

LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

**THE POWER OF LOCAL MEDIA AS AN ACTOR IN THE
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM**

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts in International Affairs

School of Arts and Sciences

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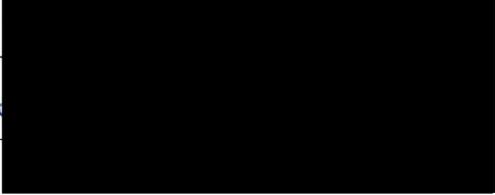
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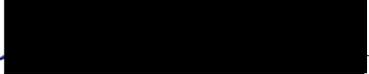
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The Power of Local Media as an Actor in the International System

Claudette Abed

Abstract

It is a commonly established principle that all types of media are important means of information, capable of influencing opinions and attitudes of individuals. This thesis studied the power of local media, as an actor throughout the international arena, and most notably as a tool which has proven capable of affecting European-Muslim relations. In proving this notion, this thesis studied two cases. These are namely the 2005 Danish Jyllands-Posten Cartoon Affair, and the 2012 French Charlie Hebdo Cartoon Affair, both cases involving the ridiculing of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad, via cartoons. The study of these cases allowed the illustration and examination of the scope of local media's powers, as they exposed the extent to which these cartoons, which were published in what may be described as 'small' European local media outlets, were able to affect European-Muslim relations on four different levels, as follows: firstly, between European communities, and Muslim communities in Europe, secondly, between Muslim communities, and European states, thirdly, between European communities, and Muslim communities in Europe, and fourthly, between Muslim states, and European states.

This thesis has also demonstrated that more and more, especially in this era of globalization, and through media globalization, local media outlets have become empowered due to increased proximity between individuals and societies, accompanied by lesser borders and lesser restrictions, which may have historically prevented the flow of information. Moreover, this thesis has argued that as a result of European culture and the notion of liberalism, local media has also been empowered, especially due to the fundamental legal right of freedom of expression. Therefore, globalization, and most notably media globalization, as well as the right to freedom of expression, have been provided as explanatory reasons as to why local media chains have become such infinitely powerful mediums, capable of affecting relations between and within states.

Keywords: International Relations; Local Media; Media; Europe; Muslim world; Liberalism; Culture; Freedom of Expression; Cartoon Crises.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Overview

European communities, Muslim communities, European states, and Muslim states, both in Europe and throughout the Muslim world, have for as long as can be remembered, been suffering from a sensitive and tense relationship. This has particularly been the case since the events of 9/11, as well as events thereafter, including various cartoon controversies. It has often been claimed that this has been accredited to various reasons varying from the incompatibility of Islam with democracy and Western values, to blaming European states or the Muslim communities therein, for a lack of effort on their part to achieve and sustain peaceful relations, or simply due to a general sense of Islamophobia.

Although this thesis seeks not to disregard all the above mentioned factors, as well as others, it seeks to study the relationship of Muslims and Europe outside the normal context of integration studies, that is, by trying to determine which model of incorporation would best work to incorporate Muslims into the European mainstream, whether for example, through multiculturalism or assimilation. Instead, it seeks to argue that local media in Europe constitutes a major cause preventing the possibility of peaceful and sustainable European-Muslim relations, potentially affecting their integration. In other words, this thesis seeks to investigate and study the influence and importance of local media outlets in Europe, on European-Muslim relations.

Before embarking on this thesis, it is important to explain what is meant by the term ‘local media,’ for the purposes of this study. Local media in this thesis, although articulates the term ‘local,’ is also referring to media which is distributed at a national level. Local media throughout this thesis refers to media published within a particular state, either through newspapers or magazines, of either a local or national nature. Such publications are often in the official language of the state, for example French in France, or Spanish in Spain, and thus can mainly be read by nationals of that particular country, indicating that the target audience is arguably to some extent restricted to those within the country in question, bearing little significance to individuals who cannot read the language in question, unless where translated.

Thus, the majority of material published through local media outlets, although not all, tend to be of a local or national context. Those publishing material in such outlets, hold no major intention of having a global reach. This means that the issues or topics covered, are most often related to the country in question, for example, German local media outlets or channels, tend mostly to publish material pertinent solely to Germany, and thus of a national scope, proving to attract minimal foreign interest, except of course, where the material covered, is covering international events. A more detailed explanation of local media for the purpose of this study will be covered in Chapter Two.

It is an established principle that all media, whatever the type, whether local, national or global, holds the power to affect public opinions and attitudes, keeping in mind that all media can influence a society’s thinking (“Activities of the European Monitoring Centre,” 2002). This thesis will try to show that European local media has, through various local publications, most notably cartoons, played a role in

sourcing national and international images of Muslims, both inside and outside Europe, creating widespread tensions between Muslims and the West, thus affecting European-Muslim relations in their entirety.

This thesis will attempt to prove that local media in Europe has been transformed into a player, or powerful actor not just domestically or regionally, but rather internationally, proving capable of influencing opinions and attitudes both inside and outside Europe, thus affecting European-Muslim relations on both an inter-state and intra-state level. This thesis will also try to demonstrate that European local media has affected European-Muslim relations, on not just one, but on four different levels, which will be referred to throughout this thesis as the ‘four levels of analysis.’ The first level through which local media has arguably affected European-Muslim relations, is between Muslim communities and European communities within Europe. The second level on which local media has arguably had an influence, is between Muslim communities and European states. Thirdly, it will be proposed that local media has affected the relationship between European communities and Muslim communities, outside Europe, and fourthly, that it has intensified the relationship between European states and Muslim states. It will use case studies to back up this notion, covered in the methodology section below, namely looking at two cases, the 2005 Denmark Cartoon Controversy, and the 2012 French Cartoon Affair.

The power of European local media outlets are also made more apparent when one comes to consider that through what may be termed ‘simple’ cartoons, that is, sketches which are made to laugh, published within a local context in what can be defined as ‘tiny’ European local media outlets in countries such as Denmark and France, being defined as ‘tiny’ in comparison to larger international media chains,

such as BBC, Europe and the Muslim world have somewhat come to have changed feelings and attitudes towards one another, leading to the diminishing of their associations, and the reducing of prospects for non-violent co-habitation. Put otherwise, through these cartoons, this thesis will attempt to prove that local media can serve as revolutionary, being a tool that can stir protests, create international insecurity and instability, and lead to prejudice between groups, most notably for the purposes of this thesis, between Europe and Muslims, with on-going ramifications, on four different levels.

This thesis will also seek to explain ‘why’ European local media has been transformed into such a powerful tool, capable of influencing public opinion and public attitudes, providing globalization, and more particularly media globalization, as reasoning, arguing that through these theories, local media has been empowered, and come to carry with it an international dimension and global reach.

Moreover, this thesis will also address the question of ‘why’ local media has often been found producing and publishing offensive material towards Islam, and whether this can be attributable to the liberal culture and environment of Europe, or rather whether due to bias. In attempting to determine this, it will be important to look at the concepts of liberalism, culture, and the legal right to freedom of expression, as clear justifications for the behavior of local media in Europe. This thesis will argue that similarly to globalization, liberalism, and most notably the right to freedom of expression, has also arguably extended the already extensive scope of local media power, providing it as another reason as to why local media has been strengthened. In this respect, this thesis will attempt to show that the right of freedom of expression has allocated more power to European local media outlets, as it has given them a sort of ‘get out of jail free’ card, whereby they are somewhat protected

for any material they may publish, regardless of whether found to be offensive, and regardless of whether founded on bias.

In other words, and more simply put, the main objective of this thesis is to study and investigate the power of local media outlets in Europe, in so far as print is concerned, by looking at two cartoons, namely the 2005 Danish Cartoon Controversy, and the 2012 French Cartoon Affair. It will also attempt to prove that the power of European local media was made possible, as a result of both globalization, and liberalism, widening the latitude of European local media's powers.

1.2 Methodology

In order to validate the argument that European local media has indeed affected European-Muslim relations on these four levels of analysis, this thesis will employ a qualitative research methodology, namely looking at case studies, undertaking a situational case study analysis. Case studies are important research methods in the fields of social sciences, as they are informative, observational, and analytical research designs, which are crucial to both reasoning and research. They allow one to test theories, and in some cases, even formulate theories.

The analysis of case studies allows for the investigation of past experiences so as to study causal processes, and draw conclusions in terms of cause and effect. It allows for the examination of settings, and the exploration of 'how' and 'why' questions, providing explanations, reasoning and potential justifications for particular events, as well as the application of theory into practice. Cases provide insight, and allow for the investigation of particular concepts and incidents within real life contexts, enabling conclusions through means other than the studying of literature.

Therefore, this method can be said to have been chosen due to the fact that it allows for empirical studies, through the observation and exploration of happenings.

The two case studies which will be examined include namely the 2005 Cartoon Affair in Denmark, in the local Danish newspaper of Jyllands-Posten, as well as the more recent 2012 Cartoon Affair in France in the French local magazine of Charlie Hebdo, both of which involved the caricaturing, and arguably ridiculing of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad. The four levels of analysis will be applied to these cases in order to substantiate the notion that European local media in these two cases, was indeed able to affect European-Muslim relations on all mentioned levels. The reason why two cases have been selected for this thesis, as opposed to one, is namely due to the fact that multiple cases often provide for a more solid and rational conclusion, as they allow the study of a particular conception twice. Moreover, the study of two cases allows comparisons too, which proves important, as it will allow one to determine whether or not such cases are similar or different, and if different, where those differences lie.

However, these cases have proven very important in the study of the power of European local media, which is why they have been selected to validate the notion of this thesis. The studying of these cases will make it possible to draw a conclusion, as to whether there is a causal and reactionary link between local media, and the events which occurred thereafter, which can be described as arguably being responsible for affecting European-Muslim relations. Thus, these cases will allow one to determine whether local media can be, at least to some extent, held accountable for influencing European-Muslim relations.

The 2005 Denmark cartoon case has been selected, due to the fact that it is a picture-perfect example which portrays the local and global reach of European local media, arguably responsible for spurring domestic, regional, and international debates, creating worldwide cultural instability, as well as numerous deaths, and holding ramifications up until today, as will be established below. This case has been chosen as opposed to others, because it is often referred to, and recognized as being one of the first cases which, as a result of cartoon publications in local media outlets, was able to destabilize the world order, rippling effects across the globe until currently. This event has often been described as one which has led to excessive universal instability, drawn major international coverage, and greatly hindered European-Muslim relations.

Moreover, the 2012 France cartoon case is of vital significance too, and has been selected for this thesis because it is a more recent case. This event drew substantially less international responses than the Danish Cartoon Controversy, yet was nonetheless able to draw widespread universal dissatisfaction throughout the Muslim world, holding ramifications on the four levels of analysis, despite the fact that these 2012 cartoons were published in a satirical magazine, whose job it is to offend and ridicule, which is also done to other religions. Moreover, this case is significant, because despite the fact that it was published at a very sensitive time, that is, during the same period of time that the 2012 Anti-Islamic movie was released, and thus the world was fairly distracted with its' severity, the cartoons were still able to draw discontent and upsurge throughout the Muslim world, and Europe, thus affecting their relationship. This is the main reason as to why this case has been selected, so as to endorse the conception of this thesis. Moreover, this case has been

chosen because it is arguably the most recent cartoon case in Europe, which had led to universal insecurity.

These two cases prove most valuable to the study of this thesis, and have also been selected mainly due to the seven year gap between them, one occurring in 2005, and one in 2012. This gap allowed for the analysis of globalization in the context of these two cases, and permitted the study of how globalization has affected and empowered local media outlets, by arguably speeding up the process through which events unraveled, the reactions to the 2012 cartoons being much more rapid than those of the 2005 cartoons.

Thus, in this respect, it can be said that these two cases prove necessary for defending the argument of this thesis, as they provide clear examples which show the significant power and influence of European local media throughout the international arena, as a transnational actor, most notably due to the fact that although they consisted of local publications, they were not limited to the local or national context in which they were published, able to draw global effects, resulting in universal cultural tensions, and violence. These cases will be covered in more depth in Chapter Four.

Bearing all the above mentioned in mind, this thesis proposes the following research question: How and why has Local Media in Europe affected the relationship between European communities and states, and Muslims?

1.3 Importance of this topic

The media, and local media, in this era of globalization, is an on-going, ever growing area of study, which affects not only international relations between states,

but behavior within states. Therefore, intrinsically, one cannot deny the importance of studying any type of media, as a fundamental component of international relations studies. Neither can one deny the power of media, as a tool capable of influencing world opinions and attitudes. Hence, the importance of this paper is that it allows one to look at the increasingly significant role of local media, and the forte attached to it, as a major cause and obstacle, preventing peaceful European-Muslim relations.

Another important feature of this thesis lies in its main argument, that is, that local media has been transformed into an important international actor, affecting both inter-state and intra-state relations, on the four levels of analysis, while providing examples. Studying the four levels of analysis makes this thesis significant because it allows one to study all dimensions of European-Muslim relations which have been affected by local media, providing a deep examination of all these relationships, rather than mere generalizations.

This thesis is also essential because it goes further than most writings on the media, and looks at why local media has been transformed into a supreme actor on the international scene, arguing globalization, as well as liberalism, and attempts to determine whether local media outlets are creating negative images of Muslims due to bias on their part, or simply due to defensible 'liberalism,' most notably freedom of expression, thus providing reasoning for their 'offensive' publications. It allows for the study of culture in so far as Europe and Muslims are concerned, bearing in mind that the tensions which exists between the Muslim world and Europe are often cultural ones, which lie at the heart of their incessant divides. This is especially so bearing in mind that we are all victims of an ever increasing globalized world, through which cultures are no longer so clearly defined, and cultural threats are more pervasive.

Therefore, this thesis forms an important constituent and addition to international relations studies.

1.4 Literature Review

It is also important to study and analyze the present literature on the topic, in order to understand how this thesis will contribute to, and add, to already existing literature in this area of study.

There exists widespread literature on Muslims, the Media, and Europe, as individual subjects, as well as in relation to one another. Most literature tends to look at the relationship of Europe and Muslims in terms of integration studies, looking at different models of incorporation, namely those of multiculturalism and assimilation (Kymlica 2012; Vani and John, 2009)

Extensive research has looked at the media, particularly international media, and has often blamed the media and its role in formulating a negative perception of Muslims, as being violent or posing a security threat due to being linked to terrorism, and how this has prevented peaceful and tolerant relationships between the Muslim world, and Europe, particularly after the events of 9/11 (Khan and Ecklund, 2012; Gould and Klor 2012).

Widespread literature also covers the influence of the media (Jamieson and Campbell, 1982), as a powerful tool affecting and influencing the opinions and attitudes of societies, due to its persuasive means (Allen, 2004; Mutz, 1989; Zeenat, Zaidi, and Kazmi, 2012). Literature has also gone further so as to show that media holds not just the power to affect public opinion and attitudes of individuals within

society, but rather that media also holds the ability to affect the opinion of institutions (Potter, 2012).

Although there exists writings on the power of international media on international relations (Neuman, 1996), no major literature covers the power of local media as a player on the international scene, which holds the ability to affect both domestic and international attitudes. Thus, this thesis seeks to fill the gap which exists in already existing literature, and seeks to discuss the role of local media in intensifying tensions between Muslims and Europe on the four levels of analysis mentioned above. In an attempt to further fill the gap, this thesis will argue that the power of local media has been derived from the phenomenon of globalization, a concept which, has been well accounted for in literature (Al-Rodhan, 2006; Strange, 1996; O'Rourke and Williamson, 2002; Russell, 2005; and Reich, 1998), especially in relation to the media (Wang, 2008; and Jan, 2009).

There is prevalent literature which describes the media as being a biased source of information (Baron, 2004; Xiang and Sorvary, 2007). Other literature looks at media in Europe as being liberal, operating on the concept of freedom of press (Julliard, 2012; Hewitt, 2011). Thus, literature tends to look at the media as being either one or the other, that is, either biased or liberal. This thesis will address this issue differently than most writings, and fill the gap which exists in this field of research, looking at local media orientations from a different perspective, arguing that European local media operates under the freedom to express its views, and as such, is protected by a liberal stance, even where bias, arguing that any bias can be somewhat overridden where the right to freedom of expression is present and afforded. Moreover, liberalism and the right of freedom of expression, are concepts which also have been well considered in literature (Jensen, 1976; Soutphommasane,

2006). However, no major literature affords freedom of expression as a reason for European local media's somewhat 'unlimited' power, trumping any bias. Thus, in this respect, this section will conceal the hole in present literature.

1.5 Content/Structure

In attempting to answer this thesis' research question, the format of the thesis will be as follows.

This chapter, in addition to an overview section, one covering what is meant by local media, a methodology, a literature review, and an importance of this topic section, looks at the history of Muslims in Europe, giving a brief background as to how so many Muslims came to reside in Europe, namely for economic immigration purposes, so as to understand the root cause for their presence in Europe. Looking at the history of Muslim presence in Europe, will allow one to see if European-Muslim relations have always been tense, or whether this proves to be a new conception. More emphasis will be placed on the history of Muslims immigration to France, and Denmark, bearing in mind that the two cases which will be examined throughout this thesis encompass these countries.

