and citizenship are categorized as being argumentative. This seems logical due to the nature of the discussion. Some writers are proponents of the introduction of a more

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[35] P. LOOBUYCK, *De Ultra's zijn geen Charlies*, in *De Standaard*, 27th January 2015.
[36] R. STOCKMAN, *Met radicaal zijn is niets mis*, in *De Standaard*, 4th February 2015.

general course in philosophy and citizenship as a substitute for the courses in different religions (for example, Catholicism, Islam, Ethics) existing today. They bring up different arguments for the necessity of the introduction of this course. On the other hand there are writers who oppose an introduction of such a class by bringing up arguments against it. This topic will be elaborated upon later.

3.3 Comparative

Articles that are classified under the type "Comparative" are articles that use comparison, "[t]he action, or an act, of comparing, or noting the similarities and differences of two or more things"[37]. The authors of these articles compare something/someone to something else. This does not always mean that they make a clear comparison; sometimes they make use of a hyperbolic comparison to be able to criticize someone/something.

An interesting article that uses comparison was an article by the ombudsman of *De Standaard* who compared the opinions and reactions after 9/11 with the opinions and reactions after the attack on Charlie Hebdo this year[38]. By comparing these reactions, he demonstrates that nothing much changed and that a lot of the themes stayed the same. This does not have to mean, though, that they should not be a point of interest or discussion. It is more of an observation. Another typical comparison often made in the articles is the comparison between the call for repressive measures and the use of cartoons now and the repressive measures and use of cartoons in the 1930s against the Jewish population in Germany,

> "(...) het is niet aan u, noch aan hem om te bepalen hoe de goede moslim en de slechte moslim eruitzien. Voor de moslims, gelovig of niet, is Mohammed dé moslim, hij is een abstractie van alle moslims die hem als voorbeeld zien. Charb tekende niet Mohammed, maar tekende een stereotype van een etnisch-religieuze gemeenschap, net zoals men in de jaren dertig tekeningen maakte van een stereotype van de boze, corrupte en sluwe Jude. Ook toen werd een etnisch-religieuze gemeenschap geviseerd, en niet een religie"[39]

Subsequently, there are some writers that point at some kind of hypocrisy. A writer talks about the overestimation of the danger of getting killed in a terrorist attack compared to the underestimation of getting killed in a car accident,

> "Natuurlijk spelen ook emoties mee en onvermijdelijk verliezen we het perspectief wat uit het oog. Veel statistiek is er niet nodig om te bewijzen dat paracommando's inzetten om dronken chauffeurs uit het verkeer te halen, meer levens redt dan ze inzetten tegen terreur. Terroristen komen brutaal en onverwacht en treffen onschuldigen. Doodrijders ook, maar daar raakten we aan gewoon en ze bedoelden het niet zo"[40]

[37] Oxf Oxford University Press, *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015); http://www.oed.com (entry July 27th 2015).
[38] T. Naegels, *Tot hier en niet verder*, in *De Standaard*, 14th January 2015.
[39] D. Abou Jahjah, *Dieudonné versus Charb*, in *De Standaard*, 16th January 2015.
[40] H. Vos, *Niveau drie*, in *De Standaard*, 20th January 2015.

By comparing car accidents to terrorism, he tries to provoke a discussion about the necessity of certain policies (for example, soldiers in the streets) and the acceptance of other things, such as car accidents, that actually should be avoided. Last but not least, there is a writer who talks about the hypocrisy of the people crying out that Muslims should not feel personally implicated by the Muhammad cartoons while they themselves would feel attacked if someone made fun of one of their symbols,

> "Zo eentje waarop hij (Luc De Vos), net als Mohammed, naakt op handen en knieën zit en boven zijn harige ballen een gele ster prijkt 'Une étoile est née.' Alleen al bij het schrijven van deze zin voel ik me misselijk van schaamte. En ik ben niet eens fan van Luc De Vos, laat staan dat ik geloof dat hij een heilige profeet is. Zouden we dan even diplomatisch kunnen zeggen dat het mogelijk toch een morele grens overschrijdt'? Nee, we zouden gekwetst zijn, kwaad. We zouden het respectloos en totaal ongepast vinden, want Luc De Vos is 'één van ons'"[41]

3.4 Appeal

The next type consists of articles that make an appeal to someone. An appeal could be defined as, "[a] call for help of any kind, or for a favour; an earnest request; an entreaty" and, "[l]anguage especially addressed *to*, or adapted to exert influence *upon*, some particular principle of conduct, mental faculty, or class of persons"[42]. It is clear that this type of articles is based upon the audience of the article and thus the people that are spoken to in the article. For this reason I will resort to the previous section answering the systematic question *for whom is the article written?*

First, there are articles written for the citizens of Belgium that ask them not to be fearful and to keep on defending their rights: "(…) at the same time we have to fight tooth and nail for the defence of our freedom and remain to ridicule shamelessly. With those that cut others throat and riddle them with bullets out of piety and with our own fears"[43]. Other writers warn not to walk into the trap of polarization between Muslims and European citizens and state that, "(…) it is absolutely vital that two clips are avoided. One side consists of portraying Islam as a homogenous block, being an intolerant and violent religion. The other consisting of pretending that there is no association at all between violence and Islam"[44].

Another example of articles that were classified under the type "Appeal", were articles that made an appeal to politician or politics stating that, "[m]eanwhile we need politicians that eschew polarization, that connect and pull everything together. That is

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[41] S. PEETERS, *Wij, zij en de rue*, in *De Standaard*, 24th January 2015.

[42] OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015*)*; http://www.oed.com (entry July 27th 2015).

[43] "(…) tegelijkertijd moeten we met hand en tand onze vrijheid verdedigen en ongegeneerd blijven spotten. Met hen die uit piëteit anderen de keel oversnijden en met kogels doorzeven, maar ook met onze eigen angsten" in K. VERHOEVEN, K., *We moeten blijven lachen,* in *De Standaard*, 8th January 2015.

[44] "Daarom is het van levensbelang dat nu twee klippen vermeden worden. De ene bestaat erin 'de islam' zonder meer als intolerant en gewelddadig af te schilderen. De andere bestaat erin te doen alsof geweld door moslims 'niets met de islam' te maken heeft" in M. DOORNAERT, *Wir sind das Volk*, in *De Standaard*, 12th January 2015.

common sense" [45]. Another writer makes another remark about the appeal to fight polarization,

> "Niet polariseren, schrijft Van Goethem. Maar hoe kun je blind blijven voor het feit dat Fort Europa ook nu zijn grenzen sluit voor wanhopige asielzoekers en bootvluchtelingen, de ogen sluit voor de onnoemelijke ellende in landen waar geen olie te boren valt, en hoe wij consumenten wegkijken van de almaar breder gapende kloof tussen hen en ons? Dan nog volhouden dat de (bij vergelijking geringe) terreur waaraan westerlingen blootstaan alleen maar aan indoctrinatie te wijten is, is een zoveelste vorm van wegkijken en ontkenning" [46]

As you can see, there are a lot of discussions between the different writers and a lot of criticism from one writer to another. This is, in my honest opinion, one of the reasons why an analysis of these kinds of articles is interesting and eye opening and why it can lead to in-depth discussions and reflections about the problems in a multicultural society, such as the one in Belgium.

3.5 Interrogative

The last types of articles are articles that question something or someone. They consist "[o]f, pertaining to, or of the nature of questioning; having the form or force of a question" [47]. Articles that were classified as being interrogative were most of the time articles that asked concrete questions or discussed the opinions elaborated on in earlier articles. A lot of these questions were raised in the context of safety measures and the limitation of freedom: "When do we have to be more worried? When enemies of democracy commit a crime against democracy? Or when the guards of democracy commit a crime against democracy?" [48]. Moreover, the same writer asks, "[r]estricting the freedom of speech in name of the freedom of speech. How could that go wrong?" [49]. As you can see, this last one is a rhetorical question to empower the writer's message. There are also some articles that question the debate about polarization and the ways in which there is reacted upon radicalized youth and other immigrants: "If you brutally push people into the zone of the inhumane, you receive this kind of violence back in your face, no?" [50]. Another interesting article was titled "#JeSuisHypocrisie?" [51], referring to #JeSuisCharlie, a hash tag on twitter that went global within hours after the attack on Charlie Hebdo and was used to show people's respect to the victims of the attack and as a symbol for the freedom of speech.

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[45] "Intussen hebben we politici nodig die de polarisering schuwen, die verbinden en de boel bijeentrekken. Dat is gezond verstand" in K. Verhoeven, *Ze zijn met niet zo velen*, in *De Standaard*, 9th January 2015.
[46] G. Van Den Berghe, *De oogkleppen van Auschwitz*, in *De Standaard*, 29th January 2015.
[47] Oxford University Press, *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015*)*; http://www.oed.com (entry July 27th 2015).
[48] "Wanneer moeten we ons meer zorgen maken? Als vijanden van de democratie een daad plegen tegen de democratie? Of als de hoeders van de democratie een daad plegen tegen de democratie?" in D. Abou Jahjah, *Dieudonné versus Charb*, in *De Standaard*, 16th January 2015.
[49] "De vrijheid van meningsuiting inperken in naam van de vrije meningsuiting. Hoe zou dat nu verkeerd kunnen aflopen?" in J. Vrielink, *#JeSuisHypocrisie?*, in *De Standaard*, 16th January 2015.
[50] "Als je mensen brutaal naar de zone van het inhumane wegduwt, krijg je het geweld hard in je gezicht terug, niet?" in I. Devisch, *De straat is weer van ons*, in *De Standaard*, 17th January 2015.
[51] J. Vrielink, *#JeSuisHypocrisie?*, in *De Standaard*, 16th January 2015.

In this section, the topics that came up during analysing the data will be described. The original topics found reflect a topic ascribed to an article or a topic that was clearly mentioned in the article. For this reason, some topics could be aggregated into one larger topic (for example freedom of speech and freedom of expression could be categorized under freedom) but it was decided not to do this from the start because of the small differences in meaning (for example speech is something different than expression). Due to the large amount of topics, I decided not to go into quantitative measurements and only do a qualitative content analysis of the topics. By this, is meant that I will examine the amount of topics, the way they were categorized and go into a more thorough description of some major topics or clusters that appeared in the analysis. My choice is only to describe two topics because there are so many topics that it would be too vague and superficial to describe all of them. The election of these topics is based upon both the categorization and a personal affection with the themes, which seems important for the next more analytical chapter.

1. Categorization

There were 78 different topics found that have been handled in different articles. Obviously, there were a lot of articles that handled more than one topic. Furthermore, there were a lot of topics that appeared in only one or two articles. This means it was necessary to find some way of creating categories. For this reason, I decided to make a diagram. Figure 8 (appendix) shows the first diagram made. To be able to come to a more clear vision of the topics, it was necessary to make clusters or themes under which the topics could be classified. For example, there are the topics "ground values", "enlightenment values" and "democratic values". Due to the use of different words, it is possible to see them as different topics but they were categorized under "enlightenment values" as an umbrella term. The reason for using this term is simple. "Enlightenment" is a historical term that refers to the French Revolution and the development of the democratic nation states in Europe. This points out that Enlightenment values are those notions that are considered being the foundation of modern European societies.

Secondly, it was required to decrease the amount of topics for further examination. The associations between the topics/clusters seemed to be an ideal way to do this. The relations themselves will be explained partly, as far as possible, in the upcoming section about the topics/clusters chosen to describe more thoroughly, and partly in the next chapter. For now some examples of an erased topic will be sufficient. In one article the writer made an association between the assault on Charlie Hebdo and sexism. Because this happened in only one article and it was not clear how the notion "Sexism" could be associated with one of the other topics, it seemed better to erase it from further analysis. This does not mean, though, that it was not possible to find any associations between sexism and another topic (for example, sexism and sexual freedom, sexism and discrimination) but rather that it would be distracting to take into account every single possible relation, especially in case of small topics. The same has been done for topics, such as "Silence", which is an interesting topic that refers to an article talking about the

possibility to react in silence, instead of screaming out your reaction or using big words. Sometimes silence says more than a thousand words: "A writer only has to speak when he has something to add to the debate, not when he wants to add himself to the debate"[52]. This is a topic that could have been linked to communication or other reactions upon such tragic circumstances but, unfortunately, it is not possible to pay attention to everything.

2. Topics/Clusters

After being able to narrow the topics down, there was still a very large amount of topics. For this reason, it became essential to select some topics to examine more closely. Figure 9 (appendix) shows the topics that were selected to describe in this section. It was not easy to make a decision about the topics that should be described but there were a couple of reasons to choose these topics. The choice has been based upon the size of the topic (based on both statistics and personal affinity) and the associations between the topics. In the end, two topics were selected: "civil society" and "roots of radicalization". As you can see in the diagram, some clusters that combine the different topics, for example complexity, are left out of analysis at this moment because those are more personal insights that will be explained in the next chapter. In what follows, the categories will be described and certain parts will be clarified with examples from the articles. Some first commentaries on the topics will be stated.

2.1 Civil society

As you can see in Figure 10 (appendix), the category "civil society" consists of many different subcategories and can be seen in relation to many different other categories. I decided to name this topic "civil society" because in many articles writers referred to the attack on Charlie Hebdo as being a barbaric crime opposed to open civil societies, as they exist in Europe. I thought it interesting, though, that in some articles is referred to the attack on Charlie Hebdo as a barbaric crime while at the same time referring to similar actions of Western states (for example, war crimes) as being inhumane actions. It is not the objective to go deeper into all these remarks, but I guess it could have something to do with the origins of both terms. Anyway, these societies are characterized by the subtopics "communication", "progress", "education" and "enlightenment values". Due to the the fact that it is strongly associated with discrimination and identity, will the fifth topic "emancipation" be described in the section about "roots of radicalization".

Communication

Communication is a subcategory that consists of both public debate and dialogue. By this is meant that civil societies are based upon their openness towards the other through communicating with each other and involve in a public debate or dialogue. This category is strongly associated with the topics progress and education, as you will see later.

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[52] "Een schrijver moet alleen spreken wanneer hij iets aan het debat kan toevoegen, niet wanneer hij zichzelf aan het debat wil toevoegen" in S. HERTMANS, *Als zwijgen goud is*, in *De Standaard*, 17th January 2015.

Progress

The need for progress is emphasized in many articles. Under progress both topics "to bind/align" and "togetherness" are categorized. This does not mean that the significance of progress is only reflected by both topics. "To bind/align" and "togetherness" are categories that are future oriented and do express a hope for a better world in which people can live together. For this reason, one of the examples that is used for the description of the type "Appeal" in the previous section can be used again: "Meanwhile we need politicians that eschew polarization, that connect and pull everything together. That is common sense"[53]. Another writer beliefs that this is not only something for the future, but already happening today stating that you should, "[b]e assured, they are there already, the bigger and smaller groups of people, believers and nonbelievers. They act and consider, and they, perhaps fortunately, are not covered much in the media"[54]. It seems clear that progress is associated closely with communication. According to many writers, the possibility of a better future should be founded on dialogue. Public debate is believed to be one of the foundations of an open society in which people can feel at home: "If convictions enter into dialogue with each other, one can prevent that these convictions evolve to ideologies that take lives. The absence of conversation has taken the life of Christians, Jews, Muslims, Hindus and nonbelievers. No one has the monopoly on the interpretation of their deaths"[55]. This is a quote that comes from an article about the need for education that will be explained later.

Secondly, can the category progress also reflect the idea of progress, which is a typical modern thought that has its origins in Enlightenment and is closely linked to both modernism and education. For this reason, it would have been possible to categorize progress under the theme Enlightenment values but due to the fact that it also reflects the hope for a better future, it seemed better to separate them.

Education

Another major topic in the articles was education. This consists of the subtopics "critical thinking", "openness", "LEF" (*Levensbeschouwing, Ethiek en Filosofie;* Philosophy of life, Ethics and Philosophy) and "citizenship". It would be fair to say that the discussion that rose up about the introduction of a class named LEF in secondary school is based on the question of the possibility of an education in citizenship. Citizenship is believed to contain education in the basic values of Belgian society, the apprentice of critical thinking and a state of mind based on openness towards the other and their ways of thinking. It would have been possible to make LEF the bigger category and put education beneath it. Due to the simple fact that LEF is a proposal for education that is both defended and contested in different articles, education was chosen to be the bigger category. The LEF-discussion was

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[53] K. VERHOEVEN, *Ze zijn met niet zo velen*, in *De Standaard*, 9th January 2015.
[54] "Wees gerust: ze zijn er al, de grotere en kleinere groepen, gelovig en niet-gelovig. Ze werken en bezinnen zich en ze komen, gelukkig misschien, weinig in het nieuws" in J. GOETHALS, *'J'ai peur'*, in *De Standaard*, 9th January 2015.
[55] "Als overtuigingen met elkaar in gesprek blijven treden, dan kan men voorkomen dat ze leiden tot ideologieën die mensenlevens eisen. De afwezigheid van gesprek heeft het leven gekost aan christenen, joden, moslims, hindoes en ongelovigen. Niemand heeft het monopolie op de interpretatie van hun dood" in R. TORFS, *Het lef om de andere echt te ontmoeten*, in *De Standaard*, 19th January 2015.

a very interesting debate in which different writers brought up arguments against or in favour of the course.

The writers in favour of this course mostly referred to the need of "neutrality" in education. According to them, it is necessary to be neutral when educating pupils to become critical citizens. Patrick Loobuyck, the founder of LEF, argues for the introduction of this course as being the only way to give the students all information possible, free from judgements or biases because of your own reference framework. He expresses a concern about the freedom of choice stating that, "[o]n the contrary, without adequate education and information students are not free. The freedom of badly informed young adults is a false freedom, and a freedom without the possibility of introspection and the deliberation of alternatives, is empty"[56]. As you can see, there seems to be a close association between the need for education and the possibility to experience true freedom (of choice). In my opinion, this is interesting due to the different questions it raises about the true meaning of freedom and freedom of choice and also about the possibility of being truly informed, a question regarding epistemology.

Writers against the introduction of LEF argue that there is no such thing as being neutral: "Considering if something is morally right, your stance on philosophical and ethical questions, these things you do so in regard your convictions. To adjust your opinions, to refine your attitude, you do within your concern/involvement of your convictions or philosophy"[57]. One of the writers states that the writers in favour of LEF, "(…) are blinded by their own ideological premises that are driven by an atheistic philosophy of life, departing from the premise that religions and philosophies are reducible to alternative, absolutely human, even fictive, constructions"[58]. These writers seem to be convinced that it is only possible to come to a constructive dialogue if there is room for all religions or life philosophies, including the one of the teacher him or herself. They see school as,

> "(…) een oefenplaats voor een 'samenleven' in een wereld van veelheid, diversiteit en verschil. Kritisch en creatief omgaan met wat eigen en wat anders is, zal mensen in staat stellen bij te dragen aan een open, zinvolle, verdraagzame en duurzame samenleving, waar een plaats is voor iedereen"[59].

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[56] "Integendeel, zonder adequate vorming en informatie zijn leerlingen niet vrij. De vrijheid van slecht geïnformeerde jongeren is een valse vrijheid en een vrijheid zonder ongelijkheid tot zelfreflectie en het kunnen overwegen van alternatieven is leeg" in P. LOOBUYCK, *Naar een onafhankelijke religiestudie*, in *De Standaard*, 19th January 2015.

[57] "Afwegen of iets moreel juist is, wat jouw standpunt is tegenover levensbeschouwelijke of ethische kwesties, doe je vanuit een overtuiging. Je mening bijstellen, je houding nuanceren doe je binnen de betrokkenheid van de overtuiging of de levensbeschouwing" in G. SCHELSTRAETE, *Iemand ooit een neutraal gezin gezien?*, in *De Standaard*, 15th January 2015.

[58] "(…) blind is voor de eigen ideologische vooronderstellingen die gedreven zijn door een atheïstische levensbeschouwing die vertrekt van de premise dat religies en levensbeschouwingen herleidbaar zijn tot alternatieve, zuiver menselijke, zelfs fictieve constructies" in R. TORFS, *Het lef om de andere echt te ontmoeten*, in *De Standaard*, 19th January 2015.

[59] G. SCHELSTRAETE, *Iemand ooit een neutraal gezin gezien?*, in *De Standaard*, 15th January 2015.

Enlightenment values

Last but not least, there is the category "enlightenment values", which consists of "freedom", "privacy", "peaceful struggle" ("*vreedzaam vechten"*) and "moral boundaries". Especially the category freedom is important due to the context of the attack on Charlie Hebdo being seen as an attack on the freedom of speech in Western societies, as expressed in the following quote,

> "Als er twaalf slachtoffers vallen bij een moordaanslag, dan is dat een humanitaire tragedie. Als daar cartoonisten en journalisten tussen zitten die het slachtoffer werden omdat ze als cartoonist of journalist stonden voor het vrije woord, dan spreken we over een aanslag op een fundamenteel beginsel van de ordening van onze samenleving. Als er ook politieagenten bij betrokken zijn die actief de veiligheid van burgers proberen te garanderen, dan gaat er een nieuwe bijslag in een ander basisprincipe"[60]

As you can see in this quote, there are some ground values that appear, such as the freedom of speech and the right to be safe, both being seen as foundations of European society. Another important topic is the freedom to laugh, as laughter and fun are seen as one of the ultimate ways to express freedom. One writer says that, "[l]aughing expresses the fool's opinion. I want to keep on doing that, for the laughing men is a free men"[61].

The topic "moral boundaries" is a category that evolves around the boundaries of freedom. Moreover, it evolves around other boundaries such as the right to privacy and safety measures. For this reason, the articles about these topics referred in some cases to politics and belong for this reason the type "Appeal". Some good examples of the boundaries of freedom were given in the context of the tifo at the soccer game, as mentioned before. One of the writers refers to hypocrisy pointing out that, "[w]e agreed that the freedom of speech exists to protect shocking, hurting and troublesome opinions. Now we react perplexed and disgusted to an image of a beheaded Steven Dufour. Speaking of double standards?"[62].

2.2 Roots of radicalization

A major topic that has been a topic for a while in European societies is "roots of radicalization". As mentioned before, this is a discussion that has been going on for a long time, starting after 9/11 revived after the 7/7 London bombings and revitalized again with the start of the Arab Spring, Syrian revolution and on-going civil war in Syria in 2011. On top of that, there are the present difficulties with the rise of the Islamic State (IS) in the Middle-Eastern region. All these incidents led to a group of young Western Muslims (both immigrants of the second or third generations, as Belgian converts) who leave to fight as

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[60] P. De Roover, *Trek een streep tussen 'zij' en 'wij'*, in *De Standaard*, 9th January 2015.
[61] "Al lachend zegt de zot zijn mening. Dat wil ik blijven doen, want een lachende mens is een vrije mens" in S. Gatz, *Lachende mens is vrije mens*, in *De Standaard*, 8th January 2015.
[62] "We waren het erover eens dat de vrijheid van meningsuiting er was om ook schokkende, kwetsende en storende meningen te beschermen, maar nu reageren we verbijsterd en gedegouteerd op een afbeelding van een onthoofde Steven Defour. Twee maten, twee gewichten?" in P. Loobuyck, *De Ultra's zijn geen Charlies*, in *De Standaard*, 27th January 2015.

Jihad warriors. More information about these young warriors and the causes of their departure follow in the next chapter, in which some radicalization theories will be discussed to see if the reasons mentioned in both *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya* match with the theories. What can be said here is that the reasons for radicalization are complex and that it is never truly clear why a young person decides to abandon his life and leave to fight. One of the writers summarizes it this way,

> "Waarom naar Syrië? Niet alleen omdat het gemakkelijk bereikbaar is. Islamitische Staat (IS) heeft voor iedere persoonlijke beweegreden een schijnbaar passend antwoord: perspectief, verbondenheid, erkenning, helden(dom), alternatief voor drugs en delinquentie, een alternatieve samenleving, avontuur, een villa met zwembad, sadisme-in-naam-van-een-hoger-doel. IS is een magneet en zal dat blijven zijn tot het niet langer wind in de zeilen heeft"[63]

In this section the roots of radicalization (Figure 11 in appendix) that appear in the articles from *De Standaard* and more specifically the subcategories "integration", "discrimination", "identity" and "ignorance" will be described.

Integration

"Integration" is one of the major topics in the articles and exists of different subcategories, namely "migration", "immigrants" ("*allochtonen*"), "the integration paradox", "the radicalization paradox" and "disintegration". Due to the need for a limitation, I will only describe the integration and radicalization paradoxes and disintegration because of the simple fact that the topics "migration" and "immigrants" are the subjects of the questions evolving around integration. Integration is seen as a major problem in Belgian society and seems to be closely linked to the need for education and citizenship, as shown in questions about the possibility of an education in citizenship brought up by the LEF-discussion. Furthermore, it seems clear that there is no concrete definition of integration. Sometimes it is seen as assimilation to the norms, values and habits of Belgian society; sometimes it is seen as a way to understand Belgian society and to live within the society but with the possibility to preserve the particularities of one's own culture. It is for this reason that integration is closely associated with the freedom to be different. It seems clear that most questions about integration are linked to the possibility of disintegration amongst young Muslims that do not feel at home in Belgian society. By this is meant that even though these youths are born and raised in Belgium, they abandon society and thus disintegrate, as if they simply lose cohesion with their society. It is for this reason that integration and disintegration are seen as a key to understand radicalization.

The integration and radicalization paradoxes refer to the research of Marion van San. The integration paradox has been stated in one of the articles of Marion van San herself as following,

> "Met die paradox wordt bedoeld dat de kinderen en de kleinkinderen van immigranten, die hier geboren en opgegroeid zijn, zich in sterke mate richten op

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[63] R. COOLSAET, *Van het kastje naar de muur naar Syrië*, in *De Standaard*, 31st January 2015.

de Belgische samenleving. Zij streven sociale acceptatie na en doen er alles aan om zich te integreren. Het gevolg is dat zij hogere maatschappelijke verwachtingen hebben dan anderen en vaak gevoeliger zijn voor uitsluiting en (vermeende) discriminatie. Bij negatieve ervaringen kunnen ze zich afkeren van de samenleving en hun heil zoeken in een deviante groepsidentiteit"[64]

Van San talks about the possibility of well integrated and higher educated young Muslims being at risk for radicalization due to the fact that they are more prone to feelings of discrimination and the lack of social acceptance for the reason that they have higher social expectations. This led to reactions that state the absurdity of this kind of reasoning,

"Dus bij elke stapje integratie, stijgt de kans op radicalisering? Dat zou betekenen dat het (te) kleine groepje onderzoekers met allochtone roots aan onze universiteit een tikkende tijdbom is. Ze zijn immers veelal zeer goed geïntegreerd en hebben het op het vlak van onderwijs erg ver geschopt. Zullen we ze alvast preventief onder toezicht plaatsen?"[65]

This writer points out that these kinds of generalizations will lead to further stereotyping of these well-integrated Muslims as being radical.

The radicalization paradox is an idea of Dyab Abou Jahjah, who states that, "a new paradox will come to existence; the more we fight radicalization, the more we empower it. It's the same as when an overdose of antibiotics damages the body even more"[66]. He makes plain that it is in a way normal that people, who are fully integrated in society and still feel discriminated, will become frustrated leading to clinging to something that makes one feel wanted and important. However, he states that it is not correct to only examine the correlation between radicalization and the level of integration; the correlation with the level of experienced discrimination should also be examined.

Discrimination

Due to the fact that discrimination does not per se have to be associated with immigrants, discrimination has to be seen as a different topic than integration. Discrimination can be defined as, "[u]njust or prejudicial treatment of a person or group, esp. on the grounds of race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.; freq. with *against*"[67]. In this context, discrimination especially refers to the prejudicial treatment of Muslims in Belgian society. It can be seen as a difficulty for the possibility of integration of these Muslims, as made clear in the previous section about the radicalization paradox. Important is that different parties have very different opinions about the meaning of discrimination. One writer writes says,

"Vrouwen stoten net zo goed op obstakels en vooroordelen op de arbeidsmarkt als mannen met de 'foute' huidskleur of origine of religie. Maar de meesten hebben

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[64] M. VAN SAN, *Hoe beter geïntegreerd, hoe meer kans op radicalisering*, in *De Standaard*, 2nd February 2015.

[65] P. VAN AELST, *Goed onderzoek, foute conclusie,* in *De Standaard*, 3rd February 2015.

[66] "Een nieuwe paradox zal zo ontstaan: hoe meer we radicalisering bestrijden, hoe meer we ze versterken. Zoals een overdosis antibiotica een lichaam zieker maakt" in D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Een nieuwe paradox*, in *De Standaard*, 6th February 2015.

