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Practical Orientalism in Mass Media

**An Analysis of the Media Reporting in Relation to the Sexual Assaults in
Cologne by the German TV Channel ZDF**

A Master's Thesis for the Degree Master of Arts (Two Years) in Visual Culture

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Practical Orientalism in Mass Media: An Analysis of the Media Reporting in Relation to the Sexual Assaults in Cologne by the German TV Channel ZDF

In the present thesis I analyse the image of the Oriental or the Other in German public-service media reporting. In times of the refugee crisis, right-wing movements strengthening in several European countries and Islamist extremist terrorist threats, the West is confronted with the question of integrating people from other cultures. The discussion about the sexual assaults in Cologne from 31 December 2015 is an interesting subject in terms of how media portrays the Other in regards to Orientalist views. I am interested in which cultural differences are being referred to and whether Orientalism is implemented through mass media. I identify several Orientalist motives from Edward Said's book on Orientalism and investigate whether I can find these traces of Orientalism in media coverage in relation to the assaults.

For this I conduct a content analysis of the reporting regarding the assaults in Cologne from the German tv channel ZDF on 7 and 8 January 2016. Furthermore, I add a qualitative analysis of selected material from the same channel and concerning the same issue. I link the results to the Orientalist motives and discuss whether one can speak of an implemented or Practical Orientalism through mass media. From the results it comes to light that cultural differences are only little discussed. If that is the case they concern gender roles and women's image or role. From both analyses I find some traces of Orientalism in the media coverage. In conclusion I state that Orientalist views exist in media coverage from ZDF in relation to the assaults in Cologne. Consequently, Practical Orientalism is implemented by mass media.

Keywords

Orientalism

Practical Orientalism

media coverage

cultural differences

sexual assaults Cologne

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Introduction

In this chapter I explain the objective of my thesis, giving the topic as the image of the Other portrayed by mass media in relation to the sexual assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015. I define my research question and elaborate on limitations of my research. Furthermore, I explain the relevance and background of my work. I also give a short overview over the theories and methods that I use in the present thesis.

Objective

In September 2015 an incident between the German politician Julia Klöckner and an imam led to a public outrage. As media reported Klöckner had visited a small town in Germany which had taken in refugees. The imam who lives in this town had let Klöckner know before that if they met he would not shake her hand due to religious reasons. Klöckner therefore decided not to meet with the imam to neither compromise the Islamic leader, nor to compromise herself.¹ In an interview the Islamic studies scholar and theologian Mouhanad Khorchide explains that women and men do not shake hands in many Islamic-oriented cultural environments to protect both sexes from sexual tensions. This tradition derived from a different understanding of gender compared to the Western culture. Nevertheless from the Islamic perspective it would not be a sign of disrespect. But since the hand-shake is a sign of respect from the Western point of view, Khorchide states that it is an Islamic commandment to respect the other and speaks for a clarification not to reduce the relationship between the genders to sexuality.² In the same broadcast the journalist and Muslim Khola Maryam Hübsch states that she would not feel offended if a man did not shake her hand and that this manner more represents respectful distanced dealings between the sexes.³ Klöckner took the incident as an occasion to demand for a law of integration in which asylum seekers should be obliged to participate in language courses and respect the Grundgesetz.⁴ This example differs from the event of this thesis in many regards.

¹ M. Fietz, 'Klöckner fordert Gesetz zur Integrationspflicht für Flüchtlinge', *Focus*, 22 September 2015, http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/imam-verweigerte-handschlag-kloeckner-fordert-gesetz-zur-integrationspflicht-fuer-fluechtlinge_id_4965163.html, (accessed 11 April 2016).

² *Der verweigerte Händedruck*, [online video], 2015, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2624026/Der-verweigerte-H%C3%A4ndedruck>, (accessed 11 April 2016).

³ *Der verweigerte Händedruck*, [online video], 2015, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2624026/Der-verweigerte-H%C3%A4ndedruck>, (accessed 11 April 2016).

⁴ pnh, 'CDU-Frau Klöckner legt im Integrationsstreit nach', *Focus*, 28 September 2015, http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/nach-imam-eklat-mittelalterlich-cdu-frau-kloeckner-legt-im-integrationsstreit-nach_id_4976268.html, (accessed 11 April 2016).

I investigate the media reporting about the sexual assaults in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015, and of course there is a big difference between sexually assaulting a woman and refusing to shake her hand. My purpose is not to compare these two. But the latter example brings up questions that are important to this thesis as well. When do we have to accept cultural differences and when should we persist on our own point of view? What does integration mean? Is it one- or both-sided? How should cultural heritage be valued? If a refused hand-shake is not meant to be disrespectful, does it really harm Western values? Nevertheless it is understood as disrespectful. And what does respecting the other culture's values in this context mean? It is a delicate issue balancing between protecting certain values and respecting other cultures within one's own society.

The topic of this thesis is the image of the Other that is portrayed by mass media. By this I analyse how mass media reports in regards to the sexual assaults that happened recently in Cologne, Germany by conducting a content analysis. I discuss the role of mass media in terms of Orientalising Islamic, Arab and North African culture or intensifying the already existing Orientalism, respectively. From the results I deduce to what degree Orientalist views are implemented in mass media and I discuss them.

For practical reasons several limitations are inevitable. First of all I use the sexual assaults on 31 December 2015 in Cologne as the key event and crisis of my interest which had the potential to cause public discussions about values, especially regarding gender equality, in regards to foreign cultures. Also this limits the material to a more manageable size and enables me to make conclusions at the end of the thesis. Furthermore I focus on German media, not including international reporting about the assaults. Therefore I investigate how media deals with an issue that touches their immediate surroundings, saying the space that they are influenced by directly. The focus lies on public-service media which provide their broadcasts in their media centres online for at least one year, making the material accessible. Since the event occurred on New Year's Eve 2015 the time period that I am interested in starts on 1 January 2016 until this recent date. Again to make the amount of material manageable for a Master's thesis I take a sample, concentrating on two days. Due to the topic the material consists of news broadcasts and broadcasts with society- and politics-related topics. All material is non-fictional, since fictional content needs more time to be produced and is not available so shortly after the event occurred. At last, the Orientalist view that I am interested in concerns gender roles and equality as the assaults in Cologne were to a great part sexual ones and therefore are a subject that gives basis for discussion about this issue. In the following sections I elaborate further on the background and relevance of my work, my research question and the theories and methods I am going to use.

Background and Relevance of the Work

On 4 November 2011 the German police found two bodies in a burning caravan. The two men had committed suicide. Shortly after, it came to light that those two men, Uwe Böhnhardt and Uwe Mundlos were leaders of the terrorist group “Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund” (“National Socialist Underground”) together with their accomplice Beate Zschäpe. The terrorist group is held responsible for several murders and bomb attacks with a racist motive, mainly on Turkish and Greek immigrants.⁵ The public condemned the terrorist acts and immediately there were outcries how something like this could happen in a country with a past like Germany. The police and the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution were criticised and Beate Zschäpe who had turned herself in was put on trial.

But such extreme violence is not the only form of hostility towards strangers in Germany. A concern and nervousness has been lingering throughout the country for years. This concern about foreign cultures showed as one example in October 2014 when the populist movement “Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes” (Pegida; “Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West”) organized its first demonstration in Dresden.⁶ Apparently Pegida-members are afraid that Germany will become Islamized. Reading between the lines those people are willing to welcome every migrant that will give up his or her own culture and identity and take over the German one completely. After some struggles in spring 2015, the movement gained popularity again and is still an ongoing issue.

The main reason for this development certainly is the refugee crisis in Europe and especially the problems Germany is facing because of it. Not only Pegida has grown again, right-wing parties like the AfD (Alternative für Deutschland, “Alternative for Germany”) are becoming more and more popular.⁷ Events in the recent past like the ones in Paris and Brussels, the attack on the paper Charlie Hebdo in January 2015 and the terrorist attacks by the Islamic State in November 2015 and March 2016 nurture right-wing ways of thinking across many people. Also several arson attacks on refugee homes and hostility towards them happened.⁸

⁵ J. Radke, *Der "Nationalsozialistische Untergrund" (NSU)*, [website], 2013, <http://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/167684/der-nationalsozialistische-untergrund-nsu>, (accessed 24 January 2016).

⁶ M. Popp and A. Wassermann, 'Rechte Spaßgesellschaft', *Der Spiegel*, 12 January 2015, pp. 34-36.

⁷ ZDF, *CDU trotz Rückgang stärkste Partei – AfD legt zu*, [website], 2016, <http://www.heute.de/politbarometer-extra-zu-rheinland-pfalz-cdu-trotz-rueckgang-staerkste-partei-afd-legt-zu-gewuenschte-ministerpraesidentin-dreyer-vor-kloeckner-41906682.html>, (accessed 24 January 2016).

⁸ Epd/dpa, '789 Anschläge auf Flüchtlingsheime', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 9 December 2015, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/fluechtlingskrise/in-diesem-jahr-789-anschlaege-auf-fluechtlingsheime-13956247.html>, (accessed 24 January 2016).

Many fears of anti-Islam or anti-refugees supporters seemed to be confirmed on New Year's Eve 2015 in Cologne. The police have trouble finding out what exactly happened that night. What is clear is that about 1000 people, mainly young men, assembled around the central station and cordoned off, sexually molested and stole mostly from women.⁹ Shortly after the incident became public media reported that most of the suspects were foreigners and asylum seekers from North Africa.¹⁰ Reports tell that Cologne was not the only place where this happened on New Year's Eve. There are also reports to the police regarding sexual harassment and theft in Hamburg and other parts in Germany.¹¹ Although there will always be more criminal acts than usual on 31 December and because of the great attention to this topic more victims than usual may have reported to the police, the number is still shocking and certainly unusual. A report from *Süddeutsche Zeitung* from 24 January 2016 says that in Cologne, Düsseldorf and Bielefeld 1076 cases were reported, including 692 times bodily harm and theft and 384 sexual offenses.¹² According to the newspaper, the Federal Criminal Police Office has twelve German suspects and 60 with other origins, mainly from Algeria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria.¹³ A later report from the tv channel ZDF from 5 April 2016 speaks of 153 suspects of whom 149 are foreigners with two thirds coming from Morocco or Algeria.¹⁴

The incident is hard to handle because the developments in Germany and in the whole world for which I gave some instances in the foregoing, do not tend to one direction. There are two extreme poles between concerns about right-wing radicalism which unsettles many Germans regarding the country's past of the Third Reich and the fear of religious (Islamic) extremist terrorism. The refugees asking for help, put society in a difficult position. Those people flee for example from the militant group Islamic State, being threatened by terrorism, but some of them also inherit world views that the Western society accounts to negative sides of the Orient's culture, such as a different understanding of gender roles which perceives men and women not as equal. Therefore many inherit values that the Western world supports such as freedom and peace, but also values that are seen as very problematic and incompatible. That most of the perpetrators of Cologne presumably were immigrants and refugees forces the German population to deal with this dilemma. One point although is unquestionable – the despicability of the assaults themselves.

⁹ A.M. Michel et al., 'Was geschah in Köln?', *Die Zeit*, 14 January 2016, <http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2016-01/koeln-silvester-sexuelle-uebergriffe-raub-faq> (accessed 25 January 2016).

¹⁰ Michel et al., 14 January 2016.

¹¹ L. Kampf, 'Bericht zu den Silvester-Delikten', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 24 January 2016, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/nach-koeln-bericht-zu-den-silvester-delikten-1.2832554> (accessed 25 January 2016).

¹² L. Kampf, 24 January 2016.

¹³ L. Kampf, 24 January 2016.

¹⁴ ZDF *heute-Sendung vom 05. April 2016*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2710886/ZDF-heute-Sendung-vom-05-April-2016>, (accessed 8 April 2016).

It is problematic that sexual assaults overall, but especially in this dimension still exist, no matter by whom they were performed or where.

Research question

The research question of this thesis is formulated like the following:

Which cultural differences regarding the Other are being referred to in German public-service media reports in relation to the assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015 and in which way?

In the first section of the introduction I already elaborated on limitations of my research which apply to the research question as well – namely focusing on Germany, the event and the media type. I now want to make some further comments on this question. Media reports “in relation to” simply means that the material includes not only reports about the actual event, but such broadcasts that discuss it in some way as well. Therefore it can also be reports that derive from Cologne, such as debate programs with the main topic “sexism”. Nevertheless Cologne has to be referred to in some way. Another issue that I want to point out is that the group concerning the perpetrators, that is talked about is hard to define. I include the names that are used most in media (Arabs, North Africans, Muslims and refugees). I am well aware that these groups cannot be taken as equal as they differ a lot from each other. The problem is that they are often used in the same context by German society and media. Therefore I also need to keep this group in a very vague definition. What they have in common is that they are perceived as not-German and relatively exotic. Talking about all these groups I will refer to them as the Other, a term used by scholars when referring to the Orient¹⁵, to stress their distinctiveness from the Western and in this case German population.

I am especially interested in finding traces of Orientalism in the media reports and to examine whether sexism and gender inequalities are perceived as a German or European problem or as (another) threat from the Other.

¹⁵ For example by K. Culcasi and M. Gokmen, ‘The Face of Danger: Beards in the U.S. Media’s Representations of Arabs, Muslims, and Middle Easterners’, *Aether: The Journal of Media Geography*, vol. 8, no. B, 2011, pp. 82-96; or by G.P. Erkem, ‘Identity Construction of Europe by Othering: A Case Study of Turkey and the EU Relations from a Cultural Perspective’, *euroPOLIS*, vol. 5, 2009, pp. 489-509.

Theories and Methods

This thesis is extensively oriented on Edward Said's theory on Orientalism.¹⁶ In his book Said elaborates on the tradition of the Western perspective on the Orient in literature and other fields. Especially in regards to stereotypes or more latent constructs that the West inherits about the East, Said's theory is important for this thesis. In my research, I identify certain themes or motives from the book that I use for finding Orientalist notions within media coverage. These themes are the superiority of the West and the inferiority of the Orient; the Western perspective seen as a natural truth; an acclaimed backwardness of the Orient; the West as active and the Orient as passive; generalization of the Orient; European fear of Islam and finally Orientalist dogmas that Said himself perceives as still persistent. Furthermore I use Michael Haldrup's, Lasse Koefoed's and Kirsten Simonsen's concept of Practical Orientalism.¹⁷ Its basic assumption is that processes of Othering, e.g. between the members of a nation and certain immigrant groups, are repeatedly enacted in small quotidian actions, for example by using language such as "us" and "them".¹⁸ I state that consuming media can be one of these every day practices and therefore can function as Practical Orientalism.

Furthermore, I develop an extension of the theory with the term of Practical De-Orientalism. I think that an opposite development from Practical Orientalism is possible as well. By proving Orientalist views wrong through personal experiences, they can be deconstructed. Therefore I speak of Practical De-Orientalism, and this thesis also investigates a possible Practical Orientalism or De-Orientalism.

Furthermore, since I am investigating media content, I elaborate on definitions of reality and how they relate to media reality. I come to the conclusion that there is an objective reality which is hard to measure. Nevertheless certain information can be understood as objectively real and be compared to media reality. But it is more important what kind of image mass media gives, whether people consume it and what credibility they account to media. Based on this the audience can take media reality as objective and can act according to it. Therefore media plays an important role in constructing reality. At last I explain the factors that are influential within the publishing process consisting of different actors, the communication system and the audience.

As a method I chose a combination of a quantitative content analysis, which will build the bigger part of my research and a qualitative analysis by adding subjective observations gained from the media content. I am dealing with a relatively large amount of material, and content

¹⁶ E. Said, *Orientalism*, London, Penguin Books, 2003.

¹⁷ M. Haldrup, L. Koefoed and K. Simonsen, 'Practical Orientalism – Bodies, Everyday Life and the Construction of Otherness', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, vol. 88, no.2, 2006, pp. 173-184.

¹⁸ Haldrup et al., 2006, pp. 174-176.

analysis is a good way to deal with this extent of information. The advantages lie in not being bound to time (as long as the material is accessible), not needing cooperation of interviewees and prevention from bias through subjective interpretation. Yet, some information, especially of latent character gets lost. This is the reason to add a part with qualitative observations, which make up for this problem. I first developed the code book, including several categories, which are of interest to my research question and topic, followed by conducting the content analysis and analysing the results. Thereafter I analysed some of the material qualitatively. For both methods I apply the theoretical concepts, that I touched upon in this chapter.

This thesis is structured in five chapters (including the introduction and conclusion). After this first part, I build the theoretical basis by elaborating further on the above mentioned concepts. The next step lies in explaining the used methods and in applying the theory through the methodological implementation of the empirical research. First, I present and discuss the results from the content analysis, followed by the qualitative one and put both in relation to the theory. Finally I summarize the thesis in the last chapter and discuss the implications from it.

The following chapter is concerned with the above mentioned theories in detail which build the basis for my research.

Chapter 1: Theory

This chapter deals with two theories which are crucial to my analysis. I start by explaining the concept of Orientalism, followed by a discussion on its uptake to Practical Orientalism. In the second part of this chapter I elaborate on definitions of reality and factors that may have influenced media coverage of the assaults in Cologne.

1.1. Orientalism

I have mentioned the term Orientalism in the previous chapter and this theoretical concept builds the framework of my analysis. In the following I explain Orientalism and identify some themes or motives that are important for this thesis. I am referring to Edward Said who published the first edition of his book *Orientalism* in 1978. Said presents three different understandings of the term. In the academic sense Orientalism refers to anything that deals with the Orient, a wider, more general understanding refers to a phenomenological differentiation between Orient and Occident and the third understanding regards the Orient from a historical perspective. The last understanding especially brings forth the relation of the West to the Orient, meaning how the Occident dominated the Orient.¹⁹ Said furthermore stresses that the Orient is a construct and includes the perception of the European identity being higher in rank than all other identities. Therefore the Orient is linked to backwardness.²⁰ Said goes on arguing that because the Orient is constructed by the Occident Orientalism deals more with the Western world than with the Middle East.²¹ Especially this last point is very interesting while looking at material about the Other. The important question is not what the reports tell us about the refugees, Muslims and other groups; but why are these specific issues pointed out and what does this tell us about values, attitudes and perspectives of the Western culture? What becomes a topic of public discourse and the way it is presented gives at least as many indications about the author as information about the subject. Since I am interested whether I can find traces of Orientalism in the investigated reports, I want to explain further what exactly I am referring to. Said brings out several themes or motives while discussing Orientalism in a time period approximately from the

¹⁹ Said, 2003, pp. 1-3.

²⁰ Said, 2003, pp. 4-7.

²¹ Said, 2003, p. 12.

late 18th century (as pre-existing literature for modern Orientalism²²) until the point when he finished his book in the late 1970s.

Superiority and Inferiority

The theme that functions like a red thread through the book is the one of the superiority of the West and the inferiority of the Orient. A lot of issues account to this topic. The West dominated the Orient through imperialism and through stating knowledge about the Orientals. Said refers to written material from the early 20th century-England and shows that it was perceived that the “subject races” would not know what was good for them; rather gathering this knowledge was in the Westerner’s hands.²³ Also in the later development of Orientalism this notion remained. For example when Said gives the instance of a work from the 1920s and shows that Orientalists (Western people studying the Orient) always look at their subject from a higher point, looking over it, reducing it into remissive categories in the assumption that the Orientalists have a better understanding and knowledge about the Orientals than the latter themselves.²⁴ The vocabulary used implicated the superiority of the West. The figures used for the West would always have an equivalent for the East which would point out the latter’s inferiority.²⁵ These could be specified or not. As Said points out from an example from 1972, “the former [the Westerners] are (in no particular order) rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values, without natural suspicion; the latter [the Arab-Orientals] are none of these things.”²⁶ Furthermore Islam in itself is seen as inferior²⁷ and the Orient is often seen as having no cultural achievements comparable to the West.²⁸ In regards to the reports I look at, I want to see if this assumed superiority of Western or German culture and inferiority of the Other’s culture have been implemented. Many of the following motives can be accounted to the superiority-inferiority-issue as well, but I want to point them out as single topics nevertheless.