Chapter two of this thesis seeks to look at the media in general, and the power it holds, while studying also the concept of globalization. This section will, through the analysis of various literature, cover and illustrate the power and ability of the media in general as a convincing and credible actor, capable of affecting individuals outlooks on others. It will also evaluate the role of the media after the events of 9/11, and its' coverage in this affair, in order to show how the media created a further unstable relationship between Muslims and the West after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, and particularly between Muslims and Europe, proving that the media here,

intensified European-Muslim relationships, through the increase of a sense of Islamophobia. The concept of globalization will also be studied, as a fundamental theory in this thesis, as well as that of media globalization. These theories are of utmost significance here, the study of which will allow the explanation of why and how all media, most notably local media has been able to reach a point where it has become a major player on the international scene.

The subsequent part of this thesis will look at the concept of liberalism, focusing mainly on the concept of culture, a concept which has proven to be very important in the study of liberalism in Europe. This section will also study the fundamental right to freedom of expression.

The following part will deal with the case studies, in an attempt to prove that local media has indeed been able to affect European-Muslim relations on the four levels mentioned above, analyzing each level individually. This chapter will also re-analyze the cases, and show that that the media outlets of Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo hid behind the concept of freedom of expression, and thus liberalism, in order to protect themselves from the repercussions of the cartoons they had published.

The final chapter will argue that local media holds an arguably 'infinite' power. It will start off by studying the political orientations of Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo, in order to define whether or not they are bias sources. This thesis will argue that despite whether or not any potential bias on their part is found, freedom of expression is afforded as a justification protecting all European local media outlets, further showing the astonishing, and arguably 'supreme' power of all European local media outlets alike. This section will also offer a solution to the

continuing over-tense European-Muslim relationship, providing both local media, and international media, as a means capable of restoring peaceful relations between the two sides, further indicating the power of local media, in terms of peace-building. However, their tolerance towards one another will form a vital pre-requisite. This chapter will also provide a conclusion, drawing on the overall idea, that is, that local media has become a powerful actor on the international scene.

1.6 History and Background

Muslims from throughout the Arab world have been immigrating into Europe for decades, yet Europe now, seems more resistant than ever to their presence. The migration of Arabs, the majority coming from the Maghreb, from countries including Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, began most notably during World War I and World War II, namely for economic reasons, and due to the necessity of manpower in the reconstruction of Europe after both wars (Ennaji, 2010). Although it was expected that most migration would be temporary, many Arabs were encouraged to, and decided to stay in Europe permanently, due to the lack of opportunities in their home countries. Thus, their permanent stay in Europe was derived from their hope to embark on new, and arguably more successful lives, with greater future prospects and job opportunities, Maghreb governments' even encouraging emigration so as to lessen unemployment and increase remittances to improve their countries, most Maghreb's immigrating to France (Ennaji, 2010). Muslims often even had their families meet them in Europe, once they knew they were no longer returning, which further increased Muslim populations throughout Europe.

Muslims have had various impacts on Europe, ranging from social, political, and economic ones, which have made Europe further resistant to their presence.

However, the greatest impact which has made France, and Denmark, as well as Europe in its' entirety, resistant to their presence, can be argued to be due to their major religious differences, which has led to feelings of fear, and insecurity, which has aggravated European-Muslim relationships, affecting the potential for stable relations between one another, further amplified by the media, and most notably local media..

Insofar as France is concerned, after Maghreb independence had been sought from France, and French colonization of the Maghreb had ended (Tarwater, 2005), it has been often argued that the Maghreb's felt they had for years been deprived of their culture, and as such re-instated Arabic as the official language and Islam as the official religion of the countries, which led to what is referred to as Islamization or Arabization, in an attempt to push French presence out of the Maghreb (Tarwater, 2005). This is potentially a reason as to why the Maghreb's in France have such strong views about Islam, providing a latent explanation for their 'radicalness.'

In France, "estimates for the Muslim population increased from less than 1,000 or 0.01% before 1900, to 6,000 or 0.02% in 1912, to 100,000 or 0.26% in 1920, to 120,000 in 1924...then increased to 230,000 or 0.55% in 1952, to one million or 2% in 1960s, to two million or 3.9% in 1975, to 2.5 million or 4.6% in 1981, to four million or 7% in 1991, to 5 million or 8% in 2001, to six million or 10% in 2009" (Kettani, 2010). Islam today constitutes the second religion in France, after Catholicism (Archick, Belkin, Blanchard, Ek and Mix, 2011). France is currently home to one of the largest Muslim populations in Europe. This is made even more clear given the recent May 2012 elections in France where Francois Hollande had been elected president, due to the fact that at the heart of his campaign were immigration and security issues in France. He has often been described as non-

racist as “he depends on Muslim voters for a large part of his support in the major cities” (Ellis, 2012). Through his election, it is clear that in France, Muslim voters do form a significant portion of the French population, and as such can affect the political outcomes of the country, and can even affect the security of France. This shows that their presence in France, as well as Europe, cannot be ignored, and the on-going tense relationship between both sides, ought to be repaired.

Both France and Denmark, are secular countries. Denmark has a significantly high Muslim population, France and Belgium having the highest, followed immediately by Denmark (Archick, Belkin, Blanchard, Ek and Mix, 2011). Immigration to France is more historical than that of Denmark (Day, 2011). Immigration to Denmark is a fairly recent phenomenon, starting at the end of the 1960s (Jensen, n.d.). The first wave of Muslim immigration to Denmark, occurred in 1967, and comprised guest workers from Turkey, Pakistan, and Yugoslavia, with the second wave following in the early 1980s, whereby refugees and asylum seekers arrived from Iraq, Iran, and Lebanon, as well as the former Yugoslavia (Fair, 2003). By the 1990s, the number of Muslim immigrants in Denmark increased dramatically, due to Somali refugees, leaving their home country, fleeing from civil war (Fair, 2003). Like France, Muslim is the second largest religion in Denmark (Fair, 2003).

Muslim population in Denmark increased drastically over the last sixty or so years. “The Muslim population increased from few hundreds or about 0.01% in 1950, to 16,000 or 0.32% in 1971, to 100,000 or 1.9% in 1991, to 106,000 or 2% in 2001, to 210,000 or 3.7% in 2009” (Kettani, 2010). It is also predicted that the number of Muslim immigrants in France and Denmark, is only expected to increase. This has become more challenging after the cartoon crises, due to the fact that Muslims are perceived as posing more of a danger to Europe, and as such, both

France and Denmark are facing a perplexing dilemma, through which they are finding it progressively difficult to cope with Muslim company. This is especially the case bearing in mind that Islam in Denmark has become more and more established, and widespread. “As of 2002, Denmark had approximately sixty mosques...and seventeen private Muslim schools” (Fair, 2003) The establishment, and increase in Muslim community and Muslim influence, challenged Denmark’s reputation for tolerance, and its homogeneity, which pushed Denmark to have greater interest in preserving its’ culture (Fair, 2003). This is arguably the same in so far as France is concerned.

Muslims were somewhat historically ‘invisible’ to the rest of Europe, and were not seen as posing any threat to European society, until relatively recently. More so with time, the majority of Muslims have been attempting to somewhat ‘transfer’ or arguably forcefully ‘impose’ their culture onto European society, by the building of mosques, the setting up of religious associations, and even at times, requesting that schools respect their values, and thus those of their children, by providing the choice of halal meat (Parekh, n.d.). “The growing importance of religion in Muslim self-definition and others’ perception of them made European Muslims sensitive to how their religion was presented in the ‘West’” (Parekh, n.d.). This has produced fear on the receiving end (by Europe), who has generally proven more reluctant to accept Muslims, especially after the cartoon incidents. It appears that long after the historical roots of Muslims are forgotten, their religion survives as a fundamental component of their culture, which further proves threatening to Europe (Parekh, n.d.). “As the politically visible Muslims began to define their identity in religious terms from the late 1970s onwards, Europeans began to wonder how to integrate them and turn them into loyal citizens” (Parekh, n.d.). Thus, in this

sense, it appears that the Muslim threat is not a new concept, but it is arguable that after the cartoon crises, these ancient fears have been re-emphasized.

In looking at Europe and Muslims, according to statistics, it was estimated that in 1990, there were around 29 million Muslims in Europe (“The Future of the Global Muslim Population,” 2011), whereas in 2010, the estimate was that of around 44 million Muslims (44,138,000 to be exact) (Rogers, 2011), constituting an approximation of 6 percent of Europe’s entire population (“The Future of the Global Muslim Population,” 2011). The majority of Muslims in Europe are currently residing in France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Germany (Johnson, 2011). It has been projected that by the year 2013, the number of Muslims in Europe will increase drastically, reaching around 58 million (precisely 58,209,000) (Rogers, 2011), predicted to constitute 8 percent of Europe’s population (“The Future of the Global Muslim Population,” 2011).

These numbers prove to be significant, bearing in mind the non-Muslim nature of Europe, and bearing in mind that Islam can somewhat be held indirectly responsible for the divisions and tense relationships which exist between these two parties. Furthermore, bearing in mind the democratic nature of Europe, as a country in which culture and liberalism form two fundamental components, the presence of Islam is on its own, is seen to be a threat, as it is perceived as being incompatible with democratic countries, per se. One might wonder why Europe does not simply shut its’ doors to future Muslim immigrants, and resolve the issue at hand. However, this can namely be attributed to the fact that Europe has somewhat become reliant on its Muslim immigrants, and many Muslims have become reliant on their presence within Europe, due to the fact that they have created new lives to which they have become accustomed. Muslim states have also become dependent on Muslim presence

in Europe, because remittances to their home countries have become a key component of the economic stability of their countries, as well as to their citizens (Lucas, 2004). Furthermore, it has also been argued that Europe is in need of more migrants, as key components of their economic stability, and as such cannot shut them out, but rather must adapt to their presence, and as such, need to strike a balance so as to incorporate Muslims into Europe, while preserving European culture.

In addition to rapidly increasing immigration, there is also above average birth rates of Muslims, which will also rapidly increase Muslim population, and thus even if immigration were to be stopped, it is still predicted that Muslim population in Europe is on the rise (Bin Ahmad, 2011), further pointing out that their presence and tense relationship with Europe needs to be considered, in order for them to adapt and formulate a relationship of tolerance towards one another.

Addressing European-Muslim relations proves to be even more vital when one comes to consider the persistence of Turkey to achieve accession into the European Union, bearing in mind that Turkey is indeed a majority Muslim country, whose accession into the EU would prove to further and drastically affect the stability of Europe, in terms of peaceful relations between Muslims and Europe.

Chapter Two:

Local Media, Media, and Globalization

2.1 Local Media

As mentioned above in the introduction, local media refers to media which is of both a local and national nature. Local print media often operates by publishing daily or weekly newspapers or magazines. Daily issues have become more common, due to the fact that people have somewhat become more reliant, and in need of information on a daily basis. They have come to place vast reliance on such information, and thus on local media chains, as societies have become more interested in news of a local and national nature. What differentiates local media from international media, is that local media, is arguably a more trusted outlet by the society in which it operates, as a valuable source of information, and as such, perhaps can be said to have greater capabilities in either aggravating or improving relations.

Local media, its' use, and its' power, has evolved into a powerful sector, influential on many platforms, the most important of which includes its' ability to influence the thinking of its' audiences. It has been transformed into an organ or tool, capable of swaying the public, much in the same way as international media, if not more. The only difference is that their target audience is of a smaller nature, its' main objective being to reach a specific segment of people, based on area, or at most, a whole country.

Nonetheless, in this era of globalization, where the concept of media globalization itself has evolved, accompanied by major advances in technology in so

far as the media is concerned, it is arguable that people have become more reliant on international media outlets, as well as on the internet, and new means of social media communications, and thus allows one to predict that local media outlets are becoming less significant. However, the importance of early media channels, including those of television, print, and radio, remain important in influencing our everyday lives, and as such, remain prevalent, bearing in mind that “newspapers and the print media are no less important in their impact and are also part of the electronic media’s web” (Sgazri and McDevitt, 2003). Therefore, despite advances in technology, as well as despite the presence of larger and perhaps more powerful media organs, local media outlets have held on, and remain sources of information which the world still need, and depend on, continuing to function as the main providers of local information, and as of recent, as will be seen with the two cartoons cases to be studied below, have become providers of information to international audiences, pertaining to the world at large. Globalization of media will be covered below in section 2.4.

2.2 Power of Media

“The way we see other people depends on the window on which we look at the world, what we see through it, when, under what lights and shadows, and, especially, in what larger setting” (Isaacs, 1980). Thus, depending on which media window we look through, ought to affect the way we see others.

The media has for as long as can be remembered, been, and continues to be, a powerful tool influencing the opinions and attitudes of individuals, societies, institutions, politics, and processes. “The media – primarily television and radio, newspapers, magazines and the internet – are powerful sources of knowledge about

different cultural and religious traditions, as well as forums for the open exchange of ideas” (“Islam and the West, 2008). Furthermore, “the media represents a vital channel for receiving information” (Hakim and Harris, 2009), often referred to as “the gateway connecting the common man with the outside world” (Zeenat, Zaidi, and Kazmi, 2012), proving not just to be an informative tool for citizens, but also, in some way, proving to be an instrument informally educating them (Zeenat, Zaidi, and Kazmi, 2012).

The media has also become recognized as one of the world’s major powers, due to the fact that “the way the mass media present, focus on, and give voice to different actors and incidents can influence a society’s thinking, and could have the unintentional result of strengthening a racist discourse instead of fighting against it” (“European Monitoring Centre,” 2002). This is more apparent when one looks at globalization, because “in the context of globalization, the media have emerged as critical shapers of public and elite opinion concerning the West and the Muslim world, as well as interactions across them. Newspapers and magazines, radio, television and the internet purvey the news, opinion, images and analysis that frame national and international debate” (“Islam and the West,” 2008).

The world has become over-reliant and dependent on media channels, as outlets for information and communication. Historically, the use of media existed as a luxury, whereas in this day and age, media and its’ use has been transformed into a necessity, without which, it could be argued that the world would function less smoothly, since the world has become accustomed to such a luxury, and taking it away would probably prove more detrimental than beneficial. In this sense, it can confidently be said that the media has become a vital component of our everyday lives, whether used for leisure purposes, or informative ones.

This reliance the world has come to place on media information and communication has somewhat empowered the media. This empowerment proves dangerous in the sense that due to public over-dependence on the media, it is arguable that an increased relationship of trust between media outlets and the public has been formed, whereby the public proves more likely to trust the majority of material published by the media, despite the accuracy of its content. This further indicates that the media indeed holds great power and immense influence over our beliefs, ideas, opinions and attitudes, as well as their extent, indirectly affecting our day-to-day lives, and thus our day-to-day undertakings, because “what we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us” (McCombs, 1972). Therefore, in this respect, the media holds a sort of commanding role over the public (McCombs, 1972).

Also, “it is widely accepted that what we know about, think about and believe about what happens in the world, outside of personal first-hand experience, is shaped, and some would say orchestrated, by how these events are reported in newspapers and communicated through the medium of radio and television” (McCombs, 1972). In this way, it can be said that it is not just what the media reports that can affect our opinion and behavior, but also the way in which the media articulates and portrays a particular event, showing the extent of media control over societies.

The scope of media, and thus local media, is not just limited to social or cultural issues, but can also play a role in influencing politics too, through allowing public focus to be on certain issues (McCombs, 1972). Thus, in this sense, through focusing much attention on Muslims as a ‘dilemma,’ media sources have played a role in influencing European-Muslim relations, proving that the media can also

emphasize and highlight attention on certain issues. This is arguably the case in so far as Muslims are concerned, as the media has not just pronounced Muslims as being a social issue in Europe, but also a political one, pushing their debate onto the agenda of many politicians and policy makers.

Although media influence is not a new phenomenon, it can be said to have increased dramatically, hand-in-hand with advances in technology. “Technology has made the media the most important immediate influence on opinions and understandings in the industrialized world and has significantly heightened media impact in the developing countries as well” (“Alliance of Civilizations,” n.d). Moreover, “with the improvement of technologies...media plays an increasingly more prominent role in our daily communication” (Bratic, 2007).

It can be argued too, that the media holds the power to both positively and negatively affect the manner in which the public sees things, and behaves, due to the fact that the “media has a powerful capacity to encourage global awareness thereby promoting cross-cultural understanding, tolerance and acceptance of ethnic, cultural, religious and gender differences in communities across the globe. Unfortunately, the media’s potential to be a force for good can easily backfire. By disseminating messages that create and reinforce negative stereotypes and perpetuate misconceptions, the media frustrates dialogue and works against mutual understanding” (“Alliance of Civilizations,” n.d). This can arguably said to have been the case in so far as Western-Muslim relations are concerned, especially since it is often articulated that Western media has undeniably contributed to the negative appearance Islam and Muslims (Shadid and Van Koningsveld, 2002). It is important to study this separately, which will be done in the following section. However, overall, “there can be no doubting the influence that the media exerts throughout

society today,” (Hakim and Harris, 2009) especially when it comes to European-Muslim relations.