[67] OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015*)*; http://www.oed.com (entry July 27th 2015).

geleerd op de tanden te bijten, en ook niet te vervallen in polariserende veralgemeningen à la Wouter Van Bellingen, die ooit verklaarde dat 'Vlamingen kennelijk meer empathie voor dieren hebben dan voor migranten'"[68]

She points out that there are many groups that are discriminated in Belgian society, such as women and believes that they have learned to cope with it without starting to polarize against Belgian people. This way, she lays responsibility with those feeling discriminated. This is the same writer that states elsewhere that Islamophobia is a term that pollutes the debate about Islamic radicalism by laying the burden of responsibility with the receiving society. Another writer gives a response, in which he emphasizes the importance of experience when talking about discrimination,

> "In de eindeloze debatten over radicalisering van de afgelopen weken was te horen dat 'de samenleving nooit de schuld kon dragen voor radicalisering' (DS 20 januari) of dat 'een rechtsstaat iedereen gelijke rechten geeft'. Wel, dat wordt alvast door een deel van de jongeren niet zo ervaren. Een aantal kijkt aan tegen een muur of gelooft niet meer in gelijke kansen"[69]

According to the writers, there is a very close link between discrimination and repression. For this reason, discrimination can be linked to emancipation, as being a possible solution. Both aspects seem closely associated with the need for political solutions and identity construction, as you will see in the next sections.

Identity

Identity is seen as a major source for radicalization. Furthermore, it is a theme that will be elaborated on in the next chapter. As you can see in the diagram, there are different subtopics: "identification", "social roles", "perpetrator-victim", "collective memory" and "collective suffering". All these themes have in one way or another something to do with the reasons why someone would identify with Islamic radicalism or fundamentalism. It is important that in many articles, involved with identity and identity construction as a cause of radicalization, is written about some kind of sense of belonging to something or someone and of feeling at home in society. It seems clear that the absence of these feelings is seen as a major difficulty and is believed to lead to radical belief. One writer expresses it beautifully: "Being raised in a climate that questions the foundations of your existence is, especially for young adults who are searching for their identities, the recipe of an explosive mixture"[70]. As you can see, she makes a reference to a climate that "questions the foundations of existence", which could refer to the secularized Belgian society in which the role of religion has slowly disappeared and that in one way or another is perceived as demanding from religious people to abandon their religion, too. Moreover, it is possible that it refers more broadly to discrimination in Belgian society, and the fact that many of

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[68] M. DOORNAERT, *Buikgevoel*, in *De Standaard*, 26th January 2015.

[69] R. COOLSAET, *Van het kastje naar de muur naar Syrië*, in *De Standaard*, 31st January 2015.

[70] "Opgroeien in een klimaat waar de grond van je bestaan fundamenteel in vraag wordt gesteld, is – zeker voor jongeren die op zoek zijn naar hun identiteit - het recept voor een explosief mengsel" in M. KANMAZ, *Waarom ook gematigde moslims ons de rug toekeren*, in *De Standaard*, 3rd February 2015.

these young adults are believed to be "Moroccan" or "Turkish" or "Afghan" and not considered "Belgian" even though they were born and raised in the Belgian society. This is expressed by one of the writers,

> "Als men dan zegt: 'Ja maar, u bent toch moslim', antwoord ik altijd ontwijkend. Het is namelijk een valstrik. Want als ik daarop zeg dat ik geen moslim ben, dan word ik beschouwd als iemand die afstand neemt van de moslims. Als ik mij wel als moslim out, moet ik mij plots verantwoorden voor alle slechte dingen die alle moslims in de hele wereld doen en voor alles wat in de Koran staat? Op dat moment ben ik geen individu meer, maar een cliché"[71]

The writer expresses a sense of confusion because she is both a Muslim and a Belgian and feels pressured to choose one of these social roles. Simultaneously, she feels as if choosing one would lead to identifying herself with a stereotype. This way, these young adults seem to be condemned to be outsiders because of the fact that their ancestors ones took the plunge leaving their houses and migrating to another country. This leads to interesting reflections upon the possibilities of becoming an insider, and reflections about the relationship between what is seen as "us" and "them", on which will be elaborated in the next section on ignorance[72].

Other important notions are "collective memory" and "collective suffering" that are closely associated with each other. At one point there was a discussion about discrimination and the fact that there are a lot of well-integrated Muslims that should not feel discriminated. One of the writers answered to these commentaries,

> "Klinkt logisch, ware het niet dat via die logica de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse Beweging, de arbeidersbeweging, de dekolonisatiebewegingen en het feminisme een vreemde draai krijgen. Elk van die bewegingen werd getrokken door hoogopgeleide middenklassers die zich verzetten tegen de marginalisering van hun gemeenschap. Je hoeft immers niet zelf slachtoffer te zijn van verdrukkingsmechanismen in een gemeenschap om je met die gemeenschap te identificeren, en de verdrukking ervan te bestrijden"[73]

In this quote he makes clear that one does not need to be discriminated to feel the hardships of those being discriminated. By referring to different emancipation movements in the past, he makes clear that one should identify with those being oppressed to be able to break these oppressing mechanisms. What I find interesting about these notions is that they seem to be closely associated with victimisation that can refer both to the act of being victimised by the other or the act of wallowing in the role of being a victim. For example, it is possible that Muslims are being victimised when they are being discriminated in Belgian society. At the same time it is also possible that some Muslims wallow in their role of being a victim and hold this against Belgian society. This is an interesting discussion because it can be lifted to a higher level in which these feelings of being a victim could be coupled to international processes, for example the Israel Palestinian conflict. Furthermore, I believe

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[71] R. AZIZ, *Verslaafd aan hokjes*, in *De Standaard*, 12th January 2015.
[72] An interesting article about this is an article of Alfred Schuetz called "The Stranger".
[73] J. BLOMMAERT, *Een merkwaardige logica*, in *De Standaard*, 5th February 2015.

this is linked to a sense of justice that is incorporated in and misused by Islamic radicalism. A fine example of this can be found in the legitimation of Amedy Coulibaly for taking hostages at the Jewish supermarket. He basically said that it is legitimate to kill Jews as long as Israel unlawfully occupies Palestine. As you can see, his crimes can be, according to him, seen as a form of justice. The occupation of Palestine is perceived as an incorrect treatment of Muslims, needs to be solved and is used as a legitimation to kill Jewish people. The European inactivity in both the Israel Palestinian conflict and the Syrian War could, according to this reasoning, be seen as a lack of interest towards Muslims.

Ignorance

The last topic that has been classified as a root of radicalization is the topic "ignorance". This theme is very closely linked to education, as education is according to many writers considered to be a solution for ignorance. This topic consists of three subtopics, namely "stereotypes", "polarization" and "US/THEM". Obviously, these terms are closely linked to each other and could be seen as a whole. I decided to use all three of them due to the slight differences between them. Stereotypes are very clear presuppositions about others (for example, "Muslims with a beard are radical"), while US/THEM is a topic that refers to covert mechanisms in society by which people divide between groups (for example, "we are evolved while they are not") and polarization is the outcome of these covert mechanisms (for example, discrimination against Muslims).

It might not be that clear why I decided to classify "ignorance" under "roots of radicalization". I will try to clarify it by looking at this statement,

"Maar als de onwetendheid zo onpeilbaar diep is dat we alle moslims als een monolithisch blok beschouwen waarbinnen iedereen identiek denkt en handelt, dan winnen we een oorkonde voor imbeciliteit. Zeker als we dan ook nog eens schijnen te denken dat het om een monolithisch terroristisch blok zou zijn"[74]

The writer says that people are truly ignorant if they think that Muslims are a group of people that all think and act the same and thus can be seen as a homogenous chunk. This way, he associates being ignorant to stereotyping and not considering the differences between people. For this reason, it should be clear that ignorance is linked to stereotyping and polarization, both associated with discrimination of the other. As explained before, is discrimination seen as one of the foundations of radicalization. Alongside the ignorance of certain individuals in a given society, there is also the perceived ignorance of the radicalized persons themselves,

"Wie dé Waarheid niet wil (laten) betwisten, moet en zal vroeg of laat het bestaan afwijzen van mensen die een andere mening zijn toegedaan. Dat zijn zij. Wie het recht op vrije meningsuiting voor mensen niet wil (laten) betwisten moet de onwrikbaarheid van dé Waarheden afwijzen. Dat zijn wij. Het is het één of het ander. Nooit mogen we ruimte laten aan die 'zij'-groep waarvan de opvattingen

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[74] L. PARYS, *Onwetendheid*, in *De Standaard*, 27th January 2015.

onverzoenbaar zijn met de onze. Er bestaat geen basis voor compromis want de enige Waarheid (met hoofdletter wegens onbetwistbaar) is dat Ze niet bestaat"[75]

This writer talks about the non-existence of Truth, as being one inevitable truth in which everyone should believe. This way, he makes clear that those people who do believe in this one Truth and kill others for not believing in it are ignorant. This is a very pragmatic way of thinking about truth, and it should be said that believing in the impossibility of Truth can also be seen as an ideology, especially when saying that "they" (those who believe in Truth) should have no room in "our" (those who believe in truths) society. Another commentary here is that these articles talk about ignorance, as in not knowing, but ignorance can also be seen ignorance, as in not being able to. This way, the question about human nature can be introduced. Can people be educated to be pragmatic and open to all other ways of thinking, or do people need a fixed ideology? I will come back at this in the next chapter.

As you can see, this is a good introduction of next subcategory, namely "US/THEM", which is strongly linked to polarization. Some of the writers use humour to describe this division stating that, "[y]our kind does not have a sense of humour. Even though satire is a symbol of a higher culture, you resist it. We from the Western world are masters in it"[76]. In this quote, you see a notion of a higher culture or civilization as opposed to barbarism. There are other writers, who oppose the idea of a fracture between them and us,

> "Na de cartoonhetze van 2006 brak er wereldwijd een eruptie uit van fundamentalistische betogingen en aanslagen; 'zij' hebben toen de straten bezet en 'wij' bleven uit angst binnen. Na vorige week stond er een massa mensen op straat die zichzelf als een 'wij' hebben gevoeld en gedefinieerd. Deze stille volksopstand is misschien veel krachtiger dan elk beleid vermag: er kwam een 'wij' op straat en geen 'zij'. Verre van een taalspelletje, is dat een gigantische stap vooruit: de straat is weer van ons. Nu nog een beleid dat maakt dat zoveel mogelijk mensen zich opnieuw in het 'wij' kunnen herkennen en zoveel mogelijk vermijdt om mensen naar het 'zij' weg te duwen"[77]

This writer emphasizes the need for policies that lead to the avoidance and even elimination of this fracture and the need for progress towards a society, in which everyone is "us". Another writer expresses that such divisions are hypocrite, "(...) because those who attack us, were ours up until they suddenly ganged up against us"[78]. Last but not least, there is a writer that makes fun of the stereotypes that are developped out of such a way or reasoning,

> "(...) 'Trek eens aan mijn vinger!' Nooit eerder in de geschiedenis van het vertrouwde dranklokaal zorgde één zinnetje ervoor dat alle gasten tegelijkertijd

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[75] P. De Roover, *Trek een streep tussen 'zij' en 'wij'*, in *De Standaard*, 9th January 2015.

[76] "Jouw soort heeft geen gevoel voor humor. Satire, daar kunnen ze niet tegen. Het is nochtans een teken van een hogere beschaving. Wij van de westerse wereld zijn daar meesters in" in J. Van Damme, *Profeet betaalt het gelach*, in *De Standaard*, 10th January 2015.

[77] I. Devisch, *De straat is weer van ons*, in *De Standaard*, 17th January 2015.

[78] K. Verhoeven, *Ze zijn met niet zo velen*, in *De Standaard*, 9th January 2015.

onder stoelen en tafels doken en van de schrik hun handen voor hun ogen sloegen. 'Niet doen!', schreeuwde iemand uitzinnig, 'Of direct ontploft hij nog!'"[79]

Finally, there is one last topic that I want to describe in this section, namely fear. Fear is closely linked to politics and, more specifically, to the expressed need for safety measures. This is expressed by this author: "To be more than ever an irritant to those in power, especially now, as an antitoxin for our fears"[80]. Moreover, I thought fear as being closely linked to ignorance. I believe that the foundation of stereotypes and the alleged dissimilarities between them and us are based upon fear for that what is unknown or unexplainable. So thus, ignorance can be seen as the foundation of fear. One of the writers expresses it this way,

> "We gaan naar huis, we sluiten de deur, misschien dubbel op slot – je weet maar nooit – en klagen over die mensen die godsdienst op de eerste plaats stellen, terwijl wij hem net op zijn terechte plaats hebben gezet en niet meer aanvaarden dat hij beslist over anticonceptie, abortus, echtscheiding of euthanasie"[81]

What I find striking in this quote is the association between being afraid of people and religion. Although I believe this writer is probably being sarcastic, I do think that the assumption of religion being very conservative and closed-minded to things such as birth control is an assumption based upon a certain image, or stereotype, of religion and religious people. As mentioned before, these are things that should be talked about instead of being assumed and it seems necessary to enter into dialogue with these religious people to come to a better understanding of each other. To finish this section I want to refer to a quote that in my opinion gathers all previous topics, namely the difficulty of creating a new "us" without being led by fear: "Fear is that what binds us while simultaneously disbanding us"[82].

H. CONCORDANCE AND EVOLUTION

Concerning the systematic questions about concordance and evolution, I decided to deal with them at simultaneously in only one section. This way, the analysis would be made more comprehensive. Furthermore, I opted to only look at the concordance and evolution of the topics by date and by author. A limitation was needed and these subjects seemed after a first reading the most interesting to examine more closely. I decided not to look at the types because it became clear that there was no clear evolution of the types of the articles, and the concordance of these types has been described earlier in the section about the types themselves. For the same reasons, I decided not to look at the number of words, the context and the audience because all three of them have been thoroughly described before. This does not mean, though, that audience and context will be left out of

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[79] J. VAN DAMME, *Profeet betaalt het gelach*, in *De Standaard*, 10th January 2015.

[80] "Om meer dan ooit de luis in de pels van machthebbers te zijn. Ja, uitgerekend nu, als tegengif voor onze angst" in D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Allahu Akbar!*, in *De Standaard*, 23rd January 2015.

[81] DELVAUX, B., *Liefde voor de Profeet*, in *De Standaard*, 15th January 2015.

[82] "Angst is wat ons nu bindt en tegelijk ontbindt" in D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Allahu Akbar!*, in *De Standaard*, 23rd January 2015.

the analysis here but they will not be handled separately. Furthermore, it must be clear that a lot about concordance has already been written in the previous section when describing thoroughly some chosen themes.

1. Topics by date

To make it a little easier to look at concordance and evolution of the topics by date, I decided to use the classifications of date used in the context section. This means that I will look at four time frames: from January 8th until January 14th, from January 15th until January 21st, from January 22nd until January 28th and from January 29th until February 7th. These are of course arbitrary divisions that are just made up for this analysis and are simply a tool that does not need to be followed strictly.

Regarding the first category from January 8th until January 14th, a category consisting of no less than 20 articles, I noticed that a lot of these articles talk about freedom and more particularly about "freedom of speech" and "freedom to laugh". Due to the fact that the attack on Charlie Hebdo had just happened and the possibility to laugh and to speak your mind freely is closely linked to the nature of the magazine, which consists of satirical cartoons, this seems logical. These subjects are closely linked to initial elaborations on the ground values of democratic society. Another important topic in this first week is the necessity not to start polarizing and not to see Muslims as "the other", being a homogenous and radical chunk. This seems to be associated with the appeal to build a multicultural society, together, in which everyone could feel at home. Furthermore, there were some articles that talk about the roots of extremism and Islamic radicalism and the need to find a way to fight the radicalization of young Western Muslims.

The next category of articles from January 15th until January 21st consists of 20 articles. In these articles the topic of education came up. As mentioned before in the context section, a discussion had started concerning the introduction of a course named LEF in which children and young adults should learn about the ground values of democratic society, about citizenship and about different philosophies of life to become pragmatic citizens with respect for other people's life choices. This led to articles talking about the ground values of democratic society and to discussions about how one should learn these ground values. I will not elaborate on this again because it has all been said above under the topic "education". Another important subject that was raised was that concerning "policies", which is closely linked to safety and the need for safety measurements. These articles raise questions about the necessity of safety measurements such as limitation of privacy and freedom, and of their compatibility with democratic values such as privacy and freedom.

The third category consists of ten articles that were written between January 22nd and January 28th. These articles mostly elaborate on the topics that had appeared in the previous category. Last but not least, there is the category of articles from January 29th until February 7th that consists of 16 articles. In these articles the topic of integration came up, in which a link was established between integration and radicalization. Obviously, this led to a discussion about the roots of radicalization and about the possibility to truly integrate in a new society. As said previously, this discussion was raised by Marion van San's research about radicalization.

As you can see, there is a visible evolution regarding the topics. In the first weeks after the attack on Charlie Hebdo most articles talk about democratic values such as freedom and the need to defend them. This led to an in-depth discussion on what these values are and how the youth of a society can be taught that these values are truly valuable, which then led to a discussion about citizenship. This discussion was connected to a discussion about integration. It became clear to me that the later topics are more or less elaborations on previous topics. It seems like there can be spoken of an evolution of more or less emotional articles from writers shocked by the attack on Charlie Hebdo towards comprehensive and rational discussions about the roots of radicalization and the need for education.

Of course, there are many other topics that came up when analysing the data but that could not be linked to a specific time frame or that have only been elaborated upon in a few articles. An example of one of those topics is the hypocrisy of both people in Western societies as well as that of politics and certain policies. This is a topic that has come up in different time frames and thus could be seen as a consistent topic. Another smaller topic that came up was that of media as a power mechanism, which should take responsibility to fight polarization. This should show that even though there could be spoken of an evolution, it is also clear that a lot of articles could be looked at as isolated articles or as consistent with the time frame.

2. Topics by author

In this section, I will discuss some of the authors who wrote more than one article and look at concordance and evolution in their articles. By analysing some specific authors, the previous observations should be clarified. It would take me too far to look at every one of the recurring writers so I decided to examine the ones who wrote four or five articles. This is a number of articles that should enable me to look at concordance and evolution. The writers chosen are Dyab Abou jahjah and Marc Reynebeau.

2.1 Dyab Abou Jahjah

Dyab Abou Jahjah (°1971) is a writer and activist with Lebanese roots and can be seen as a controversial figure due to his political activities in the beginning of the 2000s, being the founder of Arab European League, a movement that defends the interests of European Muslims. He was also blamed to be the instigator of the riots in Borgerhout in 2002, which started after a Muslim was killed by his Flemish neighbour. In 2008, he was freed from those charges. In 2007, he went back to Lebanon, and by the end of 2013, he returned to Belgium once again. He founded a new movement called Movement X[83] that fights for equality. In 2014, he became a weekly columnist for *De Standaard.* Abou Jahjah is seen as one of the most influential immigrants in Belgium.

Due to the fact that he has a weekly column in *De Standaard* and the political activities he engages in, it is no wonder that he is the only writer from whom five articles are incorporated in the data (one article a week). All Abou Jahjah's articles show concern about the rights of Muslims in Belgian society and, according to him, growing polarization

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[83] See: http://www.movementx.org/

and Islamophobia. In his first article he refers to the policeman killed by the brothers Kouachi titling his article "I am Ahmed"[84]. In this article he points out that freedom of speech means the freedom to mock the other and his beliefs, but also the freedom to be provoked by such mockery. This way, he defends Muslims who are provoked by Muhammad cartoons whilst at the same time defending the cartoonists, pointing out that dialogue is necessary and that an absolute belief (whether it is to believe in absolute freedom or to believe in absolute Islam) is harmful. In his second article[85] he elaborates on this topic in the light of the arrest of Dieudonné. By looking at the meaning of freedom and the ways in which people experience this freedom, he is able to bring in questions about discrimination and apartheid in Belgian society. By this, he wants to point out that the Muslims in European society feel as if they are not receiving the same freedom of expression as other people. At the same time, he brings up the subject of politics and especially safety measures that hold in themselves a limitation of the freedom of speech.

Abou Jahjah's third article[86] deals with the roots of radicalization, namely fear, responsibility and dialogue. First of all, it was interesting that he elaborated on the meaning of "*Allahu Akbar".* He tries to explain what this saying means for non-radical Muslims and how radical ones use it wrongly. I believe this to be a good way to show that he believes in the need for true dialogue. This way, he places himself in the discussion about education and citizenship that came up in the week before this article. By referring to the subject "fear", he makes the same evolution as has generally been seen, namely an evolution towards criticism about safety measures proposed by different politicians. Last but not least, I found it interesting that he elaborates on his previous article about discrimination by giving more general statements about other instances of radicalization, such as the Israel Palestinian conflict, which is by many Muslims seen as a huge problem and an unjust treatment of both the Palestinian people, as being oppressed by Israel, and Israel, as not being punished for oppression. Moreover, he points out the possibility of Europe having a hand in some of these problems, through looking the other way, and not taking responsibility in the mistreatment of Muslims in Europe and elsewhere.

His following article titled "Take their nationalities away"[87] is a very strong critique towards the proposal to take away the passports of radicalized youths with a double nationality. I have used a quote of Abou Jahjah before in the elaboration on the topics. He made it very clear that it would be absurd to take away the Belgian nationality of young adults who were born and raised in Belgium, as if they are not Belgian people but Moroccan or Turkish. Again I noticed that this article could be seen as an elaboration on the previous article concerning the hypocrisy and responsibility of Europe, and especially Belgium. Furthermore, he refers once more to discrimination and Islamophobia and compares today's condition of Muslims in Europe to the condition of Jews suffering Nazism. Abou Jahjah's final article[88] discusses the integration paradox as proposed by

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[84] D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Ik ben Ahmed*, in *De Standaard*, 9th January 2015.
[85] D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Dieudonné versus Charb*, in *De Standaard*, 16th January 2015.
[86] D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Allahu Akbar!*, in *De Standaard*, 23rd January 2015.
[87] D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Neem hun nationaliteit af*, in *De Standaard*, 30th January 2015.
[88] D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Een nieuwe paradox*, in *De Standaard*, 6th February 2015.

Marion van San. Again, he implements himself in the discussion raised about integration being one of the roots of radicalization. It seems logical that this article is very closely associated with his previous articles about discrimination, Islamophobia and the roots of radicalization and the role of Belgium and Europe in fighting these.

2.2 Marc Reynebeau

Marc Reynebeau (°1956) is a Belgian journalist, columnist and historian. He has been an editor of the weekend issues of *De Standaard* and has a weekly column. He is also known for his role as a member of the jury in the Flemish quiz called *"De Slimste Mens ter Wereld"*. Due to the fact that he is an editor of and columnist for *De Standaard* it is logical that he is the second writer examined, as being the only writer who wrote four of the articles incorporated in this analysis. Reynebeau's first article[89] is an article that talks about the freedom of speech and satire, as a form of humour in which criticism and humour converge. He points out that satire is necessary and that it means to break existing taboos. Silencing satire would in his opinion mean censorship of both the other and one's self. The topic of this article, being published on 8th January, seems logical and can be seen as a way to convince the other about the necessities of freedom of speech and freedom to laugh.

The second article[90] is an article in which Reynebeau criticizes the politics of fear and the safety measures that stern from it. This is logical simply because it has been written in the second week after the attack on Charlie Hebdo. I thought it interesting that this is the only article that explicitly refers to the principle of the separation of powers as being one of the foundations of democratic society. Furthermore, he talks about safety measures (for example, limitation of privacy) as being violations of fundamental human rights, and makes an appeal to the citizens not to be afraid and to react upon these violations. Clearly, there is already an evolution to be seen from a first reaction talking about freedom towards more thorough reflections on the foundation of democratic society.

In his third article[91], he elaborates on these politics of fear by pointing at the perception of being under threat as being not more than a perception compared to the on-going troubles in the Middle Eastern world (IS, Syria). By doing this, he compares the hypocrisy of safety measures, as handled in the previous article, to the hypocrisy of considering a war as being something neutral and clean. This is interesting because, again, this is one of few articles that refer to the belief in war as being a neutral weapon that keeps menace at distance, as if it is clean because it is far-off and you cannot see the consequences. Lastly, he wrote an article titled "The law will think in your place"[92] in which he elaborates some more on safety measures, referring to the current circumstances leading to a "safety theatre". In this article and by using the words "safety theatre" he shows that he does not truly believe in the sufficiency of such measures. As an example, he alludes to the proposal that would make it possible to punish people who legitimize terrorist actions and observes that this will only lead to repression and the possibility that such ideas will go underground, making it impossible to monitor them. As

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[89] M. REYNEBEAU, *Onnozel en gemeen, omdat het moet*, in *De Standaard*, 8th January 2015.
[90] M. REYNEBEAU, *Niet bang, echt?*, in *De Standaard*, 14th January 2015.
[91] M. REYNEBEAU, *Zo dichtbij en toch zover*, in *De Standaard*, 21st January 2015.
[92] M. REYNEBEAU, *De wet denkt wel in uw plaats*, in *De Standaard*, 4th February 2015.

you can see, it is possible to find some evolution in the articles topic-wise. It seems clear that both writers have some specific topics or themes that they are more affectionate to than others. Concerning Reynebeay's articles these seem to be the ground values of democracy and politics.

2. AL ARABIYA

In this part, all the systematic questions will be answered for all 33 articles from *Al Arabiya*. In some cases, I will go deeper into the content of the articles but it is not the objective of this part to reflect upon the data yet.