²² Said, 2003, p. 42.

²³ Said, 2003, p. 37.

²⁴ Said, 2003, p. 239.

²⁵ Said, 2003, p. 72.

²⁶ Said, 2003, p. 49.

²⁷ Said, 2003, p. 209.

²⁸ Said, 2003, pp. 288-289.

Natural Truth of Western Perspective

The second theme is that the Western perspective is valid in itself without need for proof. It is taken as fact.²⁹ Often texts are understood as describing reality instead of encountering directly with the human being. Said describes this as a human failure which can derive from two situations. Either a person is challenged with something relatively unfamiliar and potentially dangerous and rather relies on theory than empirical knowledge – or a text already has proven to be true by experience; therefore other texts from this source must be true as well.³⁰ Regarding my topic I am interested in whether assumptions about the Other are understood as self-evident. How extensively are stereotypes or perceptions that might not even be recognized as presumptions questioned or taken for granted?

Backwardness of the Orient

Another motive that comes up in Said's book is the denial of movement in regards to the Orient. As Said states "The very possibility of development, transformation, human movement [...] is denied the Orient and the Oriental."³¹ For my analysis this point is interesting in regards to whether the Other has potential for development or if the cultures the perpetrators are accounted to are seen as holding old (and incompatible with Western culture) values and perceptions.

West as Active and Orient as Passive

Partly this refers to the static character or backwardness as well, but the theme also refers to the absence of the Orient while discussing it.³² As Said explains the Orientalist is the one writing, the West is the one acting, while the Orient is written about and acted upon.³³ Applied on my investigation, I want to see to what extent the Other is involved in the discussion. Are the groups referred to given word as well? Or are they only talked about – not talked with?

²⁹ Said, 2003, p. 46.

³⁰ Said, 2003, pp. 92-93.

³¹ Said, 2003, p. 208.

³² Said, 2003, p. 208.

³³ Said, 2003, p. 308.

Generalization

Said also gives examples for the Orient often being generalized in terms that everything declared Oriental is understood as representative for the Orient.³⁴ To some part I could already identify this issue in the introduction. What I generalize as the Other derives from the issue that society and media discusses different cultural and religious groups in the same context, taking them as equal. In my analysis I want to see if I can find more explicit results for this, for example whether these groups are discussed as one or as different issues.

European Fear of Islam

As Said explains, beginning from Mohammed's death in 632, when Islam started to expand, a fear from Europe developed, especially in regards to fear of terror, destruction and the devilish.³⁵ The fear of terror is very present nowadays and it is often linked to religious motives, Islamist ones especially. This concern and skepticism towards Islam can transfer not only in regards to the extremist movements, but in general as well. This theme more functions as an explanation in this context for a possible Orientalist perspective in the reports in relation to Cologne.

Orientalist Dogmas

Said identifies four dogmas which he sees still existent at his time of writing: the efficient and infinite differentiation between the East and the West, the preference to abstractions about the East instead of directly encountering modern Oriental realities, the generalizing of the Orient and accounted objectivity of the Western standpoint, and the East as either a subject of fear or control.³⁶ Said discusses the motives I identified in the context of different time contexts. I am aware that not every of his presented aspects is still valid for potentially existing Orientalist views from today. Furthermore, a change may have happened in the past 30 years that Said does not refer to. But the fact that Said points to these dogmas reinforces the assumption that some Orientalist views or understandings are persistent through time and that I might find these in recent material.

In the next part I discuss an uptake of Said's Orientalism – Practical Orientalism by Haldrup, Koefoed and Simonsen which has relevance to my research as well.

³⁴ Said, 2003, pp. 231, 255.

³⁵ Said, 2003, p. 59.

³⁶ Said, 2003, p. 300-301.

1.2. Practical Orientalism

Haldrup and his colleagues take up the concept of Orientalism and develop it to Practical Orientalism. The basic assumption is that processes of Othering, e.g. between the members of a nation and certain immigrant groups, are repeatedly enacted in small quotidian actions, for example by using language such as “us” and “them”.³⁷ Their concept is highly relevant today as they state:

The re-emergence of an identity struggle based on the notions of Europe and ‘the Orient’ have [*sic*] given way to both a new Orientalism in the politics of Europe towards its external Others and a re-emergence of aggressive nationalism directed against Muslim, internal Others at the national level.³⁸

Exactly this process can be seen in Europe and Germany at the moment. The European identity stands on anything but solid ground. This shows especially nowadays when the members of the European Union are only looking out for themselves, pushing the refugees to anyone else but themselves. In the meantime an “aggressive nationalism” is perceptible in Germany in form of hostility towards refugees. Haldrup and his colleagues use Said’s concept of Orientalism and stretch it in that sense that it is not restricted to institutional means, but includes banal ones as well through which Orientalism is repeated on a daily basis. They argue that Orientalism has to be repeated regularly in order to sustain because of its unstable discursive nature.³⁹ The authors also use Michael Billig’s theory of banal nationalism⁴⁰ and apply it on “banal Orientalism” by taking up the idea that every day practices influence an Orientalised view in such usual ways that one is not aware of it.⁴¹ They speak of an “invisible transgression” which means that “the first negative cultural stereotypes are the most difficult ones, then it becomes more easy as it is more and more conceived as a part of normality.”⁴² Because it is practiced on a regular basis, Haldrup et al. finally come to their term Practical Orientalism.⁴³

Just by logic thought this concept seems coherent. Taking the example of learning a language, the beginning is quite hard. Once one gained knowledge in some basics, it becomes easier to understand issues even if one does not understand every word. But a language also has to be practised continually; otherwise the gained knowledge gets lost or forgotten. What is left in my mind from three years of Russian lessons in high school are three sentences and the ability to

³⁷ Haldrup et al., 2006, pp. 174-176.

³⁸ Haldrup et al., 2006, p. 174.

³⁹ Haldrup et al., 2006, p. 175.

⁴⁰ M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, London, Sage, 1995.

⁴¹ Haldrup et al., 2006, pp. 175-176.

⁴² Haldrup et al., 2006, p. 176.

⁴³ Haldrup et al., 2006, p. 177.

read Cyrillic letters. But in one point I do not completely agree with Haldrup and his colleagues or would like to make an addition, respectively. Because even when a language has not been practised for a while one will pick up the learning process much quicker and easier when one starts practising again. I assume the same process by practising Orientalism. There are times when issues that do not deal with Orientalist views or stereotypes are pre-dominant in public discourse. One example is a great sport event like a soccer world championship in one's country. My presumption is that this will be one of the most important topics to talk about with friends, family and at work and that the media will give major attention to the event. Although issues that are more prone to include Orientalist stereotypes and views are not so present at that time; this does not mean that Orientalist views are weakened. It is very likely that once an issue, like a terrorist attack occurs the same prejudices about Muslims will establish again. Of course this is a conjuncture based on loose, personal observations. Empirical research would be necessary to prove this hypothesis.

In a Foucauldian sense we can speak of *Herkunft* (descent) and *Entstehung* (emergence) here. The philosopher Michel Foucault analyses Friedrich Nietzsche's usage of the term *Ursprung* (origin) and synonyms he uses in regards to describing genealogy.⁴⁴ Foucault then states that the terms *Herkunft* and *Entstehung* are better for describing genealogy.⁴⁵ Foucault compares the descent to health problems that one inherited from the ancestors.⁴⁶ It means that a beginning is never neutral, but influenced by its past. The descent, speaking the starting point, of modern Europe (after the Second World War) is a pre-existing Orientalist view. As Said explains in his book *Orientalism* was mainly influenced by France and Britain, after WW II the USA has taken this role.⁴⁷ The descent makes the "invisible transgression" easier. Prejudices do not have to be established from the scratch, they are already inscribed in Western culture. Foucault states that "Entstehung designates emergence, the moment of arising. It stands as the principle and the singular law of an apparition."⁴⁸ This moment of arising can refer to, for example a war and other historical events and developments. Emergence, according to Foucault, is a process in which forces react according to each other and which one is dominating is central.⁴⁹ Such as these forces gain and lose strength, disappear and come up again, Orientalism is always existent and it depends on which forces dominate whether it comes to surface sooner or later. These forces can be politics, for example which party is the strongest one in a country, but mass media plays an

⁴⁴ M. Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', in D. F. Bouchard (ed.), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1977, p. 140-145.

⁴⁵ Foucault, 1977, p. 145.

⁴⁶ Foucault, 1977, p. 147.

⁴⁷ Said, 2003, pp. 17, 284-285.

⁴⁸ Foucault, 1977, p. 148.

⁴⁹ Foucault, 1977, pp. 148-151.

important role as well. At the moment there are several issues or developments of public attention, such as wars, terrorism, several crises on national, European and global levels (the refugee crisis refers to all of these levels), but also national or regional issues, such as elections. I assume that depending on which issues dominate the public agenda Orientalism is practised more or less. Some issues, such as the refugee crisis make it inevitable to talk about cultural differences and can reinforce Orientalist perspectives. Orientalism has its own emergence and is influenced by forces.

Haldrup and his colleagues differentiate between sensuous levels: the haptic, the olfactory, the auditory and the visual.⁵⁰ Mass media includes two of these levels, the auditory and the visual one. These experiences can influence Orientalist views. Through reports the audience may receive a certain image of the Other. The image would then be reinforced repeatedly and Orientalist views would sustain. One has to pay attention to the fact that media itself is not a neutral, impersonal institution. Journalists are influenced by their descent as well; they already inherit a certain image of the Orient. I will discuss this matter more extensively in the next subchapter. In summary media coverage is a means or force of emergence, not the reason for a biased image of the Other, but a tool of it. Again I am making a presumption here and my purpose is to see whether media plays a role in Practical Orientalism through the material of this thesis. That is the case if I can find traces of Orientalism in the research material.

As can be seen Practical Orientalism can easily be applied on mass media. I want to make one addition to this concept. As Haldrup et al. explain in their paper, Orientalism can be reinforced by bodily experiences.⁵¹ But I think the opposite is possible as well: Orientalist views can be proven wrong by bodily experiences. If someone comes in contact with the Other (for example Muslims) relatively often and experiences regularly that there is a big discrepancy between the stereotypical, Orientalist image and the actual, personally experienced one, this image can be deconstructed. I call the process Practical De-Orientalism. I assume that a fear of Islamization can also derive from this lack of Practical De-Orientalism. For instance, in areas where only very few Muslims live, people may have no comparison to a pre-dominant Orientalist image and therefore may have a biased view on what the Other's culture is. Practical De-Orientalism can be enabled through mass media in the same way as it is possible for Practical Orientalism, for example if similarities between the Eastern and Western culture were more stressed, or if the traditional Western superiority and the Eastern inferiority were reversed in media coverage. I think that both types of media content exist. The question is in what amount, in which genres and who watches it.

⁵⁰ Haldrup et al., 2006, pp. 179-183.

⁵¹ Haldrup et al., 2006, p. 174.

I want to go back to Foucault one more time. As I explain the concept of Practical Orientalism, one could argue that media cannot influence an Orientalist view, following the Foucauldian thinking of descent and emergence. Orientalism would be imprinted in us and media only influences how it emerges. But Foucault also speaks of a way to succeed in history by seizing the rules and overcome the rulers through their own rules.⁵² Practical De-Orientalism can be one way of overcoming the rulers by seizing the rules. Practical Orientalism and De-Orientalism work on the level of emergence, but I think emergence can provide the descent for future generations and societies. If this emergence is stopped and even turned backwards by a process of Practical De-Orientalism future generations will have a different descent in the way that Orientalist views become weaker and maybe disappear one day, although this day would be in very far future. It will take time; forces (political, economic, etc.) will contradict each other. But this is one solution to break up the Orientalist tradition of thinking.

Research on Practical Orientalism

Previous research done using the concept of Practical Orientalism is relatively small. One example is the paper by Karen Culcasi and Mahmut Gokmen. The researchers investigate the role of the image of men with beards in connection to being regarded as different and dangerous.⁵³ Culcasi and Gokmen stress the central role of media in the way of using beards as signs of backwardness, functioning as a symbol for Islamic extremism.⁵⁴ Tyler Wall uses Practical Orientalism for explaining how US-American soldiers experience the Iraqi during their combat deployment in Iraq.⁵⁵ Wall explains that Practical Orientalism exists for example through racialized language as contributing to a process of dehumanization.⁵⁶ Another example is an article by Eithan Orkibi about Israeli documentary cinema.⁵⁷ The author also sees media as an important contributor to Practical Orientalism and analyses how different motives in documentaries are used as tools for Practical Orientalism.⁵⁸ These examples show how Practical Orientalism can be applied on media and other fields and show the relevance of this theoretical concept.

⁵² Foucault, 1977, pp. 150-151.

⁵³ Culcasi and Gokmen, 2011, pp. 82-96.

⁵⁴ Culcasi and Gokmen, 2011, pp. 86-88.

⁵⁵ T. Wall, 'Philanthropic Soldiers, Practical Orientalism, and the Occupation of Iraq', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, vol. 18, 2011, pp. 481-501.

⁵⁶ Wall, 2011, p. 495.

⁵⁷ E. Orkibi, 'Judea and Samaria in Israeli documentary cinema: displacement, oriental space and the cultural construction of colonized landscapes', *Israel Affairs*, vol. 21, no. 3, 2015, pp. 408-421.

⁵⁸ Orkibi, 2015, pp. 411-419.

The following subchapter considers the fact that I am dealing with media content and media reality. I elaborate on different definitions (including my own) of reality and on factors influencing media reality.

1.3. Influencing Factors on Media Reality

This thesis investigates media content. Research on media content often aims for a comparison between reality and how media reports about reality, leading to methodological problems, how to measure an objective reality. In the following I want to explain different understandings of reality as the communication researcher Hans M. Kepplinger⁵⁹ elaborates in his paper. I will then go on elaborating on influencing factors on media content by applying his integrated model.

Definitions of Reality

Kepplinger presents three understandings of or positions towards reality that influence research on media coverage. The first one says that there is no objective reality. It would be impossible to perceive reality or compare it to media reporting. Therefore there is no question of an appropriate or inappropriate presentation of reality. Media reality would simply show the working conditions of journalism. What is real and relevant is defined by mass media.⁶⁰ The second position states that an objective reality is existent and comparable to media reality. But the task of media is not to present reality, but to interpret facts and give them social meaning. Therefore media is responsible for the social meaning of reality. The issue regarding this position is then the journalists' self-understanding – speaking whether they want to present their own view or a characterization of objective facts.⁶¹ The third position also states that there is an objective reality which is comparable with media coverage. Furthermore it can be measured whether media reporting is biased or not, for example through external data, such as statistics.⁶² Consequently the difference between the second and third position is whether journalism should present the objective reality or interpret it. None of these positions are fully pleasing to my point of view. I think that there is an objective reality, but it is extremely hard to measure, often it is impossible due to the fact that most measuring tools are influenced by humans which willingly or unwillingly

⁵⁹ H.M. Kepplinger, 'Theorien der Nachrichtenauswahl als Theorien der Realität', *Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 15, 1989, pp. 1-16.

⁶⁰ Kepplinger, 1989, p. 14.

⁶¹ Kepplinger, 1989, p. 15.

⁶² Kepplinger, 1989, pp. 15-16.

incorporate their own subjectivity (views, understandings, experiences, motives, etc.) in these tools. But that does not mean that they cannot be used. Instead, the researcher should judge the credibility of the source and based on this judgment trust it more or less. For an event as it happened in Cologne on 31 December 2015, some facts that are told by media and other sources are most likely true. When so many people are involved and function as witnesses, strong misrepresentations of what happened could be discovered quickly. Therefore we can say for sure that a mass of people (approximately 1000 men) stole and sexually assaulted many women and some men that night on the place in front of the Cathedral and central station in Cologne. Furthermore most of the suspects are foreigners, many of them from Morocco and Algeria. The assumption that culture has an influence on what happened in Cologne therefore is understandable.

In parts media constructs reality and defines what is real and relevant, but I do not see mass media as the only institution with this power. The government, for example has a major influence on reality as well. Journalists do not have a single understanding of how they should present reality. There are different genres, some giving a relatively neutral picture of reality and some interpreting and commenting on it. I agree in most terms with the researcher Winfried Schulz who argues that although one cannot prove whether media reality equates with objective reality, it still has a significant effect, because media consumers perceive it as objectively real.⁶³ In this sense researching whether media portrays reality objectively as it is, is less important than what image mass media delivers, whether people consume this media and what credibility they give to it.

The reader may notice that there are several factors that are important in this context. Not only the media content, but the authors and the audience matter as well. Kepplinger therefore includes several of these factors in his integrated model.

The Integrated Model

Kepplinger presents this model to explain influencing variables on media reality. I include the model here to explain, what factors are likely to influence how media reported in relation to the assaults in Cologne. This is important, because whether Orientalist views are or are not implemented in media coverage and how they are understood is not a one-way relation from medium to viewer. The issue is much more complex and several factors need to be considered. Figure I shows the integrated model by Kepplinger.

⁶³ W. Schulz, *Die Konstruktion von Realität in den Nachrichtenmedien: Analyse der aktuellen Berichterstattung*, Freiburg, München, Verlag Karl Alber, 1976, p. 29.