2.3 Impact of Media on Muslims

Summing up the above, it can be said that the media is a powerful device, capable of influencing public opinion and attitudes, and that “the media is, therefore a crucial arena for challenging prevailing attitudes regarding the many ‘others’ across the globe” (“Alliance of Civilizations,” n.d).

It can be articulated that “individuals do not simply hold intellectual beliefs about peoples in distant lands, but rather, they have strong emotional responses to divisions that are perpetuated in the media. One critical example is the influential idea of the clash of civilizations,” and “no where has the reproduction of the so-called clash been more powerful than in the two media markets of the West and the Muslim world. Western cultural productions display negative portrayal of Arabs and Muslims and the conflicts among these societies illicit strong emotional responses” (“Alliance of Civilizations,” n.d).

The Muslim-West debate has been, and continues to dominate the media agenda, and as such, the study of the impact of media on the image of Muslims worldwide is of crucial importance to this thesis. The media has played a role in shaping the way Muslims worldwide are seen, creating tensions and negative perceptions of them. “How Muslims and Islam are represented in the media reflects societal attitudes towards them, at the same time as shaping the political space within which Muslims feel excluded or welcome” (Hakim and Harris, 2009).

Most media outlets “feed consumers oversimplified stereotypes that resonate with their own preconceptions” (“Islam and the West,” 2008). The media can be said to be responsible for the creation of prejudice, fear, or hatred towards Muslims, in so far as the West is concerned. The media has produced an “intensity of...negative attitude of the West towards Islam and Muslims,” (Shadid and Van Koningsveld, 2002) through which Western societies, and most notably Europe, have become intolerant and sensitive to Muslim presence, this intolerance often referred to as Islamophobia.

The term ‘Islamophobia,’ encompasses the word ‘phobia,’ which under the Oxford Dictionary, is defined as “an extreme or irrational fear of or aversion to something” (Oxford Dictionary, 2013). However, the term Islamophobia is recognized to be “a shorthand term referring to a multifaceted mix of discourse, behaviour, and structures which express and perpetuate feelings of anxiety, fear, hostility and rejection towards Muslims, particularly but not only in countries where people of Muslim heritage live as minorities” (Richardson, 2009). The tense relationship between Muslims and the West is by no means a new one. “Warning against the threat of the Muslim enemy is not new in the Western world,” but rather, “dating back to the eighties up to the present day” whereby still “the media frequently refer to the alleged danger of Islam,” as well as politicians, scientists, and journalists (Shadid and Van Koningsveld, 2002).

Thus, Islamophobia was present long before the terrorist attacks of 9/11, arguably dating back to the eighties, prompted by the vast migratory flows arriving to Europe, leading to a significant increase in the number of Muslims, and thus an increase in diverse cultural and religious presence (Shadid and Van Koningsveld, 2002), to which Europe was unwelcoming. However, it can be said that that Muslim

presence in Europe, and throughout the West all together, was not seen as being as menacing until after the events of 9/11 against the United States, as well as events thereafter, most notably in Europe via the cartoon crises to be studied below. This is because the media, in all cases, arguably over-amplified existing tensions, and created additional fear of Muslims, constantly highlighting the potential dangers arguably posed by their presence, affecting the way in which the West saw them.

The media's creation of Islamophobia, has also led to negative universal stereotyping of Muslims and Islam, often being described as radical, dangerous, or posing a security threat, bulking the majority of Muslims into a single group, even those Muslims who are more accustomed to Western values than to their religious Islamic ones, and regardless of whether or not a group of Muslims in particular have proven to be peaceful or violent. This proves that the media has seemed ready to label the majority of Muslims as one in the same, which the majority of the public has come to believe, clear from their increasingly objectionable behavior towards Muslims. Islamophobia in Europe has arguably become transformed into a sort of social cancer (Esposito, 2009), in large part due to media stereotypes. Western media "spread the assumption that every individual with an Islamic background is religious and practicing and that religion only accounts for such aspects as the inequality of women and the lack of democracy in the Muslim world" (Shadid and Von Koningsveld, 2002), and tend to over-generalize about Islam and Muslims, and often show that integration of Muslims into the West is not feasible (Shadid and Von Koningsveld, 2002), which is arguably inaccurate, bearing in mind that Muslim identities differ from each European country to the other (Angenendt, Barrett, Laurence, Smith, Winter, 2007). This is especially the case in Denmark where, "Muslims living in Denmark are obviously not a homogeneous group, but originate

from many different countries, speak different languages, have different cultures, adhere to different lines of Islam, and as all other Danes have different levels of religious activity. Never the less they are very often perceived and described in the media as one group, mainly due to their visibility among ethnic Danes” (Bonde, 2007).

“In many European countries with large Muslim communities, genuine feelings of insecurity and fear amongst majority populations have become enmeshed with endemic concerns about uncontrolled immigration and criticism of multiculturalism. These discussions are reflected, and often amplified by different media outlets” (Hakim and Harris, 2009). The media, through this characterization of Muslims has worsened the already tense relationship between Europe and Muslims, which has led to their general exclusion, especially social exclusion.

It can also be said that in times of crisis, as was the case during the 9/11 attacks, as well as times of crises thereafter, “the media can aggravate or moderate perceptions of fear and threat. Ever since the 9/11 attacks, newspapers, TV networks and the internet have been key sites of public debate on Islam and Muslims in Europe” (Hakim and Harris, 2009). Moreover, “in a post-Sept.11 environment...relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the West are at best precarious, at worst distrustful, and above all central to everyone's security” (Ali, 2008).

Despite media attention on the events of 9/11, media focus also proved to be on all “international conflicts at the intersection of the West and the Muslim world,” which “dominated headlines and diplomacy in 2006-2007, including the United States occupation and civil war in Iraq, the Israeli war in Lebanon, instability within

the Palestinian territories, international terrorism and efforts to combat it, and the US-Iranian confrontation over Tehran's nuclear programme ("Islam and the West, 2008). In this sense, it can be said that the media, through focusing much of its attention on issues involving the Muslim world and the West, all of which entailed negative insight, has affected public opinion, especially through branding the bulk of Muslims as being problematical.

In a broader sense, it can be said that the negative stereotyping and classification of Muslims in the media, has affected their relationship with one another, especially since Western media prove more reluctant to define positive traits that Muslims might hold, arguably solely describing them in relation to their extreme faith, as being violent, narrow-minded (Hakim and Harris, 2009), radical and linked to terrorism. The media often implies a negative tone when discussing Muslims, and tends to portray them through the lens of Islamic radicalism, often being described as the 'Other,' worldwide. "The media and public opinion focus too often on violence and terrorism and reinforce polarised perspectives and crude stereotypes ("Islam and the West," 2008) Furthermore, media coverage tends to look at how Muslims in the West are culturally 'different,' and unable to blend into the mainstream. However, little literature tends to focus on how Muslims in the West have integrated, which has made people unaware of any characteristic which make peaceful-relations possible. In this sense, it can be stated that "due to the distorted images, developed and manipulated by the media, Islam is the name of negativity in the West" (Ali, Khalid, and Lodhi, 2009).

As a general rule, peaceful relations involve two-way processes of reciprocal understanding and accommodation, by both Muslims and European states, as well as its' citizens. Where "individual members of the receiving society are hostile towards

people of immigrant origin, this self-evidently makes their incorporation more difficult. Barriers of this kind are all the more potent if they have the backing of the state” (Hargreaves, 2007). In Europe, it can be said that Muslims, and European states, as well as their citizens, are resistant to the presence of one another, and making peaceful accommodation arguably less viable. In terms of two-way accommodation, it is also important to note that Western media has not just created a negative image of Muslims in the Western world, but rather both sides have been affected, the Muslim world also having negative categorizations of the West, based on their readiness to treat Muslims as intruders of the Western world, as well as due to the cartoon crises, whereby Muslims feel like the West affords little understanding and respect to Islam. This has led to “both sides holding negative stereotypes of the other” (“Common Concerns About Islamist Extremism,” 2011), proving that the media has created not just a sour image of Muslims to the West, but also of the West to Muslims, due to the fact that the West also seem prepared to think the worst of their Muslim counterparts.

This two-way tense relationship has further affected European-Muslim relationships, on all four levels of analysis, outlined above, not to mention that it has affected the relationship of Muslims and the West in their entirety, thus showing that both local and international media have played a role in arguably ruining Muslim images, showing the ‘might’ of local media. In other words, and in the context of Europe, both international and local media, have arguably made tranquil European-Muslim relations less feasible, through preventing their peaceful integration and settlement into Europe. “Muslim views of the West and vice-versa are shaped both by educational institutions and by the images and narratives proffered by the national

and global media” (“Islam and the West, 2008). This is particularly the case in so far as local media in Europe is concerned, especially bearing in mind the cartoons.

In one sentence, it can be said that Muslim bias in the media is present, and that Muslims are generally speaking, and almost always, represented as a challenging ‘issue.’

2.4 Globalization

The theory of globalization is one which cannot be ignored in looking at this topic, especially in so far as Europe and Muslims are concerned, as they have arguably become ‘victims’ to globalization. Moreover, “globalization is a subject of great significance for Europe...The world has moved closer together. This is true also for the Islamic world and Europe” (Schirmacher, 2008).

Globalization is a revolutionary concept, one which has proven challenging to define, due to the fact that it pertains to a range of varying issues, at the same time holding many meanings, and as such a single definition of the term is arguably not possible. A common feature of globalization, however, is that it holds a presence in our everyday lives, whether or not we realize it. One should be careful when using the term globalization, because according to Susan Strange, it is at present being used to evaluate anything ranging from the internet to a hamburger (1996). Although globalization has social, economic, and political implications, this thesis will look at the effects it has had on the media, while also looking at the concept in relation to culture in Chapter Three.

Overall, globalization involves “the process of world shrinkage, of distances getting shorter, things moving closer. It pertains to the increasing ease with which

somebody on one side of the world can interact, to mutual benefit, with somebody on the other side of the world” (Larsson, 2001). Globalization has changed the way information can travel across the world. It is important to note that media globalization has proven to be a double-edged sword that holds both positive and negative traits, able to alter relationships between and within states, as was the case in so far as European-Muslim relations are concerned.

In this era of globalization, media, whatever the type, has somewhat “served to reduce the distance between events in a remote part of the world and audiences far away. In other words, an event in Denmark can very quickly be spread to governments and populations in the Arab states as well as to the rest of the world” (Bonde, 2007). In this sense, globalization has facilitated the possibility of increased interconnectedness, unification, and closeness of the world, without the need for physical proximity between people, states, or societies. Globalization has allowed nations to be further linked to one another, placing the world arguably into a single community, or ‘global village.’ This concept of a ‘global village,’ was first proposed by Marshall McLuhan’s in the 1960’s, which forms a cornerstone in media studies, whereby McLuhan has argued that we all appertain to what has become a ‘global village,’ allowing us to be attached or connected in a single community. The reactions to the cartoon cases, are arguably reactions “to a new kind of globalized space that disturbingly blurs older concepts of space based on physical proximity” (Elsewi, 2007). Media globalization has thus, arguably altered the way in which information travels worldwide, made possible through advances in technology. Advances in technology have allowed media globalization to evolve, allowing the reciprocal sharing of voices and ideas, at a global level (Stahl, 1007), and at a rapid pace. It has led to what can be described as an ever ‘globalized,’ world. Therefore,

the globalization of media, accompanied by advancements in technology, can arguably be held responsible not only for affecting flows of information, but also for affecting behavior, as was made clear in the cartoon cases (Stahl, 2007), to be covered below in Chapter Four.

Moreover, globalization has also impacted the media in the sense that it can be held somewhat responsible for empowering it, whatever the type. It has particularly empowered local media outlets, and thus European local media, strengthening and extending its' reach, from its customary national context, into a more international one. It has allowed, what may historically and internationally have been seen as insignificant media outlets, to be transformed into powerful catalysts of change, and even conflict, on a worldwide scale, as will be seen with the two cartoon cases. Globalization, in this respect, has eroded and blurred the difference between local and global media, empowering all media, allowing all types of media outlets to hold the potential to create worldwide dissatisfaction and protest, which has arguably affected the global order. It has created a situation whereby there is no clear cut line between different types of media. Local media can be as much local, as it can international, thus proving that local media no longer holds a 'local' or 'national' dimension, but can equally reach countries such as Honolulu and Kazakhstan. Furthermore, due to the globalization of the media, the cartoons were able to draw reactions from diaspora Muslims too, most notably those living in Europe, something historically unattainable. Not only did globalization allow Muslims abroad to affect the stability within Europe, but local Muslims in Europe were able to have global reach too, playing an essential part in the crisis (Linjakumpu, 2010).

Therefore, globalization has led to the emergence of a situation whereby local media outlets, most notably in Europe, have become empowered to a point where it has been able to attain a reach of great magnitude. Local media can confidently be said to be of great importance today, in the international arena, and on European-Muslim relations. It is important to acknowledge that it holds great power, as influential and persuasive actor, often contributing to the changing of attitudes and opinions of individuals, as well as to societies in their entirety, as will be covered in Chapter Four. This is arguably the case with the 2005 Jyllands-Posten cartoons, as well as the 2012 Charlie Hebdo cartoons, whose publications, and repercussions were not limited to a particular geographical area. This is particularly so now that all local media publications can also be accessed via the internet, starting on the websites of particular media outlets, such as Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo, and disseminating into the internet ‘forum.’ Moreover, globalization has also arguably increased the audiences of local media outlets, due to the fact that it has evolved into more of an international media channel, with increased influence.

Briefly applying globalization to both the Danish and French cartoons, it can be argued that although they were published locally, the phenomenon of globalization changed the context in which they were published, and thus changed the context in which they erupted. For example, in Denmark, the cartoons proved to no longer be “just a local matter but can cause reactions in Damascus and Jakarta and provoke comment from the president of the United States and other world leaders. Conversely, globalisation also has local consequences, and the international controversy and the escalation of the conflict had an impact on Denmark, affecting relations both between Muslims and non-Muslims and between Denmark’s various Muslim communities” (Ostergaard and Sinclair, 2007). In other words, “the

seriousness and the extent of the crisis were the results of globalisation processes whereby different parts of the world are connected by the movements of people, new forms of transnational loyalties and new forms of communications technology such as satellite television, mobile phones and the Internet. Information can thus, in an instant, be transmitted all over the world” (Ostergaard and Sinclair, 2007). This is arguably the case with both the Danish and French cartoons respectively, which were able to gain recognition at an extremely rapid pace, even quicker than those of Denmark, bearing in mind that the Danish cartoons only drew international attention a few months after the cartoons, whereas the French cartoons led to international reactions the following day.

The phenomenon of globalization has also affected the media in the sense that it has allowed the media to work as a promoter of conflict, or encourager of peace. It has arguably transformed the media into a source, capable of initiating conflict, and influencing the possibility of potential clashes and conflicts whether positively and negatively. When referring to the cartoons, however, it is important to note that globalization, although a powerful force, is not inducing groups into conflict purposely, but rather is converging the world into close-knitted groups, bringing them closer together, and thus increasing the possibility of conflict. It is arguably the publications in these European local media outlets which are igniting conflict, showing the impact of local media.

Thus, in this sense, it can be argued that European media, aided by the phenomenon of globalization, has made possible the eruption of worldwide dissatisfaction. The cartoons, and especially the Danish cartoons, allows one to understand changing spatial concepts (Elsewi, 2007), and show that local media,

driven by globalization, has increased segregations between Muslims and the West, making it seem that the convergence of Europe and Muslims is less feasible.

Overall, it can be concluded that we are living in an information revolution, whereby instantaneous flows of information and communication have become the norm, as well as worldwide accessibility of events, publications of any sort being splattered across the world, at a speed not feasible before, and to increasingly large global audiences, thus empowering local media outlets. The situation is that the world has become considerably close, with increasing proximity of individuals, and universal media dissemination, leading to a situation whereby it has grown increasingly difficult to prevent cultural clashes. In this sense, it can be said that globalization has also affected culture, resulting from the increased compression of the world and unified nature of societies and thus cultures, further increasing the possibility of cultural conflict. This will be covered in the next chapter.

Chapter Three:

Liberalism, Culture, and Freedom of Expression

3.1 Liberalism

When studying local media in Europe, it is important to study why European local media is acting in such a fashion, that is, why it is being directly offensive to Islam. In practice, this can often be argued to be attributed to two factors, which are, either due to bias on their part, or phrased otherwise, ‘Islamophobia,’ or solely due to liberal reasons, most notably, freedom of expression and freedom of the press. This will be an important contribution to this thesis, as it will allow not just the understanding of the fact that European local media, through the phenomenon of globalization, is greatly affecting European-Muslim relations, but rather allows the consideration of the question as to ‘why’ European local media is dealing with Islam in such a manner, so as to understand why it is affecting these relationships, whether purposely or not.

Firstly, as a general rule, it can be said that Europe is a liberal democratic country (Anspaha, 2008), influenced by a political liberal system, historically and currently embracing and operating on liberal principles, and a liberal way of life. Although it cannot be denied that a significant percentage of media outlets in Europe are without doubt biased, the majority of local media outlets in Europe are arguably influenced by a liberal culture.