A. DATE

In this section, I will look at the distribution of the articles by date. If you look at the chart (Figure 12 and Figure 13), you see the number of articles on the y-axis and the date on the x-axis. To start with, it shows that the distribution of the articles evolves around three articles a day to zero or one article a day. There are a lot of days that no article has been written. By looking at those days more closely, it shows that there is no influence of the weekend. There is an evolution visible, though. You can see that from January 8th until January 19th there is only one day (namely January 9th) that no article has been written. Regarding the articles written between January 20th and February 7th, it shows that there are no less than twelve out of 19 days that no article has been written at all. It is clear that most of the articles are written in the first part of the time frame with an average of two articles a day. The second part of the time frame has only an average of 0.5 articles a day. This brings the average of the whole timeframe to only one article a day. I will take a closer look at this in the context section.
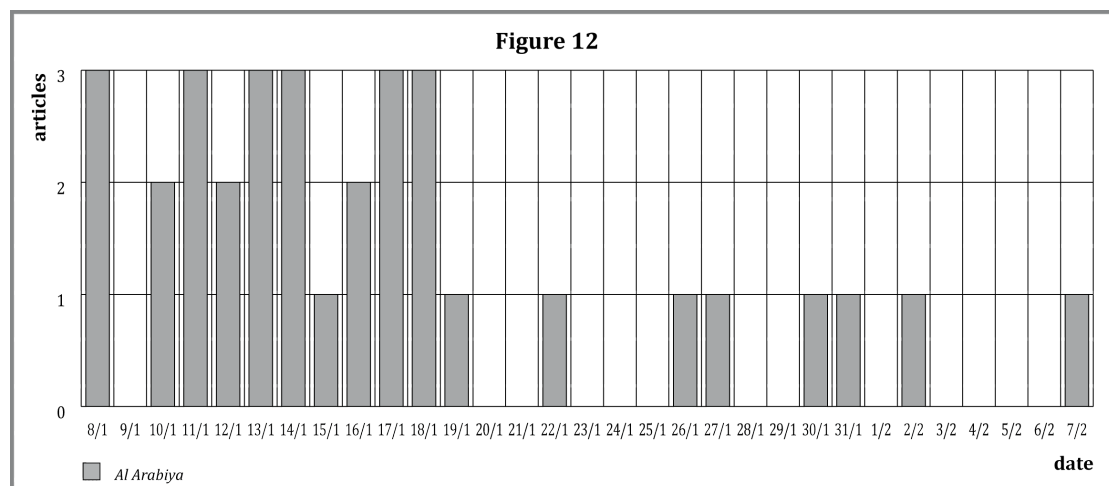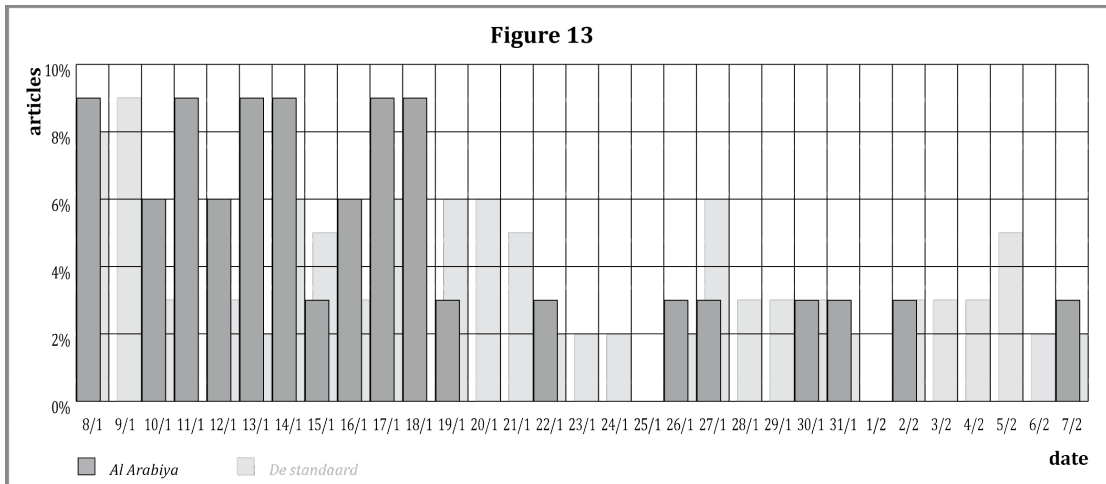
Figure 12

Figure 13

B. AUTHOR

The data of *Al Arabiya* consists of 33 articles. Twenty-two different authors wrote these articles. Figure 14 shows the number of articles on the x-axis and the number of authors on the y-axis. Most of the writers, namely 16, wrote only one article. There are four writers who wrote two articles, none wrote three articles, one wrote four articles and another one wrote five articles. Due to the number of articles in the data of *Al Arabiya,* this means that 15% of the articles are written by only one author namely Abdulrahman al-Rashed, who is the former General Manager of *Al Arabiya*. Another 12% of the articles are written by Hisham Melhem who is the bureau Chief of *Al Arabiya* News Channel in Washington DC. More about professions will follow later. First, we take a look at Figure 15 on gender. Of the 22 different writers of the articles, there are nine (41%) women and 13 (59%) men. Among the writers who wrote more than one article there are two (33%) women and four (67%) men. This seems to be an almost equal proportion of men and women who have written about the Charlie Hebdo attack in *Al Arabiya*. As mentioned before, there will be no further analysis of gender because this would need a different way of analysing the articles.
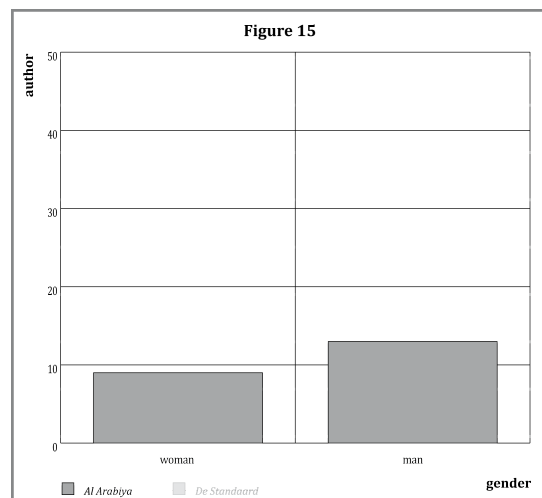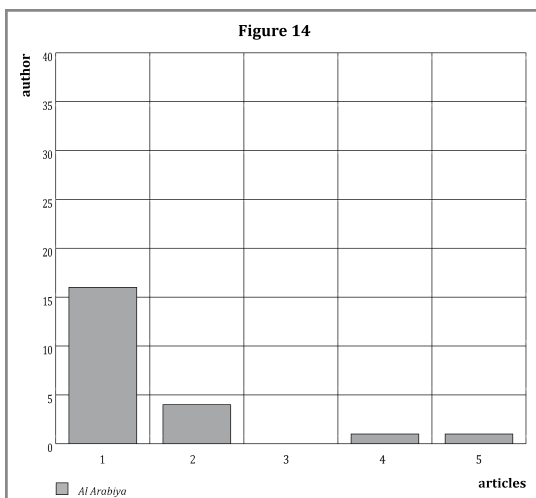
Figure 14

Figure 15

The next chart (Figure 16) shows the professions on the x-axis and the number of writers belonging to the profession on the y-axis. For the analysis of *Al Arabiya* there has been chosen to use the same categories of professions as in the analysis of *De Standaard*. This will make it easier for the comparison that follows in the next part. There are 48 professions and 22 different professions amongst the writers of *Al Arabiya*. Because there are 22 different ones this means that these writers combine two or more professions. Of these 48 professions, three (6%) belong to the category "Arts", four (9%) belong to the category "Academic/Education", 29 (60%) fall under the category "Author/Journalist", ten (21%) were classified in the category "Manager", two (4%) belong to the category "Politician" and the category "Other" stays empty. It seems to be that these writers have a higher education or at least have relevant experience with writing articles and expressing opinions.
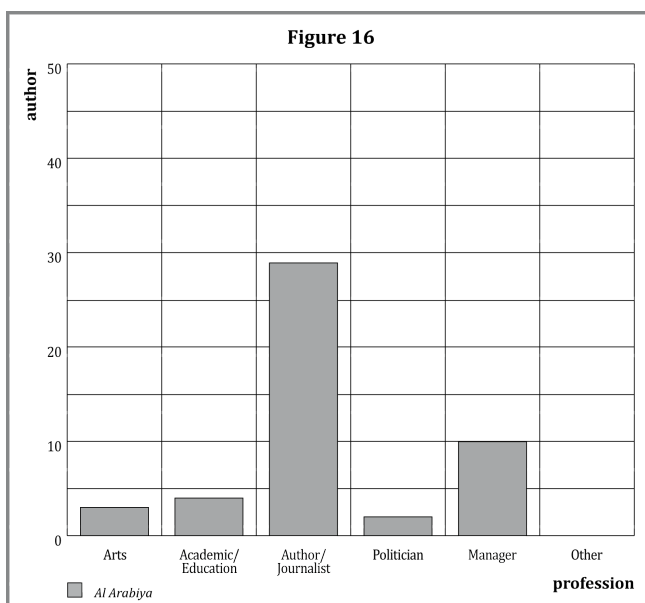
Figure 16

C. NUMBER OF WORDS

For analysing the number of words of *Al Arabiya* the same categories have been used as in the analysis of *De Standaard*, namely 0-399, 400-799, 800-1199, 1200-1599, 1600-1999 and 2000-2399 words (Figure 17). The category with most articles in it is the one from 400 until 799 words: 14 out of 33 (42%) articles. The second biggest category is the one from 800 until 1199 words with a number of nine (27%) articles. The rest of the articles are classified in other categories, namely two (6%) in the category 0-399, five (15%) in the category 1200-1599, two (6%) in the category 1600-1999 and one (3%) in the category 2000-2399. This means that the largest amount of articles (69%) belongs to either the second category of 400 until 799 words or the third category of 800 until 1199 words. The average length of an article of the *Al Arabiya* section "Opinions" is between 400 and 1199 words.

Figure 17
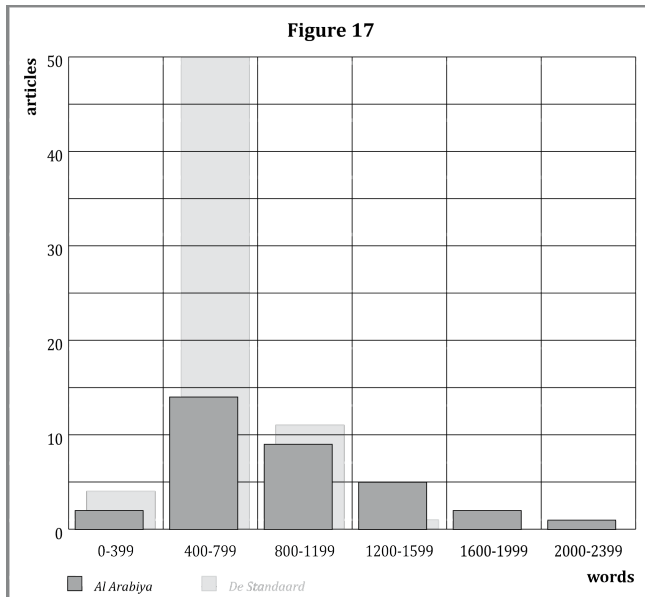
D. CONTEXT

For the analysis of the articles from *Al Arabiya,* the same categories were used as in the analysis of *De Standaard*: the first days after the attack (January 8th until January 14th), one week after the attack (January 15th until January 21st), two weeks after the attack (January 22nd until January 28th) and three weeks up to one month after the attack (January 29th until February 7th). A couple of days after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, there were a lot of references to justifications for the attack in the Arab world and this was something the writers of the articles reacted upon. This continued for a while; a little later, there were reactions upon the response of, for example, president Assad of Syria on the attack. Around one week after the attack, there was a lot of commotion about the absence of Barack Obama, president of the United States, on the unity/solidarity march in Paris on January 11th. On this day, more than 3 million people gathered, including a lot of high placed politicians from all over the world, but Obama did not show, neither did any other person from the top of his administration. This led to a lot of questions about the president and the message he sent to the world by not showing up. This topic was elaborated on towards a question about the inactivity of the United States in the on-going war in Syria and other problems in the Middle East. In the same week, there were a lot of articles that referred to the car bombings outside a police academy in Sana'a, Yemen on January 7th[93]. In this attack at least 37 people were killed. Due to the fact that this attack happened at the same time of the attack on Charlie Hebdo, some writers of the articles from *Al Arabiya* looked at the possibility of a link between both of them. No group claimed responsibility for the attack in Yemen but it is believed it was the work of Al Qaeda Yemen. Last but not least, it is important that these articles are written in the context of the huge difficulties the Middle East is facing today, meaning both the on-going war in Syria between the troops of president Assad and the different rebelling groups and the rise of IS (Islamic State), radical Islamists or religious fanatics/fascists that are trying to create a

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[93] BBC News, *Yemen bomb blast kills dozens near Sanaa Police Academy* (7th January 2015);
http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-30706208 (entry 27th July).

Caliphate in Iraq and Syria. Even tough this is a truly interesting subject; it is not the object of this research to elaborate on this topic. As you can see, most of the contextual references in the articles appear to have happened in the first weeks after the attack on Charlie Hebdo. Perhaps this is the reason for the vast amount of articles written between January 7th and January 19th and the lack of articles in the second part of analysis.

E. AUDIENCE

Regarding *Al Arabiya,* there is the same commentary as in the analysis of *De Standaard*'s articles, namely that it was not clear to see for whom the articles are written. It was obvious though that all articles are written for the *Al Arabiya* readers on the website, which is an international public. Next to that, it became clear that a lot of these articles are written for specific politicians, nations or more general as an appeal to politics. Titles such as "On those who seek to justify the Paris attack"[94], "Je suis unavailable: Obama and the decline of U.S. soft power"[95] and "Not 'The Onion': Assad says he is 'against killing civilians'"[96] speak volumes. Finally, there were some journalists who seemed to write for themselves to make sense of the attack on Charlie Hebdo and the current situation in the Middle East. This led to more emotional articles in which strong words were used, more about this in the next section.

F. TYPES

As mentioned before, this section handles a more difficult question, namely *which is (are) the type(s) used in the article?* Figure 18 shows the types found in the articles on the x-axis and the number of articles that fall under a certain category on the y-axis. There are twelve types found. As you know, there are only 33 articles analysed but there are 89 in the chart. This means that most of the articles are categorized under more than one type. As before*,* I will look at the number of articles that fall under each category and at the combination of types within these articles. Finally, you will find a description of some of the types. To be able to compare the analysis of *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya* I decided to only use the five biggest categories.

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[94] A. AL-RASHED, *On those who seek to justify the Paris attack*, in *Al Arabiya*, 8th January 2015.
[95] J. KARAM, *Je suis unavailable: Obama and the decline of U.S. soft power*, in *Al Arabiya*, 15th January 2015.
[96] F. J. ABBAS, *Not 'The Onion': Assad says he is 'against killing civilians'*, in *Al Arabiya*, 17th January 2015.

Figure 18
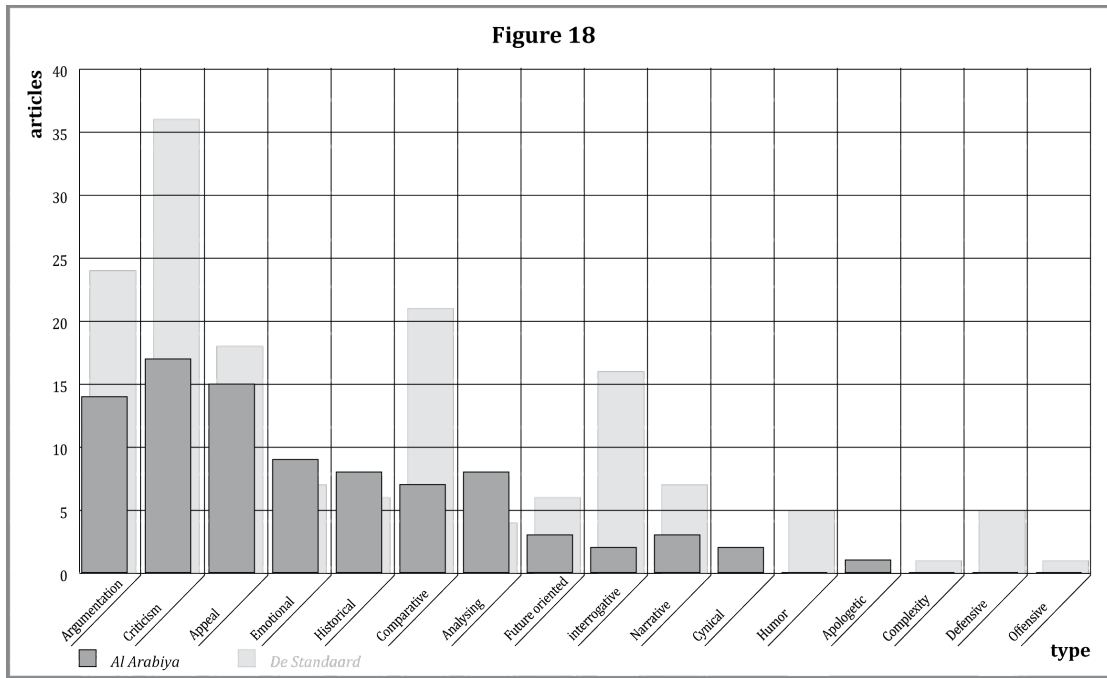
1. Statistics

To begin with, there is the category "Argumentation" that consists of 14 articles or 42% of all articles (33) in the data from *Al Arabiya*. The next category "Criticism" is the biggest category under which 17 (52%) of all categories fall. Thirdly, there is the category "Appeal" that consists of 15 or 45% of the articles. The following category is the type "Emotional" that consists of nine (27%) of all articles. Subsequently, you see the types "Historical" and "Analysing" that both consist of eight (24%) of the articles. The category "Comparative" consists of seven (21%) articles and the categories "Future oriented" and "Narrative" both consist of three or 9% of the articles. Next, you see the categories "Interrogative" and "Cynical", both consisting of two (6%) articles. Finally, there is the small category "Apologetic" that has got only one or 3% of the articles. As you can see, there are seven categories in total under which more than 20% of the articles can be placed, four of them consist of less than 30%, two of them consist of over 40% and only one consists of over 50% of all articles. These types are respectively from larger to smaller the following: "Criticism", "Appeal", "Argumentation", "Emotional", "Historical", "Analysing" and "Comparative".

2. Combination of types

Of the 33 articles used for analysis there are 6 (18%) that only belong to one category of types. Next, there are eight (24%) articles that can be placed under two different types, and 14 (42%) that belong to three different categories. At last, there are four (12%) articles that have been placed under four types and finally, there is one (3%) article that belongs to no less than six categories. As previously stated, only six types will be analysed in more detail. To start with there is the type "Criticism" that is combined most with "Appeal" (six articles), "Emotional" (five articles), "Argumentation" (eight articles), "Historical" and "Comparative" (both four articles). As you can see, these are four of the

other five largest categories. Again, there are some types that can be combined with more than one other type. For example, there are three articles that combine the types "Criticism", "Argumentation" and "Appeal" of which one article has also been categorized under "Emotional". In the future all combination of less than 4 articles will be left out and the combination with the previous type will not be stated again. The second category "Argumentation" is combined most with "Appeal" (five articles) and "Emotional (four articles). Subsequently, the type "Appeal" is combined most with "Emotional" (5 articles). The category "Emotional" overlaps with "Historical" (4 articles), and for the last categories "Historical" and "Analysing" there were no other combinations worth mentioning. Regarding the combinations of types, it is striking that the sixth category "Analysis" does not come up in the combinations because there were never more than three articles that corresponded with another type. For this reason, it was decided to only describe the five other categories.

3. Description of types

As you can see, there are six big categories of which five are most often combined. For this reason, I will only analyse those five ("Criticism", "Appeal", "Argumentative", "Emotional" and "Historical") more thoroughly by looking at the articles.

3.1 Criticism

I have described the first category "Criticism" above and illustrated with a few examples from *De Standaard*. For this reason, I will not define the same categories again. Many of the articles from *Al Arabiya* criticized politics and points of concern, such as the inactivity of the United States, or the inactivity of Europe, especially with regard to the Syrian war. One of the writers wrote the following: "I believe the world's action on Syria has proved to be seasonal reaching a climax only during winter and at times of security spill overs, as has been experienced most recently in Europe"[97]. I guess this is one of the major critiques towards the European international politics. They point at the fact that Europe seems to be inactive most of the time but suddenly springs into action when something happens within its own borders, such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo, or when the circumstances have nothing to do with concrete human actions, such as terrible weather conditions in the winter. In one way or another, this could be linked to the critical voices that blame both European and Middle Eastern politics for being hypocritical,

> "All the events ameliorated the shock, horror and yearning for unity, but also unleashed an enormous cynical wave of hypocrisy and revealed the great problems of perceptions of the world around us. [...] The wave was orchestrated by the media through its dramatic coverage, through hysteric social media initiatives that lauded Charlie Hebdo and its journalists as a symbol of freedom of speech and even martyrs in the democratic and prosperous future of Western civilization. The

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[97] R. OMARI, *Is the world's reaction to the Syrian war still seasonal?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 19th January 2015.

shooting was perceived as an attack against freedom of speech, republican values, and Laslty, as an Islamist terrorist act. This is a true paradox of perception"[98]

The role of politics will be elaborated upon in the section below that deals with the topics that came up by analysing the articles from *Al Arabiya*.

Next, there were many articles that criticize radical Muslims as being delusional. Furthermore these articles criticize all Muslims who tried in one way or another to legitimize an action, such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo. In some cases there was criticism towards political parties who try to come to a better understanding of radicalism. For example,

"Those who refuse this culture do not have to live within it. They can search for a single-minded community that would give them the intellectual environment they are searching for. They cannot impose restrictions on the freedom of thought in a world that was not created for them. They would live in the West but do not want to coexist with its culture"[99]

In cases like this, very strong and emotional words were used more often than not. Another such example is from a writer stating that, "[i]f you value life, this is a bloody crime that must be denounced, condemned, fought with all the might available to you. To question the reaction, distract to another conflict, justify, blame the victims or give the killers excuses, is inhumane"[100].

3.2 Appeal

The category "Appeal" is another category that I have used above in analysis of *De Standaard*. As you remember, this category is focused on the audience for whom the articles are written. In the destination section of the analysis it became clear that most of the articles in *Al Arabiya* were directed towards politics as some kind of call for action; a call to do something about the problems with radical Islamist groups such as IS in the Middle East, and the war in Syria but also as an appeal to hold on to your values and to be ready to defend them,

"The war on al-Qaeda and ISIS and against terror in a globalized world – has exposed modern day democracies – given their transparent political institution, and their people's high standards of living – to new dangers that cannot be addressed effectively without demonstrating the willingness and readiness to suffer sacrifices and endure pain.... Those who have a higher threshold of pain will win and inherit the future"[101]

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[98] M. DUBOVIKOVA, *#JeSuisAllVictims: What about the forgotten?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.
[99] A. AL-RASHED, *The Arab world's freedom crisis*, in *Al Arabiya*, 10th January 2015.
[100] O. NASR, *Value of human life tested by the Charlie Hebdo attack*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.
[101] H. MELHEM, *A world in the shadows of terrorism*, in *Al Arabiya*, 10th January 2015.

As you can see, there is a lot of attention for the possibility that the problems going on in the Middle Eastern region are already happening and will definitely be problematized in the rest of the world, if nothing is done,

> "Don't all these events now going on around us and committed in our name require us to break the fear barrier and begin to question our region and our societies, especially the ideas being trafficked there that have led us to this awful stage where we are tearing at one another's throats – to mention nothing of what as a result also happens beyond our region?[102]

Last but not least, there are quite some articles that reflect upon globalization and see it as a challenge for the world to be able to pin down the further growth of the group of people with radical and violent ideas ready to die for their ideologies. The next quote makes this clear in a very emotional way,

> "... we as civilized nations, need to showcase better performance of conquering hearts and minds on the Internet. […] there are no more limits, ideas can travel to every home, every place, police station, school or intelligence agency at the speed of light […] We need to produce more appealing content for people who feel oppressed and in need for a united voice. We need to win their hearts and minds back. We simply need to prove we are more sophisticated thinkers and our arguments are more compelling than the likes of ISIS […] we need to stop them from crossing a border in their minds"[103]

3.3 Argumentation

The type "Argumentation" is the same type as used in the analysis of *De Standaard*. As mentioned before, it was not easy to find concrete quotes that reflect the argumentation parts of an article. However, It was interesting to find some references to Muhammad and the Qur'an when reasoning why radical Islam is not the true Islam or the right way to practice this religion. This writer points out the irony of killing people in name of Islam saying that, "(...) what is certainly ironic is that if the beloved Prophet Mohammad was to return today with all the tolerance, forgiveness and fairness he preached; he would probably be denounced by the very same radical people who committed yesterday's crime in his name"[104]. Another writer expresses it this way,

> "The excuse of defending God or the prophet is an invalid argument because God and his prophets have not called for murdering others but rather have called for committing good deeds. Defending God and his prophets neither elevates their worth nor decreases their sanctity. All people are 'God's sons' and 'indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of God is the most righteous of you'"[105]

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[102] D. MOUKALLED, *Massacres cannot be excused, so stop trying*, in *Al Arabiya*, 14th January 2015.
[103] C. OZBUDAK, *Turkey is not to blame for foreign Jihadist actions*, in *Al Arabiya*, 17th January 2015.
[104] F. J. ABBAS, *Vive la liberté!*, in *Al Arabiya*, 8th January 2015.
[105] N. TUENI, *Solidarity, from Paris to Beirut*, in *Al Arabiya*, 16th January 2015.

It is interesting, though, that there are references to religion and the Qur'an to be able to come to a clear and logical argument to state why these radical Muslims are wrong and should be condemned.

3.4 Emotional

Emotional articles are articles that are, "[c]haracterized by strong emotion; arising from or arousing intense feelings" and: "[o]f or relating to the emotions; based on or appealing to emotions"[106]. This means these articles can be written both emotionally and appealing to the emotions of the reader, or both. An example: "(...) one can't help but to feel sorry that we – Muslims – have become our own worst enemy"[107]. The writer shows how he feels about the growing group of radical Muslims and the crimes they commit. Another beautiful and emotional a writer spoke her mind was by titling her article "#JeSuisAllVictims: What about the forgotten?"[108]. By referring to different attacks throughout the world, she makes up her mind about the ways to think about violence and also shows a very strong conviction about the equality of human lives.

Another distinguishing mark that makes an article emotional is the use of strong words and strong convictions. A very clear example of this could be found in upcoming very strong conviction of both the extremists and perpetrators of terrorist attacks and of the people who try to legitimize them or even understand them. The writer says that, "[t]hose who want to please extremists will find themselves burned to death by extremism's own flames"[109]. Not all writers who used very strong emotional words did it in this very condemning way. Another example is the following quote: "To be the victim of a brutal attack such as the Charlie Hebdo massacre in a peaceful country that welcomes diversity and provides everyone with the freedom to speak, import traditions and cultures and practice them freely is the epitome of barbarism"[110].

3.5 Historical

The last category consists of articles that are historical, signifying, "[r]elating to history; concerned with past events"[111]. These are articles that in some way refer to past events, and are very often also written by historians. These articles refer to one or more events in the past to come to a better understanding of the present and possibilities of the future. Examples are elaborations on political Islam in Egypt, the war on terror started after 9/11, or sometimes less clear subjects such as older policies in different states that might have led to the radicalization of young Muslims. What is important is that many of these articles warn for the danger to become tied in the past: "(...) to discuss the problems of the present without being burdened by their complex, torturous and violent past"[112]. This way, they bring the message to take the past into account to be able to come to a better future. At the

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[106] OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015*)*; http://www.oed.com (entry July 27th 2015).
[107] F. J. ABBAS, *Vive la liberté!*, in *Al Arabiya*, 8th January 2015.
[108] M. DUBOVIKOVA, *#JeSuisAllVictims: What about the forgotten?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.
[109] A. AL-RASHED, *The Arab world's freedom crisis*, in *Al Arabiya*, 10th January 2015.
[110] O. NASR, *Value of human life tested by the Charlie Hebdo attack*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.
[111] OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, *Oxford English Dictionary* (2015*)*; http://www.oed.com (entry July 27th 2015).
[112] H. MELHEM, *The tyranny of the past, the uncertainty of the future*, in *Al Arabiya*, 18th January 2015.

same time they say that the past must be the past and that it should not take hostage of the present. In some articles there also is a very clear message to the future that is quite hopeful: "History can take a deviated path sometimes but the will of the people is the ultimate truth that will straighten the road"[113].

G. TOPICS

In this section, the topics that came up by analysing the data will be described. As before in the analysis of *De Standaard,* I will start with looking at the number and categorization of the topics. Next, there will be a thorough description of two major topics or clusters of topics. As clarified, I have chosen to limit the amount of topics because of the large amount of themes. The selection of the themes will be based on both the categorization of the topics and a personal affinity with the topics.

1. Categorization

I found 56 topics in the articles from *Al Arabiya*. As mentioned before in the analysis of *De Standaard,* there are a lot of topics that are only dealt with in one article. For this reason, it became inevitable to make some kind of categorization to be able to obtain a more clear view on the data. You can see the diagram in Figure 19 (in appendix). As you can see, some themes or clusters were composed to be able to categorize the other topics beneath them. There was no need to combine specific categories in this data. Albeit, it was necessary to decrease the amount of topics based on the associations between the topics or clusters, I will elaborate on this in the next section.

2. Topics/clusters

Due to the fact that it was not possible to narrow the topics down by combining categories or erasing a lot of the topics from analysis, it was essential to select only a few topics to examine more closely. Again, there is looked at the amount of articles that belong to e certain topic or category of topics, my personal affection with the topic and the different relations between the topics. The two topics selected to describe in the upcoming section are the following: "roots of radicalization" and "politics/action" (Figure 20 in appendix).

2.1 Roots of radicalization

One of the major topics that came up while analyzing the articles from *Al Arabiya* was the topic "roots of radicalization" (Figure 21 in appendix). This seems logical due to the nature of the event being a terrorist attack by Islamic fundamentalist. Furthermore, the Middle Eastern region is seen as under the banner of terrorism, with, almost daily, suicide bombings and other terrorist attacks in countries, such as Afghanistan. On top of that, there are the different successive revolutions that started in Tunisia back in 2010 and were followed by revolutions in Syria, Egypt, Libya and Yemen that are now referred to as the Arabic Spring. These revolutions led to the civil war in Syria that is still going on today,

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[113] A. LATIF EL-MENAWY, *On our history of standing up to extremism*, in *Al Arabiya*, 30th January 2015.

and has been used by the radical Islamist group called the Islamic State to install a Caliphate. Next to that, there are the on-going problems with Al-Qaeda, another terrorist group that took responsibility for 9/11 and for the attack on Charlie Hebdo in the beginning of 2015. All of these problems today have been highly influenced by the war in Afghanistan and later Iraq started by the United States after 9/11 and led to the eruption of different states. It is no wonder that the Middle East can now be seen as a breeding ground for radicalism and terrorism. In addition, there is the on-going occupation of Palestine by Israel that enrages a lot of Muslims all over the world, and certainly in Europe and the United States. Add to this the European case and you see that there are more than enough reasons why this topic should be a big topic in the articles.

It must be clear that in their explanations the writers never make a concrete difference between the radicalization of the Arab youth in the Middle Eastern countries and the radicalization of the European youth. The only difference between the both of them is the migration/integration-debate. I decided not to make a subtopic to describe the problems in the Middle-Eastern region that lead to radicalization, due to the fact that this is strongly associated with the topic of politics and action that will be described later. One of the writers listed all the possible reasons,

> "(…) and drove some to civil wars, other to unprecedented political polarization causing enormous human agony, economic dislocations, ethnic and religious cleansing, the fraying of national institutions, and exposing already fragile states to the depredations and machinations of 'friendly' neighbors and regional and international powers"[114]

A little further he elaborates on this,

> (…) to systematic oppression, denial of free political and cultural space, massive violations of human rights everywhere but in varying degrees (even in despotism, there is a hierarchy), economic dislocation, and an entrenched culture of corruption, and denial of human agency which gave rise to uncritical beliefs in conspiracy theories"[115]

I guess that these quotes are sufficient to explain the enormous challenges the Middle Eastern region, and by extension the world, faces when it decides to fight radicalization. It must be clear that radicalization is a very complex phenomenon that cannot be solved immediately or without thinking the solutions through.