Schaubild 5: Integriertes Modell

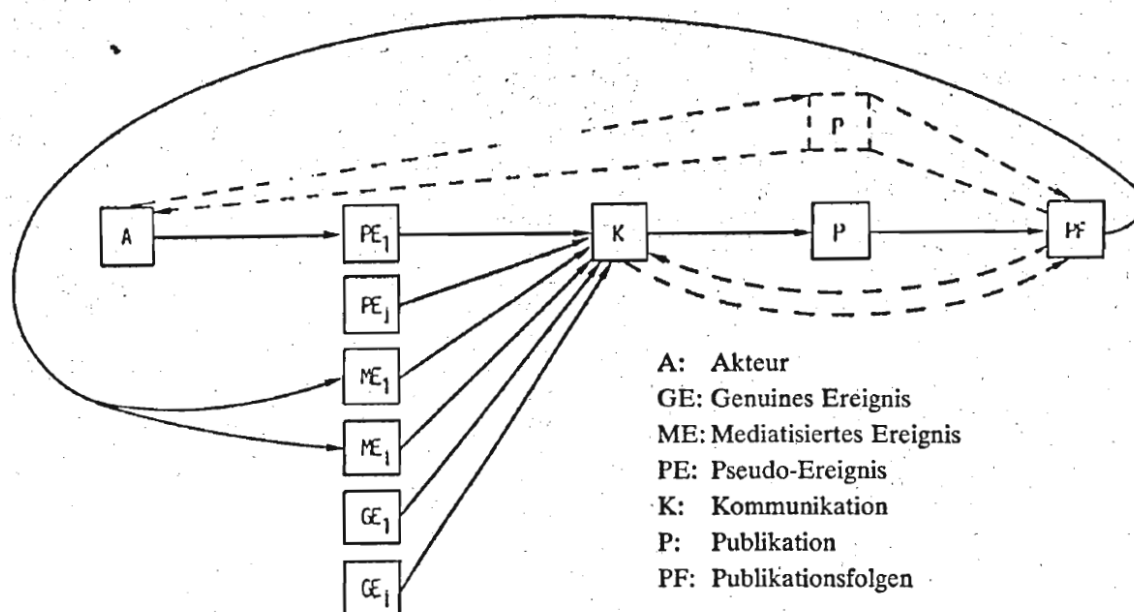


Figure I: The integrated model by Kepplinger⁶⁴

The model presents the reporting process. There are different kinds of events that can be reported by media. Genuine events (GE) happen independently from reporting, such as accidents or natural disasters. Mediated events (ME) are events that may have happened without media attention as well, but adjust to media in certain ways (e.g. by setting the time fitting better to media reporting) because they expect to be reported. Examples for these events are party conferences or sport events. The last kind is pseudo- or produced events (PE). These events are created just for the purpose of finding a place in the newspapers and tv shows, such as press conferences.⁶⁵ Actors (A) create pseudo-events because their motive is to be in media's reporting, becoming a publication (P) and they chose the tool of mass media. The reporting is labeled as communication (K) in the model. It can be understood as a system including the journalists and the media (genres). Because of them some events become public in media (P) and have certain effects (PF), which again can influence the mediated events. Media reporting is not a one-way relation in several terms. First actors (try to) influence media reporting by creating events and aiming for a specific publication effect, represented in the model by the broken line departing from A to P and PF. An instance would be a politician giving a statement about a current issue in order to gain more popularity among the audience which are potential voters. In case of the reporting about Cologne this can be a politician demanding for stricter laws concerning refugee deportation to show the voters that he or she has the situation under control and is working on a

⁶⁴ Kepplinger, 1989, p. 14.

⁶⁵ Kepplinger, 1989, p. 13.

problem which the voters are very much concerned with. The audience is represented as PF, because the publication effects concern the audience. One influence for example is that a newspaper wants to sell many copies and consequently wants the audience to read it. In order to do that the newspaper has to have interesting reports that the audience is interested in. Therefore journalists are also influenced by their readers or audience, because they have to consider their wishes and needs. This is represented in the model with the two broken lines between K and PF.⁶⁶

I choose to present this model because it makes clear that this thesis is concerned with a small part of a complex process. Even the integrated model does not cover all variables that influence the reporting process but some of them. This thesis investigates how the Other is presented according to a specific event. But not only characteristics of the event itself determine how it comes to this image of the Other. It also depends on factors such as the journalists' self-understanding (professionally and individually), third parties such as politics and economics, what other events happen at that moment, whether they are perceived as an important issue for society, but also what the audience wants to read, listen and watch. Whether an issue gains importance in the public discourse is furthermore dependent on what the audience actually chooses to consume from the media that is available to them. In the following I apply the different factors on the media reporting in regards to the assaults in Cologne.

The assaults in Cologne were a genuine event, but some of the media reporting also concerned pseudo-events like press conferences from the police or politicians for example. There are different actors that are relevant in this context and may have influenced media reporting. Politicians were involved who used the event to address different social evils, such as problems within the police (such as having not enough staff) or the refugee crisis, especially in terms of refugee deportation. Furthermore in March 2016 elections in three regions took place, so it was important for politicians to appear strong and competent. Right-wing parties and movements are other actors worth mentioning. Very likely they used the event to strengthen their anti-refugees argument. But it is also likely that public-service media did not want to give them a platform for public discourse. For feminists the issue was a reason to raise a discussion about sexism in Germany and may have influenced the reporting. Since the police had been criticized extensively their interest was to re-establish trust and explain their situation.

The communication system in itself is influenced by several factors as well. The news value theory says that certain characteristics, called news factors of an event make it more or less likely to be published in media or for journalists to pick this event for publishing, respectively. The news factors accumulated result in the news value of an event. The researchers Marie

⁶⁶ Kepplinger, 1989, pp. 13-14.

Holmboe Ruge and Johan Galtung define 12 news factors in their study which are influential on the publication of an event.⁶⁷ Many of the news factors apply for the event in Cologne and explain why it gained so much attention in media. The actions were done during one night; therefore the time-span corresponds to the frequency of media. The event definitely passed the threshold to be published meaning that it passed a certain point to be interesting enough. I perceive the events as unambiguous and ambiguous at the same time. They are unambiguous because sexually assaulting women is despised by the German society. They are ambiguous because of the potential following discussion about refugees, integration and sexism. Unambiguity would speak for a publication. The event was definitely relevant to the German audience and since it happened inside Germany, cultural proximity was provided as well. The assaults were definitely unexpected and the victims gave the event reference to persons. At last the event can be categorized as negative.

But characteristics of potential news are not the only determinant for whether they are published or not. How and what a journalist publishes is dependent on a bigger system. In case of ZDF, the channel has a director-general and journalists have several colleagues who stand above them in their hierarchy. Those influence not completely but to some extent what the single journalist publishes. Furthermore there are press organisations that play a role for the communication system such as the Deutscher Presserat (German press council), an organisation that can pronounce reprimands officially in case a medium committed an ethical violation. The state has an influence concerning the regional press laws, parliaments, administration and regulating departments. For all media the freedom of press of course applies, but they also have a public assignment (*öffentliche Aufgabe*), which means that media fulfils a need for the public, when they inform or critique issues, and a duty of care (*Sorgfaltspflicht*), which means that media always has to investigate the truthfulness, content and origin of their information, to give two examples.⁶⁸ Furthermore public-service media is a special case in terms of possible political influence. The channel ZDF is controlled by a committee (ZDF-Fernsehrat) for example by electing the general-director. The committee consists of 77 members from different societal groups, including politicians.⁶⁹ The influence by politics became an issue of discussion in 2009 when the contract of the director-general of ZDF from that time, Nikolaus Breder, had not been prolonged based on a decision from the committee which included many members of the

⁶⁷ J. Galtung and M. Holmboe Ruge, 'The Structure of Foreign News : The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Papers', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1965, pp. 64-90.

⁶⁸ *presserecht, Gesetz über die Presse (Landespressegesetz [Baden-Württemberg])*, [website], 2016, http://www.presserecht.de/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=27, (accessed 10 April 2016).

⁶⁹ ZDF, *Der ZDF-Fernsehrat: Anwalt des Zuschauers*, [website], 2015, <http://www.zdf.de/zdf-fernschrat-funktion-vorsitz-und-mitglieder-25100018.html>, (accessed 10 April 2016).

political party CDU. As newspapers such as *Der Spiegel* reported, Brender had been critical towards the named party and it was suspected that his contract was not prolonged because of this. As a consequence two German regions had sued that through the committee the state had too much influence and the freedom of press could not be provided anymore. The constitutional court beared them out in this matter. At the moment 44 % of the members of the committee are accounted to “state-related persons”, a percentage that must be reduced to 30 %.⁷⁰ Although the new treaty came into force on 1 January 2016 the new committee will be in charge beginning with the new working period starting in summer 2016. Until then the original committee stays in charge.⁷¹ Therefore the impact by politics is a problematic issue and reporting may be influenced by it.

Another factor that influences the communication system is the advertising industry. Public-service media though is mainly financed through fees from the population and only gains a part of its funds through advertising. According to the federal ministry of finance, in 2012 for example public-service media had 7306.7 million Euro income through fees, but net sales through advertising were significantly less with 357.8 million € for the channel ARD and 132.1 million € for ZDF.⁷²

At last, the journalists themselves have a personal opinion, political preferences and have different self-understandings of their profession, for example leaning more to neutral information or opinion-oriented journalism.

Furthermore, a publication is not simply that. Factors such as the day time of broadcasting (morning, afternoon, evening), the length of the report, its availability online and its possible promotion, such as teasers for the broadcast will have an effect on how many people watch.

Finally, publication effects cannot be predicted from the media content alone. They are very much dependent on the audience. One example of this are concepts concerning selective exposure as they are explained by the communication researchers Michael Kunczik and Astrid Zipfel, in which the viewer only recognizes or remembers media content that is according to his values and views to avoid cognitive dissonance.⁷³

⁷⁰ vks/dpa/AFP, ‘Urteil in Karlsruhe: Politik muss Einfluss auf das ZDF beschränken’, *Der Spiegel*, 25 March 2014, <http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/tv/verfassungsgericht-klage-gegen-zdf-staatsvertrag-a-960571.html>, (accessed 10 April 2016).

⁷¹ ZDF, *Die Mitglieder des ZDF-Fernsehrats: Mitglieder A-Z*, 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/zdf-fernsehrat-mitglieder-25141448.html>, (accessed 10 April 2016).

⁷² Bundesministerium der Finanzen, *Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien – Aufgabe und Finanzierung: Gutachten des Wissenschaftlichen Beirats beim Bundesministerium der Finanzen*, 2014, p. 11.

⁷³ M. Kunczik and A. Zipfel, *Publizistik*, Köln, Böhlau Verlag, 2005, pp. 308-322.

For a Master's thesis, it is impossible to cover all these factors in the research. Yet, it raises the awareness that one has to be careful interpreting the results from the content analysis. Reasons for a specific image delivered by mass media are numerous.

In the following chapter I explain the methods that I use and in which way I implement the theoretical constructs in the empirical research.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter deals with the methods I use for investigating my research question. I use two methods – a quantitative content analysis, which makes the bigger part of the research, and a qualitative analysis. I give a short overview over the two methods. Thereafter I explain the procedure of the empirical research. The last subchapter deals with the measuring instrument of the content analysis, the code book.

2.1. Content and Qualitative Analysis

To investigate my research question I focus on using the method of content analysis. Content analysis is a method for a systematic and mainly quantitative description of messages. In their book, the communication researchers Hans-Bernd Brosius, Friederike Koschel and Alexander Haas elaborate on the method of content analysis. According to them, through the characteristics of the content the researcher can deduce conclusions on social reality.⁷⁴ Since I am dealing with a relatively large amount of material and my research question refers to media content, this method appears adequate. From the results I am able to make inferences on social reality, in terms of whether Orientalist views are represented in mass media. Brosius, Koschel and Haas also state that it is possible to draw conclusions on the motive and opinion of the communicator and the possible effect on the audience⁷⁵, although this is not the main point of my analysis.

As for every research method, there are pros and cons. The advantages include several points which Brosius and his colleagues present. First, communication processes can be analysed at a later point, since the material does not change and can be accessed even when the issue of interest already happened.⁷⁶ Even two months after the event of my interest, I am still able to analyse it. Besides that, the researcher does not have to rely on the cooperation from interviewees or test subjects, and factors such as the current mood of the subject do not play a role.⁷⁷ I can easily look up the media content without having concerns whether it will participate in my research. Furthermore the instrument can be modified and the coding can be repeated if mistakes were made.⁷⁸ In case of content analysis, the measuring instrument is called code book which includes precise instructions on how to perform the analysis, definitions of terms and categories

⁷⁴ H.-B. Brosius, F. Koschel and A. Haas, *Methoden der empirischen Kommunikationsforschung: Eine Einführung*, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009, p. 141.

⁷⁵ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 141.

⁷⁶ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 151.

⁷⁷ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, pp. 151-152.

⁷⁸ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 152.

(specific topics for example) that the researcher is interested in finding. I can adjust the code book several times even after I tried it on the material, hence enhancing the quality of the empirical research. Gillian Rose adds that content analysis prevents from bias because it can reveal something else than what was assumed before.⁷⁹ I assume that I will find traces of Orientalism in the material, but it is also possible that the results point to a different conclusion.

On the downside Brosius, Koschel and Haas state that semantic differentiations, everything between the lines, so to speak, gets lost.⁸⁰ This is an issue especially in regards to the Orientalist themes or motives that I describe in the previous section. It is likely that motives such as a possible inferiority of the Orient or superiority of the West are notions and therefore difficult to measure systematically. It can depend on small words, movements of the speaker which create an atmosphere that may lead to the conclusion that, for example Islamic values come across as inferior to the Western ones or the opposite.

I am aware that a lot of information of this more latent character gets lost through content analysis. I deal with this problem by analysing certain reports qualitatively. In this way it is possible to combine the advantages of both method types. Also, Brosius and his colleagues differentiate between the manifest and latent character of messages. The latent character can be influenced by the situation, culture, age and more.⁸¹ This can get lost in the content analysis easily. Since I am dealing with very recent material, a historical influence on the perception of the material is unlikely. If I was looking at material from 50 years ago, for instance, I would need to consider that I will understand certain messages differently than the audience at that time as Brosius, Koschel and Haas explain.⁸² However in this analysis; that is not the case. The qualitative analysis is of course very subjective and interpretive, but media content itself is perceived differently by each person as well.

The latent character changes in regards to the factors mentioned above. Therefore the conclusions I make are by no means universal. People, who have a different background than me, may perceive the material in a different way.

In the following subchapter I explain the procedure of the empirical analysis.

⁷⁹ G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, London, Sage, 2007, p. 61.

⁸⁰ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 143.

⁸¹ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 141.

⁸² Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 145.

2.2. Procedure

The first stage consisted in developing the code book. The code book includes the categories to be measured and instructions and definitions for the coder (see next subchapter). The categories can be developed deductively from literature and inductively by looking at the content as Brosius and his colleagues explain.⁸³ Some categories were obvious from the research question and theoretical considerations (for example cultural differences or nationality). Following the concept of Orientalism I assumed that Orientalist stereotypes were implemented in media coverage. After a first sighting such stereotypes did not seem obvious to me through manifest characteristics. Therefore the code book is mainly developed inductively and the categories are sometimes held in an open format to identify possible Orientalist stereotypes. The theoretical framework is applied more extensively in the qualitative analysis and in the discussion of the results from the content analysis. By looking at a part of the material I am interested in, I identified the most present issues in the reports and transferred them into categories. This first draft was then tried out at some of the material and some adjustments were made.

First steps for developing the code book were to decide on sample size and some general definitions. Because all material concerning the assaults in Cologne from public-service tv media would have expanded the possibilities of this thesis, I had to take a sample. I could either use a small sample of several channels or a bigger one of one channel. To get a more thorough picture I decided to choose one channel. The public-service tv media consist of two channels – ARD (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland) which is also responsible for the regional channels besides the national program and ZDF (Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen) which only has a national program. Since I am interested in the national media coverage, the regional channels were not relevant for this research. Both channels are watched frequently by many people. Which channel has the higher audience ratings differs between days, but ZDF has had a higher market share than ARD since 2012. For the year 2015 ZDF's market share was 12.5 % while ARD's was 11.6 %⁸⁴. Therefore I decided on ZDF.

Next, I used the search of the online media centre of ZDF by using the search words “Übergriffe Köln” (“assaults Cologne”)⁸⁵ and identified how many hits were found for each day beginning with 1 January 2016 until the day before that present day (until 24 February 2016).

⁸³ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 169.

⁸⁴ AGF, *Marktanteile*, [website], 2016, <https://www.agf.de/daten/tvdaten/marktanteile/?name=marktanteile#>, (accessed 12 May 2016).

⁸⁵ ZDF, *Detailsuche*, [website], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/suche/%C3%BCbergriffe%20k%C3%B6ln>, (accessed 25 February 2016).

There is a distinctive peak of reporting on 7 January 2016 with 19 hits, moderately much reporting the following 4 days with 9 to 10 hits per day and then decreasing relatively constantly with small ups and downs.

Rose states that a sample should be big enough to include extremes.⁸⁶ Regarding the amount of reporting on these days it is likely that extremes are included in this sample. Therefore I decided to take a cluster sample, using all material from the 7 January 2016 and the following day (8 January 2016). The geographical scope is limited to Germany; this means only German media content in German and published in Germany is relevant for this thesis. This is important because ZDF also provides information in English and Arabic, although this material is literal translation of German reports. Nevertheless, these translations of reports were excluded. Furthermore all broadcasts concerning the assaults in Cologne are relevant. This means it has to be referred to the events at least once in the report. It came to surface that the search words “Übergriffe Köln” excluded some relevant material. Therefore I used “Köln” instead and excluded irrelevant material. As a next step I decided on what one code unit would be. The code unit is each section within a broadcast. A section is defined by its style (for example a film clip, an interview, etc.). Often one hit in the online search includes several units. I identified the relevant units with a total number of 63.

According to Brosius, Koschel and Haas, at this point researchers usually conduct two reliability tests. Through the inter-coder-reliability test one finds out whether different coders code the material the same.⁸⁷ In this case, I am the only coder. Therefore I could not conduct the inter-coder-reliability test. However, the qualitative analysis increases the value of the quantitative one. The second test is the intra-coder-reliability test. One coder codes the same material two times and should code the material the same. Although the analysis is just performed by one person, it was possible for me to conduct this reliability test. I conducted this analysis after having finished the whole content analysis, speaking 9 to 10 days after to have a proper time distance in between in order to avoid that I remember what I coded for a certain unit. Brosius and his colleagues give the percentage of about 10 % of the material which is used for such a test.⁸⁸ Therefore I selected six units randomly through Microsoft Excel from the already coded material and coded these units again. The number of identically coded units divided through the number of total units resulted in a reliability coefficient for each category between 0 and 1. If the coefficient equals 1, it means that every time of the double coded units, the category was coded the same. Therefore a coefficient of 1 means perfect reliability. Because my category system includes many levels of categories and follow-up-categories that are only identified if another

⁸⁶ Rose, 2007, p. 64.

⁸⁷ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, pp. 162-163.

⁸⁸ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 170.

characteristic is identified (see next subchapter for detailed explanation) there were not results for all categories. Furthermore, sometimes those categories were coded for one, two or three units. Therefore mistakes had a bigger influence on the coefficient because of the smaller total number. Some discrepancies were caused by a differently coded order of the topics (which one was coded as the first, second and third topic). The average of the calculated reliability coefficients resulted in the overall coefficient of 0.93, which is a very good result.

After the code book was finalised, I started with the analysis. Brosius, Koschel and Haas explain that one coder should, for example not code all articles from the same newspaper (if several newspapers are included in an analysis) because the variation is important to avoid learning effects.⁸⁹ Therefore I ordered the material randomly and coded the material, both by using Excel. Completing the quantitative part, I analysed the results of the content analysis with Excel.

To finish the empirical research I searched again for “Köln” in the ZDF online media centre. Since I could find so little material about cultural differences and gender issues, I selected those reports which dealt with these two problematics. This time the search was not restricted to two days. Finally, I analysed the results from the qualitative analysis.

In the following part, I explain the measuring tool of the content analysis, the code book, in detail.

2.3. Operationalization: The Code Book

The code book is the working tool for the coder. It includes precise instructions on how to code the material, as well as the category system with all codes. There are categories concerning identification, formal ones and categories in regards to content. Rose explains that it is crucial that all categories are exhaustive (every aspect must be covered), exclusive (there must not be any overlap between categories) and enlightening (coherent and related to the research question).⁹⁰ To achieve all characteristics as best as possible can be problematic. As Brosius, Koschel and Haas explain, the more enlightening (and therefore mostly the more complex) a category system is, the more the reliability suffers, because it gives more space for misunderstanding.⁹¹ In the following, I explain the sections within the code book. The complete copy is attached in the appendix of this thesis (appendix I).

⁸⁹ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 170.

⁹⁰ Rose, 2007, p. 65; Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, pp. 159-160.