It is important firstly, to understand what liberalism means. Liberalism is often associated with democracy, and as such, forms a major component in Western

states, and thus in Europe. "The term "liberalism," from the Latin "liber" meaning "free," referred originally to the philosophy of freedom" (Von Mises, 2002). Moreover, "liberalism in both theory and practice is concerned to promote social outcomes that are, as far as possible, the result of free individual choices" (Charvet and Kaczynska-Nay, 2008). Ernest Gellner described the phenomenon of liberalism as a 'miracle' (O'Leary, 2006). Liberalism is an important phenomenon in this day and age, concerned with the belief and respect of liberties (Goodman, 2005), as well as individual freedoms (Chau, 2009). It believes in affording various freedoms, including those of freedom of expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of press. Reference is made to these freedoms, as they prove most significant to this thesis, these freedoms, and their legal backing, covered in the following section. Furthermore, "liberalism in general...requires freedom of thought and expression" (Charvet and Kaczynska-Nay, 2008).

The phenomenon of liberalism, and most notably the right to freedom of expression, can arguably be afforded as a justification for blasphemous local media publications, further arguing that because European media outlets are afforded this right, local media in Europe has been empowered, holding the freedom to publish whatever it so desires, which although subject to limitations, are rarely employed, which will be covered below. This argument will further prove the notion of this thesis, that is, that local media has become a powerful player on the international scene, able to more or less publish arguably 'any' material, defensible by the simple argument of 'freedom of expression,' which can be said to be widening the scope of its powers'. Thus, in other words, it will be argued that European local media outlets have been empowered by liberalism too, much in the same way that globalization has conferred power upon them. The two theories of globalization, and liberalism,

clearly illustrate the far-reaching power of local media, as a source which can be held accountable for damaging the diverse relationships between Europe, and the Muslim world, on the four levels discussed above, without global geographical limits (thanks to globalization), nor limits as to content, in terms of what it may publish (thanks to liberalism).

Liberalism forms the bulk of European culture, much in the same way as Muslim culture is founded on Islam, and its' practices. This makes it more obvious that cultural dissimilarities are present between Europe and Muslims, bearing in mind that the cartoon controversies highlighted cultural differences. Culture is a very important phenomenon, one which cannot be ignored when studying liberalism.

3.2 Culture

Culture is a concept which has proven challenging to explain, and thus it is difficult to assign a single definition to it. Looking through the Oxford Dictionary (2013), the term has been defined in many ways. Two relevant definitions for the purpose of this thesis include either “the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society,” or “the attitudes and behaviour characteristic of a particular social group.” By others, culture has been defined as “the full range of learned human behavior patterns” (Matthes, 2010). According to Edward Burnett Tylor (1903), culture “includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” Culture, in other words, is the beliefs, and values, of specific individuals, groups, or societies, which affect and somewhat dictate the way in which they behave, while adhering to their particular culture. It appertains to everything human beings know, value, or come to think.

Arguably, it is difficult for individuals to be detached from his or her culture, and even more so for individuals to argue that they are not even at the slightest, somewhat influenced by culture. Culture undeniably forms the basis, or at least an essential component, of most individuals' characteristics and behaviors, and therefore somewhat forms a significant portion of their identities. In Europe, culture has arguably become a marker of identity. "Identity is an issue fundamental to all our lives. Each one of us is a complex collection of loyalties, associations, beliefs and personal perspectives. However, for many, the question of identity may seldom cause personal conflict or trauma as people live within established communities with shared beliefs and perspectives. For others, particularly those who live in fragmented communities or belong to minority or marginalised groups as in the case of the religious minority group discussed here it may be a question that pursues them all their lives" (McPhee, 2005). Culture is important, because it in some ways, dictates how one should behave, and how one ought to deal with religion.

Muslims in Europe have become seen as the 'Others' of Europe, and thus culturally different. "One of the major causes of European anxiety about Muslim immigrants has to do with religion. Liberals in general and European liberals in particular have long been troubled by religion. For some it rejects many of the central principles of liberalism, such as humanism, individualism, critical rationality, commitment to scientific inquiry, freedom of thought and belief in progress, and represents a reactionary and obscurantist form of thought" (Parekh, n.d.), notions which go against European culture. Thus, in this respect, it can be said that the sole presence of Islam in Europe, contradicts the liberal culture of Europe. Moreover, situations tend to become more perplexed, as is the case with regard Europe-Muslim relations, "when both parties feel equally strongly about their cultural norms"

(Parekh, n.d.). Both Muslims and Europeans have arguably been insisting on preserving and upholding their cultural values, unwilling to set them aside, which has pushed the Europe-Muslim debate to the forefront of literature, drawing vast international attention. Overall, however, the cultural problems which exist between Europe and the Muslim world are derived from the fact that Muslims “want the state to protect their religious beliefs and practices by restricting the freedom of expression and imposing unfair burdens on others,” (Parekh, n.d.) which will be dealt in more detail below.

Culture is often described as being a major characteristic which can lead to conflict and dispute between different communities. Undoubtedly, cultural clashes are more likely to occur in countries where multi-culture is present. This is the case in Europe, where multi-culture indisputably exists, and as such, Europe has arguably come to face a cultural threat. This is especially the case bearing in mind that Europe is in the wake of increasing immigration, and worldwide globalization, through which territories are no longer so clear-cut, nor defined, with cultures arguably 'spilling' across borders, thus increasing the chance of potential cultural disputes between the two sides.

However, cultural conflicts tend to arise where differences in culture are present, because differences in culture also lead to differences in interpretation, which lie at the heart of such tensions and clashes. This is clearly the case with regard Europe and Muslims, their cultural dissimilarities arguably responsible for triggering collective problems, due to the fact that Muslim interpretations of what is acceptable and unacceptable, differs entirely from what Europe perceives to be acceptable. For example, if one is to look at a secular European country such as France, culture becomes even more difficult to incorporate, bearing in mind that secularism, requires

and makes adamant the separation of religion from the state, termed 'laicite' in French. Secularism arguably forms a fundamental component of France's culture, yet to Muslims and Muslim states, it is seen as irrational and absurd, bearing in mind that Muslim states often derive their cultural beliefs from Islam, and create their laws or policies in a way that proves not to contradict Islam, neither its' practices. Moreover, cultural dissimilarities are made even more apparent when one comes to consider how Europe deals with religion, as opposed to the Muslim world, that is, with more lenience, which further highlights cultural discrepancies between the two sides.

Cultural problems, and divides between Europe and the Muslim world, have been present long before the 2005 and 2012 cartoons, debatably from the commencement of Muslim immigration to Europe, as well as more recently, for example after the banning of the religious symbols in public institutions in France in 2004, with other European states following thereafter, argued to have been targeted at the Islamic headscarf. Although these cultural problems have been present for a while, it is only as of recent that they have become so visible, arguably as a result of the the cartoon crises of 2005, and 2012, among others, which have highlighted extreme inconsistencies, in so far as liberal norms and Muslim values are concerned. It can even be argued that these local media publications have in some way transformed these cultural issues, into cultural threats, which has arguably affected the stability of Europe, and its' people, who have increasingly come to feel like they core values are being threatened by Muslim presence and culture.

Europe has come to feel the need to defend its' liberal values, cultures, and practices, and has consequently come to feel growing anxiety towards Muslims (Parekh, n.d.). This has further worsened European-Muslim relationships. "The presence of Muslims in Europe is testing the notions and principles of liberal

pluralism in European societies” (Anspaha, 2008). Muslim influence and Islamic ideology are “by every means trying to infiltrate and eradicate liberal values, and life” (Christophersen, 2011), which is creating intolerance on the part of Europe, due to the fact that Muslims are being perceived as endangering the future of European culture, especially in the wake of increasing mass immigration (Christophersen, 2011). This is because “many Europeans perceive Islam as menace to European culture and civilization, and to the West as a whole” (Anspaha, 2008). It is arguably due to globalization and increasing immigration, that Muslim influence in Europe has increased, Muslims somewhat attempting to eradicate indispensable liberal European values, which has allowed European to feel increasingly threatened (Christophersen, 2011).

As a result of feeling threatened by Muslim presence, liberal states, including Europe, have arguably become more assertive of their liberal principles, and less tolerant of their violation (Joppke, 2004), freedom of expression, constituting one of the major principles. This has arguably further damaged European-Muslim relations, too, as it appears that Europe has become less inclined to accept hostility towards their liberal norms, in order to protect their culture, even if this means disregarding, to some extent, Muslim culture. This is made ever more apparent when one considers that European states have even changed their integration policies, in order to preserve their culture. For example, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, have somewhat ‘retreated’ from employing multiculturalism so as to achieve integration (Joppke, 2004), that is, withdrawn their efforts to accept and work to achieve a multicultural society, which has placed additional strain on European-Muslim relations. This has without doubt, also impacted Muslim feelings and sense of belonging in Europe.

Furthermore, it is often the case that “cultures are always adapting to the situation and issues it is presented with” (Matthes, 2010), and in the end “cultures always adapt to the better, thriving culture” (Matthes, 2010). Therefore, in this sense, it can be said that the cultural battle between the Muslim world, and Europe, is founded on the idea that the battle is a sort of fight to the end, where only one culture will subsist.

When considering the right to freedom of expression, and culture, it can be said that “any form of disrespect, regardless of the motive or intent, is therefore bound to raise the issue of whether or not such an action falls within the scope of the freedom of expression. Internationally, different nations construe the right of expression differently and it is therefore impossible to define the boundaries in a strait-jacket” (Duggal and Sridhar, 2006). This shows that even in the interpretation of laws, most notably the right to freedom of expression, culture plays a role too, because what one country or community may see as acceptable in terms of freedoms, other countries may see as unacceptable. In this sense, it can also be stated “many Westerners regarded the reaction of some Muslims to the printing of the cartoon as disrespectful to Western values, just as many Muslims saw the wide distribution of the caricature as an assault on their tradition” (“Islam and the West, 2008). This is another example of where culture has played a role in interpretation, proving ever the more difficult to construe, and thus arguably affecting European-Muslim relations. Moreover, cultural differences are also present and made more apparent between Europe and Muslims, not just in interpretation of what is acceptable and unacceptable, but also, when one considers how each side deals with a particular situation. For example, Muslims are more prone to use and incite violent in the event of dissatisfaction, whereas

Europeans are more inclined to voice their opinions, further highlighting cultural variances.

It can be concluded from the above, that overall, there is arguably a contradiction between Muslim culture and European liberal culture, because liberalism affords rights which various cultures do not permit, most notably Muslim culture. This has therefore, affected Europe and Muslims, in the sense that the liberal right of freedom of expression, contradicts Islamic culture, as it is seen as infringing what is permissible under the religion of Islam. It is an expressly stated principle of Islamic culture that the Prophet Muhammad not be portrayed in any way, or form. “Islamic tradition explicitly prohibits images of Allah, Muhammad and all the major figures of the Christian and Jewish traditions” (“Q&A,” 2006), and in this sense, “some Muslims see the cartoons as an attack on their faith and culture designed to sow hatred” (“Q&A,” 2006), whereas this is arguably permitted in Europe. The simple fact that Islam does not permit the portrayal of religious figures, arguably alone contradicts Europe’s liberal culture, as it opposes the right of freedom of expression, due to the fact that one cannot even portray the Prophet, let alone mock him. Karen Armstrong, referred to above, argues that “freedom is as sacred a value for us as the Prophet to Muslims,” and as such “we are seeing here a clash of two different notions of what is sacred and this is part of the modernising process” (“Viewpoints: Cartoon Row,” 2006). Furthermore, according to Flemming Rose of Jyllands-Posten, much of the cartoon “debate focuses on how much of their own culture immigrants have to give up” (“Viewpoints: Cartoon Row,” 2006). In this sense, the cartoon controversy of 2005, and no less that of 2012, allows one to study and consider how much of their culture Muslims have to, and are willing to, set aside, so as to secure peaceful relations with their European counterparts, if any at all.

These factors on their own, notwithstanding others, are a clear and evident indication of the power that local media exerts as a dominant, and dictating source, on European-Muslim relations, generating cross-cultural conflicts, as a result of the highlighting of cultural dissimilarities.

Thus, bearing in mind that Muslims are often perceived as constituting a cultural threat to Europe, it is important to answer the following question: Why is the presence of Muslims perceived to be such a threat to Europe? This is namely because, in the eyes of some, most notably Europe, Islamic culture is “profoundly illiberal and collectivist. It opposed freedom of expression, secularism, critical thought, personal autonomy and individual choice” (Parekh, n.d.), rights which form the groundwork and cornerstones of Europe. Therefore, Islam, in this sense, is founded on values which are arguably incompatible with Europe and similar democratic liberal states, especially considering that “in fact, democracy, freedom of expression, and freedom of the press are alien, and sometimes contested, terms to Muslim citizens in a variety of contexts” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007). Muslims have additionally become seen as culturally different after various incidents, whereby they had reacted through violence, including the 2005 and 2012 cartoons, among others, keeping in mind that Europe completely opposes the use of violence in order to voice ones’ opinions.

Moreover, another important question is why is the Muslim debate so fundamental in Europe, and why do they entice so much attention? “Muslims attract our attention and antipathy because they refuse to convert” (O’Brien, 1993). They are arguably holding on, and clinging to their values, refusing to accept liberal European values. However, what Muslims seem not to be considering is that they are often residing within European states, and thus are subject to European jurisdiction,

meaning that they ought to arguably abide by European laws, cultures, and values, much before their own, but in the event that such laws and norms clash with their cultures, they need not praise them, but still arguably accept them.

Thus, it can be said that the cartoons are responsible for igniting pervasive debates as to the compatibility of European culture with the religion of Islam, the main debate founded on the right to freedom of expression. These cartoons have arguably led to what can be termed a 'culture war,' between Europe and Muslims, further placing strain on European-Muslim relations, and thus further indicating and emphasizing the power of local media outlets in Europe, as a component distressing these relations.

3.3 Culture and Globalization

The study of culture would prove incomplete if it were not looked at within the wider context of globalization. This is because globalization provides insight in understanding why the world and the cultures therein have become so intermixed. "European culture, however, has always included Muslim elements, as early as the 8th century" ("Center on the United States and Europe," 2008). However, reiterating the globalized world we have come to live in, it can be said that "globalization challenges our understanding of culture and identity" (Shome and Hedge, 2002), which on its' own proves challenging to Europe, which is comprised of multi-ethnic, and multi-cultured communities. The phenomenon of "globalization puts everybody's culture into an industrial strength blender" (Stahl, 2007), which arguably proves dangerous to some, especially those attempting to sustain, and keep hold of their culture. When cultures are somewhat 'shoved' into a large mixer, this arguably leads to a problematic situation, whereby little consideration is afforded to

certain ideologies, beliefs and values, which in turn leads to clashes of cultures. “Culture is a familiar term and remains unchanged by definition. However, globalization and international relations have constantly altered culture both positively and negatively” (Matthes, 2010). The following quotation allows one to understand the concept of culture and globalization, as interlinked notions:

“The remarkable feeling of proximity between people and nations is the unmistakable reality of our globalized world. Encounters with other peoples’ ways of life, current affairs, politics, welfare and faiths are more frequent than ever. We are not only able to see other cultures more clearly, but able to see our differences more sharply. The information intensity of modern life has made this diversity of nations part of our every day consciousness and has led to the centrality of culture in discerning our individual and collective views of the world. Our challenges have also become global. The destinies of nations have become deeply interconnected. No matter where in the world we live, we are touched by the successes and failures of today’s global order. Yet our responses to global problems remain vastly different, not only as a result of rivalry and competing interests, but largely because our cultural difference is the lens through which we see these global challenges” (“Islam and the West,” 2008).

Globalization has tested the boundaries of Muslim culture in Europe, and European culture and its’ democratic liberal values, debatably making Europe increasingly multi-cultural, and inter-cultural, proving to also be a fundamental component which has led to the tense nature of European-Muslim relations, due to the universal dissemination of the 2005 and 2012 cartoons, which led to violent reactions. It can be argued that as a result of democratization, modernization, and globalization, the Western world has arguably become less sensitive and less inclined

to consider cultural differences. This is because it would be almost impossible for Europe, along with other democratic liberal states, to acknowledge and consider the belief and values of all its' immigrant populations, while still adhering to a liberal system. With time, and due to an increasingly globalized and interconnected world order, religion no longer forms a primary notion that is protected by liberal states, and thus is afforded no such privilege anymore. This has proven problematic when one comes to consider that the Muslim world has remained sensitive in this respect. Moreover, in this era of globalization, it can be argued that it has become exceedingly difficult to determine what rights and freedoms are important, and which of those rights ought to prevail when they clash with other cultures, further showing that globalization has impacted culture too. This is arguably something local media outlets do not consider, especially not those in Western democratic and liberal states, operating upon freedom of expression or speech, proving reluctant to consider the feelings of others, nor the effects of their publications.