Integration

The next important foundation of radicalization that came up is "integration" or the lack of it amongst Muslims in European society. Some articles talk about the Muslim diaspora, referring to the large amount of Muslims in the European region, which clarifies the need for integration. Furthermore, there is one writer that talks about the ghettoization of European Muslims. By this, he refers to the existence of mostly poor urban regions in

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[114] H. MELHEM, *What to be done about Arab Pathologies?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 31st January 2015.
[115] H. MELHEM, *What to be done about Arab Pathologies?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 31st January 2015.

which almost all inhabitants are migrated Muslims. This is something that comes up in a lot of social research about immigrants in European societies and that is seen as a major source of problems, such as the low participation in both education and the labour market of people who live in these neighbourhoods.

There is one writer that points out both sides of the problems with integration in European societies: "The inability and unwillingness of many Muslim immigrants to assimilate in European societies, and the resistance of these societies to fully embrace them as full citizens are in part a function of this torturous past"[116]. As you can see, there is attention for the responsibilities of both the receiving society and the immigrants. Another writer puts it differently,

> "(...) once again debating the question of integration of Muslim immigrants into their societies, a debate that has legitimized once again a number of related questions about immigration in general and the systems these countries use to manage it, as well as other questions such as how Western values can be protected from the threat of extremism"[117]

As you can see, there are a lot of questions that need to be answered in European society to be able to remediate the radicalization of young Muslims. This also brings up the problematic notion of citizenship and what is understood as being a citizen. In another article, a writer says the following: "(…) thus are 'European' and in this particular case 'French'. This generation has not, for various reasons, adapted and acclimatized with its adoptive surroundings and claims it is not enjoying the full rights of citizenship it is entitled to"[118]. This brings me easily to the subject identity.

Identity

Regarding the topic identity, I believe this is kind of arbitrary due to the contents of this topic. In *Al Arabiya,* many articles evolved around the topic identity without concrete references to identity construction. For this reason, I decided to put everything that has an influence on identity or that is an outcome of identity under this topic. It became clear that a lot of the writers are worried about the Arab and European youth being frustrated. One of the writers says that, "Arab youth are frustrated with an environment that strips them from any practical tools to effect real change. (...)"[119]. It is fair to say that this goes up for the European youth too. Radicalization is believed to be due to the perception that they are being suppressed by the society, as became clear previously when referring to the contextual circumstances in the Middle East, and to the problematic notion of citizenship in European societies. For me it became clear that the construction of identity is in these articles very closely linked to the belonging to a nation state or being a citizen. One of the writers said that,

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[116] H. MELHEM, *The tyranny of the past, the uncertainty of the future*, in *Al Arabiya*, 18th January 2015.
[117] D. MOUKALLED, *Massacres cannot be excused, so stop trying*, in *Al Arabiya*, 14th January 2015.
[118]E. ABU SHAKRA, *Terror, backwardness and intersecting interests*, in *Al Arabiya*, 11th January 2015.
[119] W. JAWAD, *Fighting extremism: Dignity is the answer*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.

"Holding a country's passport and speaking its language does not make a person automatically part of its society. What qualifies one for citizenship of a nation such as France is the ability to understand the culture, respect differences of opinion and allow a measure of assimilation"[120]

As you can see, this author has a very specific way of thinking about integration in European societies. In the comparison between both newspapers I will elaborate on this topic.

A next topic that comes up many times is alienation. With alienation is meant that a person is estranged from his or her surroundings in such a way that he or she no longer belongs to these surroundings. In case of the European radicalized youth, this is seen as a reason to search for another place, or in this case ideology, where they can be someone: "(...) [9/11] served to alert these aggrieved, socially marginalized, and religiously and culturally alienated youth to the fact that they still have a say, and can show their rejection, even through suicidal terror"[121]. As you can see, this can be applied to the Arab youth too. It seems obvious that some of these young adults are as aggrieved, socially marginalized, and alienated as migrants in Western societies due to the circumstances they have to live in (for example, being refugees, Gaza, conditions of war). By committing such a crime, they show the world how they think about their circumstances, even though this means dying. It is interesting that this is one of the few times that suicide terrorism was mentioned, even though both the Kouachi brothers and Coulibaly stated that they wanted to die as martyrs. Another interesting point concerning the way in which these young adults try to spread their message, comes forward in the next quote,

"(...) the psychology of the jihadists who derive their gratification from being observed by the very public they tent to terrorize. Exhibiting violence does not alienate nor marginalize the jihadist perpetrators; on the contrary, it pushes them to the centre of the world's attention which is what they yearn for"[122]

This way of exhibiting themselves is interesting due to the fact that it is very closely linked to identity construction in the postmodern Internet society. I will elaborate on this in the next chapter.

Lastly, there were some references to religion as both being a very strong motivator for terrorist actions, and a way to construct your identity. It needs to be said first that some writers are very clear about the association between religion and terrorism. One writer explains,

"Terrorism has no religion, no sect, no doctrine and no national identity. Terrorism is a disease resulting from many intertwining complications that benefit from religion and use it as a cover. This is not a defence of Islam in particular as all religions carry some seeds of violence backed by claims that its adherents possess the absolute truth"[123]

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[120] M. FAHAD AL-HARTHI, *Is Charlie Hebdo the French 9/11?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 16th January 2015.
[121] E. ABU SHAKRA, *Terror, backwardness and intersecting interests*, in *Al Arabiya*, 11th January 2015.
[122] H., DIYAB, *Charlie Hebdo, Syria's war and Jihadist exhibitionism*, in *Al Arabiya*, 26th January 2015.
[123] N. TUENI, *Solidarity, from Paris to Beirut*, in *Al Arabiya*, 16th January 2015.

By pointing out that every religion could be violent but that no religion is violent in its essence, he tries to unravel the inherent association many people see between religion and violence. What is important, though, is the acknowledgement of the role of religion that comes forward amongst other writers too. One of them says that religion can be seen as, "an option to exercise power over their feeble existence"[124]. Another one is more bolt and points at religion as being the underlying thought of violent Islamism: "The source of the crime is the same across the board, even if the crime scenes are different"[125]. By pointing out the role of religion, some authors emphasize the role of politics to engage in a new or modern way of thinking about religion. It is for this reason that they refer to the need for an intellectual revolution, as you will see later.

Ignorance and Polarization

Regarding the topics ignorance and polarization, there is not much to be said. Although both topics appeared in *Al Arabiya*'s articles, there was not much elaborated upon them. Still, I believe these are important topics. What I thought is striking, is the way in which many writers reflect upon terrorism and people who commit such deeds. Often, these people are depicted as being barbarians, viruses or even evil. One of the writers says the following about terrorists: "They bounce on the dividing line between life and death, madness and reason, civilization and barbarism"[126]. I had the feeling that sometimes these people are not seen as humans, but as evil things that should be destroyed. This way, it appeared to me that although most writers are against polarization they do polarize between them and us, with us being the people who condemn such deeds, and them being both the people who commit such crimes as the people who legitimize these crimes. An example of the first people is the following,

> "Those who refuse this culture do not have to live within it. They can search for a single-minded community that would give them the intellectual environment they are searching for. They cannot impose restrictions on the freedom of thought in a world that was not created for them. They would live in the West but do not want to coexist with its culture"[127]

As you can see, this writer simply makes a division between radical Islamists and other people saying that the first should leave society and search for a community that thinks like them. I found this interesting because I do not really understand how this should happen; after all is this what the terrorist group IS is trying to do by creating a Caliphate. An example of the polarizing voices against people who legitimize terrorism, is a writer who states the following: "If the latter is your choice, you might as well bow your head and wait for the sword of backwardness to take you out or live in slavery to ruthless, mindless and godless 'things' that happen to be empowered by your silence and submission"[128].

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124 W. Jawad, *Fighting extremism: Dignity is the answer*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.
125 A. Al-Rashed, *On those who seek to justify the Paris attack*, in *Al Arabiya*, 8th January 2015.
126 H. Diyab, *Charlie Hebdo, Syria's war and Jihadist exhibitionism*, in *Al Arabiya*, 26th January 2015.
127 A. Al-Rashed, *The Arab world's freedom crisis*, in *Al Arabiya*, 10th January 2015.
128 O. Nasr, *Value of human life tested by the Charlie Hebdo attack*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.

As mentioned before, there are also writers that warn for polarization, especially within European societies,

> "They [right-wing parties] will use Muslims as their boogeymen to gain more votes, marginalizing and drowning out rational and moderate voices. A sad reality is that these terrorists do not understand they are fostering more extremism against the very people they are claiming to defend"[129]

You see that the writer warns for the rise of the right wing parties in Europe, who are known for their very strict or even harsh points of views on migration. She points out the ignorance of both the radical right wing parties, as they will punish moderate Muslims instead of punishing the radical terrorists they warn for, and the ignorance of the terrorists who claim to fight for the protection of these very same people. Furthermore, there is one writer who goes even further and states,

> "At this point; the few respectful people who defend Islam and Muslims will fall silent and the voice of the majority demanding to discipline Muslims, including governments, organizations, and individuals, will increase. The world is running out of patience... (...) the global public opinion now hates Muslims and will not distinguish between an extremist Muslim and a peaceful Muslim"[130]

2.2 Politics and the call for action

The next major topic that came up was "politics" and the call for action to politicians (Figure 22 in appendix). It was possible to make a distinction between "policies" and "international politics". The first are topics engaging in more or less concrete ideas of policies that should be conducted. The second is a broad term to refer to a call for action to the international community. Because this is somehow an arbitrary division I decided to handle this section as a whole.

First of all, there are different articles that make an appeal to the Middle Eastern countries. One of the most saying quotes is the following: "... they [Arab countries] will perish holding on to a mirage reflecting an elusive past of absolute power they have once held over helpless societies; those days are gone and are never coming back"[131]. By saying this, the writer tells the Arab countries that it is time to stop living in the past and start acting on the future. Another writer engages in telling the Arab world that it is time to think about their alliances and confidential relationships with groups that cling to a radical Islamic ideology,

> "The reluctance to counter the spread of radical ideas is not only due to widespread anti-Americanism in Yemen, or the political calculations of its former or current leaders. Zindani and Hunnayqani are recognized in Yemen as hardliners

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[129] M. FAHAD AL-HARTHI, *Is Charlie Hebdo the French 9/11?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 16th January 2015.
[130] A. AL-RASHED, *Murdoch: Muslims bear responsibility for terrorism*, in *Al Arabiya*, 12th January 2015.
[131] W. JAWAD, *Fighting extremism: Dignity is the answer*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.

but also as an integral part of the political map and have close ties to key tribal leaders[132]"

Secondly, there is an amount of articles that make an appeal to politics to Europe as a whole and in some cases more specifically to certain countrie, such as France. This writer warns Europe for a future that is not rose-tinted,

"Without a period of genuine reflection within Europe about coexistence in diverse societies, the continent will rapidly slide into a very dangerous period of internal strife. There is a sense of edging closer to the abyss of ideological, religious and ethnic conflict, including considerable violence. This will ultimately play into the hands of the likes of the very extremists who committed the atrocities last week and those who have always vehemently opposed multi-cultural existence in Europe"[133]

Although this is not a specific call for action, you can see that this appeal dusks through it. Another writer points out the hypocrisy of Europe when telling the Turkish government what they should and should not due fighting the increasing amount of radicalized European Muslims who try to cross the border of Turkey with Syria. She states that, "[t]hese recent examples do not represent the lack of commitment to fight terror on Turkey's side, but it shows that Europe is perhaps not taking the matter seriously enough"[134]. By looking at the policies that were presented by Turkey to combat this problem, she enables herself to both be critical of these policies as to be critical of the European policies. This way, she points out the responsibility of the countries that have provided the foundations of radicalism. Another quote by the same writer that endorses her statements,

"In all fairness, radical terror needs to be tackled where it is born, and that is in the hometowns of the jihadists. After having become radicalized and expressing a willingness to die and become a martyr these people would find a way to join ISIS even if Turkey never existed"[135]

There are two other examples of appeals to Europe. First, there is a writer that states that,

"The war on al-Qaeda and ISIS and against terror in a globalized world – has exposed modern day democracies – given their transparent political institution, and their people's high standards of living – to new dangers that cannot be addressed effectively without demonstrating the willingness and readiness to suffer sacrifices and endure pain…. Those who have a higher threshold of pain will win and inherit the future"[136]

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[132] M. ALMEIDA, *After Paris, revisiting the long road ahead to Yemen*, in *Al Arabiya*, 14th January 2015.
[133] Y. MEKELBERG, *Je suis dialogue, tolerance and coexistence*, in *Al Arabiya*, 14th January 2015.
[134] C. OZBUDAK, *Turkey is not to blame for foreign Jihadist actions*, in *Al Arabiya*, 17th January 2015.
[135] [135] C. OZBUDAK, *Turkey is not.*
[136] H. MELHEM, *A world in the shadows of terrorism*, in *Al Arabiya*, 10th January 2015.

The writer points out that the modern day democracies, as existing both in Europe as in other parts of the world, will not be able to combat the rise of Islamic radicalism if they are not prepared to sacrifice for it. The second example is of a writer who points out that the war has become global and that it is no longer possible to maintain it in only one geographical area.

> "What is new is the growth of the phenomenon of non-Arab Western and Asian terrorists, who terrify all those who had thought the war in Syria had successfully gathered all terrorists in one geographical spot and created an opportunity to eliminate terrorism away from their cities"[137]

As you can see, there is also a very soft appeal to Europe and the international community to do something about the Syrian war stating that the war will knock at their doors if they do not act. This can also be seen as both an accusation of hypocrisy and a call for taking up responsibility.

Last but not least, there are some articles that make very clear that the world needs to act. These articles do not point a finger at a certain country or region but use broad statements that could be pointing at every political power in the world. There are some writers that point out that war is not a game and that it should not be started mindlessly. One writer makes a comparison: "Frivolous wars are like drugs. They may start with the intention of achieving a fleeting sense of ecstasy, but with time they become a lethal escape from reality"[138]. Another writer underlines the impossibility to keep ignoring what happens in the world by stating that, "(a) tragedy ignored could one day knock on your door"[139]. Finally there is one writer that emphasizes the fact that policies should be conducted with an eye on the improvement of the circumstances of Muslims in Western societies,

> "(...) France's terrorists do not represent Islam whether as a religion, an identity or a culture. It must be stressed too that it is not in the interests of Islam and Muslims to fight against [sic] the world community and reject its cultures, and by equal measure it is not in the interest of the world community to push Muslims further into frustration and despair that can only result in alienation and hatred"[140]

As you can see, there are a lot of articles that are addressed to politics asking them to find solutions for the challenge of growing Islamic radicalism. Because all of this evolves around solutions, I will give an example of a proposition by one of the writers who calls for an intellectual revolution. This writer talks about the necessity of modern Islamic thinking: "[...] reinforced the view that moderate Muslims in the Arab world are intellectually homeless. That is they lack the institutional structures – religious,

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[137] R. DERGHAM, *Another page in the global war on terror*, in *Al Arabiya*, 18th January 2015.

[138] R. BAROUD, *Lessons that Hollande failed to learn from W. Bush's plunders*, in *Al Arabiya*, 22nd January 2015.

[139] M. DUBOVIKOVA, *#JeSuisAllVictims: What about the forgotten?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 13th January 2015.

[140] E. ABU SHAKRA, *Terror, backwardness and intersecting interests*, in *Al Arabiya*, 11th January 2015.

educational and political – they need to challenge the ideological underpinnings of extremist Islamists"[141]. By saying this he simultaneously accuses Middle Eastern countries of not doing enough to combat Islamic radicalism and asks them to start developing a richer institutional culture.

I will handle the topics of concordance and evolution as they appear in *Al Arabiya* the same way as I have done for *De Standaard*. This means that I will look at them by date and by author. The concordance and evolution of the topics by author can be seen as an example of the more general descriptions of the topics by date.

1. Topics by date

As mentioned before, I decided to use the same classifications of date as I used for the articles from *De Standaard*. This means that I will again look at four time frames: from January 8th until January 14th, from January 15th until January 21st, from January 22nd until January 28th and from January 29th until February 7th. Due to the fact that there were not that many articles in this time period, as observed above, the third and fourth time frames will be combined into one category,.

Concerning the first time frame from January 8th until January 14th, which consists of 16 articles, it became clear that a lot of these articles reflected upon the roots of radicalism, extremism and terrorism, both in Europe and the Middle East. This seems logical due to the nature of the attack on Charlie Hebdo being conducted by radical Islamists. Furthermore, there were some writers who showed to be very critical towards the, in their opinions, slow reactions in the Arabic world to condemn these actions and certainly towards people who try to justify or legitimize the use of violence any chance they get. This means that in the first week, these writers made it very clear that they condemn such actions, as being barbaric and conducted by ignorant and violent people. Subsequently, followed some articles that called for action to politics to find a solution for rising radicalism in both the Middle East and Europe.

In the second category, which consists of ten articles written between January 15th and January 21st, there were more articles that reflected on the history of terrorism (for example, War on Terror) and elaborated some more on the roots of radicalization. Furthermore, the topics "media" and "politics" appeared. The topic "media" involves the aspect of the freedom of speech of journalists as well as the aspect of the responsibility of the media, both in engaging in polarization against Muslims and in countering these kind of polarizing voices. Regarding the topic "politics", it became clear that a lot of these writers point fingers at the need for political solutions and made an appeal to both national and international politics to act on problems such as the rise of IS and the on-going war in Syria. The last category of articles, from the 22nd of January up until the 7th of February, consists of only seven articles. The writers elaborate on the previous topics, especially those regarding the need for action by political institutions.

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[141] H. MELHEM, *Heroic stoicism, in the time of the plague*, in *Al Arabiya*, 7th February 2015.

As you see, the main themes that appeared were the roots of radicalization and the need for political action, as in policies to counter further isolation and marginalization of both European Muslims and Middle Eastern youth (for example, through emancipation and acknowledgement of these people). Although there is an evolution from concrete condemnations of the attack on Charlie Hebdo and elaborations on the roots of radicalization towards the call for political actions, this evolution was not that clear because most articles reflected on these topics simultaneously. Furthermore, some topics, such as responsibility and hypocrisy, appeared at different moments, and can both be seen as strongly associated with the media and politics.

2. Topics by author

Regarding the topics by author, I decided to use the same method as for *De Standaard* and to examine only the authors that wrote four or five articles. In total there were six authors who wrote two or more articles, of which two wrote four or five articles: Abdulrahman al-Rashed and Hisham Melhem.

2.1 Abdulrahman al-Rashed

Abdulrahman al-Rashed became a columnist for *Al Arabiya* after he stopped working as the paper's General Manager. Before that, he was the Editor in Chief of *Asharq-al-Awsat*, another Arabic daily. He is known for criticizing Islamic fundamentalism. Being a famous journalist and associated with *Al Arabiya,* it is no wonder that this author wrote five articles within the chosen time frame. Four of these articles are written within the first week after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, the fifth is written in the second week after the attack. This is in accordance with the general evolution of the articles, most of which being written in the first two weeks after the attack.

In his first article[142], al-Rashed makes it very clear that he condemns the attack on Charlie Hebdo as being conducted by what should be seen as a disease or an evil in the world. He is also one of the writers who strictly condemn any way of apologizing for terrorist deeds including apologetically theorizing about, for example, radicalization. I found it interesting that he refers to terrorism as an evil, showing that he makes a division between good and bad. In his second article[143], he elaborates on the reasons why we should condemn terrorism by referring to arbitrary policies and attitudes of different Middle Eastern countries towards radical Islamism. He also refers to the freedom of speech as being one of the foundations of Western culture and makes plain that there is no room in these societies for radical Islamism and that they should isolate themselves somewhere else. As mentioned before, I find this a slightly confusing point of view because this is what IS is trying to do in the Middle East by instating a Caliphate.

In his third article[144], al-Rashed goes deeper into the roots of radicalization by looking at the radicalization process of the brothers Kouachi. He talks about the journey of terrorists as being a process that involves some similarities for all young Muslims who became terrorists, such as the influence of radical preachers and imprisonment.

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[142] A. AL-RASHED, *On those who seek to justify the Paris attack*, in *Al Arabiya*, 8th January 2015.
[143] A. AL-RASHED, *The Arab world's freedom crisis*, in *Al Arabiya*, 10th January 2015.
[144] A. AL-RASHED, *The Kouachi brothers' journey to terror*, in *Al Arabiya*, 11th January 2015.

Furthermore, he makes an appeal to both politics and moderate Muslims in which he states the need for an intellectual solution (or even revolution) towards a more modern way of understanding Islam. In his fourth article[145], he elaborates again on the need of condemning voices in Islamic societies and alerts to the responsibility of Muslims and Islam in the rise of radicalism. He believes this is necessary to be able to put a stop on polarization, fearing that the voices of moderate Muslims will be overthrown by the voices of other people, such as right wing parties in Europe, which call for action against all Muslims and religion per se.

In his final article[146], al-Rashed goes deeper into the purposes of terrorists and their actions, being the corruption of human relationships and the necessity of others not to step in this trap. He talks about people's essence being goodness and humanity and refers to heroic acts of, for example, the young Muslim who saved some people, including Jews, at the Jewish supermarket in Paris on January 9th, to emphasize the need to fight polarization. What I found striking about this was that his belief in the goodness of human beings did, in my opinion, not stroke with this very strong conviction of terrorists being evil. By saying that people should act to their nature and try to understand other human beings, it seems kind of arbitrary that he sees it impossible to understand terrorists, which makes them non-human. This is a discussion about the essence of human nature and brings up questions about the possibility of a non-violent world. Furthermore, al-Rashed emphasizes the responsibility of the media in the fight against extremism at both sides, referring to both Islamic extremism and Islamophobes. As you see, this is a subject that came up in the second week after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, the moment that this article is written.

2.2 Hisham Melhem

Hisham Melhem is the Washington correspondent of *Al Arabiya* and a journalist with Lebanese roots. Two of his articles are written in the first two weeks after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, the other two in the second part of the time frame. This makes Melhem one of the few writers who still wrote on the topic Charlie Hebdo after two weeks.

His first article[147] is one that reflects on the history of terrorism and is titled "A world in the shadows of terrorism". In this article Melhem looks at the similarities and differences of terrorism before and after 9/11. By looking at different causes of terrorism such as political anarchy in the Middle East, the use of modern weaponry, and alienation of both Arabic and European youth in a complex globalized world, he emphasizes the complexity of the phenomenon. He talks about terrorists as beasts that should be, "dispatched to the lowest levels of hell", which shows his very strong condemnation of such acts. In his second article[148] written about a week after the first, he elaborates on the same topics but stresses the role of politics in both the Middle East and Europe to be able to kill this, "heart of darkness". Again, he uses very strong words to emphasize his condemnation and he alerts to the hypocrisy of both the European and the Middle Eastern world in taking responsibility for these events. In this article, Melhem makes an appeal to

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[145] A. AL-RASHED, *Murdoch: Muslims bear responsibility for terrorism*, in *Al Arabiya*, 12th January 2015.
[146] A. AL-RASHED, *Extremists and the corruption of relations among people*, in *Al Arabiya*, 18th January 2015.
[147] H. MELHEM, *A world in the shadows of terrorism*, in *Al Arabiya*, 10th January 2015.
[148] H. MELHEM, *The tyranny of the past, the uncertainty of the future*, in *Al Arabiya*, 18th January 2015.

the international community to construct an action plan to counter the growth of radicalism and terrorism, in which they should consider the complexity of the different components (cultural, social, economical, media) that led to this growth.

Melhem's third article[149] is an elaboration on the previous articles in which he reflects deeper upon the roots of terrorism and makes some references to different philosophical theories, such as the Hobbesian State of Nature and the difference between theory and praxis. By looking at all different causes that led to the present condition of the Middle East, he is able to point out some self-evident truths that should be recognized to be able to win this battle against what he in this article calls, "dark and nihilistic" forces such as IS. At the end of the article, he proposes some possible solutions and emphasizes the need for an international solution in which both the Western nations (including the United States) and the Arabic world combine their efforts to be able to overthrow violent radicalism. In his fourth and last article[150], Melhem elaborates some more on this need for action and points out the fact that people are not really surprised anymore when terrorist acts happen, especially when they happen in the Arabic world, as you can see in the lack of inactivity of, for example, the United States. Furthermore, he emphasizes the problematical condition of moderate Muslims as being, "intellectually homeless", by which he shows the same concern as al-Rashed when asking for an intellectual revolution.

3. COMPARISON BETWEEN *DE STANDAARD* AND *AL ARABIYA*

In this part the analyses of *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya* will be compared, meaning that all systematic questions answered in the previous parts will be compared. Although all parts will be compared, some parts will be very short (for example date and author), while others will probably be more extensive (for example types and topics), as there are more components to compare.

A. DATE

To make a comparison between both newspapers easier and more visible, a chart has been made (Figure 23) about the distribution of the articles by date. Figure 23 shows the date on the x-axis and the percentage of articles on the y-axis. The biggest difference, other than the amount of articles between both papers is the amount of days that there has not been any article written. For *De Standaard* these were all Sundays, because there was no newspaper, while for *Al Arabiya* there are a lot of days, especially in the second part of the time frame. This could be due to the total amount of articles, or due to contextual differences between both settings. I will come back at this later.

Furthermore, you see that the average amount of articles is different. The arithmetical mean of *Al Arabiya* was only two articles a day in the first two weeks, while the average of the other two and a half weeks is only 0.5. For *De Standaard* this average was higher, namely two articles across the whole time frame. This means that there is a difference between the two papers. While *Al Arabiya* starts with more articles it gradually declines to almost no articles, *De Standaard* has a more steady amount of articles a day.

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[149] H. MELHEM, *What to be done about Arab Pathologies?*, in *Al Arabiya*, 31st January 2015.