⁹¹ Brosius, Koschel and Haas, 2009, p. 162.

The first section concerns general coding instructions. The material of research is identified, including an explanation of the aim of the research and the research question. This way the coder gets a better understanding of what the researcher wants to gain through the content analysis. The coding unit is defined. In this case each report within a broadcast is one unit. If there is an introduction by a news anchor, this part is accounted to the unit together with the report and the eventual conclusion by the news anchor. Furthermore, the same unit can only be coded several times, if it was broadcasted several times. The pick-up-criterion tells the coder where and how to find and identify the relevant coding units. Furthermore, the general coding instructions include how to use the code sheet, in which the codes are written down. In this case the program Excel was used. The procedure tells the coder how many times the units have to be watched, in which order categories have to be identified and what should be minded while coding. Finally the distribution of material (normally between the coders, in this case for one coder) is explained.

The second section is the category system, which gives codes and explanations for the categories. The coder uses this category system and identifies all applying categories to the analysed unit. The first part is the identification categories. Every unit gets an identification number to be able to distinguish it from other units and to make sure that there will be no confusion. The date of coding helps to identify which units could be affected if mistakes were made. Furthermore this category is necessary to conduct the reliability through an intra-coder-reliability-test. The next part is the formal categories, including the date of broadcasting, the time of broadcasting, the length and placement of a unit and the broadcast. I concentrate on two days. Because the investigations were running intensely, reporting even between these two days may differ. Therefore I am collecting the date of every unit. The time of broadcasting has at first sight little relevance to media content, but it is relevant in terms of implications on possible effects on the audience. Broadcasts in the evening, for example, are watched by a bigger audience. Therefore they can be more important for drawing conclusions. The length as well as the placement of a unit allows drawing conclusions on how important the topic is regarded. To see possible differences between the broadcasts, I collect data regarding this category. Furthermore the broadcasts can be accounted to one or several genres (e.g. news or advisory). The genre in which a unit is broadcasted tells me in which more general context the events are dealt with and whether one or several genres overweigh.

The most important part is the one with the categories with regard to content. There are three main sections within this part. The first section concerns the topics of the report, the second the interviewed persons and the third the tone of the unit. To identify what the reports mainly deal with I include the section topic within the category system. The sections concerning

topics and interviewed persons both have a hierarchical structure. For some categories one level is sufficient, but for other ones it is more interesting to get more detailed information. Therefore categories on a first, second or third level are included. Figure II shows an extract from the category system of the code book from the section regarding the topic of the unit as an example. “Cultural differences” is a first-level-category. This means if the report deals with cultural differences in a general way, the code 300 will be given. In regards to the research question it is interesting what specific cultural differences are discussed. Therefore two second-level-categories are included: “gender roles” and “other”. In case gender roles are discussed the code 310 will be given; in case another specific aspect of cultural differences is discussed this will be defined by the coder (open format). For example in case the report deals with the cultural differences concerning food and eating habits, the coder would write “food and eating habits” instead of a numeral code. The second-level-category “gender roles” is furthermore fanned out through four third-level-categories (with the codes 311 to 313 and one open format). The lower the hierarchy the more precise and detailed the information. The coder must always use the most precise hierarchy-level as possible, according to what information is given in the unit.

300	cultural differences The report deals with cultural differences.
310	gender roles
311	women’s role and/or image
312	men’s role and/or image
313	gender equality
—	other [open format]
—	other [open format]

Figure II: Extract from the category system in the code book: “cultural differences”

Furthermore, the sections concerning topics and interviewed persons include follow-up-categories for certain categories. For example if the coder codes the second-level-category “responsibility” the category system gives the instruction to proceed with the follow-up-category “res1-res3” (see figure III). The follow-up-category is held in a separate table under the table for “topic”. For “res1-res3” the persons or groups to which the responsibility that the assaults could happen is accredited, is coded.

140	responsibility	→ proceed with res1-res3
	The report deals with who is responsible that the assaults could happen. This includes a partly responsibility as well, for example the inability of the police to protect the victims.	

res1- res3	responsibility that assaults could happen accredited to	
	Up to three accreditations are collected.	
100	politics	
...	...	

Figure III: Extract from the category system in the code book: second-level-category “responsibility” and follow-up-category “res1-res3”

In this thesis I will refer to first-, second-, third-level- and follow-up-categories. When I refer to, for example categories of all levels concerning “cultural differences” I will call them the category group “cultural differences”. The latter term consequently concerns all categories presented in figure II.

The section concerning topics includes categories for cultural differences as well as for other topics. Overall, I include 32 categories structured thematically in 8 first-level-categories. One broadcast can include several topics. To identify the most important ones, up to three topics are coded, same applies to the responsibility- and non-responsibility-categories. The order of the topics plays an important role in the analysis. The order is according to how extensive the topic is discussed. The topic that is discussed longest will be coded as the first one (topic 1), then the second-longest (topic 2) and the third as last (topic 3). If several topics are discussed approximately to the same extent, the topic that comes up first will be coded first.

The included topics are interesting in regards to the research question. In case that, for example, politics are discussed to a wider extent, this also tells something about the (lesser) importance of cultural differences in the discussion. The category group “cultural differences” furthermore helps to find results regarding the possible perception of the Other as backward (in terms of values, etc.) which would be part of an Orientalist view as I explained in chapter 1. Some categories have an open format, especially those regarding the cultural differences and the responsibility for the assaults. Even if some cultures are only pointed out rarely, I want to cover this category as precise as possible. The follow-up-categories concerning the responsibility or

non-responsibility are of interest because in case that reasons are seen rather external (coming from outside of Germany) than internal, this tells something about the perspective on cultural differences as well. While referring to the perpetrators or victims (second-level-categories), the follow-up-category “imagery” is of special interest. I analyse whether groups of people or single persons are shown. This category is especially interesting in terms of the Orientalist motive of generalization. If bigger groups are shown in relation to talking about the perpetrators, this can create the impression that the incident refers to for example a whole culture or nation, rather than to single criminal subjects. Furthermore, there can be an imbalance, if victims are shown more as single persons and perpetrators as a whole group. In this case the impression of threat and being powerless would be enhanced.

The second section concerns the coding of interviewed persons. I am interested in seeing what people, belonging to which social, cultural or politic group are included in the reporting, especially in regards to the Orientalist passive character of the Other. To what extent do the groups that are talked about have a chance to speak for themselves? I identify whether persons are being interviewed in the unit through the dichotomous category “interviewed person”. If that is the case, coding proceeds with the category “interviewee”, which gives information about what social group the interviewees belong to. I differentiate between the actors that are relevant in the discussion about the assaults in Cologne, which are the first-level-categories politicians, members of the police, experts, journalists, feminists, citizens, refugees, Pegida-members and other (to summarize the ones who do not belong to any of the other categories). Some of these also include second-level-categories. Through this I am able to identify which actors are most referred to or given word to, respectively. Nationality plays an important role in the discussion, as well as the question of integration. Therefore the follow-up-category nationality, including a migration background of the interviewees is coded as well. The nations include the ones that are most being referred to as I could judge from looking at a part of the material. Turkish nationality is included especially in regards to the German history of migration during the 1960s and 1970s. Turkish interviewees may present a “good example” of integration and dealing with foreign and Islamic cultures. Again the first-level-category “other” is held in an open format to be able to differentiate even between small groups. Although religion can be of interest as well, it is not included in the category system because interviewees are almost never declared with their denomination. I include the dichotomous follow-up-category “veil” because the veil functions as a symbol not only of Islam in general, but it often has a negative connotation, such as being linked to backwardness and women’s oppression. Depending on the content of the report and the interviewee’s statement, the veil can function as a reinforcement of Orientalism or as Practical De-Orientalism by talking about liberal values or gender equality, for instance. Again

one broadcast can include several interviewees. Similar to the procedure concerning the topics, to identify the most important ones, up to three interviewees are coded and their order depends on which one was given word to the longest, second- and finally third-longest.

The last section concerns the tone of a unit. Although I expect most reports to have a negative tone, because they deal with criminal acts, I want to differentiate whether reports have a constructive tone (aiming for an improvement of the situation) or are simply admonishing the situation. In relation to the discussion about cultural differences, this can be a sign whether these differences are seen as static or if the Other is believed to be able for development.

For each unit the coder codes the identification categories; the formal ones and the categories regarding the content, including the topics, the interviewed persons and the tone of the unit. For a better understanding the reader can find an overview over the structure of the coding procedure in the appendix (appendix II).

In the next chapter I present the results from the content and the qualitative analysis and put them in relation to the theoretical framework.

Chapter 3: Results

In this chapter I explain and interpret the results that I gained from the material. In the first part I elaborate on the results from the content analysis regarding the topics, interviewees, the tone of the media reporting and the formal categories. I go on explaining the observations I made through the qualitative analysis and put them in relation to the results from the content analysis. In the last part I discuss whether one can speak of Practical Orientalism in terms of the media coverage in relation to the sexual assaults in Cologne of ZDF.

3.1. Topics

In the following I analyse the data that I collected from the material regarding the topics. I start by giving an overview of the topics that came up in general, followed by an analysis of the topics that were coded first, second and third. Thereafter I elaborate on the follow-up-categories for “(potential) perpetrators”, “victims”, “responsibility” and “non-responsibility”.

Topics

For each unit up to three topics were identified. Within the 63 units 152 topics were collected. To see which topics were more prominent and therefore given more importance to in the reports I analyse the structure of the first, second and third topic separately. The topic coded first was the most prominent one in the coding unit, followed by the second prominent and the third. A total number of 63 were coded as first topic, 56 as second and 33 as third. As I include many categories in the content analysis it would be too extensive to present all findings in the present thesis. From the 32 topic-categories included in the code book, 23 were at least coded one time and at least one first-, second- or third-level-category of each of the 8 category groups was identified. I want to stress the most important results in regards to the research question and theme. Figure IV (page 35) shows the percentages of four topics. “Cultural differences” and “gender issues” are category groups concerning first-, second- and third-level-categories. “(Potential) perpetrators” is a second-level-category, which belongs to the first-level-category “assaults in Cologne”. “Refugee deportation” is a second-level-category as well, and it belongs to the first-level-category “consequences”. The figure shows the percentages of the categories for all topics (with topic 1-3 included) and the extents for topic 1, 2 and 3 separately. Overall there is a great dispersion of the topics, since the highest percentage of one topic-category in this sample is

13.82 %. Consequently one cannot speak of a significant dominance of one topic. Instead many small ones contributed to the discussion. Nevertheless it is interesting to see which ones were the most dominant in the reporting. The blue bar (all topics) in the diagram gives the percentage of all topics, no matter if they were first, second or third. “Refugee deportation” was the most frequent topic with 13.82 % of all topics counted together, but “(potential) perpetrators” (11.84 %) came up often as well. Very rarely discussed were topics concerned with sexism (gender issues) with 6.58 % and topics concerned with cultural differences with a result of 2.63 % in summary. In regards to the research question, I want to explain what the cultural differences category group consisted of. The percentage of 2.63 % constitutes of “cultural differences regarding gender roles” with 0.66 % of all topics and “cultural differences regarding gender equality” with 1.97 % of all topics. These are the only cultural differences the reports referred to, since I include a category concerning cultural differences with an open format to be able to identify every possible issue that was addressed in these terms. Furthermore no results came up for the third-level-categories “women’s role and/or image” and “men’s role and/or image”.

The orange, grey and yellow bars in the diagram show the percentages of the topics of all first, second or third coded topics. This means that for example “refugee deportation” made 15.87 % of all the topics which were coded as first topic (referred to most extensively in a unit), 17.86 % of all topics which were coded as second topic (referred to second-most extensively in a unit) and 3.03 % of all topics which were coded as third topic (referred to third-most extensively in a unit). Most important to conclude from these samples is that “refugee deportation” is more frequent in topic 1 and 2, while “(potential) perpetrators” are mostly discussed as third topic. The category group “cultural differences” was also more prominent as last topic.

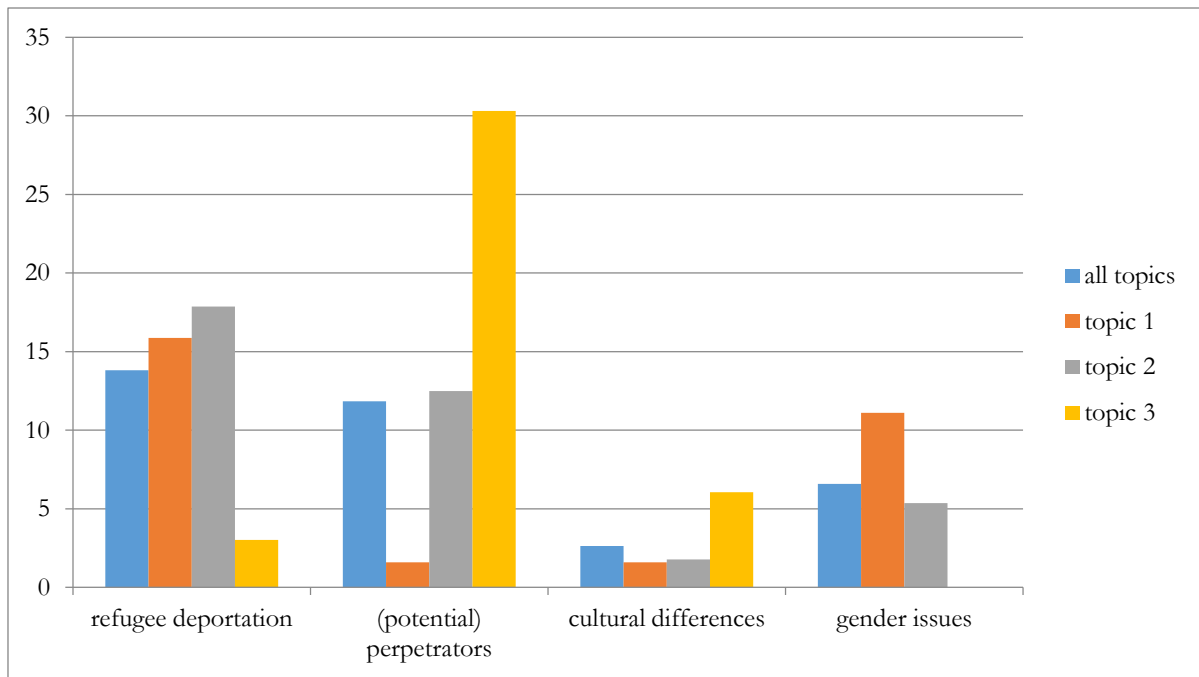


Figure IV: Percentage of selected categories in general topic-sample

Looking at all topics already from this point it seems that the discussion is very less about the assaults itself (what happened) or the reasons for it. Before seeing the results I expected that after such a short time after the event (7 or 8 days respectively) the events in itself and the reasons would be the centre of the public (medial) discussion. This discussion could consist of questions regarding cultural differences and problems in regards to immigrants and refugees, due to the fact that many suspects were from other cultures than Germany or Europe was mentioned several times. Furthermore, I would have seen this event as a cause to discuss gender issues in general. I understand that the latter might not have been the centre of discussion if most potential perpetrators came from a specific cultural environment and the assumption that this form of violent sexism was culture-related is understandable. Nevertheless, it could have been an opportunity to reintroduce a discussion about sexism in Germany. First the victims of this specific event could have been discussed more or given a more prominent place in the reporting. This discussion could have developed on a more general level, to discuss social evils in terms of sexism in Germany. Moving on to the facts, the results show a different image.

Causes are mainly discussed in terms of why the police was not able to get the situation under control, as we will see in the section on the follow-up-category “responsibility”. But this does not deal with the reasons at core, speaking why so many men assaulted women, only why the police could not protect the women. Reporting about the assaults in Cologne started 4 January 2016. It is possible that the reasons were more discussed between 4 and 6 January. If that

is the case, however the discussion did not rest long on the reasons, but moved on to the consequences very quickly instead. The whole category group concerning the consequences is not visible in the diagram, but looking at all categories within this group (including refugee deportation), “consequences” make an extensive part of the discussion with 34.21 % of all topics. But many things at that point were still unclear, which I see as very problematic. Generally speaking the consequences that are decided on without even knowing the whole sequence of events or having investigated the reasons are at a higher risk to be the wrong ones, not solving the problem at its core. To implement new rules for refugee deportation as demanded and announced to be realised by politicians may not be the solution, if it is unclear whether the perpetrators were refugees. To discuss the reasons, in my view, would have been to discuss sexism in Germany (regardless of culture) and to discuss cultural issues in relation to sexism, but these are least represented in the reporting.

Of course this has an influence on the following elaboration regarding Orientalism in media coverage about the events in Cologne. Because the material regarding cultural differences is so scarce, it is more difficult to draw conclusions. The conclusions I can make derive rather from the absence of reports regarding cultural issues than the content of it. One could argue that because topics concerned with cultural differences did not come up often, they were not seen as the reason or problem of the assaults, speaking it did not even come to mind that cultural differences could have been a reason. But why then did politicians immediately jump to discussing stricter rules for the deportation of refugees? The police and politics were harshly criticised (therefore the relatively high percentage of the first-level-category “information of public about the event” of 11.18 % in the sample) for allegedly intentionally holding back the information that most of the suspects were refugees and immigrants, because it was seen as too problematic. Obviously, one is aware that culture is a major issue, but it is not discussed in media. Gender issues are not discussed often either, but if they are, they are put in the centre of a report, as can be seen, that these topics come up mostly as topic 1. Opposed to that “(potential) perpetrators” a topic that could be a link to a discussion about cultural differences if the persons’ background was discussed more thoroughly than just mentioning it, is discussed as second or third topic. Although looking at the overall percentage it seems as if the perpetrators were discussed thoroughly, it comes to light that this topic is rather mentioned on the side instead of being intensely discussed.

Topics Regarding Cultural Issues

To be able to make some conclusions for how Orientalism may be implemented in the content of the reports, I extracted a sample from the data that is relevant to cultural issues in order to see what themes come up within this section. In the following I refer to this as the cultural issues-sample and to the sample concerning all material that I included in the content analysis as the general sample. The cultural issues-sample consists of a part of the material from the general sample. With the term cultural issues I mostly aim for the differences regarded between the German or Western and the Other's culture, especially in terms of sexism considering the sexual assaults as the event of interest. The sample therefore consists of several topics. "Responsibility" is only of relevance if its follow-up-category "res1-res3" is coded as "cultural differences". The same applies to "non-responsibility". Nevertheless, it is important to note that within the results of this sample these two topics can still deal with non-cultural issues, because they can be included in a unit together with a cultural issues-relevant topic. If for example the first-level-category "cultural differences" came up as one topic therefore being included in the sample, but the second-level-category "responsibility" linked to the police (coded with the follow-up-category) is included in the same unit as a topic. Naturally the category group "cultural differences" is included, as well as all categories belonging to "refugee crisis", "refugee deportation", "consequences for integration" and all categories concerning the criminality of immigrants and asylum seekers (in general or of a specific nationality). "(Potential) perpetrators" are not included, because in this case the report deals with the perpetrators' actions, not mainly with their cultural background. Although the consequences for "refugee deportation" and "integration" operate more on a political level, one can still expect that the Other (refugees for this topic) is included in the discussion. This results in a sample of 33 coded units, including 79 topics overall, with 33 coded as topic 1, 29 as topic 2 and 17 as topic 3.

Figure V shows again the four above discussed topics in their percentage overall and within the first, second and third coded topics separately.