Furthermore, bearing in mind that multi-culture has become an indisputable part of all states, especially Western states, peaceful co-habitation between different groups, on its' own, has become more challenging, without having to deal with other factors. Even though the caricatures are legal in the countries in which they were published, as well as throughout Europe, they are arguably, and according to Muslims, not respectful to Islamic culture.

Overall, it is apparent that both cartoon controversies are drawn on the same debates (cultural ones), most notably between the notion of free speech versus respect for religion. The challenge has been, and continues to be, determining whether Muslim values or European values ought to supersede, that is, whether Muslims ought to be afforded respect for their religion, or whether Europeans ought

to be afforded the right to freedom of expression. The cartoon cases prove to be a clear example of situations where “one person’s liberty collides with another’s values” (Hensher and Younge, 2006), often arising due to cultural dissimilarities, which spark dissatisfaction and violence, as established above. Muslims believed that the cartoons went far beyond the boundaries of free speech (“Islam and the West, 2008), and constituted to an outright insult to Islam. However, how can one exercise rights, such as freedom of expression, while having to bear respect to different cultures and sensibilities, and not to offend them? Is it even possible? The two cartoon cases, and the debates derived therefrom, have made it apparent that the value of freedom of the press, and freedom of expression is being threatened by Muslims in Europe, further affecting their relationship. The cartoons have also made cultural differences which existed, more apparent, and have pushed such ideas into the spotlight. “With the publication of the profane pictures of the holy Prophet of Islam in Charlie Hebdo magazine, the West seems to be consciously moving in a direction where chaos will dominate the international arena and a clash of cultures will inevitably run deeper for an indefinite period of time” (Salami, 2012). Thus, the cartoons have ignited cultural clashes between Europe and Muslims, while underlining existing problems, and increasing the possibility of potential future clashes, further illustrating the power of local media on European-Muslim relations.

3.4 European Liberal Culture offensive to all

Islam is often described as being the religion which is subject to the most mockery. However, this is inaccurate, and rather, generally speaking, the majority of religions are mimicked as one in the same, European local media outlets arguably not sparing any particular religious group, victimizing all religions, respectively.

Therefore, contrarily to what Muslims think, in Europe, they are not first on the target list, but rather, it has often been articulated that “if any religion has been treated with leniency and indulgence, it is Islam” (Hansen, 2006). However, Islam and its’ cartoons are often those which attract most notice, typically because the Islamic faith has a zero tolerance policy for ridicule, and thus draw widespread reactions. Nonetheless, it can be also be argued that if Islam is the religion which is most attacked, this need not necessarily be due to bias, but can be attributed to the intolerant reactions that Muslims’ tends to exert in response to anti-Islamic material, which arguably pushes media outlets to respond with more severe measures, in the name of preserving their right to freedom of expression. Nonetheless, it is predictable that Islam will not stop being the target of extensive mimicry, until, as Charbonnier described it, Islam is ‘trivialized’ into European cultures,(Lauter, 2013), which will be covered below.

According to Flemming Rose, “in Denmark we have a tradition of satire and humour and some cartoonists made satirical cartoons. We have done the same thing with Jesus Christ and other religions. That's what we do with the royal family, politicians and other public figures. We were not treating Islam or the Prophet any differently from how we treat everybody else in Denmark” (“Viewpoints: Cartoon Row,” 2006). According to Rose, “the cartoonists did what they do every day. This case surprised everyone. Even so-called experts on Islam could not have predicted it would explode in this fashion” (Buch-Andersen, 2006). Moreover, Rose had also contended that Islam is being treated the same as all other religions, and the Prophet Muhammad the same as all religious figures (“Q&A,” 2006). It is often the case, therefore, that Europe and its’ media outlets treat religions fairly equally, offering no

distinctive protection to a single religion, although of course, there are exceptions. This is made more apparent in the following quotation:

“The real hypocrisy and inconsistency would be if Western countries protected some religions but failed to protect others. They do not. When Christian fundamentalists burn abortion clinics, demand the teaching of education and prayer in school, and attempt to have homosexuals fired, they are told that their religious beliefs are inconsistent with liberal constitutional values” (Hansen, 2006).

It is important to study various cases, which will show that overall Europe and its’ media chains, are truly liberal in nature, in the sense that they generally are willing to publish critical and offensive material to all religions, correspondingly.

Bearing in mind that Charlie Hebdo is a satirical magazine, it holds the most examples of anti-religious cartoons, publishing them on a regular basis. Charlie Hebdo, “the fiercely anti-religious weekly is well-known for attacks on dogmas and mandarins, the magazine's defiant and risky initiative has started a tense debate in France--a strongly secular country which also has the EU's largest Muslim community” (Marthoz, 2012), much of the debate being on the notion of freedom of expression. It has been stated that overall, Charlie Hebdo’s “tradition combines left-wing radicalism with a provocative scurrility that often borders on the obscene” (Schofield, 2011).

Charlie Hebdo often caricatures in very different ways. For example, in Charlie Hebdo magazines, “police would be shown holding the dripping heads of immigrants; there would be masturbating nuns; popes wearing condoms - anything to make a point” (Schofield, 2011). Therefore, in this sense, it can be said that Charlie Hebdo targets all. This is made more apparent when “over the years, politicians,

celebrities and even a dead Jesus Christ have fallen prey” (Ruiz-Goiriena, 2011) to Charlie Hebdo. According to Charbonnier, “we have the impression that it’s officially allowed for Charlie Hebdo to attack the Catholic far-right but we cannot poke fun at fundamental Islamists” (Vinocur, 2012). Agnes Poirier, French political commentator stated that Charlie Hebdo “also runs anti-Christian cartoons and nobody raises an eyebrow. People who don’t like it shouldn’t buy it” (Thornhill, 2012). Poirier throughout her statement stressed the notion of freedom of expression.

Although overall, it is perceived that Charlie Hebdo targets Islam most in its publications, it has often been stated that Catholics are often those who are most attacked. On September 2001, Charlie Hebdo drew Jesus Christ in a pornographic manner (Jolis, 2011). This was followed over the years with ‘countless’ depictions of Jesus Christ (Jolis, 2011). More recently, in 2009, Charlie Hebdo released a cartoon, which was arguably extremely offensive as it depicted the Pope. This cartoon was released after the death of John Paul II, in which the Pope was sketched “stumbling through an empty, heaven-free afterlife, with a speech bubble which read “Hello, is anyone there?” (Jolis, 2011). Charlie Hebdo was unsuccessful sued over the 2009 caricatures (“Charlie Hebdo French Cartoons,” 2012). Many other anti-Christianity cartoons have also been released in Charlie Hebdo magazines over the years. In a recent magazine, on 27 November 2012, a caricature had been published, against the Catholic Church due to its objectionable behavior towards gay marriage (Charb, 2012).

In addition to Charlie Hebdo, other European media outlets tend to run cartoons which mock Christianity. In 2003, cartoons poking fun at the Catholic religion were published in a Scottish political magazine, known as Holyrood. These cartoons were seen as extremely offensive, described as being of ‘shockingly bad

taste,' according to Peter Kearney, the Church Spokesman, requesting an apology ("Church fury at magazine 'slur,'" 2003). Despite offense taken, the editor of Holyrood, Paul Hutcheon, stood by his decision to publish the caricatures ("Church fury at magazine 'slur,'" 2003). He told BBC Scotland, "I think people have to see the funny side of this and lighten up, cartoons are satirical" ("Church fury at magazine 'slur,'" 2003). This shows further that European local media outlets are not willing to denounce their right to freedom of expression with respect any religion, even Christianity. This proves significant, bearing in mind that Europe is comprised of majority Christian states, and as such, the acceptance of mocking Christianity in itself, proves liberal. This therefore, is proof on its own, that utmost significance is attached to the right to freedom of expression in Europe, showing the immense importance devoted to upholding its' liberal values.

Furthermore, the Jewish faith has also been targeted by many European media outlets. Although it is perceived that Jews are rarely mocked in Europe, they are often the target of much criticism and hostility in Europe, and this has been the case for as long as can be remembered. It is arguable that referring to all the anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish cartoons in Europe, just in the last decade, would prove impracticable, as there are dozens of examples ("Examples of anti-Semitic and problematic cartoons," n.d.). However, it is important to outline a few examples. Firstly, in so far as the 2012 Cartoons Charlie Hebdo cartoons, they also entailed a depiction of a Jewish Orthodox man pushing a Muslim man in a wheelchair, yet there was no Jewish retaliation, nor violence in response (Greenhouse, 2012). Moreover, on the 10th July 2012, Charlie Hebdo released a cartoon which ridiculed and condemned circumcision, a practice of paramount significance in the Jewish faith, as well as the Muslim faith (Charb, 2012). More famous examples, however,

include the following. On 16 November 2012, Steve Bell for the UK guardian published an anti-Semitic cartoon, in which Benjamin Netanyahu was depicted as being a 'Puppet Master.' This cartoon shows anti-Semitic stereotypes of all Jews as being 'Puppet Masters,' that means, 'Masters' in control of world governments. In the hands of Netanyahu were the British Foreign Secretary William Hague, as well as the former British Prime Minister Tony Blair (Elliott, 2012). They were drawn in his hands, in order to show that he was controlling them, which was seen as attacking to Jews. Moreover, on 30 June 2009, El Pais, a Spanish daily newspaper released cartoons which were degrading to Israelis and Jews. They portrayed Jews as conspirators, trying to control the world, as well as immoral, and Israel as international law violators ("Top Spanish newspaper's cartoon," 2010).

More recently in January 2013, the Sunday Times, a British newspaper outlet, published a cartoon which was found to be offensive to Jewish. The cartoons were published on the International Holocaust Remembrance Day of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who was building a brick wall over Palestinian bodies, their blood constituting the cement. The editor of the Sunday Times apologized to Jewish community leaders for the cartoons, upon request (O'Carroll, 2013). Much of the discontent was the time at which the cartoons were published, that is, on the International Holocaust Remembrance Day.

Moreover, on the 13th of June 2012, Charlie Hebdo released a cartoon for those who had complained and said to Charlie Hebdo that caricatures of Buddhism are never published. Charlie Hebdo, thus responded with an anti-Buddhism cartoon ("Bouddhisme," 2012). This further shows the willingness of European local media outlets, such as Charlie Hebdo, to caricature all religions, and mock them as equal.

France Soir, a French magazine, also published a front page cartoon of Christian, Muslim, Jewish, and Buddhist Gods, floating on a cloud, with the headline “yes, we have the right to caricature God,” with the Christian Deity saying “don’t complain Muhammad, we’ve all been caricatured here” (“France enters Muslim cartoon row,” 2006).

These above covered cases show that media chains in Europe do produce cartoons ridiculing religions, other than that of Islam, thus further proving that Europe tends to operate upon liberalism, using their means of expression to target all, not just Islam. This, therefore, shows that Islam is not the only religion besieged in Europe.

Although at times, there are negative reactions from the Christian or Jewish world, as well as others, their reactions tend rarely to draw domestic, regional, and international reactions, in a way which threatens Christian-European, or Jewish-European relations. Even in cases where the Christian or Jewish world were found refuting a particular publication, they often do not insist nor demand that freedom of expression be overlooked, in order to preserve respect to their religion. They are often found requesting an apology for offense resulting from a particular publication, which although it also unacceptable in any liberal democratic state, is less severe than asking that liberal rights be set aside. This has also contributed and impacted negatively European-Muslim relations, European local media chains indirectly to blame for these damaging effects.

It is important to acknowledge too, that throughout the Muslim world, it is often the case that the Jewish faith is regularly mocked and ridiculed. This is often done via cartoons too (“The Arab Media’s Portrayal of Jews,” 2006). The question

which ought to be posed here is why should the Muslim world be allowed to mimic the Jewish faith, as well as other religions worldwide, and the Western world not be allowed to critique Islam, especially bearing in mind that the Western world is more liberal in nature? This is a question which is important to address, but is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Overall, it can be seen that European local media outlets are at heart liberal, ridiculing and mocking the majority of religions, namely due to the fact that European culture so permits. This allows one to argue that European local media outlets, have therefore, done nothing wrong, in the sense that they have not treated Islam any differently than other faiths, although there are exceptions. The only difference is that Islam is arguably more of an intolerant religion to ridicule, as it expressly forbids the portrayal of the Prophet Muhammad. Moreover, what the 2005 and 2012 cartoon cases discussed throughout this thesis show is the disinclination and reluctance of local media outlets in Europe, to give up their right to freedom of speech, the use of cartoons as a means of expression, arguably increasing.

3.5 Muslims want greater cultural understanding

Resulting from the 2005 and 2012 cartoons, as well as others, Muslims are somewhat demanding that their religion be afforded greater consideration and respect, based on the fact that their religion expressly prohibits the ridiculing of the Prophet Muhammad. Muslims are demanding this consideration, because they feel like the West are failing to afford to them the same Western liberal values, namely the same human rights, that are afforded to others, highlighting hypocrisy on their part (O'Brien, 1993). However, as has been seen immediately above, this is not the case, and providing Muslims with religious protection, would arguably entail the

amending or molding of the crucial European liberal right to freedom of expression, thus negatively impacting European culture.

Applying this to the two cartoon cases at hand, allows one to consider two questions. The first question which ought to be posed is: would it be fair to amend and thus limit European liberalism, and thus freedom of expression laws so as to adapt to Islam, when this has not been done with respect to other religions? The answer is arguably 'no.' Affording just Islam, what may be termed distinctive treatment, would prove unjust and illiberal, and would go against Europe's liberal culture, as well as against the liberal principle of equality, causing a great dilemma for Europe. This is because offering Islam a sort of 'protective shield' would arguably downgrade other religions, considering that such safeguards are not, and arguably have not been afforded to other religions, such as Christianity or Judaism, among others. Moreover, because such religious consideration had not been afforded to other religions in the past, offering it to Islam at this point in time, could itself lead to upsurge and dissatisfaction by other religious communities, who have arguably at no point in time had the right to freedom of expression disregarded in order to preserve their feelings.

Therefore, it appears that Europe is placed in a difficult predicament, because although it seems that affording Islam 'special treatment,' and limiting the right to freedom of expression, in so far as Islam is concerned, could arguably improve, and perhaps even generate peaceful European-Muslim relations, especially from the side of Muslims, it could potential sour the relationship between Europe and other religious groups and communities.

Furthermore, it is important to pose the following question: If Europe was to give in to Muslims' demands in this respect, wouldn't this weaken the liberal nature of Europe, and infringe the right to freedom of expression forever? The answer is arguably 'yes.' Special treatment at this point in time, could arguably condemn, and denounce the right to freedom of expression, which would prove more challenging than to carry on enforcing it as a fundamental principle under EU law, and international law, despite backlash. This is because, if the right to freedom of expression in Europe were not to be upheld, then liberalism in Europe would not be endorsed, and thus be threatened, which is arguably something that Europe as a democratic nation, could not afford. This is because limiting freedom of expression, would not just weaken the concept, but also threaten European culture, and weaken Europe's long-established position as a democratic liberal state, undermining its' position within the international system. Moreover, it could also open a gateway which all other religions could pursue in the event of any religious offense or dissatisfaction, which could also affect Europe's long sought after liberal stance.

If the right to freedom of expression were to be taken away, what would remain of Western states, if one could not freely and openly express ones' views? Liberal rights in their entirety, including freedom of expression, ought not to be negotiated nor compromised. Above all, it is arguable that it would be unjust for liberal democratic states, such as Europe, to set aside fundamentally core values such as freedom of expression, in order to protect the feelings of others, and thus values of lesser 'liberal' significance.

Moreover, freedom of expression is arguably a two-way right. This means that it can equally be used by local media outlets to express themselves, whether in writing, visually by videos, or graphically through the use of cartoons, much in the

same way as it can be used by those reading or watching local media outlets publications to express discontent. In this sense, freedom of expression can also derive reactions, and opinions of their own, which citizens, most notably those in liberal and democratic states such as Europe, can also express. Therefore, if freedom of expression was to be limited in so far as local media outlets are concerned, this would also have to be done with respect to everyone, including Muslim communities, and all other communities. If this were the case, then the situation could arguably develop into one so sensitive, that before any person were to speak, they would have to think a hundred times, and consider the feelings of others, which not only would condemn the liberal nature of Europe, but would also prove completely impracticable, and thus arguably unviable.

It is important now to study the right of freedom of expression.

3.6 Freedom of Expression Laws

Individuals are afforded various rights and freedoms under international law, regional law, and domestic law, including the right to freedom of expression, freedom of speech, and freedom of press. These constitute some of the most fundamental human rights, and cornerstones of any democratic country, including Europe. This is because, freedom of expression and speech form part of a liberal doctrine. It is important to note that throughout this thesis, the terms freedom of expression, and freedom of speech, will be used synonymously with one another.

3.6.1 International Laws

Firstly, it is important to look at international law, and how international law urges the protection of these rights. Article 1 of the International Charter of the

United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice 1945, which outlines the purposes of the United Nations, expressly states that the United Nations carries with it the purpose of “promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.” These human rights and fundamental freedoms are protected under the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Under article 18 of this Act, “everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion,” and under article 19, “everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” Although freedom of opinion, is arguably a personal right, the right to freedom of expression, is more of a public one, in that it involves, and can affect and offend others. Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, under article 18, affords individuals the freedom of religion, it also protects freedom of expression, under article 19. These rights should be seen as one in the same, and thus afforded equal respect, and protection.