[150] H. MELHEM, *Heroic stoicism, in the time of the plague*, in *Al Arabiya*, 7th February 2015.
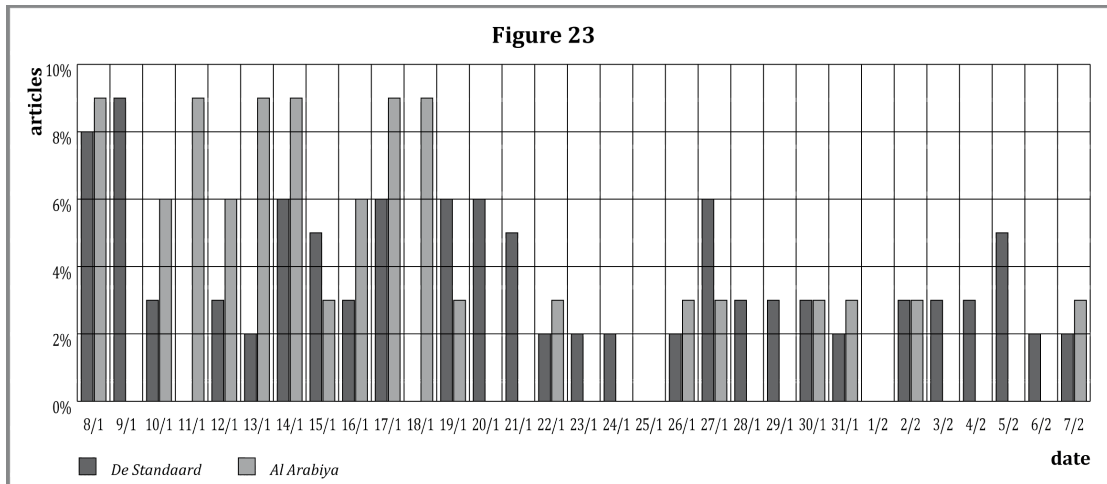
Figure 23

B. AUTHOR

Figure 24 shows the percentage of authors on the y-axis and the number of articles on the x-axis. I decided to use the percentage to be able to compare both newspapers. The figure illustrates that there are more authors of *Al Arabiya* that wrote more than one article. The writers that wrote more than one article are all authors who are linked to the paper, whether it is to *De Standaard* or *Al Arabiya*. Concerning gender, Figure 25 shows that *Al Arabiya* has a more equal distribution of women and men, while in *De Standaard* most of the writers were men. As mentioned before, this could have an influence on the topics and types of the articles but a further examination was not taken into account.
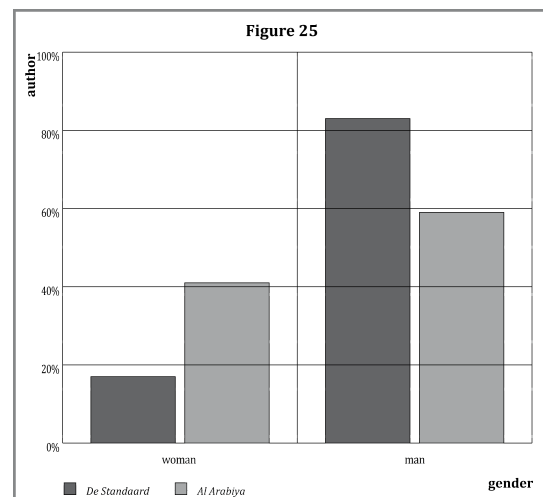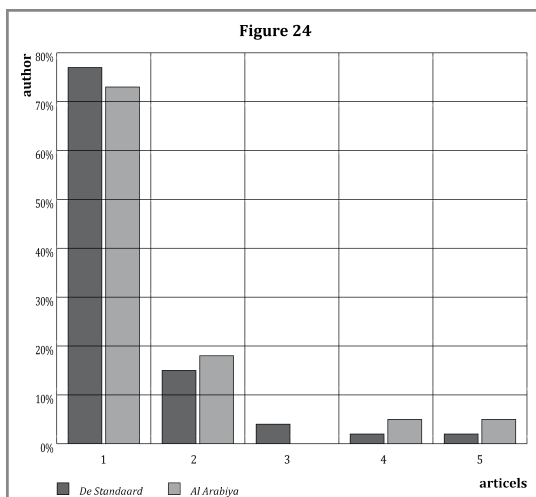
Figure 24

Figure 25

Regarding the professions, shown in Figure 26, I decided to use categories. The percentage used in this chart shows the percentage of authors that belongs to this category compared to the total amount of professions. As the figure illustrates, there are a lot more writers of *De Standaard* classified under "Academic/Education" than there are of *Al Arabiya*. This seems to be logical when looking at the context. In *De Standaard* there were a lot of articles that evolved around the discussion about education and citizenship. This discussion was absent in *Al Arabiya*. Next, you see that a larger amount of the writers of *Al Arabiya* have been categorized under "Author/Journalist", which could mean that *De*

Standaard has a more open attitude to opinions of people that are not in one way or another associated with the paper itself or with the media in total. This is clearly a possibility not a certainty, and might be an interesting subject for further research. Subsequently, there are also a lot more writers that belong to the category "Manager" amongst the *Al Arabiya* writers. Concluding, it seems to be that the writers of both newspapers were individuals that could have a higher education or a background in journalism. This is, though, not a cerainty but a possibility.
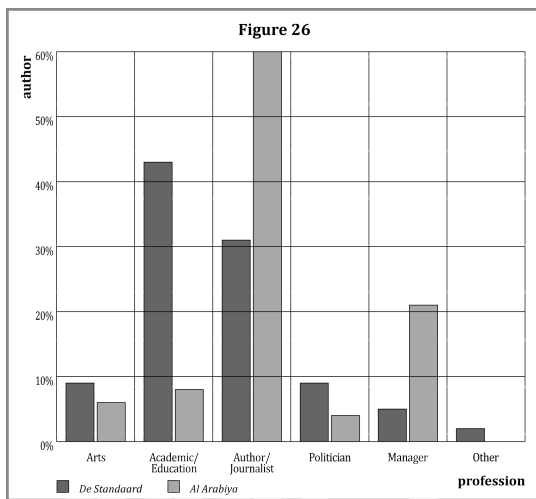
Figure 26

C. NUMBER OF WORDS

To be able to come to a comparison between *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya,* there was decided to use six categories, namely: 0-399, 400-799, 800-1199, 1200-1599, 1600-1999 and 2000-2399. Figure 27 shows the number of words on the x-axis and the number of articles on the y-axis. The largest category is the category 400-799 words for both papers. This does not mean, though, that there is no difference in the percentages: 76% of the articles in *De Standaard* fall under this category, while only 42% of the articles in *Al Arabiya* belong to this category. It is fair to say that this is an average amount of words for articles that fall under the opinion section of the newspapers. The second biggest category for both newspapers is the following category of 800-1199 words per article: 17% of the articles from *De Standaard* belong to this category and 27% of the articles from *Al Arabiya*. If you look at the other categories, you see that only 2% of the articles in *De Standaard* belong to a bigger category with a larger amount of words than 1199, compared to 24% of the articles in *Al Arabiya*. This means that the articles in *Al Arabiya* are on average longer than the articles in *De Standaard*.

Figure 27

articles

80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%

0-399 | 400-799 | 800-1199 | 1200-1599 | 1600-1999 | 2000-2399

words

De Standaard   Al Arabiya
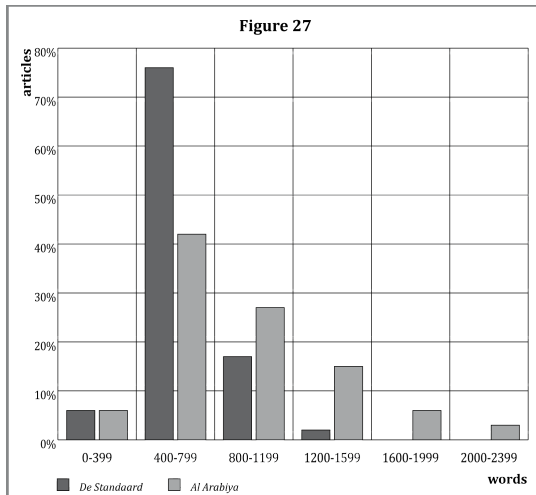
D. CONTEXT

Regarding the context, there appears to be an enormous difference between both newspapers. In *De Standaard* there were a lot more concrete circumstances that are mentioned in the articles or that have had an influence on the topics of the articles; to name a few, there were the discussions about education (LEF), the discussion about Marion van San's radicalization theory, the action in Verviers, different commentaries about different policies concerning, for example, safety measures, and events such as the tifo at the soccer game. It is striking, though, that most of these events happened within Belgian society and thus are national events. If you look at the circumstances mentioned in *Al Arabiya,* you will see a lot more international events appear: reactions amongst different nations in the Middle East, the problems with IS, the on-going war in Syria and different terrorist attacks in Yemen. What was in my opinion truly striking, was the fact that there were almost no references to the attack in Yemen on the same day as the attack in Paris and only a few references to the Baga massacre in Nigeria by Boko Haram in *De Standaard.* I also did not find that much information about this attack in Yemen in the news sections of the morning papers of *De Standaard*. However, both events did appear in *Al Arabiya* and a lot of writers were asking questions about these simultaneous events (the attack on Charlie Hebdo and the attack on the police academy in Yemen), which led to the belief that both were associated with each other. It is possible that the differences in mentioned circumstances are due to the target groups of both papers. *De Standaard* is meant for the Dutch speaking part of Belgium, while *Al Arabiya* can be seen as an international news agency aiming to reach an international public. This way, it would be likely that *De Standaard* concentrates on national news items, while *Al Arabiya* is more focused on international items. Furthermore, is *Al Arabiya* an Arab paper with its roots in Saudi Arabia, a country in the Middle East. For this reason, it could be said that the focuses on the on-going problems in the region have something to do with proximity. All these things are happening very close at home, while it can be seen as a far-flung event for Belgian readers, and obviously this is also the case the other way around. This way, it becomes clear that both papers are focusing on a different side of the same coin, namely radicalism. While the writers of *Al Arabiya* focus on international politics and search for solutions on a global level, the writers of *De Standaard* focus on national politics and

measures to be able to stop the radicalization of young Belgian Muslims. It seems apparent, though, that both sides of the coin are necessary and measurements should be taken. By concentrating on their immediate surroundings, it seems logical that the societies or groups reflected by both newspapers have a different perception of radicalization.

E. AUDIENCE

Mentioned earlier in the presentation of the systematic questions, this question was hard to answer due to the nature of the data collection. Obviously, all articles of both papers are written for their specific audience. As mentioned before, this means that *De Standaard* is written for the Flemish speaking part of Belgium (and by extension the Netherlands), while *Al Arabiya* is written for an international public. By looking closely at the articles, two other possible audiences appeared in both papers: writing for politicians or more broadly politics and writing for themselves as a way to be able to give meaning to the attack on Charlie Hebdo. Although the articles from De Standaard were more closely linked to politics, there were also many articles that could have been seen as very emotional. There are two other audiences found in the articles from *De Standaard,* though. The first audience is the citizens of Belgium. As mentioned before, there were a lot of articles that talk about the proper way to react on such an event and that seem to be written for the readers as being the citizens of a democratic state. Secondly, a lot of the articles from *De Standaard* are written in response to an earlier article and thus in the form of a discussion or dialogue. Both audiences were absent in the *Al Arabiya* articles but it is possible to say that in many cases the articles written for very specific politicians are also written for citizens. After all, politicians are citizens and the questions submitted to these politicians could in fact be seen as questions asking for action, which could be provoked in a democratic society by citizens.

F. TYPES

Figure 28 illustrates that there are more types for *De Standaard* than for *Al Arabiya*: fourteen compared to twelve. However, it is noticeable that there are only two more types of articles for *De Standaard* while it could be expected that there would be a larger difference between both papers due to the dissimilar amount of articles of 66 compared to only 33. As you can see in the chart, there are four categories that did not exist for *Al Arabiya* ("Humour", "Complexity", "Defensive" and "Offensive") and two categories that did not exist for *De Standaard* ("Apologetic" and "Cynical"). As you can see, it would have been perfectly possible to categorize "Apologetic" under "Defensive" as being apologetic can be seen as a form of defending yourself. Although these differences are very interesting, I needed to be able to compare both newspapers clearly. For this reason, I decided to look at the five biggest categories that were described previously.

Figure 28
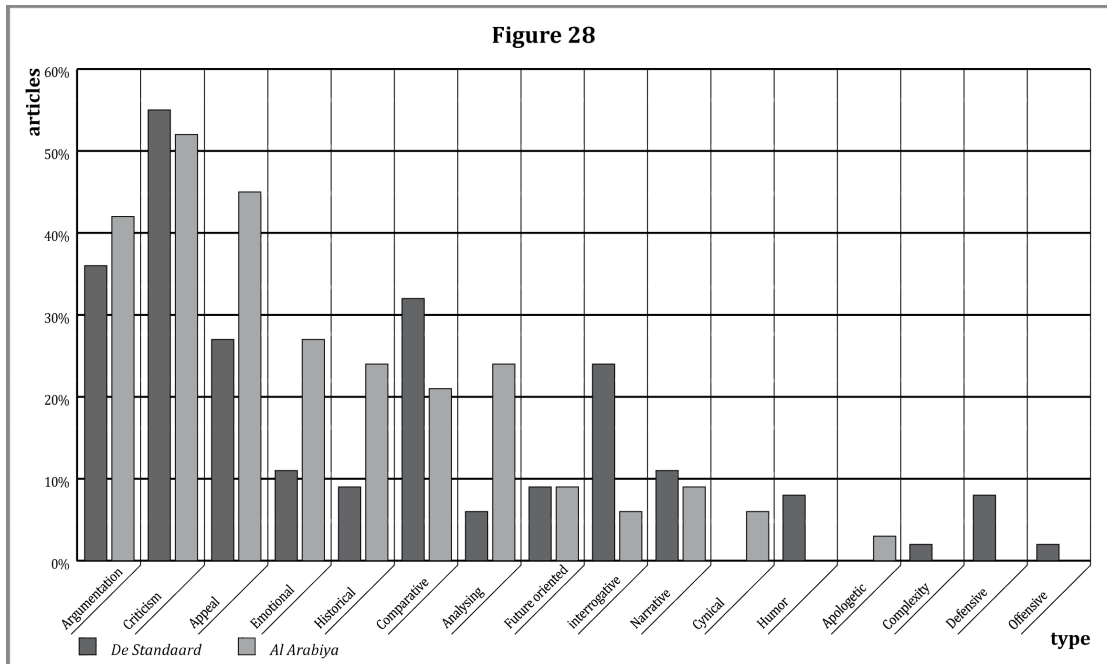
1. Statistics and combination of types

As you can see, both newspapers consist of a majority of articles that have been classified under the category "Criticism". No less than over half of the articles of both papers are critical towards something or someone. Furthermore, there is the type "Argumentation" that is the second biggest type for *De Standaard* (36%) and the third biggest type for *Al Arabiya* (42%). The second biggest type for *Al Arabiya* is the fourth type taken into consideration of *De Standaard*, namely "Appeal", respectively 45% and 27% of the articles belong to it. The third biggest type of *De Standaard* is "Comparative" (31%). For *Al Arabiya* this category was not further explained due to the necessity of a limitation of the research, but "Comparative" was the seventh biggest type and consisted of over 20% of the articles. The fourth and fifth largest types of *Al Arabiya* are "Emotional" and "Historical", both types that were not explained further for *De Standaard*, but they were both found in the articles. The fifth biggest category of types for *De Standaard* is "Interrogative", also a category that was not considered in the analysis of *Al Arabiya* but it existed. As you can see, most of the bigger categories are the same for *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard*, and the ones that were not taken into account for further analysis for one paper, did exist for both papers.

Concerning the combination of types it became clear that for both papers most of the articles combine two or more types: 91% of the articles from *De Standaard* and 82% of the articles from *De Standaard*. For *De Standaard* there are significantly more articles that only combine two categories (56%) than there are for *Al Arabiya* (24%), which is explained by the larger amount of articles from *Al Arabiya* that belong to three types (42%) compared to 27% of the articles from *De Standaard*. As you can see, there are different combinations of types possible. For both *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard* these relevant combinations of types all consisted out of combinations of the biggest categories. I will not elaborate on this again, as it has been done before and does not seem to add any value to the analysis.

2. Description of types

Mentioned earlier, I decided to describe the five biggest types of articles for each newspaper. In this section, I will look at each of these categories and see if there are any differences and similarities. Evidently, this means that only some examples will be enlightened. By doing this, I hope to come to a better understanding of the categories and to be critical towards my own categorizations. Regarding the types that were not thoroughly described for one paper before, it is the objective to search for some examples to be able to compare both newspapers.

2.1 Criticism

Regarding the category criticism, it became clear that a lot of the articles from *De Standaard* were very critical towards international politics or towards specific countries concerning their policies and actions in the Middle East. This was something that also came up in the articles from *De Standaard* but these critiques were mostly pointed at national policies or national anti-radicalization or anti-terrorism measures. While articles in *Al Arabiya* were concerned with the inactivity of the United States or Middle Eastern countries concerning the war in Syria and the rise of the Islamic State, articles in *De Standaard* were concerned with whether or not it should be possible to take away the nationality of radicalized immigrants of the second generation or the necessity for soldiers on the streets being criticized as being a "safety theatre". As said, this could have something to do with both the proximity of the events and the audience of the newspapers.

Other big topics in *Al Arabiya* were the hypocritical attitudes of nation states or people at large, and radical Muslims that legitimize actions such as the attack on Charlie Hebdo. Especially the hypocritical attitudes of people came forward in *De Standaard*, but it was more closely linked to the debate about freedom and the freedom of speech. This does not mean, though, that there were no articles that referred to the absence of information about and solidarity with other victims of violence in, for example, Nigeria by Boko Haram. This was something that came up in both newspapers, while the freedom of speech debate was more closely linked to *De Standaard* and especially to certain events such as the previously mentioned tifo at the soccer game.

Another striking example of an article in *Al Arabiya* was the criticizing of left-wing politics for being too soft and for in one-way or another trying to legitimize the use of violence by Western Muslims who feel alienated. I thought this as being a very interesting way of looking at the problem of radicalization and it was possible to find the same idea in *De Standaard*, especially regarding the discussion about the meaning (or non-meaning) of a word such as Islamophobia that has been seen by some authors as a word that kills the integration-debate because it would reduce the problems to only a problem of discrimination and hate against the other, being Muslims in Belgian society.

2.2 Appeal

As mentioned before, is the category "Appeal" a category that consists of all articles that make an appeal to something or someone and is for this reason closely linked to the question about the audience of the articles. The biggest difference between *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard* could be found in its audience. The articles in *Al Arabiya* almost all make an appeal to politics as a call for action to both find a solution for the Syrian war and the rise of the Islamic State as for a way to go against alienation of young radicalizing Muslims by bringing them back in society. As for *De Standaard,* there were also many articles that made an appeal to politics, especially regarding the need for unifying voices against polarization. For this reason, these articles could be seen as the same appeal to politics and policies to find a way to incorporate these young Muslims as in *Al Arabiya*. Furthermore, there were a lot of articles in *De Standaard* that made an appeal to citizens, especially with the question not to become fearful and to defend one's rights as being the rights of everyone in society, including Muslims.

2.3 Argumentation

Regarding the type "Argumentation", it became clear that it was not easy to find concrete examples of an argumentative text for both newspapers. The categories "Argumentation" and "Criticism" were for both papers so closely linked that it might in retrospect have been better to combine them in one big category. The only very clear example was found in *De Standaard* in the form of a discussion about LEF but this was due to the nature of these articles as being a debate in which both parties were obligated to state arguments. Although this category might have been arbitrary and not that clear, it was interesting, though, that there were some argumentations found in *Al Arabiya* that referred to the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad to be able to condemn the use of violence by radical Islamists. This did not happen in *De Standaard* but I do wonder if all the arguments that referred to basic values, such as freedom, are in one way or another not also a way of referring to an ideology or religion. This evidently is dependent on the definition of religion. In my opinion, religion is a worldview amongst others and I believe that the argumentations in favour of ground values of democratic society are rooted in their belief in a democratic society, as being the best way to live together.

2.4 Emotional

The type "Emotional" consists of all articles that made use of very strong words or that tried to speak to the reader by use of emotional language. As it was not described for *De Standaard,* I decided to find an example of an emotional article that could be compared to an article in *Al Arabiya*. It was not hard to find this example. One of the articles talks about freedom of speech and stated, "I am not Charlie, I am Ahmed the dead cop"[151], referring to the Muslim cop that got killed defending the editors of Charlie Hebdo, the people who insulted his religion. A little further in the article, he states the following: "It is our blood, our shared blood that can be seen on the sword and it condemns the knights of darkness

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[151] D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Ik ben Ahmed*, in *De Standaard*, 9th January 2015.

who wear it, and their opposites who want to claim and recuperate the fury against that crime"[152]. I have chosen this example and this writer because it was striking to me that the way in which he writes is very alike to the way there is written in many articles from *De Standaard*. The fact that this person, Dyab Abou JahJah, has an Arabic background made me think that there might be a difference between Belgian writers and Arabic writers in their use of strong convictions or more narrative and emotional ways of writing. It is not possible to generalize this finding but I believe this would be a very interesting subject of study in further research.

2.5 Historical

Regarding the articles classified under "Historical", there is not that much to say. It was clear that the articles from *Al Arabiya* that were categorized under this type all made a link between the present and the past (whether it was ages ago or only a couple of years). The category "Historical' also appeared for some articles from *De Standaard*. By looking at these articles, one subject appeared, namely the history and role of humour in European societies. One author expresses it this way: "Abovementioned examples show that in the tradition that was partly formed by Europe, the comedy, the joke, the foolishness, the satire and the mocking laugh were the playgrounds for peaceful fighting"[153]. This is something that did not come up at all in *Al Arabiya*, in which the articles are more about more serious business such as politics and the history of nations. Other examples of *De Standaard* were looking back at the history of emancipation movements, and the 1930s and Auschwitz. It was clear that these cases there was also a form of comparison visible, which means that most of these articles from *De Standaard* also belong to the type "Comparative" that will be described next.

2.6 Comparative

Concerning the type "Comparative", there were some comparisons between the 1930s and now, for example, regarding the use of cartoons as a form of stereotyping and policies such as taking away the nationality of radicalized youth. Although these kind of comparison did not come forward in the articles from *De Standaard,* there was one article that compared the war against IS in the Middle East to the war against Nazism by Europe. Other articles compared the reactions of France now with the reactions of the U.S. after 9/11. One writer stated the following: "Frivolous wars are like drugs. They may start with the intention of achieving a fleeting sense of ecstasy, but with time they become a lethal escape from reality"[154]. These comparisons did not concretely come up in the articles from *De Standaard* but this might be due to the differences in topics (for example, national vs. international topics). Another interesting comparison was a comparison between IS and Al-Qaeda: "Al-Qaeda wants to attack the distant enemy wherever they may be, while ISIS is

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[152] "Het is ons bloed, ons gezamenlijk bloed dat op dat zwaard te zien is, en het veroordeelt de ridders van de duisternis die het dragen en hun tegenpolen die de woede tegen die misdaad willen claimen en recupereren" In D. ABOU JAHJAH, *Ik ben Ahmed*.
[153] "Bovenstaande voorbeelden maken duidelijk dat in de traditie die Europa mede vormde, de komedie, de grap, de zotheid, de satire en de spottende lach de vrijplaatsen zijn geweest voor het vreedzaam vechten" in H. ACHTERHUIS, *Het vrije, vechtende woord*, in *De Standaard*, 5th February 2015.
[154] 4. BAROUD, *Lessons that Hollande failed to learn from W. Bush's plunders*, in *Al Arabiya*, 22nd January 2015.

focusing on state-building. Whether one group is more potent than the other is not important"[155].

As you can see, there were some comparisons in *Al Arabiya* but most of them have something to do with concrete comparisons between reactions or between the past and the present. On the contrary, a lot of articles from *De Standaard* made more amusing comparisons as in that they mocked with something or someone by making a comparison with something else as, for example, making a comparison between Muhammad cartoons and Luc De Vos (a Flemish singer-songwriter) or comparing the war against terror to a football match[156].

2.7 Interrogative

As for the articles classified under "Interrogative", it became clear that these articles from *De Standaard* were both articles that ask critical questions to something or someone or articles that make use of rhetorical questions to fortify their messages. Examples of interrogative articles are questions regarding polarization, hypocrisy and safety measures such as the limitation of freedom. Regarding the articles from *Al Arabiya*, not much articles are classified under this type. There is one article, though, that asks a question in a very clear way,

> "Don't all these events now going on around us and committed in our name require us to break the fear barrier and begin to question our region and our societies, especially the ideas being trafficked there that have led us to this awful stage where we are tearing one at another's throats – to mention nothing of what as a result also happens beyond our region?[157]

As you can see, this is a quote that has been used before under the type "Appeal" due to the fact that it is a question that asks for an answer, a question that asks for some action to do something about these problems and to open their eyes.

3. Conclusion

It is fair to say that most categories described above appeared in both *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard,* meaning that in one way or another these categories could be seen as logical text types. By looking at the concrete meaning of these types and searching for examples in both newspapers, it became clear that the types were consistent, even though the topics differed between the papers. As mentioned before, there was a lack of clarity regarding the types "Argumentation" and "Criticism", which, in retrospect, should have been combined.

As mentioned before, due to the fact that it was not completely clear to me how to understand typologies of texts, I decided to categorize these types without looking at concrete theories. For this reason, it seemed better to look at the contents of the articles and see if I could find similarities and differences. This research follows an inductive

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[155] T. KARASIK, *Connecting the dots on Paris and Yemen*, in *Al Arabiya*, 11th January 2015.
[156] M. VERMEULEN, *Terrorisme-democratie: 2-1*, in *De Standaard*, 13th January 2015.
[157] D. MOUKALLED, *Massacres cannot be excused, so stop trying*, in *Al Arabiya*, 14th January 2015.

approach meaning that I will now look at text types found in theory to see if they match with the types found in the articles. Due to the simple fact that I do not have a background in linguistics or the correct know how regarding the jargon used, it was not easy to find literature on text types. Eventually I did find a handbook called "*Les textes: types et prototypes*" written by Jean Michel Adam[158]. In this book Adam elaborates on five different text types: narrative, descriptive, argumentative, explanatory and dialogue. As you see, these are different types than the ones I have found, although some types do come up, namely narrative, descriptive and argumentative. Even though this handbook thoroughly describes the ways in which these types should be defined and how they should be analysed, I will only look at some basic characteristics to be able to compare them to the types I have used above.

The type "narrative" is a type that could be characterized by a succession of different events, a thematic unity involving at least an actor/subject, a transforming ground, a process, and a plot. These seem characteristics that coincide with the reasons why I decided to classify articles under the type "narrative", especially the presence of an actor that tells a story (plot). The second type "descriptive" is closely associated with the previous type, but is a more impersonal way of writing. This means that the writer has an idea and is the master of the implementation of this idea. This seems logical and is consistent with the articles I labelled as "descriptive", namely those that elaborated on a certain topic in a descriptive and impersonal style. The third type is "argumentation" and is considered being a type that consists of all articles that start from certain prepositions on which the writer reflects and reasons to come to a logical conclusion. This type is in concordance with both the types "argumentative" and "criticism", which makes clear that these types should have been combined. The next type "explanatory" is characterised by the fact that it consist of the attempt of explaining something. This way, it could be that articles classified as "interrogative" could belong to this type in such a way that they ask questions and give answers to them. Evidently, this is not always the case, which raises the question whether or not these articles should have been characterized as "argumentative". Lastly, texts of the type "dialogue" are texts that consist of some kind of conversation between different actors. Although I did not elaborate upon this type of text, it is obviously one that could be considered for the articles from *De Standaard*. Some of these articles seemed evidently written for the writers of other articles. This way, these articles could be seen as a conversation or dialogue.

Concerning the other text types that were extracted from the data, it must be said that they could be categorized in these bigger types. To give an example, it might be possible to classify my "historical" type as "descriptive" or "explanatory". These articles most of the time describe, for example, the history of terrorism, or explain, through reflecting upon history, why things are as they are in the present. The same could be done for a type such as "emotional" that could simply reflect for example an emotional way of "argumentation" or of "narrative". Hence, I have to conclude that the categories found in the data were not really distinct or far-off from typologies used in textual analysis but that they sometimes are a little arbitrary.

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[158] J.M. ADAM, *Les textes: types et prototypes. Récit, description, argumentation, explicitation et dialogue*, s.l. Nathan, 1992.

G. TOPICS

Due to the large amount of topics found in both newspapers, I decided not to make a chart because this would not add any value to the analysis. There were 78 topics in *De Standaard* and 58 topics in *Al Arabiya*. It is fair to say that the difference in this amount is due to the difference in the total amount of articles of both newspapers (respectively 66 compared to 33). As mentioned before, it seemed necessary to decrease the amount of topics to describe more thoroughly by looking at both the associations between the topics as to my personal affection with the topics. By looking carefully at both analyses it became clear that the most interesting clusters of topics for *De Standaard* were "civil society" and "roots of radicalization". For *Al Arabiya* I chose to go deeper into "roots of radicalization" and "politics/action". I decided not to look at the same topics for both papers due to the huge differences between the papers in the topics that were discussed in the articles. It would have been possible to describe "politics/action" for *De Standaard* but it was clear that, although this topic definitely came up and was interesting, it was not one of the major topics. The same applies for *Al Arabiya* regarding "civil society" that did come up in one way or another but was not a major topic compared to the topics chosen. For the comparison I decided to thoroughly discuss "roots of radicalization", the topic both newspapers had in common. I decided not to look at any other topics due to the simple fact that limitation is needed and that a lot of similarities and differences regarding the topics have appeared in the previous sections above and will appear later.

First of all I want to start with some general remarks concerning the topics in both newspapers. It became clear for me that the topics reflect, as said before, a different concern in both newspapers. The writers of *Al Arabiya* seemed to be more concerned with politics and searched for solutions for the on-going difficulties in the Middle-Eastern region, while the writers of *De Standaard* seemed to be more concerned with Belgian national policies against for example radicalization. I will not go deeper into this again due to the simple fact that I have elaborated on this in both the context and audience sections above. Another interesting difference in the topics that came up was the fact that almost all articles in *Al Arabiya* in a certain way discussed politics, whether they were focused on international politics or focused on specific countries does not matter. This might be due to the circumstances in the region, but could also be due to the fact that there were not that much different writers, and that for example the same person has written 15% of all articles. For this reason it sometimes appeared to me that the writers talk about the same topics over and over again which made it sometimes hard to stay focused and look at the differences in the topics. At the same time it seemed to me that there were more different topics that appeared in the articles from *De Standaard*, which might be due to the fact that there simply were a lot more articles to be analysed. Another big difference was the fact that the writers of *De Standaard* engaged in discussions with each other ensuring an elaboration on the topics, what seemed to me as being a richer data set. I do have to say about this that it might be possible that this is the case due to the nature of the data collection. It could have been possible that articles from *De Standaard* have been lost when they did not explicitly refer to Charlie Hebdo. This way, it might be possible that discussions were overlooked. Clearly this is only a possibility, it is also possible that discussions are a distinguishing mark of *De Standaard* or that the articles from *De Standaard* can be seen as more isolated from each other. Furthermore, I do have to

acknowledge that the differences can also be due to the fact that Dutch is my mother tongue and that it might have been easier to look at subtle differences in the topics for *De Standaard* than it was for *Al Arabiya*.