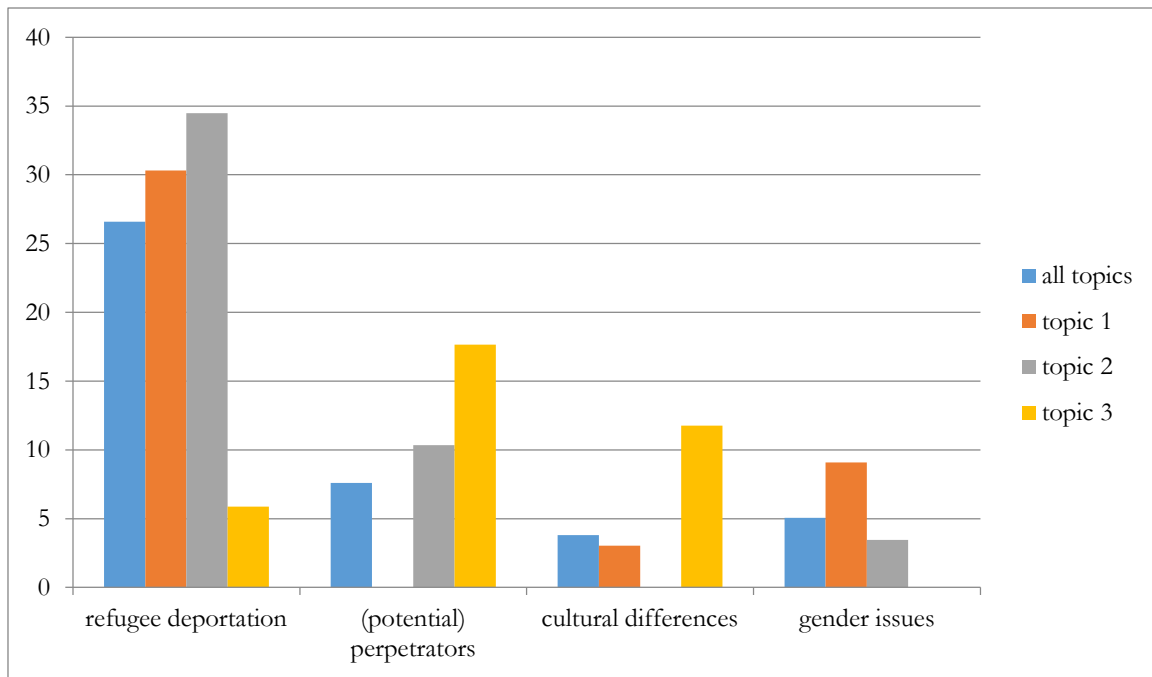


Figure V: Percentage of selected categories in cultural issues-sample

Again, “refugee deportation” (26.58 %) is the most frequent topic, being dominant as first topic (30.30 % of all first topics) and second (34.48 % of all second topics), less as third (5.88 % of all third topics). “(Potential) perpetrators” were discussed moderately often (7.59 % of all topics), but never as first, instead mostly as third (17.65 %) or second topic (10.34 %). Again “cultural differences” are very rare. The category group makes 3.80 % of all topics and is most dominant as third topic (11.76 %).

Consequently, the cultural issues-sample resembles the general one very much. “Refugee deportation” is dominant in the discussion. Opposed to that “(potential) perpetrators” are less represented in the cultural issues-sample than in the general one, but again mostly discussed as third topics. Therefore the perpetrators are even given less importance. A difference from the general sample is that in the cultural issues-sample, criminality of immigrants is given more attention to. “Criminality of North African immigrants and asylum seekers” is represented more than in the general sample (6.33 % of all topics) but also mostly as topic 3 (17.65 % of topic 3). Therefore similar to “(potential) perpetrators” it was given few importance, being only mentioned instead of discussed. As I explained in the beginning of this section, not only “cultural differences” are relevant to the cultural issues-sample, but other topics as well, such as “refugee deportation”. Regarding the category group “cultural differences” one can say that it was also rather mentioned than dealt with thoroughly. The topic structure resembles the one of the general sample in most terms. Consequently, I cannot speak of a significant difference. This

means that the lack of addressing cultural differences in the discussion cannot be explained by the fact that the reporting was dominated by topics concerning the police and politics.

To see whether the topic structure differs if topics relevant for cultural issues are more prominent within the unit, I excluded the units in which only a cultural issues-relevant topic came up as third, leaving me with 26 units and 59 topics. The results however are very similar to the ones before.

(Potential) Perpetrators

In case the potential or definite perpetrators are discussed (in 29 of the coding units), I coded two follow-up-categories, one concerned with the imagery shown while talking about the persons and one with the group (national, religious, etc.) referred to. I am interested in conclusions regarding a possible generalization and to find out who is actually talked about as the Other. For the follow-up-category “imagery” in 66.67 % of the cases in which the topic was “(potential) perpetrators” the imagery was accounted to “other”, but in 33.33 % a group with more than 10 mostly male persons was shown. Those were mostly YouTube-clips from the night in Cologne showing a big and chaotic crowd mainly with men. Illustration I shows an example of a still from such a YouTube-clip as it was broadcasted on ZDF. Although many people especially in the background are unrecognizable, the ones in the foreground are mostly male. I elaborate more on the images from YouTube in the qualitative part. In part “other” was coded so often also because the clips from the night in Cologne are shown very shortly while the major part is other imagery, such as an interviewee for example.



Illustration I: Still from YouTube-clip shown in ZDF heute journal on 11 January 2016⁹²

Figure VI shows a diagram of the groups referred to while talking about the (potential) perpetrators. Concerning this second follow-up-category; there are two groups to be pointed out while referring to “(potential) perpetrators”. One group is “refugees”, with the category group being referred to in 48.28 % of the cases. The second major group belongs to North Africa. The first-level-categories “North African”, “Arabian” and the ones identified in open format as “Algerian”, “Moroccan” and “Maghreb” counted together result in 44.82 %. Consequently the Other in the case of the medial discussion about the assaults in Cologne is North Africans and refugees. I want to point out that distinctions between countries are made, naming not always a whole region of a continent, but specific countries. This is a sign that cultures and groups are not generalized to the same degree. Opposed to that stands the naming of refugees. Since refugees come from many different countries, the Other still includes many nationalities and cultures and opportunity for generalization is given.

⁹² *Übergriffe in arabischen Ländern*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2644050/%C3%9Cbergriffe-in-arabischen-L%C3%A4ndern>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

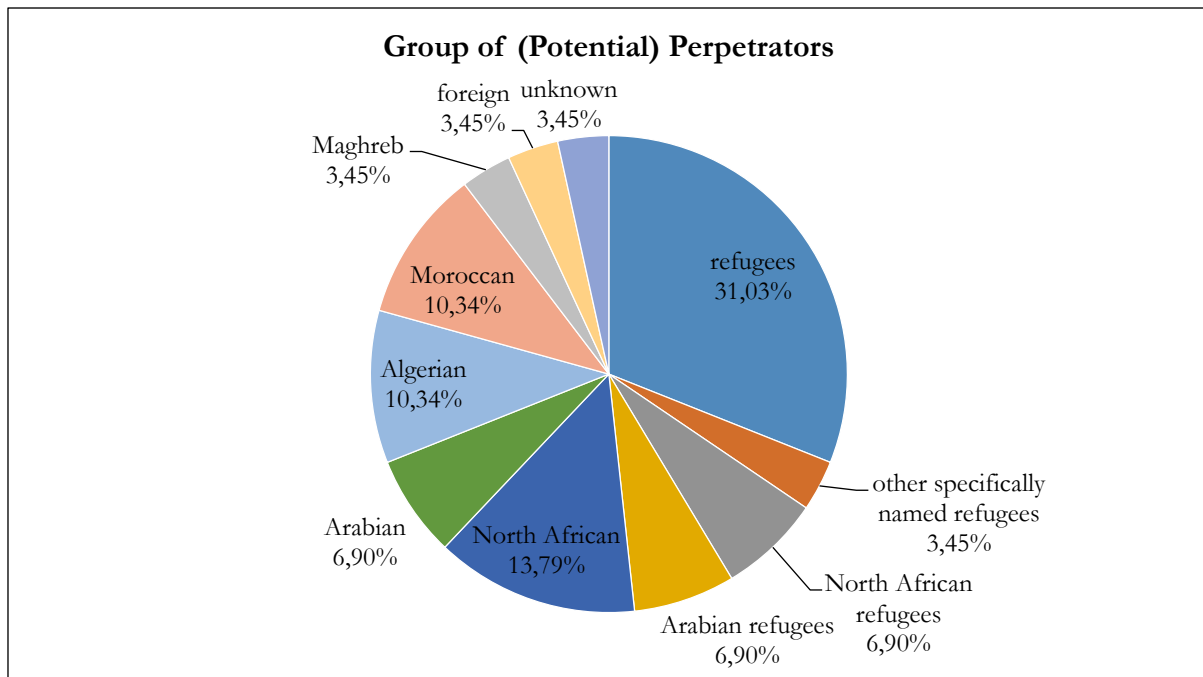


Figure VI: Group of (potential) perpetrators

Victims

In case the victims of the assaults were discussed, I coded the follow-up-category “imagery”, as I did for the perpetrators. Victims would come up as a topic if their experiences and the way they felt would be discussed. The category also includes the victims’ identity, speaking who they are, although this is not discussed in the material I analyse. Only once the victims were coded as a topic. In this case a group with up to ten female persons was shown. I cannot make conclusions from one example, but I want to make an assumption about a possible effect due to the lack of victims discussed. A possibility is that the viewer sees her- or himself or a family member as a potential victim (“What if I would have been there? What if something like this happens to me in my city?”) or knows someone who became a victim. Consequently, the role of the victim would be much more graspable and easy to identify with. In this case the viewer, as a single person, would be confronted with a crowd of unidentifiable perpetrators. The perpetrators, which at that point were not identified only suspected to be mostly refugees and immigrants in opposite appear always as a big anonymous crowd, without distinctive faces or personalities. This would correspond to the Orientalist motive of seeing the Other as dangerous or threatening (European fear of Islam). But not only in regards to Orientalism, this issue is of interest. What happened to the victims, how they felt, why sexism still exists in Germany, appears not to be important in the public discourse.

Responsibility and Non-Responsibility

The follow-up-category “res1-res3” showed that the responsibility, with a total number of 16 units, is almost only discussed in regards to the responsibility of the “police” (75 %). The police of course is not seen as the reason for the criminal acts, but it is criticised for their inability to get the situation under control and to protect the women. Each mentioned once were the “single perpetrators”, “cultural differences”, “cultural differences between German culture and Islamic culture” and “German politics”. Figure VII shows the results of this follow-up-category. The massive overweigh of the police being discussed is also influenced by the critic for misinformation from the police. The first press release speaks of a mostly peaceful night⁹³, and in the reporting the suspicion that information about the perpetrators’ origin or that they possibly are refugees was intentionally held back, because the issue would be too problematic, came up. As a consequence, the police president was discharged.

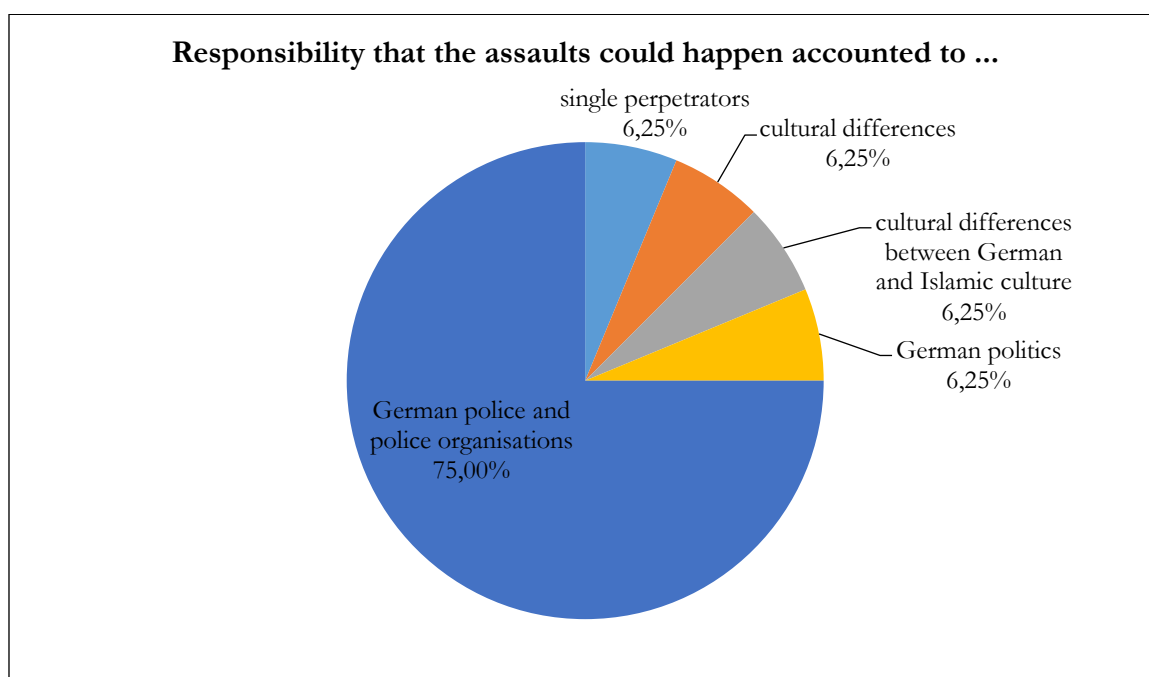


Figure VII: Accounted responsibility for the assaults

Only four times it is explicitly pointed out that someone or something was not responsible that the assaults in Cologne could happen. The follow-up-category “nor1-nor3” showed that in three

⁹³ Polizeipräsidium Köln, POL-K: 160101-1-K/LEV *Ausgelassene Stimmung - Feiern weitgehend friedlich*, [website], 2016, <http://www.presseportal.de/blaulicht/pm/12415/3214905>, (accessed 28 March 2016).

of these cases cultural issues were declared as not responsible (two times “cultural differences”, once “cultural differences between German culture and refugees in general”). From such a small number I cannot make assumptions but there is at least a tendency to declare that cultural differences were not the reason. Overall the question of the reason for the assaults was rather avoided. Instead the public discourse concentrated on problems of the police.

3.2. Interviewed Person

In the following I analyse the data that I collected from the material regarding the interviewees included in the reports. I start by giving an overview in general, followed by an analysis of the interviewees included in the reports relevant for cultural issues.

Interviewees in the General Sample

I identified up to three interviewees in terms of the group they belong to, for example members of the police, politicians, experts, refugees, citizens and so forth. In 61 of the coding units at least one interviewee was included and 129 interviewees overall. Figure VIII shows which types of interviewees were included in the reporting. The structure of the category “interviewee” is adequate to the topic-structure. Because most topics deal with the police or politics, it is understandable that most interviewees are members of the police (31.78 %) and politicians (all parties counted together 27.13 %). Again this shows that the event was more taken as an opportunity to criticise police and politics, but the chance to discuss cultural differences, stereotypes, the refugee crisis, right movements and gender issues was not taken, because interviewees belonging to these groups were scarcely included or not at all, for example only one refugee (0.78 %) was coded as first, second or third interviewee.

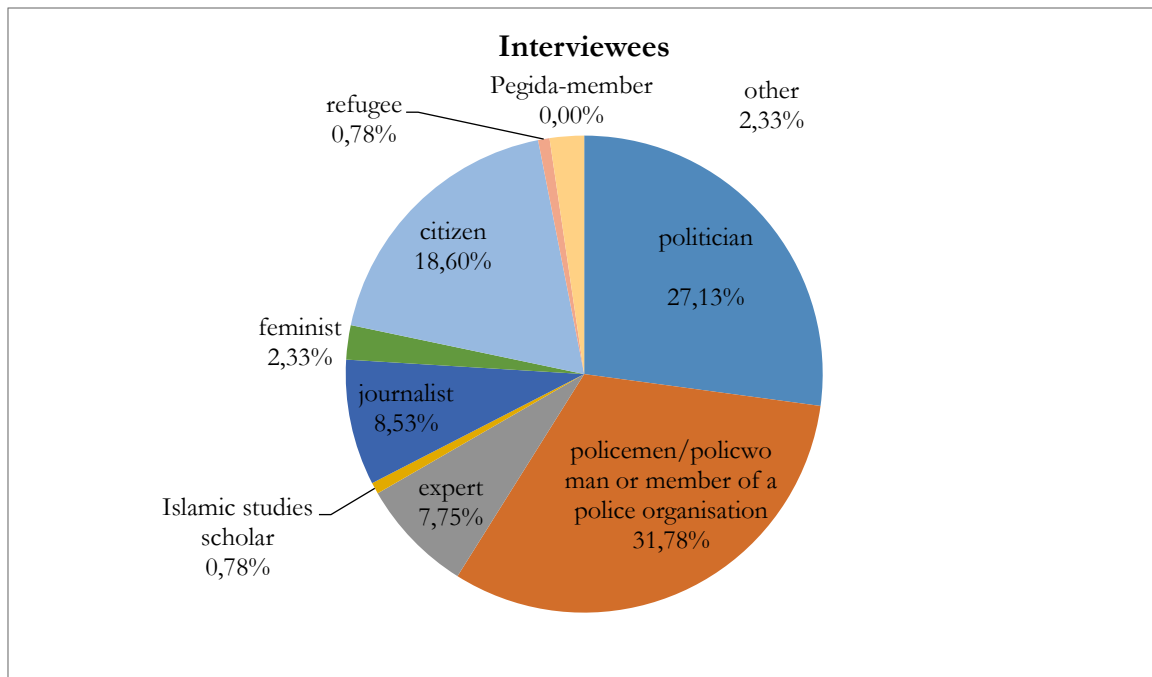


Figure VIII: Interviewees

Besides the group the interviewee belongs to I also coded the nationality and whether the interviewee was wearing a veil as follow-up-categories. 96.12 % were German, two persons (1.55 %) declared that they were German with a migration background, one person was British and one was Italian (0.78 % each) and for one interviewee the nationality was unclear. In 99.22 % of the cases the interviewees did not wear a veil, only in one case (0.78 %) the person wore one. I cannot put this category in relation to gender, since I did not measure how many interviewees were male and female. Nevertheless the percentage of persons not wearing a veil is extremely low. In conclusion the Other is practically never interviewed, with most interviewees being German and mainly either politicians or members of the police. This already speaks for Orientalism in terms of giving the Other a passive role. But since the focus of the media coverage lay not only on the responsibility of the police, but also on refugee deportation, I want to take a closer look at the cultural issues-sample as I did for the topics.

Interviewees in the Cultural Issues-Sample

There are some differences between the general sample and the two cultural issues-samples, but they do not have any significance in regards to the research question. Important although are the similarities. Looking at the sample with cultural issues-relevant topics in topic 1 to topic 3 with a number of 62 interviewees, 95.16 % were German and none was wearing a veil. Regarding the

sample with cultural issues-relevant themes in topic 1 to topic 2, even all interviewees were German.

In summary I state that the Other as an active speaker does not exist in the reporting. Overall only one refugee was included. Although there may have been more, those refugees were interviewed so scarcely that they did not appear in the order of first, second and third interviewee. No North African was given word, while almost everyone was German and not wearing a veil. Cultural differences were not really part of the discussion, mostly politics. I conclude that the Other is given a passive role in this context which represents an Orientalist motive – the West as active and the Orient as passive.