There are various constraints in place, too. Article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights expressly states that “in the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare of a democratic society.” Article 30 goes on to state that “nothing in this declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.”

Article 29 states that limitations ought to occur only to secure ‘due recognition for the rights and freedoms of others,’ and for ‘morality, public order and the general welfare of a democratic society.’ In this respect, it can be said that freedom of expression in these two cases, in no way reduces the rights and freedoms of Muslims, nor does it infringe any of their rights afforded in this convention, because Muslims are not being barred from following their religion, but much in the same way as they are entitled to express their religious opinions and dissatisfactions, European media outlets are entitled to voice their views, too. The cartoons, therefore, are arguably not depriving anyone of rights afforded to them under this convention. Moreover, neither morality nor the welfare of Europe society is at risk through the publication of the cartoons. Arguably, if the right to freedom of expression were to be taken away, then the welfare of Europe as a democratic state would then be greatly affected, as Europe would be stripped of one of its’ most predominant and protective principles. With regard sustaining public order, the argument which can be put forth here, is that public order had arguably not been directly affected by the cartoons themselves, but rather by Muslim responses to the cartoons.

Although article 29 allows limitations to the right to freedom of expression, which a state can exercise where it sees fit, although debatably very slim ones, article 30 somewhat rebuts this limitation, and makes it adamant that the principle of freedom of expression be respected and upheld.

3.6.2 Regional Laws (European Union Law)

With regard regional law, and thus European Union law, various freedoms and rights are also provided to citizens, most notably under the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights. This convention is important to European states,

because upon joining the Union, states agree to obey the laws set forth therein, and considering that both France and Denmark are part of the Union, they are liable to consider these legal rights. Under article 9, “everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.” Under article 10 “everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.” Moreover, under article 14, the discrimination of individuals based on characteristics including “sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin,” is prohibited. These rights are somewhat parallel to those provided under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights outlined above.

However, article 10 of the European convention on Human Rights 1950, also provides restrictions to freedom of expression. It states that "the exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary." The cartoons arguably do not threaten national security nor territorial integrity. Furthermore, although the cartoons have arguably led to reactions which have created disorder and at times crime, this disorder is not directly attributable to the cartoons, as mentioned above, but rather arguably resulting from the reactions to the cartoons. It should not be the case that democratic states, including Europe, overrule the fundamental right of freedom of

expression, which forms the foundation of all democratic states, so as to avoid violent responses, as this would diminish Europe's liberal standing.

Moreover, the European Charter on Freedom of the Press 2009, which proves to be of most relevance to this thesis, affords the press various rights. Under article 1, it is stated that "freedom of the press is essential to a democratic society. To uphold and protect it, and to respect its diversity and its political, social and cultural missions, is the mandate of all governments." Under article 3, it is stressed that it is "the right of journalists and media to gather and disseminate information and opinions must not be threatened, restricted or made subject to punishment." Moreover article 5 makes adamant that all EU states "must ensure that the media have the full protection of the law and the authorities while carrying out their role. This applies in particular to defending journalists and their employees from harassment and/or physical attack. Threats to or violations of these rights must be carefully investigated and punished by the judiciary." These rights are directed directly to the media, which shows the substantial meaning attached to having a liberal and free press.

Moreover, according to Article 11 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union 2000, "Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers." Moreover, this article also expressly states that "the freedom and pluralism of the media shall be respected."

3.6.3 Domestic Laws

Various different European states afford the right to freedom of expression, although they vary among states. For the purpose of this thesis, reference will only be made to Denmark and France.

Danish law protects the right to freedom of expression. Under section 77 of the Danish Constitution of 5 June 1953, titled 'Freedom of Speech,' it is expressed that "any person shall be entitled to publish his thoughts in printing, in writing, and in speech, provided that he may be held answerable in a court of justice. Censorship and other preventive measures shall never again be introduced."

France also has laws in place on securing the freedom of the press. The Act of 29 July 1881 on Freedom of the Press, guarantees press freedom. Moreover, the Declaration of Human and Civic Rights of 26 August 1789 affords freedom of speech. Article 11 declares that "the free communication of ideas and of opinions is one of the most precious rights of man. Any citizen may therefore speak, write and publish freely, except what is tantamount to the abuse of this liberty in the cases determined by law."

3.6.4 Laws in general

Overall, in looking at the magnitudal emphasis placed on the right to 'freedom of expression,' from domestic, regional, and international law, it can be argued that this right to express and voice ones' opinions' is a right which deserves respect, and ought not to be restricted, but rather preserved, especially in Western democratic states such as Europe. It can also be seen that "the freedom of expression is a basic right recognized in most legal frameworks, whether domestic, regional or international. The scope of the term is, by its very nature, undefined" (Duggal and Sridhar, 2006).

This proves beneficial in the sense that since the term has no clearly defined angles, it is wider in scope, and thus proves less facile to limit, based on legislative interpretations. It is thus arguably up to the discretion of each state to determine the scope and latitude of the term. Although freedom of expression does not express the right to offend others, it does afford the right to voice ones' opinions, under law, which is something Jyllands-Posten and Charlie Hebdo arguably both did, bearing in mind that Jyllands-Posten cartoonists were asked to sketch the Prophet as they saw him, and thus were simply illustrating the Prophet as a reflection of their views.

Although the right to freedom of expression is subject to restrictions under law, it is arguable that in practice, this law has arguably rarely been limited, which points to the fact that this right is somewhat arguably an absolute right, which ought not to be overridden. It was surely not the intention of the legislator that the rights afforded in the above conventions and legislations be set aside, in an attempt to respect and preserve the feelings of particular groups of societies. Moreover, since the cartoons arguably contradict none of the above mentioned laws, it can be debatably said that they are indeed permissible, proving that the media had the 'right,' to publish the cartoons, even though they offended cultures.

It is important to note that "in the end, the same liberal democratic values that protect a right to practice one's religion, to maintain one's distinctive cultural practices, to be reunited with one's family through family reunification, protect the right of free speech. It is part of the liberal democratic framework, not a negotiable addition to it" (Hansen, 2006). Therefore, here, it can be stated that much in the same way as freedom of religion is a fundamental human right, freedom of expression is too, and as such, these rights ought to be treated as one in the same. This is because much in the same way as religious individuals, such as Muslims and Catholics,

would not surrender their right to freedom of religion, individuals residing in liberal states, should not be expected to hand over their right to freedom of expression. In addition to laws, much literature, and political emphasis has outlined the importance of the right to freedom of expression. This will form the basis of the subsequent part.

3.7 Upholding Freedom of Expression

In addition to laws, it has often been articulated that “the EU also has a role in upholding the fundamental rights of EU citizens” (Vike-Freiberga, Daubier-Gmelin, Hammersley, and Maduno, 2013), including that of freedom of expression, and it has often been recommended that “the EU should be considered competent to act to protect media freedom” (Vike-Freiberga, Daubier-Gmelin, Hammersley, and Maduno, 2013). Thus, it is an established principle, and arguably the norm, that freedom of expression be preserved, especially considering that it is a right which arguably protects all other rights, and through which other rights are derived from. According to Benjamin Cardozo, “freedom of expression is the matrix, the indispensable condition, of nearly every other form of freedom” (Duggal and Sridhar, 2006). This quote shows the immense importance of freedom of expression, through which all other rights are somewhat dependent on, and derived from.

It is debatable that “the concept of media freedom has evolved in parallel to the fundamental human rights of freedom of conscience and of expression. Media freedom has gone hand-in-hand with the evolution of democracy” (Vike-Freiberga, Daubier-Gmelin, Hammersley, and Maduno, 2013). According to the High Level Group on Media Freedom and Pluralism, “a free and pluralistic media is crucial for European democracy,” and “the main responsibility for maintaining media freedom and pluralism lies with the member states. However, the European Union also has an

important role to play” (Vike-Freiberga, Daubier-Gmelin, Hammersley, and Maduno, 2013). Therefore, in this sense, it is clear that the right to media freedom, or press freedom, is a right which all European states, and the Union in its’ entirety, have the duty to preserve.

“Most people in the modern world subscribe to the ideal of democracy, where the concept of the rights of the individual is seen as fundamental” (McPhee, 2005). Therefore, as a general rule, it can be said that all those living within democratic states especially, are entitled to have their fundamental rights protected. Freedom of expression constitutes one of the most paramount rights. Even “the role media plays in a democratic society requires strong protection” (Vike-Freiberga, Daubier-Gmelin, Hammersley, and Maduno, 2013) because “an unfettered press is acknowledged by all as a necessity in a free and open country” (Indiana, 2008). Considering that media, and local media, are tools which are becoming increasingly necessary for the everyday functioning of democratic societies, their rights, and arguably, their powers, ought to be protected, no matter what, especially that of freedom of expression.

The following quote clearly defines the power of freedom of expression:

“It is universally acknowledged that the right to freedom of expression is a foundational human right of the greatest importance. It is a lynchpin of democracy, key to the protection of all human rights, and fundamental to human dignity in its own right” (Mendel, n.d.). Moreover, the right to “free speech is a fundamental human right and a central tenet of democracy“ (“Freedom of Speech and the Danish Cartoon Controversy, 2006), and thus proves to form a vital component in Europe. “Freedom of speech is...historically described as simultaneously fundamental to free

modern societies, and to other liberal values. It is thus inscribed as a civilized value affecting and protecting all other civil rights. These rights are represented as inherited to modern nations from their very origins” (Christophersen, 2011). It is also important to note that “freedom of speech is one of the most brilliant institutions in the West. It has been singularly responsible for shaking off the yoke of oppressive religious dogma and opening up thought and discovery. Freedom of speech is absolutely essential to the cross-pollination of cultural ideas” (Khan, 2008). Furthermore, “man’s struggle for his right to the ‘freedom of expression’ is as old as civilization itself” (Duggal and Sridhar, 2006). The following quotation is another significantly important one:

“Media freedom is the moral equivalent of oxygen. It is how any free, healthy, vibrant and functioning society breathes, and it is essential to building civil societies. That applies to everything we say in public squares or type on our keyboards online; everything we print in newspapers, blogs, texts or tweets. When this right is denied, aspirations choke, economies suffocate, and countries are unable to grow” (Sonenshine, 2013).

Denmark is a country which is internationally known for safeguarding the right to freedom of expression. “In 2005, Freedom House ranked Denmark among the top countries worldwide in providing and protecting freedom of the press” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007). Geert Wilders, the Danish politician discussed in the foregoing section, believes that free speech is the most fundamental liberal value of all, responsible for all other democratic values, and should form the foundation of all liberal societies (Christophersen, 2011). He also believes that the banning of free speech, or restricting of it, would threaten European society in its entirety (Christophersen, 2011), and thus arguably hold negative impacts on European

culture. The following is an extract from a speech of Geert Wilders, in a conference in Copenhagen on free speech and Islam, in which he clearly emphasized the clash between free speech and Islam, as well as the dominant importance of free speech:

“Ladies and gentlemen, wherever Islam and cultural relativism, advocated by Shariah-socialists, come together, freedom of expression is threatened. In Europe in particular, freedom of expression is at risk...I strongly suggest that we should defend freedom of speech, with all our strength. Free speech is the most important of all our many civil rights. Free speech is the cornerstone of our modern free societies. Without free speech there is no democracy, no freedom. It is our obligation to defend free speech. It is our obligation to preserve the heritage of the British Magna Charta and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. It is our obligation to defend the American Bill of Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Human rights protect the freedom of individuals but they do not protect ideologies...I propose to repeal all hate speech laws in Europe. These laws enable radical Muslims to silence those critical of Islam” (Christophersen, 2011).

In this respect, it is visible and more than evident that Wilders attaches to the right of freedom of expression, paramount significance, especially in that he argues not only that freedom of speech ought to be upheld no matter what, but also that hate speech laws ought to be repealed so as to preserve this right, which further stresses its' importance. He believes that the restriction of the right to freedom of expression, would pose a hazard to European society, and the liberal values afforded therein (Christophersen, 2011). Muslims need to consider the stance of Wilders, bearing in mind that he could become the next Dutch prime minister, which would arguably weaken their position in Denmark, as well as in Europe as a whole (Christophersen, 2011). Thus, Denmark, a European liberal state, is the perfect example of a country

which understands the worth of the right to freedom of expression, especially bearing in mind that the right is protected under its' constitution, as briefly mentioned above.

According to Karen Armstrong, a leading British commentator on religious affairs, as well as the author of 'Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet,' "in a secular Europe, freedom of speech has developed as one of our sacred values. We fought hard for it" ("Viewpoints: Cartoon Row," 2006). This is indicative of the importance of freedom of expression, not just to Denmark, but to Europe as a whole, as constituting an indispensable right. Furthermore, according to Roger Koppel, editor of Die Welt, a German newspaper, who re-published some of the Danish cartoons, re-publishing the cartoons is in Europe's cultural tradition, and as such he believes "it is legitimate to publish pictures and cartoons like this" ("Viewpoints: Cartoon Row," 2006). He stated that the cartoons were published because it was presumed that, "we are living in a secular society where even religion can be subjected to criticism and satire" ("Viewpoints: Cartoon Row," 2006). He also expressed that it is "not acceptable in a western country, if you publish a cartoon like this, that the newspaper has to apologise, or even the prime minister has to apologise" ("Viewpoints: Cartoon Row," 2006).

Moreover, France Soir, is a media organization who had also previously published a set of the 2005 Danish cartoons in its' magazine. When such publications were later protested against, France Soir stated that it had run the cartoons so as to show that 'religious dogma,' was not welcome in a secular society, such as France, stating that "no religious dogma can impose itself on a democratic and secular society" ("France enters Muslim cartoon row," 2006), which is further indicative of the reluctance of European media outlets to give in to religious anxieties, and to set aside the right to freedom of expression.

According to some, we ought not to apologize for our liberties, even if at times we use them for bad (Dreher, 2012). “Terry Mosher, who draws under the name Aislin for the Montreal Gazette, says that in this highly charged climate, cartoonists have to exercise more caution” (Teicher, 2012). According to Mosher, the “bottom line is this is a drawing on a piece of paper. This is not a hand grenade. This is a thought expressed in a satirical way,” but, “sarcasm is one of the greatest inventions of a free society” (Teicher, 2012). The fact that journalists, or cartoonists have been instructed to exercise more caution, is on its’ own arguably an infringement and encroachment of the right to freedom of expression. This is because they have come to think twice before publishing any anti-Islamic material, leading to reluctance on their part, so as to prevent the possibility of retaliation, violence, and instability.

Pickering correctly posed the question of “how do we negotiate the perilous terrain that lies between humour and offensiveness, or free speech and cultural respect, in a pluralist society?” (Sturges, 2010). This question is very important, as it allows one to consider the boundaries between free speech and cultural respect, within a multi-cultural society, Europe being the perfect example. This question is also very significant when one comes to consider the two cartoon crises, and analysing them within a wider context. The cartoon crises often fall on the following question: Are the cartoons an expression of free speech, or are they an outright provocation to Muslims based on feelings of Islamophobia, amounting to cultural disrespect? It is important to study the cartoon cases once again, in order to understand their arguments of freedom of expression.

Chapter Four:

Examination of Local Media, Shaping International Relations

As has been established above, Muslims in Europe, and throughout the Western world, have often been framed as a ‘problematic’ group. The media has through various means, including cartoons, constructed negative international images of Muslims (Bleich, 2006).

As a quick recap, the two cases which will be covered in this section will attempt to prove two things. Firstly, they will attempt to show the power of European local media, and how it has evolved into an influential actor, with international reach. They will show that local media in Europe has proven able to trigger and produce destructive outcomes in so far as European-Muslim relations are concerned. Put differently, these cases will allow one to see that European local media has proven able to create various barricades on the road to tranquil relations between Muslims and Europe, which stresses its’ power, and noteworthy role in exacerbating tensions between the two sides.

The second thing which these cases will try to demonstrate is that local European media has affected European-Muslim relations on four different levels (the levels outlined above).

In order to prove the above mentioned notions, the reactions derived from the cartoons will be need to be studied, so as to demonstrate the extent to which local

European media has proven capable of generating deep cultural divisions between the Muslim world and Europe (as well as the Muslim world and Europe).

4.1 Case 1: 2005 Danish Cartoon Crisis

On 30 September 2005, Jyllands-Posten, a local Danish newspaper outlet, published twelve editorial cartoons in its' newspaper, in which the Prophet Muhammad had been depicted and ridiculed. These cartoons are commonly recognized as the cartoons which Muslims have killed for. At the time of the cartoons, and thus of the cultural conflict, around 200,000 Muslims were residing in Denmark (Cowell, 2006), most of which could have been described as religiously insulted.