1. Roots of radicalization

As mentioned before, "roots of radicalization" was a major topic in both *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya*. In the context section, it became clear that both papers do have a different approach to radicalization in such a way that the writers of *De Standaard* take a closer look at radicalization in Belgian society whilst writers of *Al Arabiya* look more at the international context. To summarize, in Europe one can see an evolution in the number of radicalized young Muslims who leave to fight for their religion in Syria in the last couple of years and especially since the start of the Arabic Spring in 2011. At the same time, the Middle East, being the field of action, has had a long history of radicalism. It can be seen as a potential time bomb since the start of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq after 9/11 and subsequently, the Arab Spring, both leading to the dismantling of different nation states, which led to some kind of situation of political anarchy and chaos. This is obviously a superficial description of the current situation, but this is only a contextual framework to show why this topic is emphasized in the articles. Understandably this leads to the writers of *Al Arabiya* stressing the importance of international politics to combat the rise of radicalized Islamist groups such as IS, while at the same time leading to the writers of *De Standaard* stressing the necessity of decent and effective national policies to combat both polarization in Western societies and the radicalization of these Jihad fighters.

The first subtopic "integration" appeared in both analyses, although in a slightly different manner. In the articles from *De Standaard* it became clear that there was no concrete definition of integration. In some cases it seemed to be defined as assimilation, by which immigrants should adapt to Belgian society. In other cases it could be understood as a sense of belonging to the receiving society without completely adapting to its norms and values. The difference between the definitions of "integration" might be due to the background and political preferences of the writers, and can be seen as a discussion in Belgian society that is closely linked to the discussions about education and citizenship. Meanwhile the writers of *Al Arabiya* seemed to define integration more closely towards assimilation and were often harsher to these young Muslims that do not want to assimilate into the societies they live in. This does not mean, though, that they did not point a finger at the receiving societies too. It was clear, though, that the writers of both newspapers were strongly convinced that the lack of or failed integration is very problematic, and could be seen as a key to understanding radicalization. This lack of integration has been nicely captured by the introduction of the word "disintegration" in *De Standaard*. Although the topic "integration" has been introduced in both newspapers, it was more thoroughly reflected upon in *De Standaard*, especially when theorizing about and criticizing the Marion van San's integration paradox. A final remark in this section concerns the introduction of the word "ghettoization" in *Al Arabiya*, by which the writer points out that some Muslims live in miserable circumstances, and are concentrated in one geographical area. I found this an interesting word choice that did not specifically came up while reading the articles from *De Standaard*, but is reflected in criticism towards the fact that immigrants, and definitely poor immigrants, seem to be concentrated in certain parts of

cities, which leads to a social downward spiral of poverty, lack of education and unemployment. These three socio-economical factors are important for understanding radicalization, as discussed in the last chapter.

The next topic "discrimination'" is closely linked to "integration" and has only been discussed for *De Standaard* due to the more in-depth discussions about integration and prejudices from the people in a receiving society. This has been mentioned in *Al Arabiya,* too, but was not elaborated upon this specific component of radicalization. Subsequently, there is another major topic, namely "identity" that came up in both newspapers, and revolves around the question of identification with Islamic radicalism. A big difference between both papers is the way they reflect on identity. In *De Standaard* the topic comes up very clearly, for example, when looking at notions such as collective memory and collective suffering. Collective suffering refers to the way in which individuals identify themselves with other people being oppressed. The writers of *Al Arabiya* do not clearly refer to identity but talk about, for example, the incapability of young Western Muslims to identify with the culture or nation they grow up in. What both papers have in common is the reflection on alienation or more generally a feeling of homelessness, which could lead to a very strong identification with an ideology/religion such as Islamic radicalism in which these youths find themselves and through which they become a person.

The next topic is "ignorance", which is closely linked to polarization. These two topics appear in both newspapers. In *De Standaard* ignorance is closely linked to education, being a solution for it. Both newspapers reflect on both the ignorance of people in Western societies and their lack of knowledge about the other, and the ignorance of radical Islamists. Another interesting subtopic here is the topic "US/THEM" that leads to reflections about who is "us" and who "them". Although both warned against such divisions and polarization, a difference between the newspapers is that the writers of *Al Arabiya* make a clear division between "us", being all people who condemn terrorism, and "them", being terrorists and all those who legitimize terrorism. This strict division did not appear in *De Standaard*. Another interesting point of difference was the topic "fear", which comes up in *De Standaard*, and can be seen as a foundation of ignorance, in mu opinion.

H. Concordance & Evolution

In the analyses of *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya* I made a distinction between topics by author and topics by date, but I will not do that in this section. Here, I will compare the concordance and evolution of the newspapers by looking at the topics by date more generally. In the first week after the attack there were in both newspapers a lot of writers who tried to make sense of the attack by looking at the roots of radicalization. Furthermore, especially in *De Standaard,* there were a lot of writers who reflected upon the core values of democratic society and the freedom of speech. This subject did appear in some of the articles from *Al Arabiya* as well but not as extensively. Additionally, in both newspapers, writers mentioned the necessity not to start polarizing towards Muslims.

Concerning the articles written in the second week after the attack, it became clear that were some more differences between *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard*. In *Al Arabiya* the writers went on elaborating on the roots of radicalization by looking at the history of terrorism. Furthermore, the topics "media" and "politics" appeared, involving an appeal to

these power mechanisms and the necessity to stop being hypocrite and start being responsible. This means that in *Al Arabiya* a lot of the reflections were made on international politics. In *De Standaard* a discussion about the necessity of education as a solution for radicalization appeared. This discussion was completely absent in *Al Arabiya*, which might be due to the discussion being provoked by a single writer of *De Standaard* and his idea of a course called LEF. Furthermore, there were some articles that introduced criticism towards safety measures proposed by politics. As you can see, these are criticisms towards national policies, but this does not mean that they cannot be seen as a criticism towards international politics, too. In this way you can see the difference between both newspapers as more national oriented and more international oriented, as elaborated on earlier.

In the last two and a half weeks of the time frame both the writers of *Al Arabiya* and the writers of *De Standaard* elaborated on the previous mentioned topics. The only novelty was the introduction of the discussion about the integration paradox as proposed by Marion van San. This does not mean, though, that there is not a huge difference between the papers. As mentioned before, there were a lot less articles from *Al Arabiya* to be analysed in this time frame, while *De Standaard* has a more gradual evolution, which meant there were still plenty of articles to be analysed. Knowing this, it is no wonder that there were no new topics introduced in *Al Arabiya* in the last part of the time frame.

To conclude about the comparison of concordance and evolution, it must be said that both newspapers evolved in kind of the same way. Both newspapers started out with some topics and elaborated on them by adding other topics that are in one way or another associated with the previous ones. One of the differences between the newspapers, were the appearances of new topics. Although there is a slight difference between the topics of the first and second week after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, the articles from *Al Arabiya* reflected mostly upon national and international politics and elaborated on this. At the same time there was an evolution visible in *De Standaard*. Even though the topics could definitely be seen as elaborations on previous topics, it became clear that they led to different and in-depth discussions about a certain aspect of radicalization, for example education or integration. As mentioned before, this might be due to the fact that these writers engaged in discussion with each other. Another difference between the newspapers is that there seems to be a wider variety of topics in the articles from *De Standaard.* This might be due to the larger number of articles, but also to the fact that a lot of the articles in *Al Arabiya* were written by only two authors (27%), which could have led to less evolution in the topics and more elaborations on previous topics.

4. CONCLUSION

To terminate this chapter it seemed best to return to the research question of this thesis. I have tried to thoroughly answer every systematic question proposed in the methodology chapter for each of the two newspapers under analysis, after which a comparison has been drawn. In this conclusion I will look at some general remarks regarding the comparison of both newspapers in answering the systematic questions.

First of all, there were the descriptive questions that have been resolved through using both qualitative and, when necessary, quantitative measurements. As you have seen, it became clear that there are some noticeable differences between *De Standaard* and *Al*

Arabiya regarding the date, the authors, the length, the context and the audience of the articles. These differences could be due to the nature of the data collection, namely the possibility that some articles from *De Standaard* were overlooked, which might have led to a smaller number of articles. In turn, this could have led to differences in the distribution of the articles by date and by author. Another important difference was found in the context section in which it became very clear that both newspapers have different concerns that could be due to their audience. It seems that *Al Arabiya* is more focused on international politics, while *De Standaard* is more focused on national events. Furthermore, there is also the possibility of proximity. Due to the proximity of the event, there might have been a difference in the number of articles of both newspapers and in the contextual references. By this I mean that it is possible that there are more elaborations on the attack on Charlie Hebdo in *De Standaard* due to the simple fact that France is very close to Belgium. Moreover, the proximity could explain the differences in contextual references in both newspapers, such as the lack of information about the attack in Yemen on 7th January in *De Standaard.*

Regarding the analytical questions about the types, the topics, and concordance and evolution, some general remarks can be made. Concerning the types, it became clear that most of the types appeared in the articles of both newspapers and that it was possible to compare them. This led to the belief that they were made consistently. When comparing them to literature it appeared that these types were not far-fetched, but that some divisions, such as "argumentation" and "criticism", were arbitrary. Hence, it would be interesting to return to the data with this in mind, but as previously mentioned, this will not be done due to the limitation of this research. Secondly, there was the analysis of the topics of both newspapers. It became apparent that although there were a lot of topics, they could be categorized under big themes or clusters, such as "citizenship" or "solutions", for both newspapers. The analysis showed that, although there were differences concerning the accentuated topics, most of the topics appeared in the both of them. Finally there was the question on concordance and evolution. As mentioned before, the concordance questions had been answered through the analysis of the previous systematic questions. Concerning the evolution it became clear that both newspapers evolved in the same way. The later topics could be seen as elaborations on previous topics. For example there was the topic "roots of radicalization" which led to elaborations on "education" and "integration" in *De Standaard* and to "politics/action" in *Al Arabiya.*

As you can see, all systematic questions have been answered for both newspapers. Although it sometimes was not clear, or there were some questions that coincide with each other and that might have been handled together (for example concordance or context and date). By answering the systematic questions it should be possible to answer the first two research questions: Which are the topics that come up by analysing the data? Is it possible to categorize the topics found? As expected it was possible to answer both research questions thoroughly by looking at the smaller systematic questions. There were definitely some topics found that could be categorized under bigger clusters or themes. In the next chapter I will deal with some of the most important topics found and reflect upon them.

CHAPTER 4: THEORY AND COMMENTARIES OF THE AUTHOR

In this more analytical chapter, I will look at the final research question, namely *do these categories reflect or refer to certain worldviews; and is it possible to find them in theory?* The notion "categories" refers to the categories of topics and clusters of topics. Due to the large amount of data and results, a reduction of the possible theories that could be found in the data seemed essential. For this reason, I decided to look at a couple of theories to be able to describe them thoroughly, based upon the previously described topics and personal affinity of the author with these theories. Because there were a lot of possibilities, I WILL look at radicalization theories and to look at similarities and differences compared to the topics and themes that appeared in the analyses of both newspapers. Furthermore I will look at "cultural attachment theory" and identity construction in postmodern society in the second part of this chapter. First I want to start with some general remarks.

Figure 29 and Figure 30 (appendices) illustrate that there were many associations that could be made between the different topics or themes that came up. What seems most important is the complexity of these associations and of the themes themselves. This leads to the belief that topics such as "roots of radicalization", "civil society" and power mechanisms, as they have come forward in both "politics" and "media", are interdependent, meaning that they influence each other. For example, it could be said that radicalization is an outcome of power mechanisms within democratic societies, or even an outcome of the larger process globalization. At the same time are radical groups, such as IS or terrorist organizations are becoming a distinctive force against democratic societies. In some ways, this seems paradoxical. There are some interesting theories, such as Benjamin Barber's, written about the dialectical relationship between terrorism and globalization (as in Westernization or Americanization), and the possibility that globalization is one of the foundations for, what Barber calls, Jihad or more broadly fundamentalism[159]. This is an interesting viewpoint because this would mean that imposing further democratization or imposing the norms and values of Western societies on others, could lead to a further spread of radicalization, instead of minimizing it. With regards to the topics that were previously discussed in the analysis, this means that political action and/or education should be concerned with this possibility.

Let me give an example to further clarify this. When looking at the newspapers' interpretations of certain events, it appears to me that their belief in a civil society and their elaborations on what it means to be a citizen are sometimes based upon certain presuppositions. For instance, there is one writer of *De Standaard* who very specifically states that there is only one Truth, namely that it does not exist. I conceive this to be a very pragmatic point of view that might be inherent to many Western societies. By this I mean that it is believed that there no longer are any big ideologies or narratives and that every individual has the right to believe in his or her own story, as far as it is considered good or practical for their own lives[160]. However, this pragmatic philosophy of life could be seen as a characteristic of these strongly individualized, secularized consumer societies, and thus could be seen as of a cultural nature. I believe it might be possible that some religious

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[159] B, BARBER,, *Jihad vs. McWorld. Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy*, London, Corgi Books (Transworld Publishers), 2003.

[160] C. HOOKWAY, *Pragmatism* in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2015); http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/pragmatism/ (entry 10th August).

people, who do believe in an absolute Truth, have the feeling that this pragmatic way of life is imposed upon them. I do want to emphasize that this remark should not be seen as a critique of either of these points of view. Furthermore, I have questioned the possibility of a pragmatic way of living by raising a question about human nature. Is it possible to all become highly self-reflexing and people who put everything in perspective? Or is it peculiar to humanity to search for a bigger meaning in life? These are questions that also are closely associated with the possibility to engage in a society, in which there are no polarizations between "us" and "them"[161].

1. RADICALIZATION THEORIES

Concerning radicalization theories, I have looked at some general books and websites, where I could find a summary of existing literature. This made it possible to acquire a good view on the existing theories and to see if they appeared in the articles. It became apparent that a lot of research has been conducted in which different perspectives on radicalization came forward. Loobuyck talks about Jihad fighters as being a "*mysterium tremendum et fascinans*", as being a mystery that is fearsome and fascinating at the same time[162]. For this reason, the phenomenon receives a lot of attention in society as a whole, and more particularly in research and politics.

Generally stated it is believed that radicalization should be seen as a multi-faceted and highly complex phenomenon. This means that it is not possible to come to a coherent and generalizable theory, which would explain everything and everyone. This should be taken into account by policy-makers when planning anti-radicalization policies. The general complexity of the phenomenon and the problems this brings with it for politics have been a subject in both *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard*. Even though both newspapers focused on another side of the coin, both of them acknowledged the difficulties to fight radicalization, but simultaneously expressed the concern that doing nothing would lead to an exacerbation of the difficulties. In what follows I will go a little deeper into the sources of radicalization by looking at the theories. Because there are many theories, I will follow the outline of one of the books I read, "*Preventie van radicalisering in België*"[163], and complement when necessary.

A. RADICALIZATION AS A PROCESS

According to Noppe et al., for example, radicalization is to be understood as a process: "(...) radicalization (that leads to violence) occurs by means of a process. It is a continuum, in which radicalism, extremism and terrorism are different stadia in that process"[164]. Noppe et al. refer to radicalization by means of the metaphor of the iceberg, meaning that terrorism is the top of the iceberg that is associated with radicalization, the latter being

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[161] An interesting book about violence is the book "*Met alle geweld*" by Hans Achterhuis. In this book he searches for the roots of violence and raises questions about the possibility to get beyond a Manicheistic world view, in which there is a division between good and evil, between us and them.

[162] P. LOOBUYCK, (ed.), *De lokroep van IS. Syriëstrijders en deradicalisering,* Kalmthout, Pelckmans, 2015.

[163] J. NOPPE & P. PONSAERS, & A. VERHAGE, & B. DE RUYVER & M. EASTON, *Preventie van radicalisering in België*, Antwerpen – Apeldoorn – Portland, Maklu, 2010.

[164] "(...) dat radicalisering (hetgeen tot geweld leidt) een procesmatig verloop kent. Het gaat om een continuüm, waarbij radicalisme, extremisme en terrorisme verschillende stadia zijn in dat proces" in J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering in België*, Antwerpen – Apeldoorn – Portland, Maklu, 2010, p. 13.

less visible in society. This is something that appeared in different articles from *De Standaard*, in which the authors distinguished between especially extremism and terrorism. Furthermore there was one writer of *De Standaard* who wrote about the differences between radicalism, extremism and fundamentalism. In this article the writer distinguished between being radical as being a radical believer, while being extremist or fundamentalist means to hold on to a narrow-minded and literal reading of the scriptures and leads to reacting against those who do not share this interpretation[165]. Noppe et al. use a similar definition in which radicalism refers to a strong belief, whereas extremism (and certainly terrorism) refers to the legitimation of violence and the readiness to act violently[166]. Additionally, these radical individuals are believed to fight different principles of democratic society such as the freedom of speech, and thus are seen as anti-Western[167]. This is a theme that came forward in both newspapers, but on which was elaborated more in *De Standaard*. The attack on Charlie Hebdo is believed to be an attack on the basic principle of the freedom of speech and the freedom of press.

Summarized, "(…) radicalization consists of the development of opinions and activities that are focused on extreme changes in, and even the overthrow of the societal and political system in which the readiness to use violence grows"[168]. Noppe et al. state the connection between radicalism and polarization, defined as the contrast between two groups that led to tensions, as being intertwined and reciprocally reinforcing processes. As you can see, this is a topic that appeared in both newspapers more thoroughly, in which the writers made an appeal to both citizens and politics not to start polarizing. Furthermore there were some writers who warned for polarization as a result of growing radicalization in society, but also as a cause or radicalization. This way, these writers did state some commentaries that are consistent with the literature. This polarization is strongly associated with Islamophobia, the perception of Muslims as "suspected and despised because of Islam. Muslims do not feel accepted as full members of European society, due to the widespread anti-Muslim sentiments, negative stereotypes in the media, discrimination (…), prejudiced remarks by political leaders and counter-terrorism legislation disproportionately affecting Muslims"[169]. As you can see, these are all topics that appeared in the analysis of the newspapers. Furthermore, I do have to point out that genuine interaction is believed to be a solution for further polarization in both newspapers, in which the writers emphasize the need for public debate, communication and education. This comes forward in theories about defensive and non-defensive communication, in which is stated that defensive communication strategies lead to and enforce thinking about "us" versus "them" (a major topic in both newspapers), while communicative strategies lead to participation and mutual trust[170]. I will not go deeper

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[165] R. STOCKMAN, *Met radicaal zijn is niets mis*, in *De Standaard*, 4th February 2015.

[166] J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 16-17.

[167] J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 13.; M. RANSTORP (ed.), *Understanding Violent Radicalisation. Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe* (Series: Political Violence), London – New York, Taylor & Francis Inc., 2010.

[168] "(…) bestaat radicalisering uit de ontwikkeling van opvattingen en activiteiten die gericht zijn op verregaande veranderingen in, en zelfs de omverwerping van het maatschappelijke of politieke bestel waarbij de bereidheid kan groeien om geweld te gebruiken" in J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 15.

[169] R. COOLSAET, *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge. European and American Experiences 2nd Edition*, Farnham – Burlington, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011.

[170] J. REMMERSWAAL, *Handboek Groepsdynamica. Een nieuwe inleiding op theorie en praktijk*, Haarlem – Utrecht, Nelissen Soest, 2008, p. 133-135.

into this, but it must be clear that a general climate of distrust towards the other enforces thinking about the other as an outsider, and leads to the other thinking about you as the outsider, reinforcing polarization and radicalization. On this has been elaborated in many theories about the formation of the in-group and the out-group, which leads to stereotyping of the out-group as a homogenous whole ("All Muslims are radical", "All Belgians are racists")[171].

B. ROOTS OF RADICALIZATION

Noppe et al. provide three kinds of theories that explain radicalization: theories that reflect upon characteristics of individuals and groups, theories that reflect on what they call subjective legitimations ("*rechtvaardigheidsgronden*") for violence and theories reflecting on contextual causes of radicalization. The first and last theories also appear in another book called "Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge"[172]. All these theories are seen as possible explanations of radicalization, but, as mentioned before, should be seen in relation to each other.

1. Characteristics of individuals and groups

Regarding the characteristics of individuals and groups there are different theories. The first one is a psychopathological theory that refers to terrorists as being psychologically disturbed. Even though these kinds of theories are attracting there is no clear evidence for them[173]. This appeared, in my opinion, in some articles from *De Standaard* who stated that terrorists are evil and should be condemned, The belief that these people are bad or evil is, I guess, easier than believing that anyone would be able to conduct such crimes. Furthermore, there were no concrete articles that talked about psychopathological theories, it was possible to find some references in the articles to the theory of Hannah Arendt and her reflections on Eichmann and Nazism in her book "Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on The Banality of Evil". In this book she reflects on the process of Eichmann and concludes that normal people can behave extraordinary in a certain context. Another interesting book is a book of Zygmunt Bauman called "Modernity and the Holocaust". In this book Bauman explains, by building on the theories of Arendt, the Holocaust as an outcome of modernity. Both books state that people do not need to be psychologically disturbed to commit crimes such as genocide or terrorist attacks. This has been proved in different social experiments, of which one of the most interesting was the Stanford Prison Experiment (1971) of Philip Zimbardo. This experiment shows that the dispositional (personal) explanation was not sufficient, and proved the situational (group conformity, social roles) explanation[174]. As you see this is closely linked to both identity (social identity, social roles) and contextual factors (socialization, the learning of specific social roles, group pressure). Zimbardo elaborated on his experiments in his book "The Lucifer Effect", in which he reflects on the fuzzy line between good and bad and the possibility of

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[171] J. REMMERSWAAL, *Handboek Groepsdynamica,* p. 51-52.

[172] R. COOLSAET, *Jihadi Terrorism.*

[173] . NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 19.

[174] P.n ZIMBARDO, *Stanford Prison Experiment* (1999-2015); http://www.prisonexp.org (entry 10th August).; S.A. MCLEOD, *Zimbardo – Stanford Prison Experiment* (2008); http://www.simplypsychology.org/zimbardo.html (entry 10th August).

evil in everyone, which brings in again the question of human nature and the possibility of exterminating violence[175]. In my opinion these experiments and theories emphasize the complexity of radicalization and the necessity to look at different "layers" (individual, social, societal) of the phenomenon.

The types of second theories are theories that reflect on identity and identity construction. In these theories the alienation of young adults is the point of focus, which means that they focus on the fact that these individuals are socially isolated from the society they live in. Furthermore it is believed that, "(…) young adults who have a lack of self-confidence and who experience a strong, even desperate, need to reinforce their identity"[176]. This point of view was reflected in both *Al Arabiya* and *De Standaard,* both elaborating on these feelings of being lost in a society that is perceived as not accepting oneself or one's cultural background. Additionally, this seemed in the newspapers to be closely linked to the problem of citizenship and belonging to a nation state or society, and so thus closely linked to migration and integration. I will elaborate on this later when introducing the possibility of a "cultural attachment theory". Furthermore, it seems clear that this search for identity is closely associated with the choice to follow one ideology, such as radical Islam, as a major contributing factor to come to a coherent social identity[177]. Coolsaet goes deeper into the importance of ideology by looking at the Salafi-doctrine as a religious framework, based on the interpretations of Muhammad Ibn Abdel Wahab (18th century) that can be seen as a puritanical line of thought[178]. I will not elaborate on this, but it is interesting that this role of religion, and more specifically the role of Islamic radical thinking, did not concretely appear in the articles from *De Standaard*. There could be many reasons for this, but I think one of the major reasons is that the writers were more focused on other roots of radicalization, maybe due to the fact that this topic has been discussed many times before. In *Al Arabiya* there were some writers who referred to religion and ideology when criticizing the confidential relationship of different nations in the Arabic world with fundamentalist groups in their societies. Moreover, there were some writers who asked for an intellectual revolution towards a more modern (or postmodern?) Islam. This is reflected in theory when the lack of internal dialogue about the interpretations of the Qur'an in Muslim communities, is emphasized as a root for radicalization[179]. One last remark concerning this topic is the fact that such puritan interpretations lead to a strict division between *halal (*حَلَال*)* and *haram (*حَرَامْ*)*, between "good" (pure, allowed) and "bad" (soiled, forbidden)[180]. This means that they have a Manichaeistic worldview that is binary and consists of strict definitions of, for example, believers and infidels[181]. As mentioned before, I found it striking that a lot of the writers of *Al Arabiya* made the same strict division between good and evil when talking

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[175] P. ZIMBARDO, *Chapter 1: The Psychology of Evil: Situated Character* Transformation, in *The lucifer effect: understanding how good people turn evil*, New York, Random House, 2007, p. 3-22.

[176] "(…) adolescenten met een gebrek aan zelfvertrouwen die een sterke, zelfs wanhopige nood ervaren hun persoonlijke identiteit te versterken" OLSSON in J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 19.

[177] J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 26 .

[178] R. COOLSAET, *Jihadi Terrorism,* p. 103-109.

[179] RANSTORP, M. (ed.), *Understanding Violent Radicalisation,* p. 31.

[180] This is closely associated with other notions, such as *tawhid* (توحيد: the belief in one God, monotheism), which refers to *la 'ilaha 'illa l-Lah* (لَا إِلَّهَ إِلَّا الله, "There is no God but God"), *shirk* (شرك: associations) and *bid'a* (بدع: innovation); T. STANLEY, *Understanding the Origins of Wahhabism and Salafism* (2005); http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=528&#.Vchebuvh41A (entry 10th August).

[181] R. COOLSAET, *Jihadi Terrorism,* p. 107.

about terrorists. Even though in *De Standaard* there were strong condemnations of the acts of terrorist as being barbaric, there was no such division regarding the terrorists themselves. This might be an outcome of the different worldviews of the writers (religious vs. secular) or of a different way of writing (emotional vs. rational), but this is not a certainty and might be an interesting topic for further research.

Lastly, there is a theory known as the novelty-seeking theory, which states that these young adults are seeking thrilling experiences and that this is why they radicalize and become, for example, Jihadist warriors. This could also be linked to the glorification of the Jihadi experience by other Jihadists to attract youths[182]. This too is a possibility that appeared to be reflected somewhat in the data, specifically in an article on exhibitionism, which reflected on the way in which these young adults are in fact seeking public attention and trying to engage it in a "spectacle". With her use of the notion of spectacle, Halla Diyab places herself in postmodern thinking about the media, as it was also outlined in the works of Jean Baudrillard. I personally found this quite fascinating because of the strong relational component between their fight against society and society itself. After all, it was interesting to see how these youths are exhibiting their cruel crimes on the Internet, which is arbitrary, because in their fight against modern society, they are actually relying on this society's technological inventions and social mechanisms. After all, identity construction on the Internet is something quite typical of our present democratic societies.

2. Subjective legitimations of violence

The theories regarding the legitimations of violence concern the subjective perspectives of radicalized individuals or groups regarding their circumstances[183]. This means that these theories are concerned with the legitimations of their radical ideas or even of violent measures against the out-group. A fine example of this can be found in the legitimations of Amedy Coulibaly for killing Jewish civilians. This way, Coulibaly is able to see his victims as responsible and guilty of their own deaths, which is seen as a characteristic of a lot of radicalized individuals or groups[184]. As mentioned before, he states that the killing of Jews is legitimized by the on-going conflict between Israel and Palestine, and that for this reason all Jews are soldiers. Furthermore, there were a lot of articles in *Al Arabiya* that pointed at these rationalizations of terroristic violence being absolutely wrong. Besides, there were some writers in *De Standaard* who were more understanding of some of these perspectives of being unfairly treated by pointing at discrimination or events, such as the arrest of Dieudonné for being anti-Semitic while, simultaneously, people who make anti-Islamic statements are perceived as not being pursued for them.

One of these theories is the "rational choice theory" by which radicalized individuals or groups make a cost-profit analysis of the necessity to use violence, but this theory was disregarded because it is too rationalizing and does not take into account the subjective perspectives of individuals and groups[185]. Another theory is the "frustration-aggression hypothesis", which emphasizes that people are frustrated with

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[182] RANSTORP, M. (ed.), *Understanding Violent Radicalisation,* p. 32.
[183] J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 20.
[184] J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 28.
[185] J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 20-21.

something/someone and that this is always the foundation of violence[186]. Noppe et al. point out, though, that a lot of terrorists do not belong to the group that is suppressed in a given society, and therefore state that this could not fully explain radicalization. This is interesting because the frustration of these youths came forward in both newspapers. Moreover, there was the topic "collective suffering" in *De Standaard* that could be associated with this theory. This notion was used to refer to the fact that some people do not need to be discriminated to feel the suffering of those who are discriminated. For this reason frustration can be a root cause of radicalization without being exposed to the objective circumstances. Noppe et al. acknowledge this when referring to frustration as being derived from subjective perceptions of certain circumstances. Moreover, it became clear in the newspapers that this frustration is closely associated with a sense of humiliation, which also appeared in the next quote: "Thus the *mujahed* is painted as a highly frustrated person who is full of hatred – and this predicament, caused by socio-economic marginalization, goes on to fuel a sense of humiliation"[187].