3.3. Tone

Throughout all 63 coding units I identified whether their tone was admonitory, constructive, balanced or neutral. Admonitory means that the overweighing part of the report has a warning tone, mostly complaining without giving suggestions for change or improvement. One example is an interview with the feminist Anne Wizorek who criticizes how the discussion about sexual violence is related to stereotypes concerning immigrants. She also makes a suggestion for improvement for the education of children in terms of gender roles, but this makes only a very small part of the interview.⁹⁴ Therefore it is admonitory. Constructive means that the overweighing part of the report gives suggestions for improvement. An example for this is the quotes from Chancellor Angela Merkel and CSU-politician Horst Seehofer, speaking about consequences in terms of refugee deportation.⁹⁵ The deportation of criminal refugees is supposed to solve the problem of criminality of asylum seekers. Therefore, it is constructive in that sense that it is an implication on how to improve the situation. Balanced means that both constructive and admonitory connotations come through in one unit and none overweighs the other. A unit is neutral if the report has an objective tone, mostly giving facts.

The general sample mostly has an admonitory tone (57.14 %), but a significant part is balanced (22.22 %). A neutral tone comes across less often (11.11 %) and the least units are coded as constructive (9.52 %). Again, I looked at the samples relevant for cultural issues to see if

⁹⁴ "Sexismus differenziert angehen", [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2640602/Sexismus-differenziert-angehen%22>, (accessed 13 April 2016).

⁹⁵ *heute+ vom 07. Januar 2016*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2638726/heute+-vom-07-Januar-2016---Stream>, (accessed 13 April 2016).

they differ from the whole sample. Within the units with topic 1 to topic 3, admonitory again made the biggest part with 42.42 % and balanced the second biggest with 33.33 %, although the percentages now are closer to each other. In opposite to the general sample, a constructive tone (15.15 %) was coded more than a neutral one (9.09 %). Regarding the smaller sample with only having cultural issues-relevant topics as first or second topic, a balanced tone dominated the sample with 42.81 %, followed by admonitory (26.92 %), constructive (19.23 %) and finally neutral (11.54 %). Figures IX to XI show the results for the tone of the reporting for the described samples.

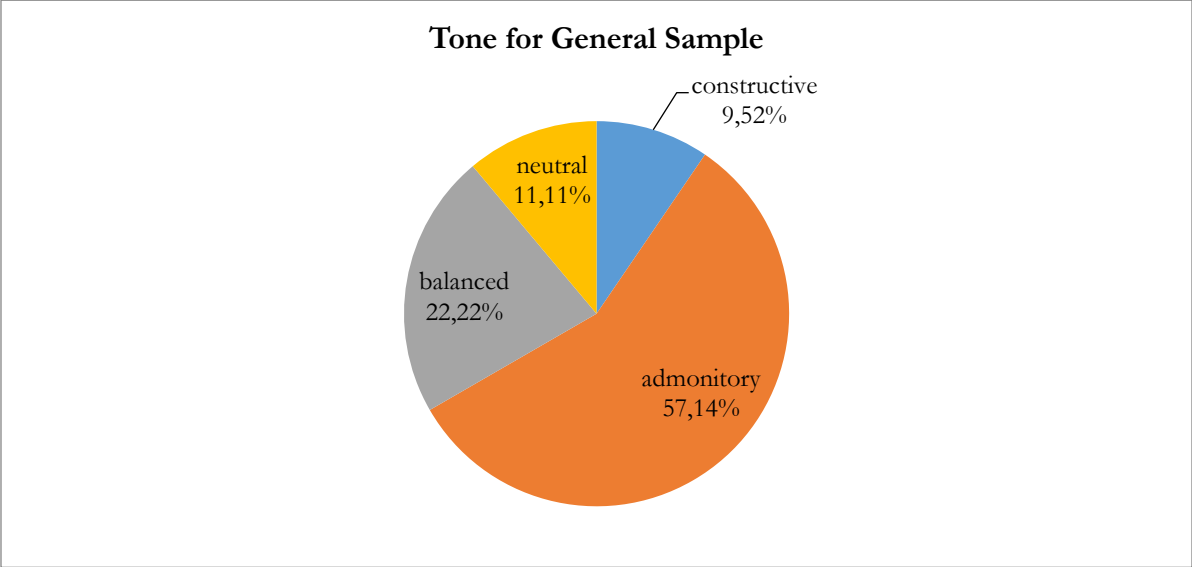


Figure IX: Tone for general sample

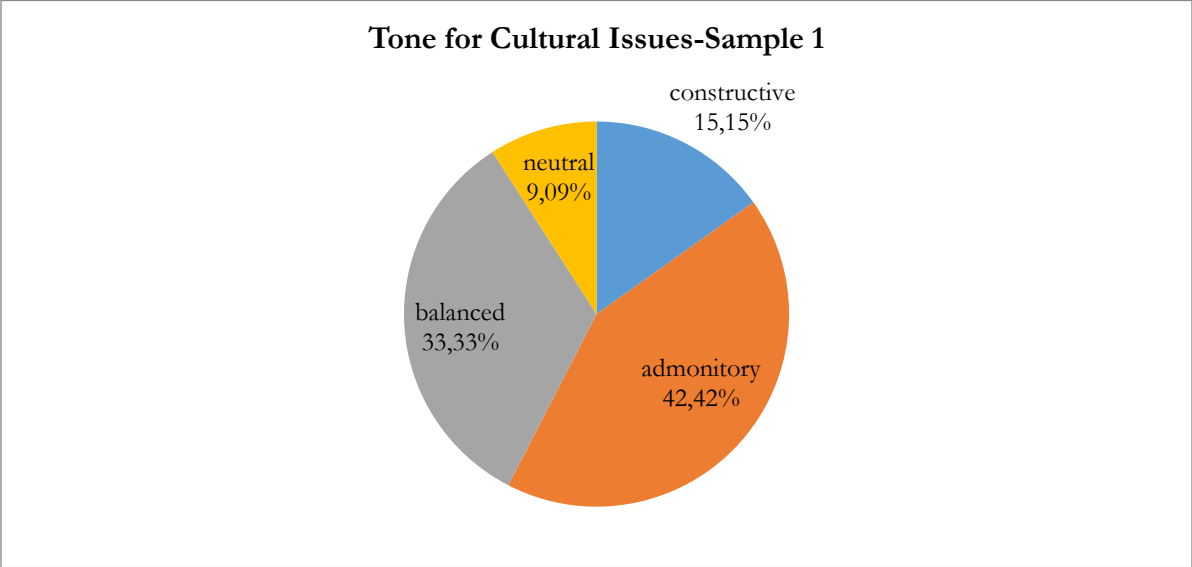


Figure X: Tone for cultural issues-sample 1 (topics relevant for cultural issues coded as topic 1, 2 or 3)

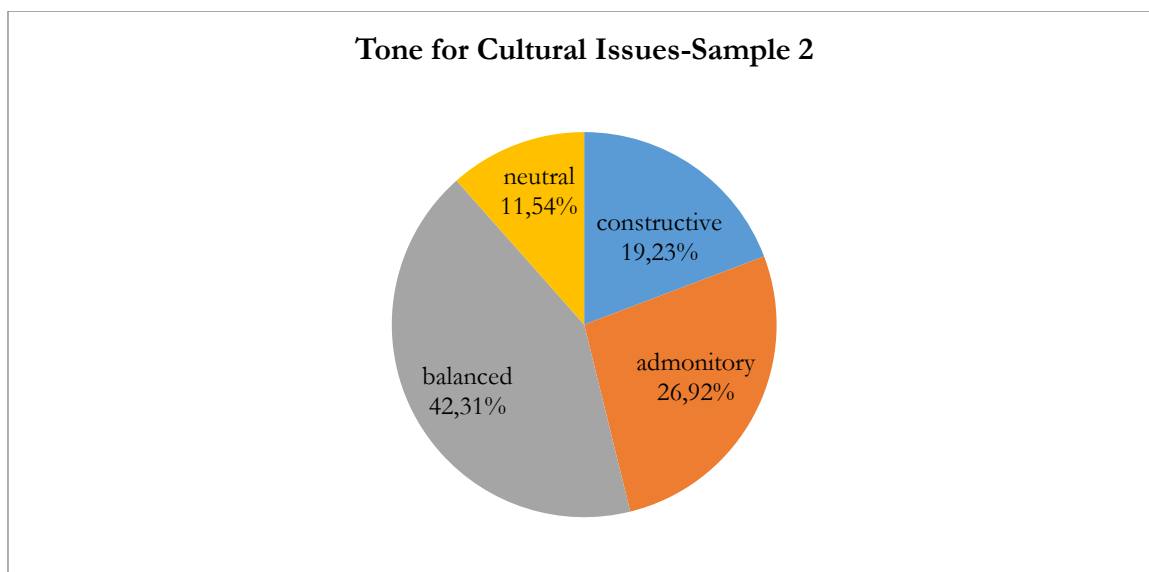


Figure XI: Tone for cultural issues-sample 2 (topics relevant for cultural issues coded as topic 1 or 2)

As a conclusion, the tone becomes more balanced when it comes to topics relevant to cultural issues. Constructive becomes more dominant as well, although this derives also from refugee deportation being a major topic. Often these reports are coded as constructive because they inherit implications from the assaults and are at least supposed to solve a problem, but this of course is not constructive in the sense of integrating the Other. Throughout all samples an admonitory tone was very present. The purpose to include this category is to make conclusions whether the Other is seen as static (tone would have been admonitory) or being able to develop (tone would have been constructive). It seems that none of these attributes can be accounted to the Other from the tone of the unit, because they are neither clearly admonitory, nor constructive. In opposite, the closer I look at the material more concerned with cultural issues, the more balanced the tone becomes. This speaks more for a considerate dealing with the discussion, paying attention to problems that exist and must be pointed out and to improvements or implications from the situation. Therefore, this category does not speak for Orientalist views being implemented in the material.

3.4. Formal Categories

I identify some formal categories in order to see whether there are differences between days, times of broadcasting and more. I consider the day and time of broadcasting, the average length of a coding unit, the placement of a topic and the specific broadcast that the report is published in as factors to take a closer look at. In most terms these formal categories did not give important results regarding Orientalism and the research question, sometimes due to the lack of material or information – calculations regarding averages and standard deviations are not possible if only one unit exists for one topic or categories such as the placement within a broadcast are sometimes impossible to identify. In the following I give a short explanation of the significant results concerning these categories.

As well as the order of topics, the length of units gives a hint of how important a topic is considered. Since I include up to three topics from one unit, I cannot precisely say which topic was given which length. Topic 1 was the most discussed one within a report; therefore the length is always accounted to the first topic. The average length of each topic, as well as the standard deviation is calculated to see whether the units concerning one topic varied more or less in their length. The topics discussed the longest were the first-level-category “gender issues” with an average length of 6:08 min and the second-level-category “cultural differences regarding gender roles” (one unit with a length of 4:58 min). But “gender issues” also has a standard deviation of 5:36 min, which means that the length of the reports differs very much between each other, including short and long reports. Moderately long discussed was furthermore the second-level-category “violence against women” (average 3:58 min). In summary, “gender issues” and “cultural differences regarding gender roles” are discussed quite rarely, but when they are, the discussion is more thorough based on the length of the unit than with other topics. Therefore it seems as if gender and culture topics have a more prominent place in the discussion regarding Cologne as the findings suggested in the beginning. The results show an opposing tendency from the results of the analysis regarding the order of topics. “Cultural differences” did not seem to be important, because they were rarely coded as topic 1, 2 or 3, but from the length one gains the impression that although rarely in reporting, the topic was discussed relatively intense. Still, the results have to be considered carefully, since other topics were included in some units as well and the sample number within each topic is very small (ranging from 1 to 11).

Another factor that tells something about the importance given to a topic is its placement within a broadcast. Again, the first topic was taken into account and the average placement within a broadcast and the standard deviation was calculated. Since I could not identify the placement for all units, the number of the sample decreased to 47 units. A finding that is of

interest here is that the first-level-category “gender issues” is least prominent with an average placement within the broadcast of 4.33 and a standard deviation of 1.53. This speaks against the results concerning the average length, where “gender issues” seemed to be given more attention to.

At last, I differentiated between the broadcasts that the reports appeared in. Three broadcasts had the most units, which I took a closer look at: ZDF heute, a news broadcast, with 23.81 % of all units, morgenmagazin, a longer broadcast with a mix of news, advisory and culture, with 19.05 % and mittagsmagazin, which is very similar in its character to morgenmagazin, with 15.87 %. To point out from the topic structure regarding these three broadcasts is that morgen- and mittagsmagazin discussed the category groups “gender issues” and “cultural differences”, but not ZDF heute. Furthermore, ZDF heute’s reporting is much more one-dimensional with overall 8 topic-types included than morgenmagazin (18) and mittagsmagazin (13). However, it has to be mentioned, that the latter two broadcasts are much longer and therefore more able to include a greater diversity and intensity in their reporting. That “cultural differences” were not discussed in the news is not surprising, but it can be problematic. News is more concerned with events that have direct, graspable consequences, such as changes in the legal system or dismissals of executives of significant institutions. But I think it is very important to investigate reasons of social evils, and these reasons are much more latent. They are discussed more in for example culture-related broadcasts such as morgen- and mittagsmagazin. Since more people watch the news than these broadcasts, it is much harder to give these latent developments a more prominent place within media coverage.

Before proceeding to the qualitative observations on the material, I want to summarize the most important findings from the content analysis. Thematically the discussion concentrated on consequences from Cologne, not the reasons for it. Refugee deportation was a major issue in media coverage. Opposed to that it was less talked about the (potential) perpetrators and very scarcely about gender issues and cultural differences. To answer the research question – *Which cultural differences regarding the Other are being referred to in German public-service media reports in relation to the assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015 and in which way?* – the cultural differences which were discussed concerned gender roles and women’s role and image. The extensive discussion on how to deal with refugees and their deportation allows concluding that cultural differences were regarded as a cause for the assaults in Cologne. While talking about the (potential) perpetrators, the groups mostly referred to are refugees and North Africans. Therefore, the Other refers to these two groups in this thesis. Because refugee is a broad term which can include many different nationalities and cultures, opportunity for the Orientalist motive of the generalization of the

Other is given. In opposite to the perpetrators, the victims were almost never discussed. Their role seems to be unimportant. The responsibility was discussed in terms of problems of the police, but the reasons for the assaults remained untouched to a far extent. The Other was furthermore not integrated as interviewees. Most of them were politicians or members of the police and almost everyone was German. Consequently, I conclude from the results of the content analysis the Orientalist motive that the Other has a passive role (West as active and Orient as passive) in the media coverage in relation to the assaults in Cologne of ZDF. Furthermore, the quantitative analysis does not lead to an assumption that the Other was regarded as static and unable to develop from the tone of the material being constructive or admonitory, therefore not speaking for this Orientalist motive of backwardness of the Other. Therefore, I could find some of the themes from Said which I identify in the first chapter: West as active and Orient as passive and generalization of the Orient. I could not confirm the motive of backwardness of the Orient. Furthermore, the content analysis gave no results concerning the motives of the superiority of the West and the inferiority of the East, the natural truth of the Western perspective and the European fear of Islam.

In the following qualitative analysis I am discussing further whether these Orientalist motives are implemented in the media coverage.

3.5. Qualitative Analysis

So far the material more gave signs of Orientalism through the absence of discussion about the Other, mostly by not addressing cultural differences, but demanding consequences for refugee deportation and not giving an active role to the Other by not letting them speak for themselves. However as I explained in chapter 2, content analysis loses a lot of information by reducing it to categories, especially what can be read between the lines. In the following, I elaborate on some of the issues that the content analysis does not cover. I call this section “qualitative analysis”, but I want to point out, that it is not a structured analysis. Rather, it is a summary of observations that I made while looking at the material. Consequently, most of the conclusions I make are based on my subjective interpretation, not on empirical proof. However, I will explain in detail how I come to certain assumptions. Furthermore, the analysis is not restricted to two days, but to all material from ZDF in relation to the assaults in Cologne that I could find in the online media centre. This may make comparisons between the quantitative and the qualitative analysis more difficult, but it was necessary to find enough material discussing cultural differences. The reports that I include in the qualitative part were broadcasted between 7 and 15 January 2016, besides one broadcast

from 8 March 2016. In the following, I go through some of the motives from Said's book that I presented in chapter 1 and discuss them in relation to the material.

Superiority and Inferiority

Regarding the discussion about refugees and immigrants, the West (in this case Germany) was already in a superior position from the start. Immigrants come to Germany and want something from it, to live and work there. Therefore, from the German perspective it is easier to judge over someone who comes to one's own territory. I can see the motive of superiority coming through in small inconspicuous formulations. It is a matter of interpretation, which got lost in the content analysis. I want to give an example by a quote from one report from the broadcast ZDF heute journal from 11 January 2016. The following is the translation from German into English of an extract from the spoken text as a voice-over by the journalist in the report.

Sexual assaults may not be Islam-specific. They exist in many cultures such as India or Pakistan. But especially in Arabic societies a traditional woman's image and experiences with violence within the family lead to assaults against women.⁹⁶

From the image by media reports and the impression in discussions with other people I think that there is a difference from Germany in regards to the oppression of women in many Arabic countries. This report shows an example of women having their clothes ripped off and being beat up on the Tahrir square in Cairo. Furthermore, people who are being interviewed in Cairo state that sexual violence against women is an existing issue. I do not want to deny the problems in for example Egypt, but in my perception the quote sounds as if Germany or the West did not have a problem with sexual assaults and violence against women and therefore understood itself as superior to Arabic countries. Especially by stating that sexual assaults were not a specifically Islamic issue, but then referring to two other culturally distant countries gives the impression, as if only the Other had this problem – to point it out more explicitly: "Anyone, but us". Furthermore it is a generalization to give one example (Cairo) and putting this image on all Arabic countries. I elaborate more on generalization in one of the following sections. It may be true that there are differences between Germany and Arabic countries, India and Pakistan, but violence against women is a problem that Germany is dealing with as well, not only since 31

⁹⁶ *Übergriffe in arabischen Ländern*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2644050/%C3%9Cbergriffe-in-arabischen-L%C3%A4ndern>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

Original spoken text: "Sexuelle Übergriffe sind zwar nichts Islam-spezifisches. Es gibt sie in vielen Kulturen wie Indien oder Pakistan. Doch besonders in arabischen Gesellschaften fördern ein traditionelles Frauenbild und Gewalterfahrungen in der Familie Übergriffe gegen Frauen."

December 2015. As I stated before, it is understandable to assume that there are cultural reasons for the sexual assaults in Cologne, because most suspects come from North Africa, but I would have wished for a more careful and detailed dealing with this topic. In my eyes it would have been a good way, to discuss the situation regarding sexism, sexual violence and gender roles in Germany as well as in Arabic countries and compare them.

Backwardness

As I explained in chapter 1, the superiority of the West and inferiority of the East comes through in other themes that I identified. The example above refers to backwardness as well. To me it gives the impression that sexual assaults are something strange to the German society, a little bit like talking about an exotic animal that one can find in Arabic countries, India and Pakistan. It seems as if the Other were still in an underdeveloped state, therefore backward. Again, it may be true that Germany has fewer problems with sexual assaults than the above mentioned cultures but it is not completely unknown. I am aware that this is a subjective interpretation. But by giving my personal view, I specifically want to demonstrate the difficulty to find Orientalism in empirical material. I am sure that many readers will not agree with my view on this and the following examples, but I am just as sure that a lot of other readers will understand and share my interpretation. How we perceive and understand media content is subjective. Therefore it is hard to state that Orientalism is definitely implemented in media content or not, but it is possible to find signs for it.