Jyllands-Posten can be said to be a small Danish local media chain, as opposed to more international ones, such as BBC or CNN. The cartoons published in Jyllands-Posten, have led to clashes of culture, due to the fact that the Muslim world saw the cartoons in a negative light, as being exceedingly offensive and blasphemous to Islam. Of all the cartoons, the one which caught most attention and debate was that of the Prophet Muhammad sketched with a lit bomb on his head, in the figure of a turban on his head, decorated with the Islamic creed, perceived to be the most offensive of all cartoons, due to the fact that this caricature painted the Prophet Muhammad as being a terrorist. The cartoons were thereafter published in various other European newspapers, including newspapers in Austria, France, Germany, Italy and Spain ("Q&A," 2006), which led to additional outrage on behalf of Muslims, particularly bearing in mind that "by the end of February 2006 the cartoons had been published in more than 140 publications appearing in over fifty countries, as well as on numerous internet websites" (Linjakumpu, 2010).

The culture editor of Jyllands-Posten, Flemming Rose, defended the illustrations by stating that he did not instruct illustrators to draw satirical caricatures of the Prophet, but instead solely asked them to sketch the Prophet as they saw him. He also argued that in Denmark, Islam and Muslims were being treated no differently than any other religion, and argued the right to exercise free speech. The notion of freedom of expression, has been covered in the previous chapter, and section 4.4 of this chapter will deal with this right in so far as the cartoon cases are concerned.

The Danish cartoons ignited violent protests all over the world, creating tensions throughout Europe, and Muslim countries. Protests entailed violent street demonstrations (Powers, 2006), all of which had “a huge impact around the world, with riots in many Muslim countries the following year causing death and destruction” (Asser, 2010). It is estimated that the Denmark cartoon controversy led to the death of at least 50 people (Allen, 2012).

The chain of reactions resulting from the cartoon were slow, yet the power of these cartoons, and the reactions derived there from, were so widespread and diverse, that they continued to have ramifications for years after, arguably up until the present day (as will be shown below), showing the power of these local media publications. However, it was not till 2006 that the situation worsened, and worldwide violence and instability became widespread.

It is important to outline a brief chronology of events, in order to understand how the clashes escalated. Around ten days after the publication of the cartoons, “on 12 October, 11 Muslim ambassadors formally complained in writing to Prime Minister Fogh Ramussen and requested a meeting with him. Fogh Ramussen answered with a

clear rejection, referring to the importance of freedom of speech within Denmark” (Rynning, 2006). This move was seen negatively by the international community, and forms one of the fundamental reasons as to why Danish allies did not step in so easily in order to support Denmark’s claim to free speech. However, the crisis did not draw in international coverage instantly, and “internationalization began around 7 December, the date when the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), representing 57 Muslim countries, placed the cartoons on their agenda at a high-level meeting,” and the crisis developed further on “2 January when it is discovered that Imams living and working in Denmark have travelled throughout the Middle East for the purpose of arousing support from the Islamic world against Denmark. At this point the crisis explodes” (Rynning and Schmidt, 2006).

The cartoons triggered widespread debate in wider domestic and international contexts, ending in what is often referred to as an international crisis. According to BBC, “one year on from the publication of 12 cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad, Danes are still trying to understand how the images led to the country’s biggest international crisis since World War II” (Buch-Andersen, 2006). The Denmark cartoon crisis has been subject to critique both domestically and internationally, arguably pushing Denmark into the international spotlight, often being labeled an anti-Islamic country, and thus arguably indirectly affecting its’ relationship with the Muslim world for years to come.

According to Flemming Rose, “the cartoons have given impetus to a very important debate about integration in Denmark. The debate on the one hand looks at how much the receiving community should compromise on their own values and standards when they are receiving foreigners, immigrants and refugees” (“Viewpoints,” 2006). Moreover, it has often been stated that “the controversy over

the depiction of the Prophet Muhammad in cartoons that swept the globe at the beginning of 2006 was arguably the second major event after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks that brought ‘Muslims’ as a group of political actors to the forefront of international politics” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007). These two factors are suggestive of the power of European local media channels, as latent obstacles and hurdles which can affect the integration of various communities into Europe, here, most notably Muslim communities, as well as a prospective tool, capable of pushing the ‘Muslim dilemma’ to the frontline of world politics.

Overall, the “Danish cartoons transcended multiple levels of political action—local, regional, national, international, transnational, and finally global—that are usually kept apart from each other. At each level, different agents and actors were involved in the crisis. The cartoons themselves, which triggered political actions that varied from the peaceful to the violent in Muslim countries, acquired different levels of meaning throughout their journey from a local national newspaper to the agenda of global politics” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007). It has often been debated that “the effects of the cartoon crisis will continue to be visible several years after the events,” and “all in all, the cartoon crisis constitutes the most significant series of conflicts related to Islam arising in recent years” (Linjakumpu, 2010). Nonetheless, it is possible to say that due to the phenomenon of globalization, the cartoons and protests were able to become internationalized, and it has often been articulated that “the spread of protests against the cartoons of Muhammad is another manifestation of globalization” (Reynolds, 2006).

Therefore, the Danish cartoon crisis will provide a flawless example which exhibits the power and international reach of local media, through the fact that it intensified European-Muslim relationships, on the four levels of analysis outlined in

this thesis, affecting not just the Muslim minority in Denmark, but also affecting the image of Muslims throughout Europe and the world, as well as the relationship between European states and Muslim states. This will now be studied.

4.1.1 2005 Cartoon: Four Levels of Analysis

The reactions to the cartoons were four-fold, and held ramifications on four different levels, in terms of European-Muslim relations.

This cartoon controversy can arguably be said to be as serious to Europe, as the terrorist attacks of 9/11 were to the United States, their publication causing violence, death, uproar, and impeding peaceful relations. Despite efforts to put out the fire burning as a result of the cartoons, violence was escalating day-by-day and hour-by-hour. According to statistics as of May 2006, “figures from the Danish ministry of foreign affairs show that the ministry has received about 750,000 protests from Muslims all over the world” (Rynning and Schmidt, 2006), the majority of which were violent. Although overall, the reactions of the Muslim world to the cartoons overlap, the reactions can be split into four separate sections.

4.1.1.1 Level One

The first consequence that the cartoons have had, and thus this local media chain of Jyllands-Posten, was that it affected the relationship between Muslim communities and European communities within Europe.

The costs of the cartoons were severe on Europe and its stability. Major implications occurred on European soil, through which both Muslim and European communities were affected. First of all, Danish Muslims undertook various protests in Copenhagen, being the capital of Denmark (Harrison, 2008), thus creating

instability within Denmark, and thus generating a time of fear for Europeans, as well as for innocent Muslims in Europe, including those who were not participating or rebelling in protests, in response to the cartoons. Overall, “the anti-cartoon demonstrations quickly prompted counter-protests in the West, which intensified outrage in the Middle East” (Powers, 2006), thus leading to more violence.

Even though there was no major incident of violence in Europe, it can be argued that the fact that Europeans were living under fear that violence might spark at any moment, is sufficient to have contributed to the souring of their relationship with Muslims in Europe. Such fear has arguably led to their exclusion, most notably, social exclusion, due to an augmenting fear of association, arising from fright of violence. In 2012, around seven years after the cartoon, it was said that “Denmark remains a target for Islamist militants almost seven years since *Jyllands-Posten* published 12 cartoons showing the Prophet Muhammad in a variety of humorous or satirical situations” (“Four Guilty of Danish Plot,” 2012). This fear persists among Danes, up till today, and such a state of panic among the Danes, can only have a negative effect on European-Muslim relationships in Europe, as well as European-Muslim relations abroad (on level three), and between European states and Muslim states (on level four).

Furthermore, bearing in mind that threats of violence were present, the fear that European communities had come to feel, was arguably justified, which had increasingly tarnished European-Muslim relations on this level. “In the Palestinian territories, armed groups have made direct threats against citizens of the countries in which the cartoons were published. There have also been death threats against the artists” (“Q&A,” 2006). This threat led to fear on behalf of Europeans, and

particularly Danes, who arguably became more resistant to Muslim presence in Europe, affecting their relationship on this level.

Protests throughout the Muslim world can also be said to have affected the relationship between Muslim communities and European communities in Europe. This is because Europeans came to see their Muslim counterparts under a more negative light, that is, as violent activists. They also arguably saw their European liberal rights being attacked by Muslims, most notably freedom of expression, which infuriated them further, covered in the preceding section.

In so far as Muslim communities in Europe were affected, they have arguably become more intolerant to their fellow European citizens, due to the fact that they have come to see and accuse them of bearing no respect to Islam, and eager to insult their religion, which they took personally. “The cartoons managed to affect the self-esteem of so many people on a very personal level. The reactions throughout the Muslim world were of course expressions of collective anger, but this was also an anger felt by each individual in a more personal or private way because the cartoons directly affected the individual’s self-perception” (Rothstein, 2007).

All incidents point to the fact that the relationships between Muslims and Denmark, and Muslims and Europe, hit a major speed bump. This is more apparent when one acknowledges that “recent literature and reports on the situation of minorities in Denmark point to an increasingly negative trend with respect to attitudes toward the Muslim minority” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007), especially after the cartoons.

In terms of the illustrators of the cartoons, they were ambushed, threatened, and even attacked in their homes. “In India, a politician in the nation’s largest state

offered an \$11 million reward for the killing of any of the Danish cartoonists” (Fisher, 2006). However, the cartoonist whose life was most threatened was Kurt Westergaard, a 76 year old man, who had been threatened on countless occasions, for having published his cartoon in Jyllands-Posten (“Danish Cartoonist Back Home,” 2011). He was the illustrator of the cartoon that attracted most attention, being described as the most offensive drawing, which was comprised of the Prophet sketched with a bomb shaped as a turban on his head (“Danish Cartoonist Back Home,” 2011), briefly mentioned above. In 2006, Westergaard was even forced to go into hiding after “the Pakistani cleric offered a bounty for his death” (“Al-Qaeda will use cartoon row,” 2006). However, this was not the last death threat that Westergaard received.

In 2010, around five years after the publication, when the world had thought the controversy had been resolved, Westergaard was ambushed in his home, and attacked with an axe and a knife, by a Somali man, in the presence of his wife and grandchild (Sjolie, 2010). The Somali man was sentenced by a Danish court to nine years in prison for terrorism (“Danish Cartoonist Back Home,” 2011). Westergaard’s family, were outraged by the situation, Westergaard only surviving because he had locked himself in the bathroom which was designed as a panic room, allowing him to contact the authorities (Sjolie, 2010), who arrived in time to shoot the intruder (“Danish police shoot intruder,” 2010). In this respect, it was not just Westergaard and his family which had been directly affected by this incident, but rather, all cartoonist and their families. Furthermore, it can even be argued that all Danes, and Europeans in general, have been impacted by this set of circumstances, their perceptions of Muslims reformed, and perhaps, their intolerance for them rising, due

to the notion of fear of violence in which they have come to live, further affecting European-Muslim relations on this level.

This is more the case when one considers that “terrorist group Al Qaeda put the editor and cartoonists of Jyllands-Posten, as well as all of Denmark, at the top of its target list” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007). The fact Denmark, and thus Danish citizens made their way to the top of Al-Qaeda’s hit list, for what they perceived to be ‘just a cartoon,’ undoubtedly also affected European-Muslim relations on this level, as well as on level four, too, undoubtedly affecting the relationship between Muslim states, and European states, most notably in terms of security.

Aside from the cartoonists, the Danish paper itself, Jyllands-Posten, also received numerous threats of attacks via phone calls, violence, and bombs, as a retaliatory means against the publishing of the cartoons. “Jyllands-Posten has received a wealth of angry correspondence and phone calls, although we do not know the figures, and at one point the editor Flemming Rose was forced to go on leave” (Rynning and Schmidt, 2006). In 2006, Jyllands-Posten offices were evacuated, resulting from a bomb threat (“Muhammad Cartoon Row Intensifies” 2006). Again, around five years after the cartoons, in 2010, four men of Arab origin living in Sweden, had been sentenced to twelve years in prison for being found guilty of planning a terrorist attack on Jylland-Posten newspaper offices. They had in their possession weapons including a machine-gun and pistol (“Four guilty of Danish plot, 2012). This situation allows one to wonder what may have happened had the men not been caught. In this sense, all workers in Jyllands-Posten were affected, and their relationship with Muslims changed, further implicating that the relationship between European and Muslim communities were prone to be affected.

The above mentioned far-reaching reactions, and consequences show that European communities in Europe have arguably come to see Muslim communities in Europe differently. However, it is also important to study how Muslims in Europe have come to see their fellow European citizens. It is fairly clear that Muslim communities both in Europe and throughout the world were enraged by the cartoon publications, made visible through their retaliatory behavior. They were infuriated by the caricatures of the Prophet, due to the fact that they saw them as offensive publications, amounting to an unjust provocation, which attacked their faith (Ali, 2008). “From the perspective of Danish Muslims, the cartoons reinforced two well-entrenched stereotypes of the Danish: that they disrespect Muslim religious beliefs, and that they collectively stigmatize all Muslims as dangerous “Muslim terrorists”” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007). Bearing this in mind, and bearing in mind that, as mentioned above, peaceful relations between communities entails two-way respect and accommodation from both sides, both the Danish, and thus Europeans, and Muslims felt like they had been unrightfully attacked. This has also destabilized European-Muslim relations on this level, as well as on level two, that is, between Muslim communities, and European states, Muslims coming to see European states as being somewhat prejudiced towards them, and on level three, considering that European communities and Muslim communities abroad, have also been affected.

BBC interviewed a Muslim individual named Afreen Parvez, who after the 2005 Cartoon stated the following: “I used to see Denmark as a peaceful country. But now this has changed. This was seen as a provocation and an act of hatred against Muslims” (“Cartoon Row: Readers Speak out,” 2006). This image that Muslims have come to have of Denmark, being directly biased to Muslims, will without doubt have

repercussions on their relationship, in so far as this level is concerned, as well as on level two and level three.

Keeping the above mentioned factors in mind, it appears that peaceful association seems unlikely and violent association more likely, due to the fact that both sides have become more and more aggressive and prejudice to one another, leading to greater intolerance. With regard all the above, it can be argued that overall, the cartoons of Jyllands-Posten have created a state of tension and rigidity in Denmark, in Europe, and throughout the world, the root of these tensions resulting from the Danish local media outlet of Jyllands-Posten, proving that as a general notion, local media was able to affect European-Muslim relations on this level, showing the leading weight it holds.

4.1.1.2 Level Two

The second consequence which the cartoons initiated is an affected relationship between Muslim communities and European states.

First of all, as had already been established, this cartoon crisis has resulted in many protests throughout Europe. This has, on its own, notwithstanding other factors, affected the relationship of Muslims and Europe, due to extensive disturbances, protests, and demonstrations from Copenhagen to London, which affected the stability of not just Denmark, but Europe as a whole. Just the mere idea of a potential threat of violence or disruption via protests, has affected Muslim communities and European states dealings with one another, especially considering that European states believed Muslim reactions to the cartoons to be unnecessarily disruptive.

Secondly, it can also be argued that Muslim communities took offense to find that Danish media had not afforded them respect to their religion, and took greater offense in knowing that the state of Denmark showed no initiative in condemning Jyllands-Posten for the cartoons, thus taking no measures to afford Muslims the respect for their religion they perceived they ought to be afforded. Upon international pressure, however, Denmark was pushed to apologize for the cartoon publications. “On 2 February, Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Ramussen appeared on Arabic TV to apologise for offence caused by the cartoons, but he also defended freedom of expression” (“Q&A,” 2006). Bearing in mind that Denmark had to apologize for the cartoons, in order to resolve the issue at hand, was arguably somewhat infuriating to Europeans, and Europe as a whole. This is because Europe’s very nature lies in its’ political liberal system, which was fairly threatened, as Denmark was somewhat obliged to make an apology so as to prevent further escalation of the situation. This arguably also affected the relationship between Muslims and Europe, as it infringed the European value of liberalism. Moreover, Flemming Rose of Jyllands-Posten also published an apology, which will be covered below.

Muslim culture and religion, as well as what is often described as the ‘Muslim threat,’ have been present in Europe for centuries, but it is only as of recent that their discourses has drawn so much interest, with ‘new’ repressive laws in Europe, showing an increase in Western intolerance of Muslims. In terms of policies, it is possible to draw the following trend from events following the cartoon crisis: European states have arguably become more suppressive to their Muslims, attempting to enforce oppressive policies towards Muslims, by creating and implementing anti-Islamic legislation, as well as by enforcing tougher immigration policies. Whether they are laws banning the Islamic headscarf, or more severe laws

such as tightening citizenship laws, Europe has experienced it all. It is important to look at various policies, and attempts by politicians to control Muslims.