The next theory is the "relative deprivation theory" and focuses on the social-economic characteristics of radicalized individuals or groups[188]. These theorists see the deprivation of especially economical means as the basis for frustration. This seems to be very closely linked to discrimination or perceived discrimination. Moreover, research has likewise shown that "the more discrimination members of a minority confront, the more they tend to unite around a perceived cause of their discrimination, such as their religious affiliation"[189]. This means that the feeling of being discriminated because of, for example, your cultural background could lead to a strong identification with, for example, religious fundamentalism and can lead to radicalization. Discrimination is a topic that appeared in both newspapers, but was elaborated on in *De Standaard* and is closely linked to the previously mentioned topics "collective suffering" and processes of victimization. Furthermore, this theory emphasizes the socio-economical circumstances of Muslims in European societies. Although this theory reflects upon the perceived deprivation, it must be said that there are a lot of theorists and writers of both newspapers who emphasize the problematic "ghettoization" of Muslims in big cities[190]. By this they point at the poor living conditions of a lot of immigrants in European cities. Lastly, there is the "repression theory" that focuses on (perceived or objective) political repression, by which groups are deprived from their identity, safety and freedom[191]. Obviously this theory is very strongly associated with the previous theories about deprivation and frustration, and elaborations on discrimination.

Concerning these subjective legitimations of violence, it seems important to look at international politics too. In the articles appeared both the topics "hypocrisy" and "responsibility", which referred to the hypocrisy of some states when they deny or soften their roles in the current state of the Middle Eastern region. This is reflected when there is spoken of the external dimension of radicalization: "Western policy abroad can be a source of radicalization for individuals in Muslim communities (...) Radicalization through aspects of European foreign and defence policy is driven by a Muslim extremist perception

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[186] J. Noppe et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 21.
[187] R. Coolsaet, *Jihadi Terrorism,* p. 101.
[188] J. Noppe et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 22.
[189] R. Coolsaet, *Jihadi Terrorism,* p. 113.
[190] R. Coolsaet, *Jihadi Terrorism,* p. 110
[191] J. Noppe et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 22-23.

of Western policies which may find resonance among "second-tier" young Muslims"[192]. Ranstorp gives some examples: key conflicts such as Iraq and Palestinian territories, collateral damage, military interventions, and safety policies within Western countries themselves. As you see these are all actions that are perceived as being aimed at Muslims all over the world. I wonder, though, if it is correct to say that only radical Muslims perceive these actions as being wrong. It became clear that in many articles from both newspapers the writers reflect on such actions and do believe that they are morally wrong, or that it is hypocritical to think that they will not have consequences. This way, it is possible to see some of these actions as contextual causes of radicalization instead of only subjective legitimations. I want to emphasize that I do not mean that these are correct legitimations of violence, as I believe that no violence should be legitimized, but that they also should not be seen as exclusive subjective perceptions.

3. Contextual causes of radicalization

These theories are concerned with contextual circumstances that have an influence on an individual or a group from the outside[193]. The "social cognitive theory" is a theory that starts from the presupposition that humans are social beings and that they learn from their social surroundings (individuals as well as social surroundings, such as prison, and other means, such as the media) in what is called a socialization process[194]. These theories refer to indoctrination and recruitment as the main factor for radicalization. This was something that came forward in both newspapers and more specifically in *Al Arabiya*. I have one remark, though, because this seems to be combined with the assumption of these radicalized individuals as being passive: "they are recruited", "they are indoctrinated". By this I do not mean that they are not recruited or indoctrinated, but I believe that most of them are more than passive individuals who do not think for themselves. This is acknowledged in both the theories and the newspapers, but I want to emphasize this because thinking of these youths as being passive individuals takes away their responsibilities and reduces them to puppets. In my opinion, this seems to be opposed to the theories that state that they are searching for their identities and trying to empower them through belonging to radicalized groups and/or committing such crimes. Furthermore, when talking about the responsibility of the media and the need for political actions to counter the spread of radical ideas on the Internet the acknowledgment of the media as a major contributor of radicalization was emphasized in both the theories and the newspapers[195].

2. CULTURAL ATTACHMENT AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Coolsaet writes about the lack of cultural roots of young radicalized individuals as in the lack of proper knowledge about their culture due to the fact that they are converts or are lacking a normal transmission of their traditions because of immigration[196]. This made me

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[192] RANSTORP, M. (ed.), *Understanding Violent Radicalisation,* p. 32-33.
[193] J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 23-24
[194] I J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 23-24
[195] J. NOPPE et al., *Preventie van radicalisering*, p. 35.; R. COOLSAET, *Jihadi Terrorism*, p. 102.
[196] R. COOLSAET, *Jihadi Terrorism,* p. 111.

think about a short paper I wrote for the course "psychology of religion in an intercultural context", in which I questioned the possibility of a cultural attachment similar to the attachment of small children to their caregiver. I compared this to different forms of postmodern identity construction. In what follows, I will introduce the "cultural attachment theory", as explained by Hong, Fang, Fang and Phua[197] and look at identity construction as proposed by Brennan[198]. In the last section, I will combine the theories and look at the interrelation with the data.

B. CULTURAL ATTACHMENT THEORY

The article of Hong et al. reflects on the possibility of the existence of "cultural attachment". They tested this by setting up a psychological experiment in which they searched for associations between "cultural attachment" (measured by means of cultural icons), migration, different forms of integration in a host society, and the well being of the individual. I will not go deeper into the concrete methods of the experiment or into its results. It is the theory that is interesting for this research. This theory postulates the existence of "cultural attachment" as the possibility of being attached to a culture in the same way as being attached to a primary caregiver[199]. They state that, "(...) social groups can also serve as attachment bases such that the groups can provide emotional support and protection to individuals, comparable to the support and protection from attachment Figures"[200]. This would mean that the attachment to the own social group (in-group) could have an influence on the ways in which an individual attaches itself to a new social group (out-group) or culture (of a group or society). Hong et al. make a distinction between strategies of anxiety and strategies of avoidance, which respectively refer to a form of abandonment issues (or separation anxiety) and mistrust of the new group. In case of cultural attachment it is important to understand that this refers to the abstract notion of a culture. Individuals are, in this case, not attached to concrete persons or groups, but to the entirety of norms and values of a given group/culture/society. These norms and values give a (symbolic) meaning to and have an influence on the interpretation of life, which creates a feeling of safety in a given culture.

Furthermore, Hong et al. believe in the possibility of cultural attachment having an influence on immigrants and their measures of integration. They take into consideration the model of acculturation as proposed by Berry, in which a distinction is made between assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. Berry made this distinction by looking at two questions, namely the wish to maintain the heritage culture (yes or no) and the seeking of relationships with the new culture (yes or no)[201]. As you see in Figure 31, the strategy of acculturation is based on the answers on these questions. A definition of the four strategies has been given by Berry himself,

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[197] Y. HONG, & Y. FANG, & Y. FANG & D.Y. PHUA, *Cultural Attachment: A New Theory and Method to Understand Cross-Cultural Competence*, in *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 44:6 (2013) 1024-1044.
[198] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism and the Dislocation of the Self*, in PERUSEK, D. (ed.), *Between Jihad vs. McWorld: Voices of Social Justice*, Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010, p. 23-33.
[199] This means that this cultural attachment theory is based on psychological attachment theories such as the theories of Bowbly and Ainsworth.
[200] Y. HONG et al., *Cultural Attachment*, 1027.
[201] J. W. BERRY, *Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation*, in *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 46:1 (1997) 5-68.

"From the point of view of non-dominant groups, when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *Assimilation* strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the *Separation* alternative is defined. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups, *Integration* is the option (...) Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (...), and little interest in having relations with others (...) then *Marginalisation* is defined"[202].

Figure 31

"Is it considered to be of value to develop relationships with the larger society?"

	No	Yes
No	**ASSIMILATION**	**INTEGRATION**
Yes	**MARGINALIZATION**	**SEPARATION**

"Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's cultural heritage?"

Berry's Aculturation Model
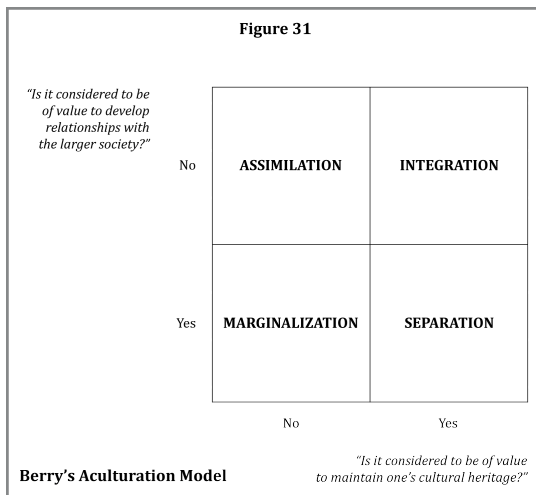
According to Hong et al., it is possible to see an association between the specific types of integration and the measure of a safe cultural attachment to the own culture. They speak of a "cultural attachment model" that would work in the same manner as the "internal working model", referring to the development of "a system of expectations, beliefs, thoughts, and emotions about the self and others (...) which guides their relationships with significant others (...)"[203]. In this way it becomes possible that the attachment to a new culture is determined by the attachment to the own culture. This means that it should be possible to be attached to two cultures, and have a bicultural or hybrid identity, meaning that these individuals possess two cultural knowledge systems[204]. Hong et al. make a distinction between four styles of attachment,

"(...) secure (when individuals hold positive conceptions for both the self and others), preoccupied or anxious-ambivalent (when individuals hold negative conceptions of the self but positive conceptions of others), dismissing-avoidant (when individuals hold positive conceptions about the self but negative conceptions about others), and fearful-avoidant (when individuals hold negative conceptions for both self and others)"[205]

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[202] J. W. BERRY, *Immigration,* p. 9.
[203] Y. HONG et al., *Cultural Attachment*, 1026.
[204] Y. HONG et al., *Cultural Attachment*, 1029.
[205] Y. HONG et al., *Cultural Attachment*, 1031.

These are parallel typologies for respectively integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. This means that a secure cultural attachment could lead to more positive strategies of acculturation (integration), while a more insecure attachment could lead to more negative strategies, such as marginalization[206].

B. IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Brennan states that in a globalized and multicultural society one thing is often overlooked, namely, "[t]he effect these changes [the rapidly changing economical and social world] are having on the individual person - not the economic or political person, but the inner person"[207]. With this she refers to the emotional self as a typical Western idea that evolved through history. The postmodern self is seen as existing within a consensually constructed reality, which means that it is subjective and dynamic and is "constructed through encounters with what appears to be an outside world"[208]. This led to the belief that "this self was not organic. It did not grow from a single seed; rather it was an artificial hybrid, tenuously constructed and, like many hybrids, weak and vulnerable"[209]. This hybrid identity is, according to Brennan, a destabilized or dislocated self. By this, she points out that in a postmodern society the individual has too much choice and the possibility to combine many (non-coherent) elements into one single identity (patchwork identity). Furthermore, it is possible to change these elements, which could lead to a sense of homelessness, a sense of losing yourself, meaning that there is no "core identity" anymore.

Brennan makes a difference between three types of identity: the splintered self, the disengaged self and the manufactured self. The splintered self can be found in people who suffer from homesickness, meaning that they are alienated from the self due to a lack of a "home". By this is referred to the lack of a home on an emotional level, such as children who grow up without parents or without concrete knowledge about their parents (adoption or donor children) or with parents that do not have the time for or interests in their children. Moreover, "If emotional dislocation is one cause of felt dislocation, another important contributor to this sense of inner alienation is cultural dislocation"[210]. By this Brennan points at the possibility of feelings of homesickness of immigrants in a host society, who are feeling splintered as in having different identities that do not match.

The second self is the disengaged self: "These young people often report a sense of hopelessness. Modern life seems too complicated for them; they have lost optimism about their ability to manage, and so they retreat"[211]. This means that the individuals with a disengaged self do not take their responsibilities anymore, not because they want to neglect them, but because they do not know why they should take them. This means that these people are not disengaged in society because they do not want to engage, but because they have the feeling that they cannot engage. They have lost the way. This means that these individuals have an ingrained belief in their own failing, which leads to becoming passive and isolating themselves from society.

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[206] Y. HONG et al., *Cultural Attachment* p. 1031..
[207] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 23.
[208] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 26.
[209] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 26.
[210] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 27.
[211] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 29.

Last but not least, there is the manufactured self. These, "(...) people are encouraged to think of themselves as an item to be packaged and perfected"[212]. Individuals are being convinced (by society, the media or the market) that they have their identity in their own hands and thus are able to construct it. This can lead to an enormous pressure on individuals due to the fact that, "(...) it is no longer possible to just be, for the self to be marketable one must be special, spectacular, in a sense super-sized"[213]. At the same time people have to satisfy the norms and values of society. One should not only be special or unique, one should also be special and unique within the norms and values of society. For example, through the possession of certain materials or qualities, which are highly valued in society.

To end, Brennan supposes that, "The challenge of this period is to move beyond the traditional understanding of the self, bound as it is by conventional, thus limited, notions, into a realization that the only stable self is the relational self[214]". By this she points at the importance of relations and feelings of commitment and solidarity for the individual and his/her notion of the self. People should known that "(...) their relational bond, their personal interconnectedness is what gives real meaning to their lives and is central to their core self"[215]. Brennan puts an emphasis on the fact that people are not feeling connected with the society in which they live. She feels that the enforcement of this connection with society and individuals within society could lead to the possible avoidance of an identity crisis amongst youths.

C. CONCLUSION

As you have seen, the topic "integration" appears in both newspapers. Furthermore, this seems to be closely linked to the topic "identity" and "citizenship". The latter topics are associated with a sense of belonging to a culture/nation and it is believed that this, too, is connected to a measure of integration. In the articles is mentioned that these radicalized individuals are not well integrated, nor have the feeling to be accepted in society. This is made clear by using words such as marginalization and separation. As you see, both of these words refer to the acculturation strategies of Berry. Furthermore, can the introductions of the "integration paradox" and the "radicalization paradox" in *De Standaard* be seen as elaborations on the acculturation strategies and the reasons for someone to not feel accepted in a given society. It is clear that the writers make a connection between the acculturation strategies and the possibility of not being grounded in the host culture. Moreover, the topics "intellectual solutions" and "ignorance" can be associated with both each other and the previous topics. In *Al Arabiya* some writers emphasize the need for an intellectual revolution of Islamic thinking, by which they refer to ignorance amongst young Muslims about their traditions and the interpretations of the Qur'an. This can be associated with the lack of knowledge of youths about their heritage, as proposed by Coolsaet. This raises the question if it is possible that these youths lack the cultural knowhow of their traditions due to the fact that they are not safely attached to these cultures. I will try to give an answer on this later.

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[212] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 30.
[213] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 30.
[214] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 31.
[215] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 28.

The topic "identity" is seen as a major contributor to radicalization in both newspapers. First of all, can the postmodern self that is consensually constructed be associated with the elaboration on pragmatism. The fact that it is believed in democratic societies that truth is something that is subjective and constructed is closely linked to the belief in the possibility to manufacture the self. If there is no Truth then how could there be a true and stable self? Regarding the splintered self, Brennan states,

> "(...) these men [terrorists] had lost a sense of their own cultural grounding. Their inner sense of who they were had become splintered. Speaking two or three Western languages, having gained an education in the West, while trying to hold in tension the values of the Islamic and Western world, they had become exhausted and de-centered. To regain a sense of their cultural identity, they became ultra-Muslims, willing to suffer and even die for the cause and thus acquire a clear sense of who they were"[216] .

These individuals experience a sense of alienation that leads to a search for a core and stable self, which they find in a very strict ideology and a religious identity. Even though Brennan refers to immigrants who have migrated themselves, it is possible to extend these statements to immigrants of the second and third generations.

It could be possible that these youths experience a general sense of homelessness, instead of homesickness, and could have the feeling that they are not at home in the society they grew up in, while at the same time not feeling at home in the society of their ancestors. This way it could be possible that they experience an unsafe or ambiguous cultural attachment that disables them to ground themselves in any of the cultures. If these feelings of being unsafe are combined with fear or anxiety towards the culture they grew up in, it could be possible that they start searching for an identity that makes them feel safe and connected to the world. A transnational and very strict religious identity could be a possible solution for this. This also comes forward in theories about attachment and religious affiliation. In these theories it is mentioned that religion and, more specifically, the personal relationship with God or another supernatural figure, can be seen as a compensational pathway after an insecure or ambiguous attachment to the caregiver[217]. By looking at the cultural attachment theory of Hong et al., it seems possible that the same could happen because of an unsafe or ambiguous attachment to a specific culture. In this case, this would mean that these youths are not attached to the culture they grew up in (whether this happens in Europe or the Middle East does not matter) and resort to religion as something that transcends their cultural or national identities. In the case of immigrants in European societies this could be linked to their hybrid identities, which lead to the perception that they do not belong to either of the cultures they grew up in or with.

To conclude, it seems to be possible that the acculturation strategies of Berry could indeed be influenced by the cultural attachment as proposed by Hong et al. Moreover,

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[216] C. BRENNAN, *Globalism, Post-Modernism,* p. 27-28.

[217] P. GRANQVIST, *Religiousness and Perceived Childhood Attachment: On the Question of Compensation or Correspondence*, in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (1998) 37:2, 350-367.; P. GRANQVIST & L. A. KIRKPATRICK, *Attachment and Religious Representations and Behavior*, in J. CASSIDY & P. R. SHAVER (eds.), *Handbook of Attachment. Theory, Research, and Clinical Aplications*, New York, Guilford Press, 2008, p. 906-933.

these strategies seem to be closely associated with the ideal types of identity construction, as proposed by Brennan. It would be possible to say that an unsafe cultural attachment could lead to the shaping of the splintered, disengaged and/or manufactured identities. I did elaborate on the splintered identity already because this seems the most obvious, but the other identities could also be associated with a certain strategy of acculturation. A disengaged individual could choose for a strategy of retreat, such as marginalization. The data shows that both strategies are seen as a major contribution to radicalization, in which the individual is isolated/alienated from society and could be more sensitive to engage in a radical perception on life. It is believed that these youths are more sensitive for indoctrination, too. A splintered identity could engage in a separation strategy, by which the individual chooses one identity and reacts against the other identity. As mentioned before, this is closely associated with an extreme attachment to one of the cultures. Last but not least, the manufactured identity is the most difficult to associate with a certain strategy. It is possible, though, that the possibilities of choices are so overwhelming that the individual decides to choose only one identity and to choose for a Truth and a very strict way of life. This can be closely associated with the questions about the possibility of a pragmatic philosophy of life and human nature, which were raised before.

CONCLUSION

After the attack on Charlie Hebdo, it became clear that there are many different ways to make sense of such an atrocious crime and that this leads to different perspectives on this event. Initially, I started with some background on both Charlie Hebdo, the magazine, as on the events on 7th, 8th, and 9th January. To be able to come to a better understanding of how these events were perceived by different people, I decided to analyse two newspapers, *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya*. This way, it would be possible to look at, at least, two different perspectives. I decided to do a qualitative content analysis and to use a comparative approach to analyse all articles written between 8th January and 7th February that in one way or another referred to the attack on Charlie Hebdo. This led to the selection of 66 articles from *De Standaard* and 33 articles from *Al Arabiya.* Nine different systematic questions were composed: questions regarding the date, the author, the number of words, the context, the audience, the types, the topics, the concordance and the evolution. By answering them for both newspapers and comparing them, I would be able to answer the first two research questions: *which are the topics that come up by analysing the data?* And, *is it possible to categorize the topics found?* These research questions have been answered in the third chapter. A third research question, namely *do these categories reflect or refer to certain worldviews; and is it possible to find them in theory?,* has been answered in the fourth and last chapter.

In chapter three I answered all previously mentioned systematic questions for each newspaper and compared them. In relation to the descriptive questions (date, author, length, audience and context), it appeared to me that the biggest differences between both newspapers are the number of articles that are selected, and the contextual references in the articles. It became clear that it could have been possible that there are fewer articles from *Al Arabiya* taken into account due to the possibility that these articles are not found by using the keyword "Charlie Hebdo". The second difference has to do with differences in contextual references that may have been due to both the proximity of the

event and the audience (Belgian vs. international) of the newspapers. This could have led to the different concerns of both newspapers. *De Standaard* being more concerned with national politics and *Al Arabiya* being more concerned with international politics to combat the rise of IS in the Middle East. Concerning the analytical questions (types, topics, concordance, evolution), it became apparent that the types I used to classify the articles are consistent for both newspapers, but that they would better be adjusted to classifications, as they exist in textual analysis, for future research. Regarding the topics it became clear that most of the topics appear in both newspapers, but that the emphasis on a certain topic differs, probably due to the different backgrounds of the newspapers and their audiences. The major themes that appear in the analyses are discussions about "education" (in *De Standaard*), "roots of radicalization" (both newspapers), and "politics/action" (both newspapers, but accentuated in *Al Arabiya*). A final similarity between both newspapers is their evolutions. It became clear that both of them evolved around some basic topics that appeared in the first weeks after the attack and on which was elaborated in the further weeks.

In the fourth and last chapter I tried to see if the topics found reflected certain worldviews or theories. It became clear that there were many possible theories to reflect upon, so I decided to look at radicalization theories, cultural attachment and identity construction. Regarding the radicalization theories it became clear that there are many different theories with different points of view on radicalization. The phenomenon should be seen as highly complex and multi-layered. Personal characteristics, subjective legitimations and contextual factors should all be taken into account when trying to come to a better understanding of, and possible solutions for, radicalization in both Western and Arabic countries. It became clear that a lot of these theories on "roots of radicalization" were discussed in both newspapers, in which different roots are emphasized. Secondly, I went a little deeper into two smaller theories on cultural attachment and identity construction. It became clear that both of these theories could be associated with topics in the data, such as the integration debate in *De Standaard*.

To conclude, a qualitative content analysis seemed to have been a good choice to come to a better understanding of the attack on Charlie Hebdo. One of the problems, though, is that these kinds of analyses are sometimes subjective and for this reason hard to generalize. To offer a solution: in further research it would be interesting to follow the same outline as of this research but to go from an inductive approach to a deductive approach, in which the theories found are tested again by analysing the data a second time. This would lead to a better understanding of the different perspectives and worldviews found in the data. Secondly, I believe that I would do the analyses in a different manner next time. Due to the simple fact that I had never done this before, it became apparent to me that it might have been more interesting to choose fewer articles to be able to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the articles. Furthermore, it would have been interesting to look at differences in the content of the articles by author. By this, I mean that it would have been interesting to look at more characteristics of the authors, such as deeper reflections on gender, age, educational background, personal background etcetera. This was not possible due to the lack of resources and privacy considerations. Looking at less articles and making use of an anonymous questionnaire could tackle this in future research. Last but not least, this was a learning process, which means that it could be that some classifications of the articles are a little arbitrary. An example of this is, as

mentioned before, the attribution of the types "Argumentation" and "Criticism" to the articles. Other possible arbitrary decisions could have been made regarding the topics of the articles. By the end of the analyses of the articles, I had a different understanding of the data, which might have led to different decisions regarding the attribution of a topic. This does not mean, though, that I did not try to continue the same way as before.

APPENDICES

FIGURE 8: DE STANDAARD - PHASE 1

IDENTITY
- IDENTIFICATION
- SOCIAL ROLES
- PERPETRATOR - VICTIM
- COLLECTIVE MEMORY
- COLLECTIVE SUFFERING

MORAL BOUNDARIES

POST-MODERNISM

ROOTS OF RADICALIZATION

DISCRIMINATION
- REPRESSION

IGNORANCE
- STEREOTYPES
- POLARIZATION
- US/THEM
- FEAR

PEACEFUL STRUGGLE (VREEDZAAM VECHTEN)

ENLIGHTENMENT VALUES

INTEGRATION
- MIGRATION
- IMMIGRANTS (ALLOCHTONEN)
- INTEGRATION PARADOX
- RADICALIZA-TION PARADOX
- DIS-INTEGRATION

PRIVACY

IDEOLOGY
- RELIGION

EXTREMISM
- ISLAMIC RADICALISM

FREEDOM
- TO LAUGH
- EXPRESSION
- SPEECH
- RIGHT TO DIFFERENCE
- SEXUAL

COMPLEXITY

PERSPECTIVE
- EUROPEAN HISTORY
- PRE/POST CHARLIE

EMANCIPATION

RESPONSIBILITY

TERRORISM
- ISLAMIC VIOLENCE
- BARBARISM

EDUCATION
- CRITICAL THINKING
- OPENNESS
- LEF
- NEUTRALITY
- CITIZENSHIP

POLITICS
- POLICIES
- SAFETY

HYPOCRISY

CIVIL SOCIETY

PROGRESS
- TO BIND/ALIGN
- TOGETHERNESS

POWER

WORD USE
- NEWSPEAK

MEDIA
- MEDIA COVERAGE
- CENSORSHIP

COMMUNICATION
- PUBLIC DEBATE
- DIALOGUE

FIGURE 9: DE STANDAARD - PHASE 2

IDENTITY
- IDENTIFICATION
- SOCIAL ROLES
- PERPETRATOR - VICTIM
- COLLECTIVE MEMORY
- COLLECTIVE SUFFERING

MORAL BOUNDARIES

POST-MODERNISM

DISCRIMINATION
- REPRESSION

IGNORANCE
- STEREOTYPES
- POLARIZATION
- US/THEM
- FEAR

ENLIGHTENMENT VALUES

PEACEFUL STRUGGLE (VREEDZAAM VECHTEN)

ROOTS OF RADICALIZATION

INTEGRATION
- MIGRATION
- IMMIGRANTS (ALLOCHTONEN)
- INTEGRATION PARADOX
- RADICALIZA-TION PARADOX
- DIS-INTEGRATION

PRIVACY

IDEOLOGY
- RELIGION

EXTREMISM
- ISLAMIC RADICALISM

FREEDOM
- TO LAUGH
- EXPRESSION
- SPEECH
- RIGHT TO DIFFERENCE
- SEXUAL

COMPLEXITY

PERSPECTIVE
- EUROPEAN HISTORY
- PRE/POST CHARLIE

EMANCIPATION

POWER

POLITICS
- POLICIES
- SAFETY

RESPONSIBILITY

TERRORISM
- ISLAMIC VIOLENCE
- BARBARISM

EDUCATION
- CRITICAL THINKING
- OPENNESS
- LEF
- NEUTRALITY
- CITIZENSHIP

HYPOCRISY

CIVIL SOCIETY

PROGRESS
- TO BIND/ALIGN
- TOGETHERNESS

MEDIA
- MEDIA COVERAGE
- CENSORSHIP

WORD USE
- NEWSPEAK

COMMUNICATION
- PUBLIC DEBATE
- DIALOGUE

FIGURE 10: DE STANDAARD - CIVIL SOCIETY

POWER

MEDIA — MEDIA COVERAGE — CENSORSHIP

POLITICS — POLICIES — SAFETY

RESPONSIBILITY

HYPOCRISY

PERSPECTIVE — EUROPEAN HISTORY — PRE/POST CHARLIE

IDEOLOGY — RELIGION

POST-MODERNISM

EXTREMISM — ISLAMIC RADICALISM

COMPLEXITY

ROOTS OF RADICALIZATION

INTEGRATION — MIGRATION — IMMIGRANTS (ALLOCHTONEN) — INTEGRATION PARADOX — RADICALIZA-TION PARADOX — DIS-INTEGRATION

DISCRIMINATION — REPRESSION

IDENTITY — IDENTIFICATION — SOCIAL ROLES — PERPETRATOR-VICTIM — COLLECTIVE MEMORY — COLLECTIVE SUFFERING

IGNORANCE — STEREOTYPES — POLARIZATION — US/THEM — FEAR

TERRORISM — ISLAMIC VIOLENCE — BARBARISM

WORD USE — NEWSPEAK

CIVIL SOCIETY

COMMUNICATION — PUBLIC DEBATE — DIALOGUE

PROGRESS — TO BIND/ALIGN — TOGETHERNESS

EDUCATION — CRITICAL THINKING — OPENNESS — LEF — NEUTRALITY — CITIZENSHIP

EMANCIPATION

FREEDOM — TO LAUGH — EXPRESSION — SPEECH — RIGHT TO DIFFERENCE — SEXUAL

ENLIGHTENMENT VALUES

PRIVACY

PEACEFUL STRUGGLE (VREEDZAAM VECHTEN)