Another quote from the mentioned report furthermore underlines the impression of backwardness. It refers to a comparison between the sexual assaults in Cologne and sexual assaults and rapes on the Tahrir square in Cairo during the Arabic spring in 2011. Again the words are spoken as a voice-over by the journalist:

Cairo and Cologne have many things in common. Public place, big crowd, anonymity and insecure aggressive men. They come from traditional societies and have to find their way in a globalised world free from inhibitions.⁹⁷

In this context “traditional societies” can mean the same as backward societies. It can be understood that these men were out of their depths, because they still inherited inhibitions, which

⁹⁷ *Übergriffe in arabischen Ländern*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2644050/%C3%9Cbergriffe-in-arabischen-L%C3%A4ndern>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

Original spoken text: “Zwischen Kairo und Köln gibt es viele Gemeinsamkeiten. Öffentlicher Platz, große Menschenmenge, Anonymität und verunsicherte, aggressive Männer. Sie kommen aus traditionellen Gesellschaften und müssen sich in einer globalisierten, enthemmten Welt zurechtfinden.“

the Western world had freed itself from. Again I do not know what role possible inhibitions of Arabic countries play in terms of sexual violence. Consequently I cannot say how much truth lies in this statement. But similar to the example before assumptions on the backwardness of Arabic men (at least how I interpret it) is generalized on the whole Arabic culture.

West as Active and Orient as Passive

This motive could be identified already in the content analysis by recognizing that the Other (in this case refugees and North Africans) is underrepresented as interviewees in the reports. The migration background was included in the analysis as well, but this category is problematic. In Germany, per definition from the federal office for migration and refugees someone has a migration background when they migrated to Germany after 1949, if they are foreigners born in Germany or are born in Germany as Germans and have at least one parent that was born as a foreigner in Germany or migrated to Germany.⁹⁸ Many more interviewees may have had a migration background, but it was not clear to see. This is another problem in terms of the method of content analysis. One cannot judge from the appearance or from names whether a person comes from a different country, which would have been presumptuous. But in my view it is likely that the audience has certain stereotypes and images in their minds which would lead them to the assumption that an interviewee had a migration background although it was not coded like that in the content analysis. I want to give an example for how some people probably guess that an interviewee has a migration background. Illustration II shows the Islamic studies scholar Lamya Kaddor, who was interviewed in the broadcast *morgenmagazin* on 7 January 2016. Kaddor speaks perfect German, without any foreign accent. From the name the viewer could suggest that she has other origins than German, but theoretically she could also be married to someone with migration background. Furthermore, sometimes a name may not sound particularly German, but the family still has no foreign origins. In my opinion, from her appearance it is possible that she has maybe Turkish or North African origins, because of her dark hair and her skin tone. But of course this is by no means a clear proof. According to her website, Lamya Kaddor has in fact a migration background; she was born in Germany and has Syrian parents.⁹⁹

What importance does a possible migration background have in the context of this thesis? First of all, the conclusion from the content analysis about the passive character of the Other

⁹⁸ Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, *Migrationshintergrund (Definition)*, [website], 2016, <https://www.bamf.de/DE/Service/Left/Glossary/function/glossar.html?lv3=3198544>, (accessed 20 April 2016).

⁹⁹ L. Kaddor, *Über mich*, [website], 2016, <http://lamyakaddor.jimdo.com/%C3%BCber-mich/>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

most likely is not fully correct. I account Germans with a migration background to some extent to the Other. Therefore, they may be more represented in the media coverage as assumed, therefore having an active role in some parts, which would not speak for an Orientalist view as assumed from the results of the content analysis. Another possible interpretation is to see it as a sign that culture and Orientalism does not matter in the media coverage especially if more non-German experts are included as interviewees. I have the impression, and again this is my subjective view, that Oriental Orientalists – for example an Islamic studies scholar who comes from an Islamic oriented culture – inherit more credibility in their statements about the Other compared with a Western Orientalist. This is the case if they have on one hand the direct experiences and insights into the Other’s culture, but also show that they are integrated in the German culture – for example by speaking German fluently. In the example with Lamya Kaddor, the Oriental is also the Orientalist, who describes the Orient. The persons with migration background therefore play an important role in terms of Orientalism. Furthermore, it would be interesting to look closer at the specific statements the interviewees with migration background make. Do they confirm Orientalist views in their statements – for example do they state that most Arabic men were sexist? In this case a Practical Orientalism would be performed. If the Other as an interviewee did not confirm the Orientalist views, but prove them wrong, a Practical De-Orientalism would be performed.



Illustration II: Islamic studies scholar Lamya Kaddor in morgenmagazin on 7 January 2016¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ *Sexuelle Gewalt: "Gibt Koran nicht her"*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2640518/Sexuelle-Gewalt-Gibt-Koran-nicht-her%22>, (accessed 8 April 2016).

Generalization

The content analysis did not give clear results in terms of generalization. On one hand nationalities were named specifically, but potential perpetrators were also often referred to as refugees which include people with many different cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, sometimes a crowd of men in YouTube-clips was shown while talking about the perpetrators, which gave the impression that the problem refers to a big group, not to single perpetrators. It would also be problematic to show single suspects, because as long as it is unclear whether they are guilty, their identity should be protected. Nevertheless, as I see it, the above explained impression stays the same. As a more general observation, the YouTube-clips showing the crowd of men were repeated throughout the whole media coverage relatively often, also when perpetrators were not discussed. Illustration III shows one example of a still from a YouTube-clip shown in ZDF. Because these clips show a chaotic assembling and no specific acts are recognizable, I assume a generalization of the perpetrators as possible. The viewer sees a situation from a distance, a crowd of mostly male persons shooting fireworks into the crowd. But more importantly one knows that much more happened than what can be seen from these pictures. This leaves more space for imagination. Showing these images with people laughing and cheering, it seems as if these people were laughing at what happened that night and at the inability of the German government to get the situation under control. Furthermore there are no specific persons one can identify. In my point of view it leaves the impression that no single criminal subjects did the assaults, but that it refers to a mass of people, maybe even to a whole culture.



Illustration III: Still from YouTube-clip shown in ZDF heute journal on 11 January 2016¹⁰¹

Opposed to that in a later report in the news broadcast ZDF heute from 8 March 2016, photos of single suspects were shown (illustration IV). In the report it is also explained that it was very time-consuming to extract photos of single persons and assign them to specific criminal acts. Therefore, it was still taking time to identify perpetrators and put them on trial.¹⁰² From my perspective by showing single persons the perpetrators become single human beings instead of a whole culture or country. Therefore, the generalization in this case was not on purpose, but because of other circumstances. Nevertheless, the impression that the problem refers to the Other in general still persists.

¹⁰¹ *Übergriffe in arabischen Ländern*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2644050/%C3%9Cbergriffe-in-arabischen-L%C3%A4ndern>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

¹⁰² *Fahndungsfotos von Kölner Silvesternacht*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2689216/Fahndungsfotos-von-K%C3%B6lner-Silvesternacht>, (accessed 7 April 2016).



Illustration IV: Suspects from Cologne shown in ZDF heute on 8 March 2016¹⁰³

The habit of generalizing the Other is explicitly discussed in an interview with feminist Kübra Gümüşay in the broadcast heuteplus from 15 January 2016. She states that the Western society uses two different measures, because criminal acts performed by immigrants were always accounted to the collective (the whole culture), but when for example a German man sexually abused and killed two children such generalizing was not applied on the Germans.¹⁰⁴ From the material I looked at, I can say that media was very careful with generalization of the Other. When cultural issues were discussed, journalists often warned that one must not generalize, for example in an interview with a politician in the broadcast morgenmagazin from 8 January 2016.¹⁰⁵

Orientalist Dogmas: Efficient and Infinite Differentiation between the East and the West

In terms of stressing the differences between the Other and the West, the role of the potential victims in media reporting is important. In the discussion of the results of the content analysis I already stated that the German audience can easily identify itself with the victims. Looking at the material, I furthermore noticed, that all women that were interviewed for example in terms of

¹⁰³ *Fahndungsfotos von Kölner Silvesternacht*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2689216/Fahndungsfotos-von-K%C3%B6lner-Silvesternacht>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

¹⁰⁴ *#ausnahmslos gegen sexuelle Gewalt*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2647242>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

¹⁰⁵ *Klöckner: Vertrauen in Staatsmacht*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2641542/Kl%C3%B6ckner-Vertrauen-in-Staatsmacht%22>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

whether they were scared to go to the central station in Cologne now, therefore put in the position of potential victims, seemed to be German. Same as with the migration background, it is hard to estimate whether the women were really German. But at least they talked German without foreign accent and I could see no obvious signs that they might come from a different country. By only involving Germans as potential victims it seems as if only Germans were threatened by the sexist Other. But women from Arabic culture environments or any other countries could be scared or concerned just the same. The viewer cannot sympathize or identify him- or herself with the Other. By not involving the female Other differences between them and the own culture appear even bigger, because the Other woman cannot be in the same position as the Western woman.

Another example is the usage of imagery in the reporting. Illustration V shows a still from the news broadcast ZDF heute with an image presumably from a YouTube-clip from the night in Cologne in the background. Interesting about this image is the connection to the context that is talked about. The news anchor talks about politicians discussing refugee deportation. The image shows a crowd celebrating on the stairs in front of the cathedral and in the foreground one can see several persons with their backs turned towards the viewer. The (mostly) male persons block the viewer from seeing what is going on, but also from joining the celebrations. They appear as an obstacle which needs to be removed or avoided. This way and in connection to discussing refugee deportation, the image functions as an illustration of many politicians' view on the refugee crises which is that the situation is unclear and hard to overlook, it causes many problems and it is a hindrance which needs to be moved away. Furthermore the men are part of the celebrations and at the same time they are not. They stand on the place where the celebrations take place, but at the same time they are separated from a bigger crowd in the background. They do not seem to belong. Consequently, again there is a distinction between the Other and the Westerner.



Illustration V: Still from ZDF heute broadcast from 7 January 2016, 7 pm¹⁰⁶

3.6. Practical Orientalism through Mass Media?

The research question for this thesis is: *Which cultural differences regarding the Other are being referred to in German public-service media reports in relation to the assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015 and in which way?* The content analysis showed that cultural differences regarding the Other were referred to only scarcely. If they were, they were concerned with gender roles and women's role or image. Although discussion about refugees came up, it was more concerned with their deportation than with cultural differences or integration. The discussion was dominated by social evils regarding the German police and refugee deportation. Furthermore, the Other was almost never included as an interviewee in the reporting.

In chapter 1 I suggested that Practical Orientalism or Practical De-Orientalism could be implemented through mass media. In concerns to media coverage about the assaults in Cologne, on one side this is the case, but at the same time it is not. I found some traces of Orientalism, but not as explicitly as I would have expected. From the Orientalist motives I identified from Said's book, to some parts I could find superiority of the West, backwardness of the Other, as well as a passive character of the Other, generalization and a clear and infinite distinction between the West and the East. These results speak for Practical Orientalism through mass media. But most of these findings speaking for Orientalism in media coverage came up through interpretation.

¹⁰⁶ ZDF heute-Sendung vom 07. Januar 2016, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2640882/ZDF-heute-Sendung-vom-07-Januar-2016>, (accessed 16 May 2016).

This is problematic, because I looked for implicit messages in the material, messages that another viewer might not have recognized that way, or interpreted differently. Therefore, it is hard to say whether mass media implemented Practical Orientalism.

On one hand one has to question whether content analysis is the right method to investigate Practical Orientalism. I see a difference to examples from Said's book, for instance from literature and media reporting. I have the perception that stereotypes are rarely spelled out explicitly in media today. Content analysis though very much focuses on the manifest information. Furthermore, the important information does not have to be the one that is most prominent in a broadcast. Content analysis is based on the assumption that what is most important, is also most represented in the research material. But that does not have to be the case. For example, refugees were only rarely interviewed in the material as we could see from the results from the content analysis. I coded up to three interviewees for one unit, very often there were more interviewees which the content analysis missed. If the same statements from police and politicians are repeated over and over again, it is likely that the viewer remembers a statement from a refugee better and perceives it with more attention, because it is so rare and therefore different from the other interviewees. Therefore even rare or small things can be very important. I see qualitative analysis as the more potent method for Practical Orientalism, because it captures more latent information. For future research I recommend to include the viewer in the analysis as well. I assume that Practical Orientalism depends on how the viewer understands the media content and whether that person links it to a stereotypical image or possibly does not see it in a cultural context at all.

Furthermore, the signs that I identified through content analysis speaking for Practical Orientalism were more based on the absence of discussion about the Other, than actual content. Can one speak of Practical (practiced) Orientalism in that context? Yet, the fact that traces of Orientalism are hard to find in the material, can be interpreted as speaking for the concept of banal Orientalism (see chapter 1), that one is unaware of the every day practices that influence an Orientalised view. The traces of Orientalism may be so implicit, so self-understanding that they are almost invisible. It is also possible that at this point we have already come too far in the process of invisible transgression. In this case the Orientalist views were already established and stereotypes were taken for granted, a process that is not covered by content analysis. For example when I pointed out that many viewers would identify a person with migration background, but I could not define it as a category because of its unreliability. Similarly, many people may assume that migrants have a different view on the women's image. These things would not need to be discussed, because they were obvious to the audience. The viewer gets to know that a mass of men sexually assaulted women in Cologne and that most of the suspects were North African

immigrants. There is no direct Orientalist view in this information. But if the viewer has a stereotype in mind that North Africans tended to be more sexist and violent towards women, in the viewer's eyes the Orientalist stereotype was confirmed by the information mass media provided, therefore Practical Orientalism. This would mean that we are captured in our descent – to speak in a Foucauldian sense. Orientalist views were strongly established in the way that we fabricate their emergence ourselves through our interpretation. I cannot prove this hypothesis through this thesis. A way to do this would be an experiment where participants were asked about possible Orientalist stereotypes, watch the material I investigated and answered a questionnaire concerning assumptions about the Other that they deduce from the media content. What can be said based on the analysis is that I could find certain Orientalist motives in the media coverage of ZDF in regards to the assaults in Cologne. To what intensity these Orientalist views are recognized is subjective. Therefore mass media bears the potential for both Practical Orientalism and De-Orientalism.

Conclusion

Finally, I want to summarize the elaborations and results from the present thesis. Having the media reporting about the sexual assaults in Cologne in relation to cultural differences between the Other and the Western or German culture as the topic of this thesis, the theoretical framework is the concept of Orientalism by Edward Said. It refers to how the West deals with the Orient, the difference between the Orient and the Occident and the Orient from a historical perspective. This thesis is mostly concerned with how the West regards the Orient in mass media. Of special interest are the motives that I identify from Said's book: superiority of the West and inferiority of the East; natural truth of the Western perspective; backwardness of the Orient; West as active and Orient as passive; European fear of Islam and Orientalist dogmas that Said presents himself. I investigated whether these motives are implemented in media coverage about the sexual assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015 with the leading research question: *Which cultural differences regarding the Other are being referred to in German public-service media reports in relation to the assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015 and in which way?*

Orientalist views represented in mass media refer to the concept of Practical Orientalism, which is a crucial part of the theoretical framework. My assumption was that through mass media Orientalism could be enacted in small quotidian practices and therefore result in Practical Orientalism. Furthermore, I made the comment that if Orientalist views were proven wrong through these every day practices, a de-construction of these views would be possible as well and could result in Practical De-Orientalism. In a Foucauldian sense, Orientalism can be understood as the descent (pre-existing in the current Western culture) and Practical Orientalism as the emergence of Orientalism, while Practical De-Orientalism stops or reverses its emergence. Furthermore, I considered the definition of reality and the relation to media reality. In my view there is an objective reality, which is hard to measure, but can be estimated based on the credibility of the sources. But from my point of view the credibility the audience gives the media is more important. If the audience believes media reality to be true, the latter can influence the objective reality and form it, because people act based on what they believe to be true. Therefore it is interesting to research media reality, even if one cannot fully compare it to the objective reality. What is particularly important to consider while looking at media reality are the factors influencing it. I used Kepplinger's integrated model for this purpose and elaborated on different actors, such as politicians or people with economical interests, on the communication system in itself (for example laws for press and media, committees and journalists' self-understanding) and on the audience with its watching behaviour and psychological factors for perceiving and interpreting information.

I operationalized the theoretical framework within the methodology chapter of this thesis. For my research I used a quantitative content analysis in combination with qualitative observations of tv reporting from the German channel ZDF. I implemented parts of the theory (the motives and themes from Said's book) in the code book and category system for the content analysis and in the qualitative analysis. Through using two methods I could find more results regarding Orientalism, but it brought also weaknesses to light. In the content analysis some notions of Orientalism got lost, which could be found in the qualitative part. Nevertheless the latter inherits many subjective views and interpretations, which not everyone would understand the same way.

The results from the content analysis could give an answer to the research question – *Which cultural differences regarding the Other are being referred to in German public-service media reports in relation to the assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015 and in which way?* – to some extent. Cultural differences were only very little talked about. The ones discussed concerned gender roles and women's image or role. Because cultural differences were overall scarcely discussed, the conclusions are often deduced from the absence of content regarding cultural differences. Refugee deportation was the most frequent topic in the reporting. Another finding was that the Other in this thesis can be named as refugees and North Africans, which were most referred to while talking about (potential) perpetrators. Victims and gender issues in general (not in relation to cultural differences) on the other hand were only scarcely discussed. Almost all interviewees were German and not wearing a veil. The tone of the reports tended to become more balanced when cultural issues were addressed. From the content analysis I concluded that opportunity for generalization of the Other is implemented in the media coverage and that the Other has a passive role in the medial discussion. I could not make an implication on a possible static or developing character accounted to the Other. Because refugee deportation was discussed extensively by politicians, I concluded that they must see cultural differences as a cause for the assaults in Cologne. Otherwise politicians would not have demanded for making rules for foreigners wanting to immigrate stricter. Through the qualitative analysis I interpreted some of the Orientalist motives from the material: superiority of the West; backwardness of the Orient; generalization of the Other and an efficient and infinite differentiation between the East and the West. But I could also find weaknesses from the content analysis, which question whether the Other has such a passive role as concluded from the content analysis. In conclusion, I state that Orientalist views exist in media coverage from ZDF in relation to the assaults in Cologne. Therefore, Practical Orientalism is implemented by mass media. Furthermore, it depends on personal interpretation how strongly they are recognized.