MORAL BOUNDARIES

FIGURE 11: DE STANDAARD - GROUNDS OF RADICALIZATION

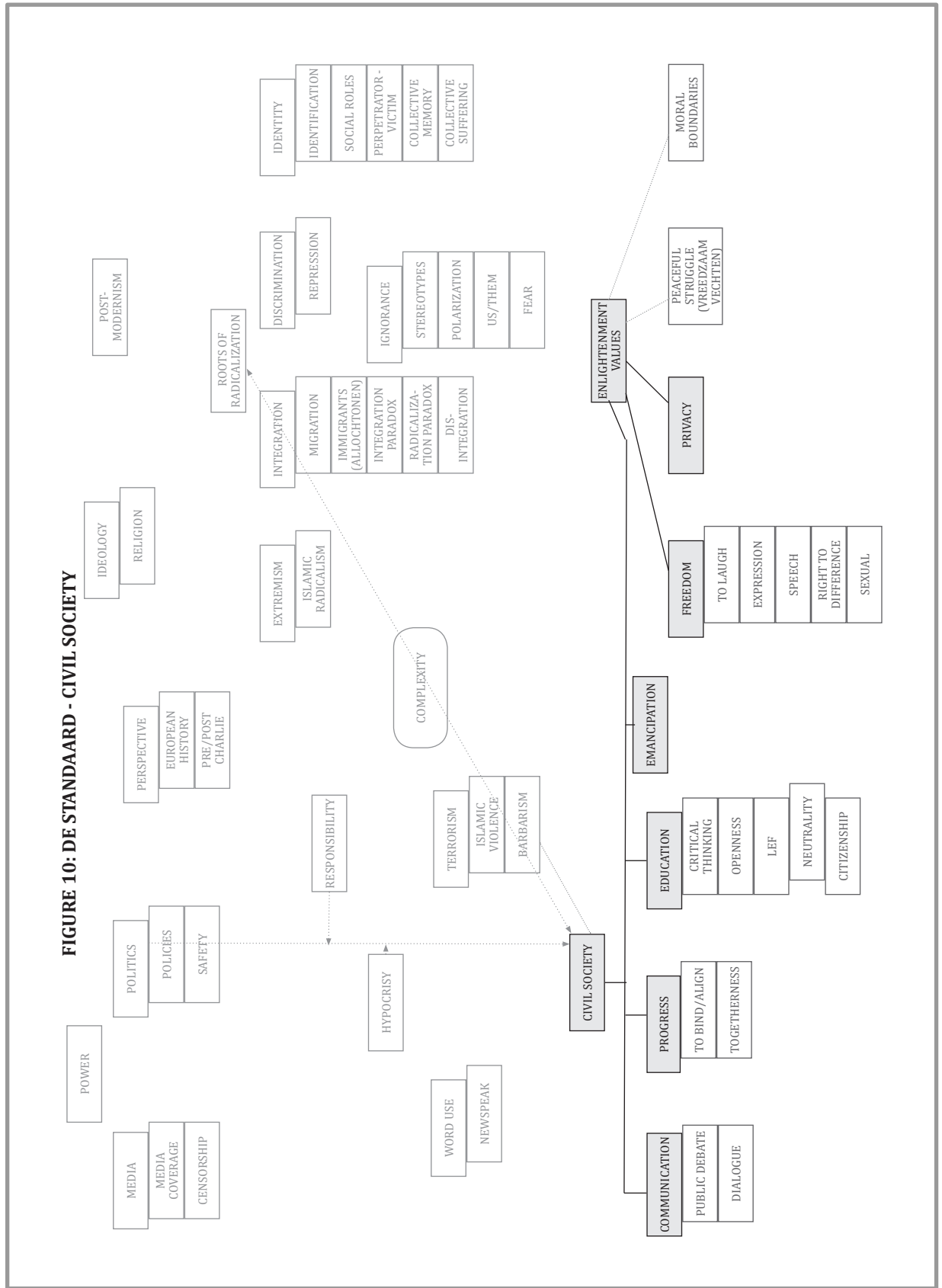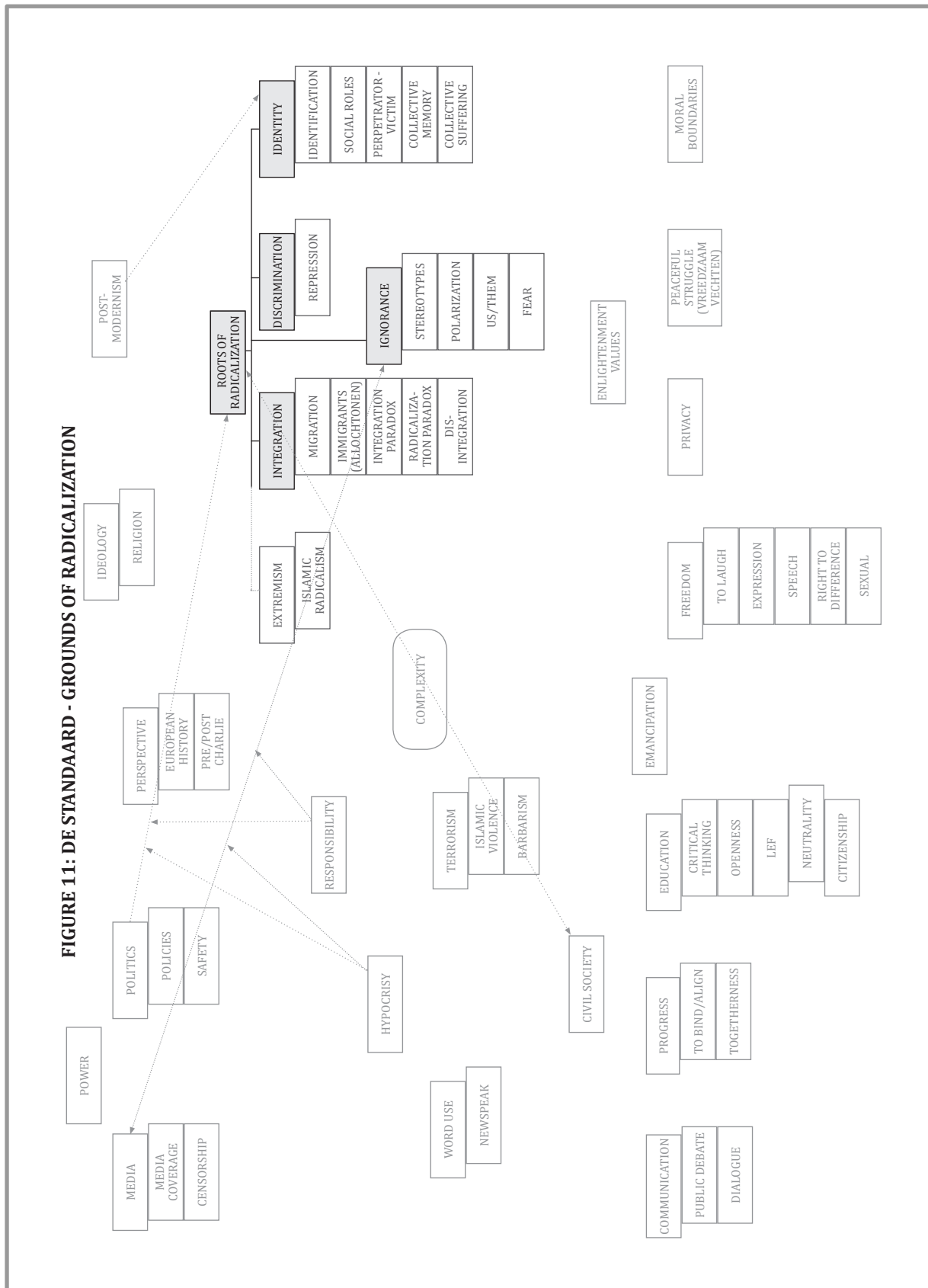**FIGURE 19: AL ARABIYA - PHASE 1**

FIGURE 20: AL ARABIYA - PHASE 2

SPECIFIC COUNTRIES
FRANCE
RUSSIA
UNITED STATES' INACTIVITY
MIDDLE EASY
EGYPT
SAUDI ARABIA
YEMEN
SYRIA

POLITICAL ISLAM

IGNORANCE
POLARIZATION
JUSTIFICATION

PRISON

ROOTS OF RADICALIZATION

MIGRATION
INTEGRATION / ASSIMILATION

RESPONSIBILITY
TRUSTWORTHINESS

HYPOCRISY
IRONY
HUMOUR
ABSURDITY

IDENTITY
DIGNITY
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
EMPOWERMENT
RELIGION
EXTREMISM

HISTORY OF TERRORISM

ISIS
AL QAEDA

HUMAN NATURE

POLITICS
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
POLICIES
RISE OF RIGHT-WING PARTIES

TERRORISM
JIHAD

MEDIA

BARBARISM

ACTION

COMPLEXITY

SOLUTIONS
ANTI-TERRORISM / RADICALIZATION

CIVILIZATION
DEMOCRACY
DEMOCRATIC VALUES
FREEDOM
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

INTELLECTUAL SOLUTION
IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE
CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE
UNITY
CONDEMNATION

FIGURE 21: AL ARABIYA - GROUNDS OF RADICALIZATION

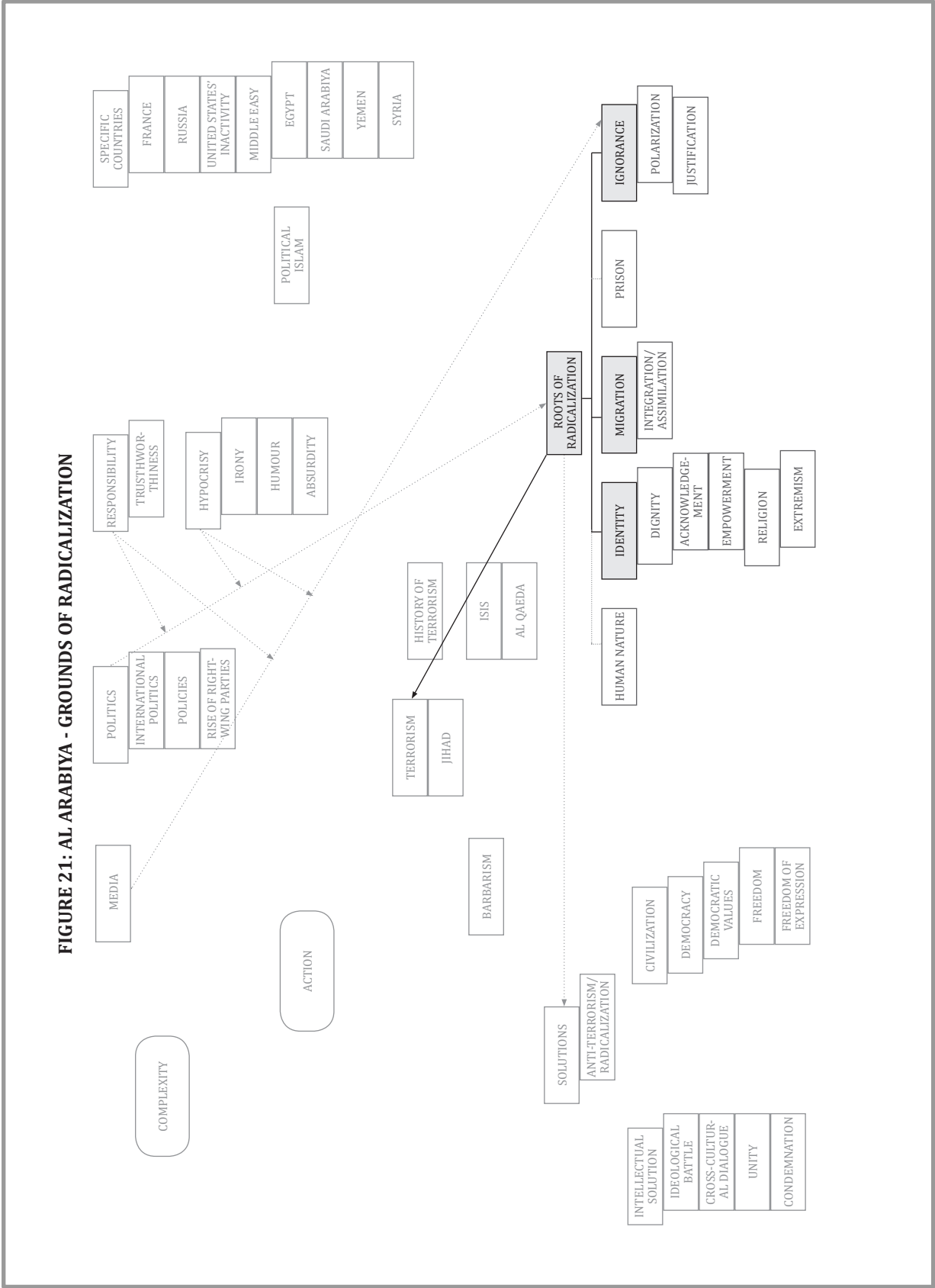FIGURE 22: AL ARABIYA - POLITICS/ACTION

FIGURE 29: DE STANDAARD - SUMMARY

POST-MODERNISM

IDENTITY
- IDENTIFICATION
- SOCIAL ROLES
- PERPETRATOR - VICTIM
- COLLECTIVE MEMORY
- COLLECTIVE SUFFERING

DISCRIMINATION
- REPRESSION

ROOTS OF RADICALIZATION

IGNORANCE
- STEREOTYPES
- POLARIZATION
- US/THEM
- FEAR

INTEGRATION
- MIGRATION
- IMMIGRANTS (ALLOCHTONEN)
- INTEGRATION PARADOX
- RADICALIZA-TION PARADOX
- DIS-INTEGRATION

IDEOLOGY
- RELIGION

EXTREMISM
- ISLAMIC RADICALISM

COMPLEXITY

PERSPECTIVE
- EUROPEAN HISTORY
- PRE/POST CHARLIE

RESPONSIBILITY

POLITICS
- POLICIES
- SAFETY

HYPOCRISY

TERRORISM
- ISLAMIC VIOLENCE
- BARBARISM

POWER

MEDIA
- MEDIA COVERAGE
- CENSORSHIP

WORD USE
- NEWSPEAK

ENLIGHTENMENT VALUES

MORAL BOUNDARIES

PEACEFUL STRUGGLE (VREEDZAAM VECHTEN)

PRIVACY

FREEDOM
- TO LAUGH
- EXPRESSION
- SPEECH
- RIGHT TO DIFFERENCE
- SEXUAL

EMANCIPATION

CIVIL SOCIETY

EDUCATION
- CRITICAL THINKING
- OPENNESS
- LEF
- NEUTRALITY
- CITIZENSHIP

PROGRESS
- TO BIND/ALIGN
- TOGETHERNESS

COMMUNICATION
- PUBLIC DEBATE
- DIALOGUE
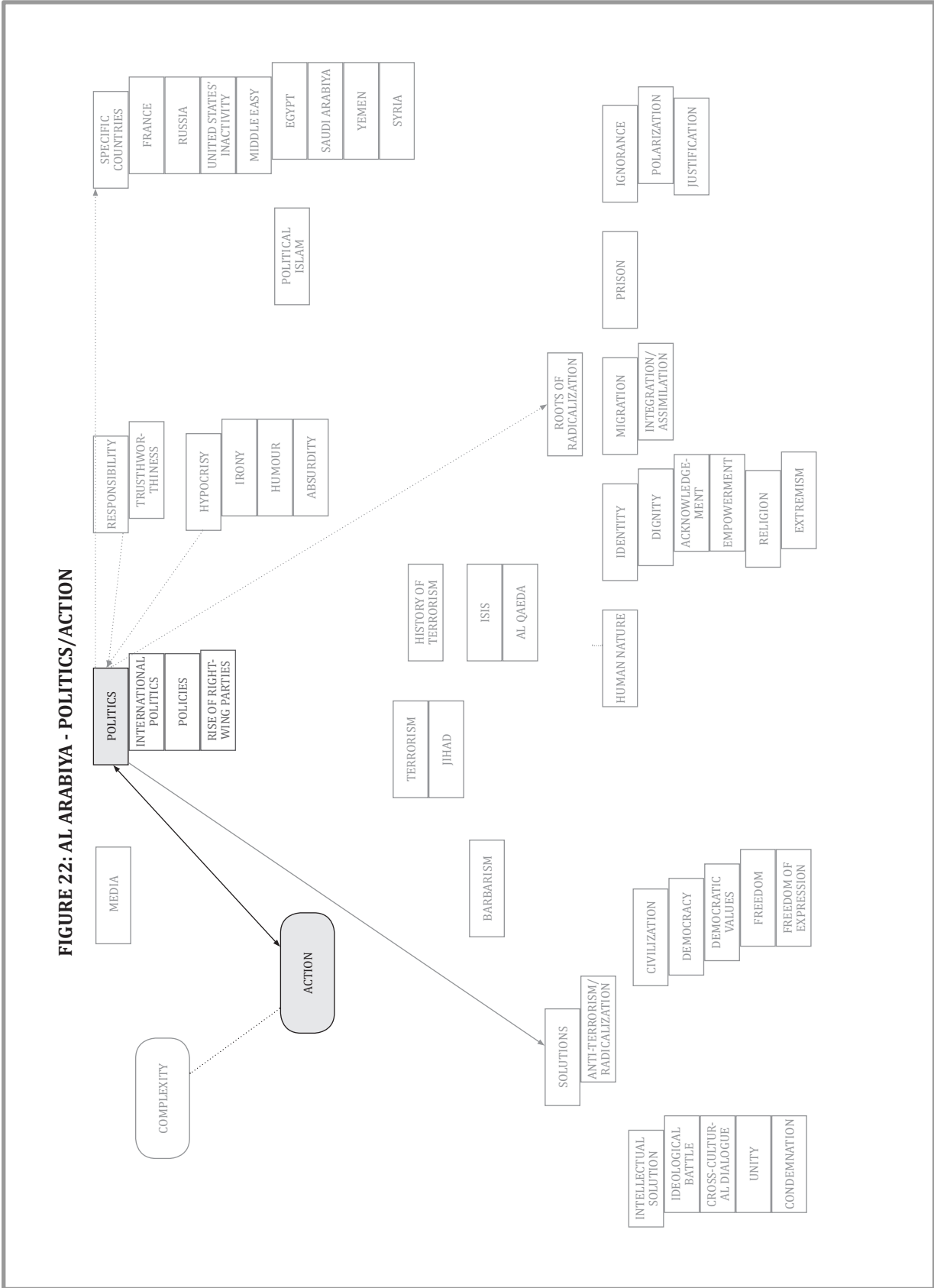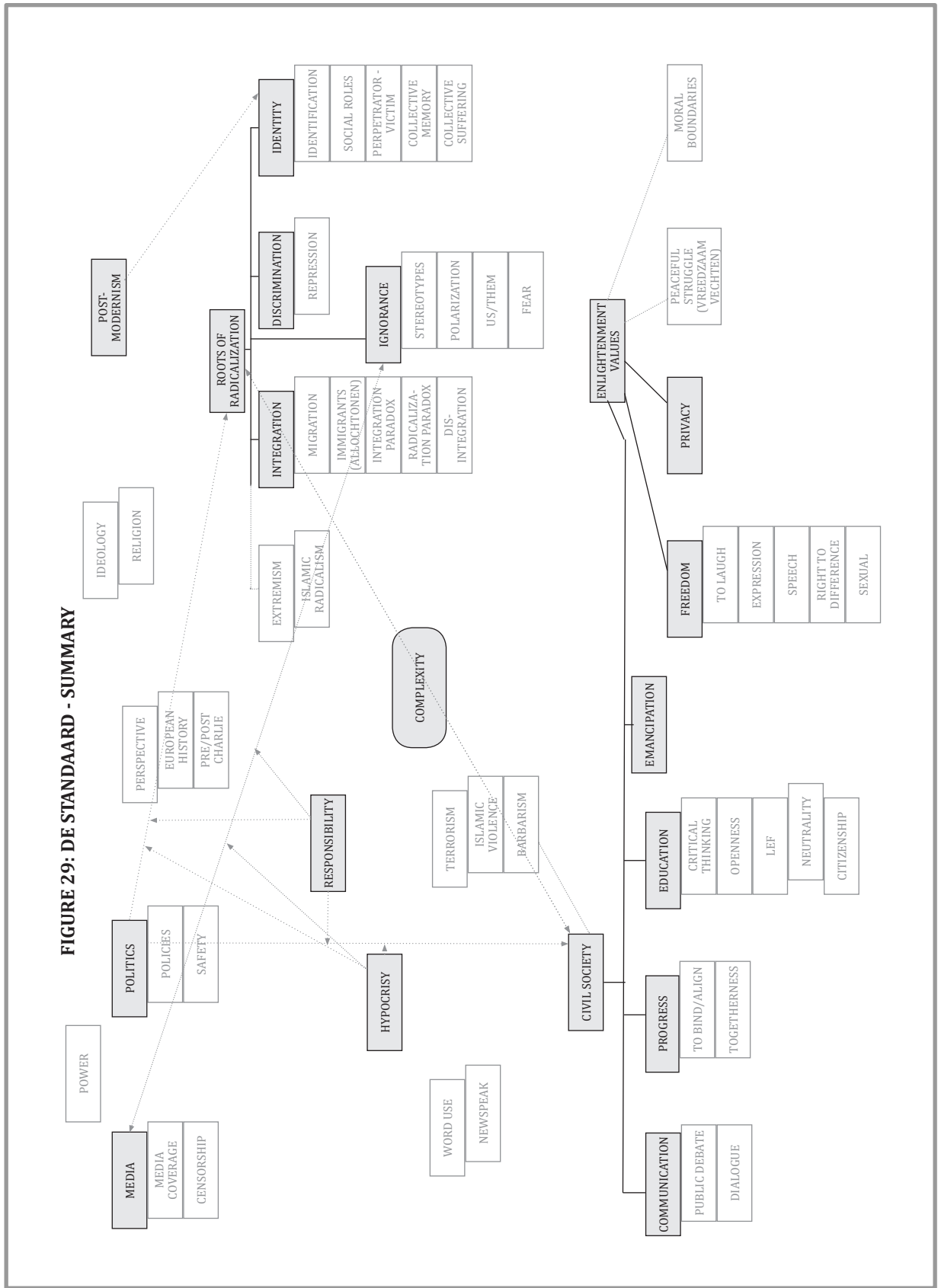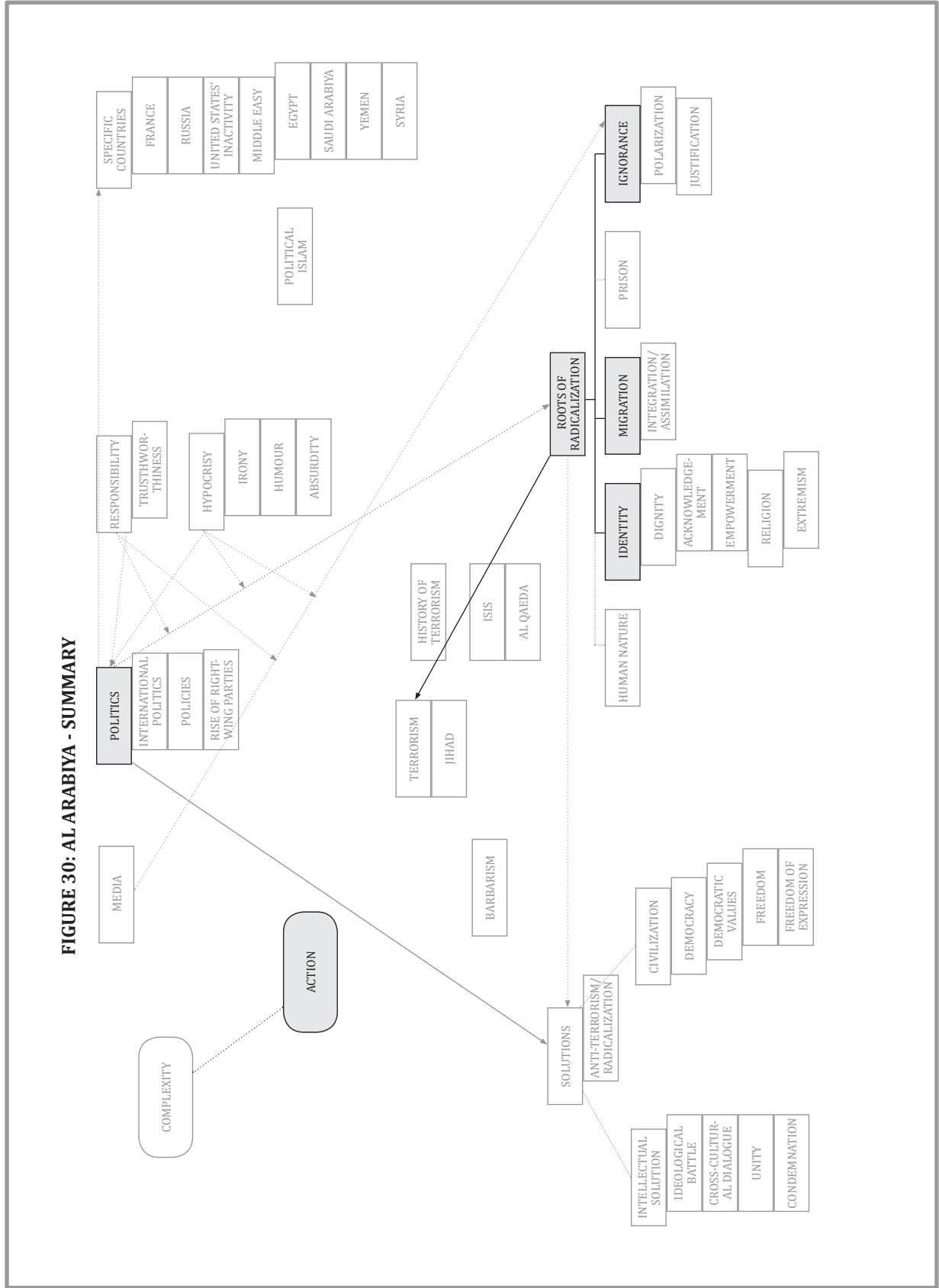
FIGURE 30: AL ARABIYA - SUMMARY

Originaliteitsverklaring
Faculteit Theologie en Religiewetenschappen
KU Leuven

KATHOLIEKE
UNIVERSITEIT
LEUVEN

Bespreek in de loop van het redactieproces van het werkstuk dit document en de thematiek van plagiaat met uw (co-)promotor of eventueel met de ombudspersoon.

Ik verklaar hierbij

- dat op correcte wijze wordt verwezen naar alle bronnen – ook internetbronnen – opgenomen in voetnoten en bibliografie van voorliggend werkstuk.
- dat op correcte wijze wordt verwezen naar alle bronnen van geparafraseerde teksten opgenomen in voetnoten en bibliografie van voorliggend werkstuk.
- dat voorliggend werkstuk volledig eigen werk is en nergens gebaseerd is op materiaal uit externe bronnen waarnaar niet wordt verwezen (daarbij het werk van andere studenten of professionele instanties inbegrepen).
- dat voorliggend werkstuk nergens elders eerder werd neergelegd met het oog op het behalen van een academisch studiecertificaat en nooit in dezelfde vorm.
- dat ik de facultaire definitie van plagiaat zoals opgenomen in de *Richtlijnen voor het schrijven van scripties, verhandelingen, onderzoeksrapporten, onderzoeksscripties en proefschriften* (Elfde herziene uitgave, september 2013, p. 8) heb gelezen en begrepen. Deze definitie luidt:

  "Plagiaat is het overnemen van formuleringen, gedachten en redeneringen uit andere bronnen zonder ernaar te verwijzen. De plagiaris kopieert of parafraseert een tekst en laat het voorkomen alsof deze door hem/haarzelf geschreven is*. Ook het gebruik maken van elektronische bronnen is aan deze normen gebonden. Bij gebruik van internetsites moet een onderscheid gemaakt worden tussen wetenschappelijk georiënteerde en vulgariserende of populaire websites. Het gebruik ervan moet doordacht en gemotiveerd gebeuren en de site zelf moet nauwkeurig aangegeven worden met vermelding van de datum van toegang."

- dat ik de facultaire aanbevelingen om plagiaat te vermijden zoals die aan bod komen in de *Richtlijnen voor het schrijven van scripties, verhandelingen, onderzoeksrapporten, onderzoeksscripties en proefschriften* (Elfde herziene uitgave, september 2013, p. 8-9) heb gelezen, begrepen *en toegepast*.
- dat ik kennis heb genomen van de facultaire en universitaire sancties toegepast in geval plagiaat wordt vastgesteld (zie art. 84-86 in het *Onderwijs- en Examenreglement*).
- dat ik me er bewust van ben dat inspanningen zullen worden geleverd om in het werkstuk eventuele vindplaatsen van plagiaat aan het licht te brengen en dat de universiteit daarvoor gebruik maakt van gespecialiseerde software voor plagiaatdetectie zoals Turn-it-In.

- -

Dit formulier moet worden ingevuld, ondertekend en voorzien van datum. Het is verplicht een ondertekend origineel op te nemen in elk van de definitieve, ingebonden versies van het werkstuk die worden ingediend op het onderzoekssecretariaat voor de verdediging.

Naam en voornaam: Van Goethem Linde
Titel van het werkstuk: Making Sense of The Attack on Charlie Hebdo. A Qualitative Content Analysis of *De Standaard* and *Al Arabiya*

Handtekening	Indiendatum