In the introduction I raised questions how, in this case, Germany should deal with cultural differences. In which way should they be accepted and tolerated and when is it important to defend one's own cultural values? A problem that I see in this context is how to handle a discussion about culture without coming across as racist, but at the same time not closing one's eyes to the possibility that some assumptions about the Other may be true. I experienced this problem in this thesis. On one hand I did not want to make universal assumptions about whole cultural groups. On the other hand when almost all suspects come from North Africa there must be a reason for this. This issue comes up in the same interview that I cited in the introduction with politician Julia Klöckner discussing the incident when an imam did not want to shake her hand.¹⁰⁷ On one hand problems should be named and discussed, on the other hand no one wants to appear as if they would generalize a culture, leaning towards a racist position. In another interview a group of feminists states their agitation that the nationality of the perpetrators is in discussion.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the feminist Kübra Gümüsay states in another broadcast that even the question (by journalists) for the perpetrator's origin was a racist one, because one implied by that that the criminals' actions were influenced by their genetics.¹⁰⁹ Others, for example the Islamic studies scholar Lamya Kaddor say that cultural factors play an important role in terms of the assaults in Cologne and even speaks for discussing these issues, especially in terms of gender role images without – again – putting one cultural environment under universal suspicion.¹¹⁰ Similarly, the journalist Güner Balci speaks of “gender apartheid” in Arabic countries and definitely sees culture and religion as reasons for the assaults in Cologne.¹¹¹

There is one point I want to elaborate on concerning this discussion. First, the question whether the cultural background should be discussed or not. Opposed to Gümüsay, I do not think that this is a racist question. It does not refer to genetics, but to social circumstances, such as which image of women exists in foreign cultures. This can also be seen by the process of emancipation in a country. Because people changed the social circumstances over time, discussed and fought for women's rights, the women's image changed within one society. In order to solve

¹⁰⁷ *Klöckner: Vertrauen in Staatsmacht*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2641542/Kl%C3%B6ckner:-Vertrauen-in-Staatsmacht%22>, (accessed 7 April 2016).

¹⁰⁸ *Feministischer Aufruf: #ausnahmslos*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2647132/Feministischer-Aufruf:->, (accessed 8 April 2016).

¹⁰⁹ *”Sexismus gemeinsam bekämpfen”*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2642352/Sexismus-gemeinsam-bek%C3%A4mpfen%22>, (accessed 8 April 2016).

¹¹⁰ *Sexuelle Gewalt: “Gibt Koran nicht her”*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2640518/Sexuelle-Gewalt:-Gibt-Koran-nicht-her%22>, (accessed 8 April 2016).

¹¹¹ *Güner Balci gegen die Gender-Apartheid*, [online video], 2016, <http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek#/beitrag/video/2652438/G%C3%BCner-Balci-gegen-die-Gender-Apartheid%22>, (accessed 8 April 2016).

a problem one gathers clues and if most perpetrators were from the same cultural environment that is a clue worth taking a closer look at. It does not mean that it immediately will turn into a racist discussion. Furthermore, just because the culture-question is not asked out loud, does not mean that it does not exist in people's minds. In this case, it is better to bring the discussion out in the open, because some prejudices or assumptions can also be proven wrong by talking about them. If we cannot discuss cultural differences, right-wing movements will have an easier game to convince people that other cultures were too different for the German one to live together and that the former ones were backward and unable to develop. If cultural differences were a major reason for the assaults, then it is important to find a way to deal with these differences in terms of integration. If culture had no influence, it seems unfair to everyone belonging to this culture to put this issue in the centre of discussion. Obviously there is no clear answer to this problem. Finally, I think that just as the West should pay attention to Orientalist views that it still inherits and that are unjustified, the East should also be open for improvement and development if some of these Orientalist assumptions are actually true.

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Appendix I: The Code Book

1. General Coding Instructions

Material of Research

The codebook is created for the analysis of media report in relation to the assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015. The aim of the research is to answer the following question: *Which cultural differences regarding the Other are being referred to in German public-service tv media reports in relation to the assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015 and in which way?* Due to practical reasons the focus lies on one channel, ZDF (Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen) and two days, 7 and 8 January 2016.

Therefore the material of research includes all reports concerning the assaults in Cologne from ZDF from 7 and 8 January 2016 in German language.

Coding Unit

Code units are collected in the code sheet. In this content analysis each report within a broadcast is one unit. If there is an introduction by a news anchor, this part is accounted to the unit together with the report and the eventual conclusion by the news anchor. It is possible that several units that deal with Cologne follow each other in one broadcast. In this case a new unit is marked by the news anchor leading over to the next unit.

Example: A news show starts with the introduction of the news anchor to a report about recent findings in the investigations of the perpetrators. Thereafter the news anchor leads over to an interview with a politician discussing questions about possible consequences from the event in Cologne. Then the news anchor introduces a different report which does not concern Cologne. In this case the report including the introduction counts as one unit and the interview including the transition is another unit.

Units are sometimes listed as single items in the media centre, sometimes they are included in a whole broadcast. Double listings are possible through this as well. A unit can be listed as a single hit, while the same report is included in a whole broadcast. The coder must pay special attention to this. The same unit can only be coded several times, if it was broadcasted several times. One report can, for example be in a morning show and be broadcasted a second time in the evening news. In this case these reports count as two units. Otherwise the unit will only be coded once. In case that a unit appears as a single hit in the search, but is part of a broadcast, the coder must try to find the whole broadcast in order to be able to code the exact length and topic (with

introduction from the news anchor) and the placement within the broadcast. Only if this is not possible, the category “length” can be left blank.

Pick-Up-Criterion

All reports regarding the assaults in Cologne from ZDF between 7 and 8 January 2016 shall be coded. The material is accessible through the online media centre of ZDF (www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek). Too precise search words would exclude important material. Therefore the word “Köln” is typed in the search mask of the media centre and the time frame is restricted to the 7 and 8 January 2016. From these hits the relevant material must be identified by watching it. The material is relevant if it refers to the assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015. Irrelevant material would be, for example a documentary about the history of Cologne. The online search includes material from the channel phoenix as well; eventual hits from this channel must be excluded. Furthermore ZDF provides material in English and Arabic. This material must be excluded as well.

The Code Sheet

Data will be collected in an Excel table. Each unit will be given a new line. Each category is coded in a new column. In each column exactly one code will be given. There must not be multiple codes. The format for each category is given in the category system. If a subcategory cannot be coded, the column will be left blank. This would be the case, if for instance the topic of the unit would not be “perpetrators” or “victims”, the category “imagery” would be left blank (see following section for category system).

Procedure

The codebook must be used for each coding. Even later in the process, coding must not be performed by memory, because this can lead to mistakes and misinterpretations. Several units must not be coded simultaneously, but one after another. At first the identification categories will be coded. After this the unit will be watched one time, followed by the coding of the formal categories. Thereafter the report will be watched a second time and the categories regarding the content will be coded. If needed, the unit can be watched several times after the first two compulsory sightings. Before proceeding to the next unit the coder must check if all categories are coded. All information that is irrelevant regarding the category system will be left out.

Distribution of Material

All coding will be performed by myself. After coding the identification categories, the units will be sorted randomly through Excel and I will code them in this order. By this I avoid to code all units from the same broadcast after each other and avoid learning effects.

2. Category System

Identification categories

unid	identification number of the unit
___	<p>format [code for the category broadcast/ date of broadcasting in format DD/ time of broadcasting in format hh:mm/ first three words of the title or first three spoken words]</p> <p>Numbers will be coded equal to one word. If there is a hyphen, every word counts as one. The title is given in the information section (“mehr Infos”) of each section within a broadcast. Sometimes there is no title for one unit. In this case the first three spoken words are used. <i>Example: A report within the broadcast “ZDF heute journal” was broadcasted on 7 January 2016 at 21:55. It has the title “Polizeibericht: “Spießrutenlauf” in Köln”. The identification number is 6/07/21:55/Polizeibericht: “Spießrutenlauf” in</i></p>

coddat	date of coding
___	format [YYMMDD]

Formal Categories

date	date of broadcasting
—	format [YYMMDD] The information can be found in the information section of each broadcast (“mehr Infos”).

time	time of broadcasting
—	format [hh:mm from 00:00 to 23:59] The time refers to the point of broadcasting from the whole broadcast, except for single clips (if the complete broadcast is unavailable). The information can be found in the information section of each broadcast (“mehr Infos”).

length	length of the unit
—	format [hh:mm:ss]

place	placement of the unit within the broadcast
—	Format [number] This category will only be collected if possible, speaking if the unit appears within a broadcast and not as a single unit.

bro	broadcast
1	ZDF heute

2	heute – in deutschland
3	ZDF heute in Europa
4	heute Xpress
5	heuteplus
6	ZDF heute journal
7	morgenmagazin
8	mittagsmagazin
9	aspekte
111	drehscheibe
222	ZDFspezial

Categories with Regard to Content

Section 1: Topic

top1 – top3	<p>topic of the unit</p> <p>Up to three topics will be identified. The order is according to how extensive the topic is discussed. The topic that is discussed longest will be coded as the first one, then the second-longest and the third as last. The extent will be judged by the coder. If one topic comes up several times, for example if the discussion is as follows: topic1, topic2, topic1, topic3, topic2, topic4, topic1, in this case the time spent on topic1 will be added together. If several topics are</p>
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	discussed approximately to the same extent, the topic that comes up first will be coded first.
100	assaults in Cologne The report deals with the actual assaults in Cologne on 31 December 2015.
110	sequence of events The topic concerns the sequence of events on New Year's Eve in Cologne.
120	(potential) perpetrators → proceed with img, gro1-gro3 The report deals with the (potential) perpetrators of the assaults. The report must deal, for example with precise actions, not the perpetrator's cultural background as the main topic.
130	victims → proceed with img The report deals with the victims of the assaults.
140	responsibility → proceed with res1-res3 The report deals with who is responsible that the assaults could happen. This includes a partly responsibility as well, for example the inability of the police to protect the victims.
150	non-responsibility → proceed with nor1-nor3 The report deals with who is not responsible that the assaults could happen. The responsibility must namely and explicitly be not accredited to a group or person.
200	gender issues The report deals with gender issues as the main subject, not paying attention to cultural differences.
210	violence against women
220	gender equality
300	cultural differences

	The report deals with cultural differences.
310	gender roles
311	women's role and/or image
312	men's role and/or image
313	gender equality
—	other [open format]
—	other [open format]
400	refugee crisis The report deals with the refugee crisis in or outside of Germany.
410	integration The report discusses issues of integration of refugees.
420	Syrian War The report deals with the war in Syria as a cause for refugees coming to Europe.
430	hostility towards refugees (verbal and/or physical) The report is concerned with hostility towards refugees, such as arson attacks to refugee homes or hostility from right-wing movements.
500	consequences The report deals with direct consequences caused by the happenings in Cologne.
510	refugee deportation The report is concerned with consequences in terms of deportation of, for example criminal refugees.

520	Legal system and criminal law The report discusses consequences for the criminal law, e.g. for sexual harassment or issues such as how to reach a more efficient prosecution of criminal acts.
530	police The report discusses consequences for the police, for example in administration, e.g. addition of policemen, discussion about the lack of police staff in general or the removal of the police president.
540	for integration The report deals with consequences for the integration of migrants, for example what can be improved in terms of better integration programs.
600	criminality The report deals with criminality.
610	criminality of immigrants and/or asylum seekers in general
620	criminality of North African immigrants and asylum seekers
630	criminality of Arabian immigrants and/or asylum seekers
640	criminality of Syrian immigrants and/or asylum seekers
650	criminality of Turkish immigrants and/or asylum seekers
660	criminality of other immigrants and/or asylum seekers
700	information of public about the event The report deals with how the public was informed about the event, for example what the police or media communicated or did not communicate respectively (misinformation).
800	other

	The report deals with other issues than the foregoing topics.
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	img	imagery This category deals with the imagery shown while talking about perpetrators or victims.
100	female person/s as (potential) victim	
	One or several female persons are shown as actual or potential victims.	
110	single female person	
120	group up to 10 mostly female persons The group can be shown together or single persons are shown separately while the report talks about the perpetrators or victims.	
130	group with more than 10 mostly female persons The group can be shown together or single persons are shown separately while the report talks about the perpetrators or victims.	
200	male person/s as (potential) perpetrator	
	One or several male persons are shown as actual or potential perpetrators, for example by discussing the heritage of perpetrators and showing video-clips from the place in front of the central station with groups of men.	
210	single male person	
220	group up to 10 mostly male persons The group can be shown together or single persons are shown separately while the report talks about the perpetrators or victims.	
230	group with more than 10 mostly male persons	

	The group can be shown together or single persons are shown separately while the report talks about the perpetrators or victims.
300	mixed group of persons as (potential) perpetrators or victims Male and female persons approximately in equal number are shown..
310	group up to 10 persons The group can be shown together or single persons are shown separately while the report talks about the perpetrators or victims.
320	group with more than 10 persons The group can be shown together or single persons are shown separately while the report talks about the perpetrators or victims.
400	other Other imagery is shown, for example an interviewee who is talking about victims or perpetrators, a building, landscape, etc.

gro1- gro3	group This category covers the group that is referred to when the perpetrators are discussed. These groups can be characterized by nationality, religion or other factors. The literal reference given in the report will be coded. Up to three groups will be coded. The order is the same as for topic (being most referred to as coded first).
100	refugees
110	North African It has to be literally referred to North Africa, not to states that can be accounted to North Africa. If the named North African state is not named in the categories, it has to be coded in the category “other”.
120	Arabian

130	Syrian
140	other A specific group of refugees, for example with a different nationality than North African, Arabian or Syrian are named.
200	North African It has to be literally referred to North Africa, not to states that can be accounted to North Africa. If the named North African state is not named in the categories, it has to be coded in the category “other”.
300	Arabian
400	Syrian
500	Turkish
600	Muslim
—	other [open format]

res1- res3	responsibility that assaults could happen accredited to Up to three accreditations are collected.
100	politics
111	German
112	European
113	other

200	German Police and police organisations (e.g. Bund Deutscher Kriminalbeamter)
300	single perpetrators
400	cultural differences (between German culture and ...) Not persons or institutions, but cultural differences, such as differences in values are seen as a cause for the assaults.
410	Islamic culture referring mainly to culture of Islamic oriented states
420	Islamic religion referring mainly to literal religious issues, for example the content of the Koran
430	North African culture It has to be literally referred to North Africa, not to states that can be accounted to North Africa. If the named North African state is not named in the categories, it has to be coded in the category “other”.
440	Arabian culture
450	refugees in general No nation or culture is referred to in regards to refugees or the main focus lies on the refugees not on the nationality.
—	other [open format]
500	other

nor1- nor3	non-responsibility
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	Up to three non-accreditations are collected
100	politics
110	German
120	European
200	German Police and police organisations (e.g. Bund Deutscher Kriminalbeamter)
300	single perpetrators
400	cultural differences (between German culture and ...) Not persons or institutions, but cultural differences, such as differences in values are explicitly not seen as a cause for the assaults.
410	Islamic culture referring mainly to culture of Islamic oriented states
420	Islamic religion referring mainly to literal religious issues, for example the content of the Koran
430	North African culture It has to be literally referred to North Africa, not to states that can be accounted to North Africa. If the named North African state is not named in the categories, it has to be coded in the category “other”.
440	Arabian culture
450	refugees in general No nation or culture is referred to in regards to refugees or the main focus lies on the refugees not on the nationality.

—	other [open format]
500	nobody It is explicitly spelled that nobody has responsibility for the assaults.
600	other

Section 2: Interviewed Person

int	interviewed person Interviewees that are in the report. This can be a written statement as an answer to a journalists question as well.
0	no interviewee included
1	interviewee(s) included → proceed with int1 – int3

int1 – int3	interviewee Same as regarding the topic, the category will be coded for a maximum of three interviewees. The order has the same system as for topic, beginning with the interviewee that talks most and in case the extent of several interviewees is the same, coding the one first that is interviewed first. → proceed with nat, vei
100	politician
110	CDU Politician belonging to the party CDU.
120	CSU Politician belonging to the party CSU.

130	SPD Politician belonging to the party SPD.
140	Bündnis 90/Grüne Politician belonging to the party Bündnis 90/Grüne.
150	FDP Politician belonging to the party FDP.
160	AfD Politician belonging to the party AfD.
200	policeman/policewoman or member of a police organisation (e.g. Bund Deutscher Kriminalbeamter)
300	expert The interviewee is presented as an expert of a certain field.
310	Islamic studies scholar
400	journalist The interviewee is a journalist, this includes blogger as well.
500	feminist The interviewee is either a self-declared feminist or member in a feminist organisation
600	citizen The interviewee is a regular citizen without a certain characteristic that is pointed out.
700	refugee
800	Pegida-member The interviewee is member of the populist right-wing movement Pegida (Patriotische

	Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes)
900	other

nat	nationality This category covers the nationality of the interviewees. Often the nationality is not referred to, but if the interviewee speaks German fluently and without accent and no reference to his or her nationality is given, the person will be accounted to German. If the nationality is not certain, the coder must try to find the information through research via Google.
100	German
110	with migration background It is pointed out that the interviewee has a migration background by the capture, voice-over or the interviewee himself.
200	North African It has to be literally referred to North Africa, not to states that can be accounted to North Africa. If the named North African state is not named in the categories, it has to be coded in the category “other”.
300	Arabian
400	Syrian
500	Turkish
600	unclear

—	other [open format]
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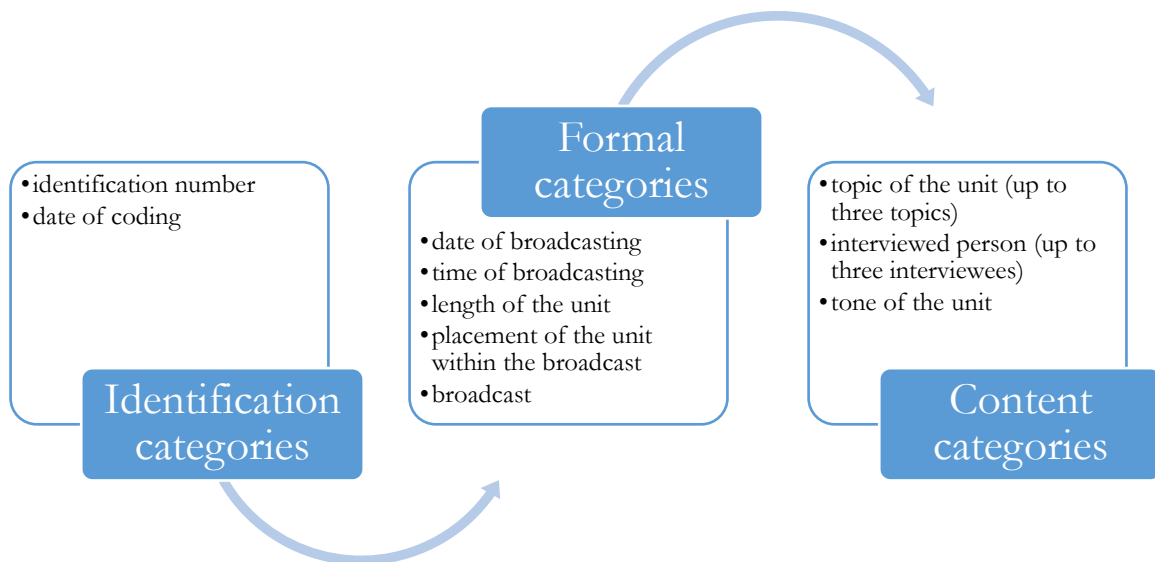
vei	veil The interviewee is wearing a veil, such as hijad or other Islamic veils.
0	no veil
1	veil

Section 3: Tone

ton	tone of the unit This category measures the connotation of the report.
100	constructive The overweighing part of the report gives suggestions for improvement.
200	admonitory The overweighing part of the report has a warning tone, mostly complaining without giving suggestions for change and improvement.
300	balanced Both constructive and admonitory connotations come through and none of them overweighs the other.
400	neutral The report has an objective tone, mostly giving facts.

Appendix II: Summary of the Coding Process

Overview over the Coding Process



Overview over the Coding Process for the Content Categories