Geert Wilders, a Dutch far-right prime minister, is the perfect example of a politician who is completely anti-Islamic, and whose main political objectives are to 'compress' Muslims. Wilders has been described as being excessively discriminatory to Muslims, responsible for denouncing the Islamic faith. He is interested in stopping all Muslim immigration into Europe, which is self-explanatory of his anti-Islamic perceptions and intentions. Wilders was put on trial in Amsterdam, accused of inciting anti-Muslim hatred ("Dutch anti-Islam MP, 2010), but was cleared of such allegations, in 2011 ("Netherlands Islam Freedom," 2011). Despite this, and despite other previous anti-Islam legal accusations, Wilders still places anti-Islamism, and the implementation of anti-Islamic laws, at the top of his 'to do list.' Very recently, in 2013, he declared and re-emphasized his intention to focus on, and strengthen his anti-Islam campaign, both domestically and internationally, believing, and often describing Islam as being a sickness. He also proclaimed that he intended to ban the Qu'ran in the Netherlands, criticizing it as being fascist, and similar to Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf ("Geert Wilders, Anti-Islamic Dutch Politician," 2011). In 2008, Geert Wilders also released an anti-Islam film named 'Fitna,' which was seen as exceedingly offensive to Muslims ("Muslims condemn Dutch lawmaker's film," 2008).

Despite the fact that Wilders is a severe Islam critic, he seems to be gaining ever increasing following in the Netherlands, in Europe, and worldwide (Hardy, 2010), further showing mounting Muslim prejudice throughout Europe. His anti-Islam campaign is a major component which has empowered his party, which has developed into the Netherland's third biggest party ("Dutch anti-Islam MP," 2010),

further illustrating the magnitude of support for anti-Islam campaigns in the Netherlands. This is remarkable bearing in mind that historically, the Netherlands was a country that embraced multiculturalism, that is, the respect for diverse cultures, whereas today, it is one of the countries' which most employs anti-immigration laws, often seen to be targeted at Muslims.

Policies such as those proposed by Geert Wilders, as well as others, produce negative implications on European-Muslim relations, in so far as Muslim communities and European states are concerned, because it pushes Muslims to feel like they have become increasingly unwelcome in Europe, European states attempting to limit their presence, and participation in Europe. Moreover, in times of anti-immigration laws, Denmark, and its Danish People's Party, called upon the government to rescind the citizenship of three leaders who were responsible for internationalizing the cartoon calamity, as well as to exclude them from integration talk ("Islam in Denmark," n.d.). Rescinding citizenship is a serious action, which also arguably somewhat impacted European-Muslim relationships on this level.

Various European countries have also been trying to contest Muslim presence. In Sweden, politicians have been trying to combat Muslim immigration. Kent Ekeröth, the founder of the Anti-Islamic Fund, an organization which promotes criticism against radical Islam, has stated that Muslim immigration comprises Sweden's greatest problem, and believes that "it is time for the Swedish to be comfortable again in their own country" (Faiola, 2010).

Mosques have become gradually more unwelcome in Europe, which have increased anti-Muslim sentiments across Europe (Stinson, 2008). Some mosques have even been shut down, so as to arguably reduce Muslims practicing their faith. In

addition to mosques, minarets have also been targeted, minarets being the prayer tower of mosques. Switzerland passed a referendum through which the construction of minarets had been banned, achieved by fair vote. This ban arguably showed intensifying anxiety about Islam and its presence in Europe (Cumming-Bruce and Erlanger, 2009).

Although European states have attempted to, on various occasions, ban the Islamic headscarf, many countries were hesitant, due to the fact that it was perceived to go against human rights. However, with time, this hesitance has arguably been reduced. Although in France, hijabs had been banned in public institutions as of 2004, in April 2011, France enforced a ban against the wearing of the full Islamic veil in public (“Belgian ban on full veils,” 2011). The second country, in 2011, to enforce this ban is that of Belgium, where “a law has come into force...banning women from wearing the full Islamic veil in public,” and “offenders face a fine of 137.50 euros (£121, \$197) and up to seven days in jail” (“Belgian ban on full veils,” 2011). Areas of Germany have also imposed the burqa ban on Muslims (“Germany’s first burka ban,” 2011). It is also predicted that Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, and Switzerland plan to embark on the implementation of parallel laws (“France imposes first niqab fines,” 2011).

What is striking, is that Europe, a country whose fundamental principles lies on the respect for human rights, is willing to disregard human rights with respect to Muslims, and their rights to equality, freedom of religion, and freedom of expression. This can arguably be said to be indicative of the fact that Europe, and its population, are more resistant than ever to Muslim presence in Europe, trying to suppress them with policies that try to control them and contain what they perceive to be the

‘Muslim threat,’ even if this comes at the expense of safeguarding fundamental human rights.

Furthermore, European states have proven reluctant to afford Muslims their Islamic holidays, as opposed to their Christian counterparts. This is also detrimental on European-Muslim relations, in so far as Muslims and European states are concerned, because of the feeling that Muslims are afforded little or no religious respect. This is especially harmful on their relationship, when one comes to consider the increasingly high Muslim population in Europe.

All these above repressive acts, and policies, allow one to conclude that overall, there is an increasingly negative sentiment towards Muslims in the West, most notably in Europe, derived from many incidents. Although it cannot be said that the cartoons are directly accountable for all the above mentioned suppressive laws and policies against Muslims in Europe, it can be argued that they have contributed to them to a certain extent, due to the fact that the cartoons have derived Muslim reactions which have pushed Europe to become increasingly intolerant to Muslim presence in Europe, creating instability throughout Europe. Therefore, from this perspective, it can be said that the cartoons and the reactions derived therefrom, can be partially to blame for such policies, somewhat pushing European states to respond with acts of repression. This is especially the case considering that anti-Islam policies, feelings, or attitudes, on their own, can hinder integration, and thus obstruct the possibility of peaceful European-Muslim relations, affecting their relationship on this level.

In this sense, it can be said that European local media here, can be held indirectly accountable for deepening the divide in European-Muslim relations, which

is further indicative of the strong power that local media holds, as a tool magnifying tensions.

4.1.1.3 Level Three

Thirdly, the cartoons arguably affected the relationship between Muslim communities and European communities outside of Europe. Although there are no events that clearly describe the effect of local media on this relationship, it is widely accepted that Europeans have come to have a common fear of Muslims, whether within or outside Europe, based on past experiences of violence and aggressive behavior. Moreover, when looking at how Europeans and Muslims within Europe are dealing one another, their relations outside Europe can easily be influenced accordingly, thus affecting their relationship on this level of analysis.

Firstly, it can be said that the majority of Muslims all around the world, are subject to discriminatory behavior from Western countries, most notably the United States and Europe, especially after the events of 9/11, and the international cartoon crisis of Denmark, among others. When referring to the cartoons, it can be said that Europe, as well as the Western world in its entirety, were fairly dismayed and shocked by the Muslim reactions to the cartoons, arguably negatively impacting the way they 'see' Muslims. Regardless of whether or not Muslims abroad had participated in violence as a result of the cartoons, or whether they stayed home to avoid violence, they were characterized as one in the same with their violent Muslim counterparts. Furthermore, in so far as Europeans are concerned, those who were aggressive towards Islam, and content with the cartoons being published, were seen as one in the same as those Europeans who condemned the cartoons for being unnecessarily provocative and insulting to the Muslim faith. This is particularly the

case, considering that Muslims are often bulked into a single group, as mentioned above, without distinction. This is also true with respect the West, who are often described as being without exception, anti-Islamic. These factors on their own, can arguably be said to have obstructed European-Muslim relations on this level, that is, in terms of European communities and Muslim communities, outside Europe, due to the fact that generalizations and bias from both sides, became the norm.

Moderate Muslims, after the cartoon crisis, whether in Europe or abroad, were unable to voice their opinions, arguably affecting European-Muslim relations, on both level one (between European and Muslim communities within Europe) and on this level between European and Muslim communities outside Europe). This is made more apparent when, in response to the cartoons, Naser Khader, a promoter of freedom of speech and democracy, and a Member of Parliament at the time of the cartoon crisis, established an organization, known as ‘Democratic Muslims,’ so as to allow moderate Muslims to voice their opinions (“Naser Khader,” n.d.).

Moreover, “in Beirut, rioters burned the Danish mission and vandalized a Maronite Catholic church, beating a Dutch news photographer mistaken for a Dane” (Kimmelman, 2006). This attack against photographer abroad, just because he or she was thought to be Dane, constitutes a direct act of aggression against Danish people, and thus European people, which has arguably stained European-Muslim relations on this level, as well as on level one. Furthermore, in the West Bank town of Aram, protestors held up a sign which read, “Danish people not welcome here,” with their flag crossed out (Kimmelman, 2006). This is arguably another incident where Danes had been attacked directly, in the sense that all Danes were seen as one in the same, and unwelcome in the Muslim world. It can also be argued that as a result of hatred incited towards Denmark by Muslims, Denmark has been transformed into Europe’s

most 'anti-Muslim' country, due to the fact that Danes have come to constantly feel like they are living in a constantly dangerous predicament. Thus, it is without doubt that in this respect, European-Muslim relations outside Europe were influenced, bearing in mind that not all Danes were responsible for the cartoons, yet all Danes were blamed equally, even those who expressed a stance against the cartoons. This arguably affected European-Muslim relations on this level, as well as on level one.

In terms of violence, it can be said that violence abroad affected European-Muslim relations overseas. In Nigeria, protests and riots occurred whereby violence was pursued. In Nigeria, Muslims expressed dissatisfaction to the cartoons by attacking Christians, and burning down Christian Churches (Hill and Asthana, 2006), which can arguably be seen as a direct threat against Europe, bearing in mind that its' main religion is that of Christianity. This event in Nigeria can itself be detrimental to the way Europeans in Nigeria see their Muslim counterparts, thus affecting their relationship, especially keeping in mind that there were 16 casualties, the majority of deaths being to Christians ("Nigeria Cartoon Protests Kill 16, 2006). Therefore, this direct act of violence against Christians, can be said to have affected European-Muslim relations this level, as well as on level one, because it arguably contributed to a change in the way European communities see Muslim communities both abroad, and within Europe.

Nevertheless, in Benghazi, Libya, the Italian consulate was torched down, because the Italian Reforms Minister, Roberto Calderoli, wore a t-shirt that illustrated the cartoons, leading to mounting pressure that he resign, which he in fact did ("16 Die in Cartoon Protest in Nigeria," 2006). Although it was thought by Francesco Trupiano, Italy's ambassador to Libya, that the Italian consulate in Benghazi was targeted because it was the only Western consulate in Benghazi,

protestors clarified that their anger derived from Calderoli's urge to wear the t-shirt with the cartoons printed on them, on TV ("16 Die in Cartoon Protest in Nigeria," 2006). The protests outside the Italian consulate here, led to 10 deaths ("Nigeria Cartoon Protests Kill 16, 2006). This event can arguably be said to have affected Italian-Muslim relations both inside, as well as outside Europe, and impacting the relationship of European communities and Muslim communities outside Europe, further proving that the cartoons were also able to affect relations on this level, as well as on level one. This can also have repercussions on level four, as an attack on the Italian consulate, can also affect the relationship between Italy and Libya here, and thus affect the relationship between European states, and Muslim states.

Moreover, countless "enraged Muslim citizens of countries as geographically distant as Lebanon, Sudan, and Indonesia attacked and ransacked Danish embassies, and threatened anyone coming from a country belonging to the European Union" (Muller and Ozcan, 2007). This direct threat to all Europeans, arguably affected European-Muslim relations on this level, as well as on level two (between Muslim communities and European states), and the following level, level four (between Muslim states and European states).

4.1.1.4 Level Four

The fourth, and final level, on which these local publications have had an impact involve the relationship between Muslim states and European states. This level has suffered the most damage of all four levels, showing the international dimension of the local outlet of Jyllands-Posten, as well as the international essence of the conflict.

Although the Danish crisis began in Denmark, it escalated into a worldwide cultural conflict, gaining immense focus on the international plane, and holding

domestic, regional, and international ramifications. The cartoons led to “international tensions between Muslim dominated countries and the Western countries” (Bonde, 2007). Many envoys had to return home, for example “Denmark’s ambassador to Pakistan...returned to his home country” (“Al Qaeda will use cartoon row,” 2006). Moreover, in 2005, diplomatic protests by governments of Islamic countries occurred, which led to the closure of various Danish embassies across the Middle East. Closure of embassies, generally portray a negative image, and direct acts of aggression against embassies also prove destructive, bearing in mind that under international law, embassies’ are perceived to be territories of the countries’ in question. As will be made evident, violence erupted almost everywhere. Due to the fact that violent protests are not permitted in Europe, it is arguable that the Muslim world attacked European countries by attacking their embassies, and thus, their territories abroad, proving to be clear acts of aggression towards their countries’.

As of January 26 2006, the conflict started to become more globalized, when Libya decided to close its embassy in Copenhagen. Much at similar times, Saudi Arabia “recalled its ambassador to Denmark, while Libya said it was closing its embassy in Copenhagen and Iraq summoned the Danish envoy to condemn the cartoons” (“France Enters Muslim cartoon row, 2006). Moreover, “thousands of Palestinians demonstrated...in the Gaza Strip, burning Danish flags and portraits of the Danish prime minister” (“France Enters Muslim cartoon row, 2006). Violence erupted thereafter, in more than protests or demonstrations, and gunmen raided the European Union’s offices in Gaza in pursuit of an apology which was done, as briefly mentioned above, and will be covered below. However, things worsened when on February 1 2006, France Germany, Italy, and Spain, decided to reprint the cartoons, which infuriated Muslims worldwide.

Violent protests occurred throughout the Arab world, particularly in the month of February, in countries such as Afghanistan, Lebanon, Malaysia, some of which led to the loss of lives, most notably in Afghanistan, Libya, Nigeria, and Pakistan (“Muslim cartoon row timeline,” 2006). On February 4 2006, Danish embassies in Syria were attacked, on February 5th, the Danish embassy in Lebanon was set on fire, and on 7th February, the Danish embassy in Tehran was attacked, at the same time as the country declared that it would be cutting all trade attachments with Denmark (“Muslim cartoon row timeline,” 2006). Some embassies were even forced to close, including those in Syria, Lebanon, Iran, and Saudi-Arabia.

In Tehran, hundreds of infuriated protestors threw stones and firebombs at the Danish embassy in Tehran, inciting violence (“Danish embassy in Tehran attacked,” 2006). Furthermore, Iranian students in Tehran also attacked the Austrian embassy, by throwing stones, which broke windows, and also started small fires (“Danish embassy in Tehran attacked,” 2006). In this respect, it seems that the cartoons also incited unstable relations between the Muslim world and Austria, who were not responsible for the publications of the cartoons, but who also had their embassies attacked, because at the time, Austria held a rotating presidency of the European Union (“Danish embassy in Tehran attacked,” 2006). London was also subjected to various protests, drawing in over 10,000 protestors to the street, and in Nigeria, during violent protests, sixteen were caught in the crossfire and killed, with Churches also being burnt down by protesting Muslims (Hill and Asthana, 2006) as briefly cited above.

In Afghanistan, police fired on demonstrations which led to a few deaths (“Danish embassy in Tehran attacked,” 2006). In the Gaza strip, EU offices were attacked and the EU flag was pulled down (“Danish embassy in Tehran attacked,”

2006). In Indonesia, both the Danish consulate and the US consulate were attacked (“Danish embassy in Tehran attacked,” 2006). Furthermore, in India, tyres were burnt, and Danish flags were also burnt (“Danish embassy in Tehran attacked,” 2006), showing one of the most vivid signs of disrespect. In addition to Danish flags, the flags of “France, and Norway were burnt; in some cases, the Swiss flag was also burnt, probably due to its similarity with the Danish one” (Mason, Aroua, and Aberg, n.d.). This shows that not only were Danish-Muslim relations affected, but also French-Muslim, Norway-Muslim, and Swiss-Muslim relations, showing that a vast number of other European countries were affected too, further widening the scope of reactions from the cartoon publications, and illustrating the increased strength of local media outlets on the relationship between European states, and Muslim states.

However, protests did not just target Western embassies, but were also aimed at fast food chains, and diplomats themselves (Powers and Arsenault, 2006). In Pakistan, 70,000 gathered to protest, and did so violently, leading to clashes and deaths, as well as to the burning of cinemas, cars, a KFC, and a McDonald, two western fast food chains (“70,000 gather for violent Pakistan cartoon protest,” 2006). Police were even attacked. Furthermore 1,000 students also attacked the British and French embassies in Islamabad by throwing petrol bombs (“70,000 gather for violent Pakistan cartoon protest,” 2006).

All these above mentioned acts were also arguably harmful to European-Muslim relations in so far as all levels are concerned.

The cartoons also created economic and political ramifications for Denmark. By mid-January 2006, various boycotts began against Danish merchandise, commencing in Saudi Arabia, which pushed Flemming Rose to apologize both on Al-Jazeera and

by publication in Jyllands-Posten, for the fact that Muslims were insulted by the publications, but did not apologize for the publications themselves, especially not since the publications were not in violation of any Danish legislation. This apology proved insufficient to Muslims, and violence, demonstrations, and boycotts were resumed. The boycotts badly affected the Danish economy and built up throughout January and February 2006 throughout the Islamic world, Iran declaring economic boycott on Danish products as of February 6 2006 (Powers and Arsenault, 2006). Indonesia also participated in the boycotting of Danish goods (“70,000 gather for violent Pakistan cartoon protest,” 2006). These economic boycotts, arguably affected the associations between Denmark, and Muslim states who participated in them, and thus undoubtedly affected the relationship between Muslim states, and European states.

Furthermore and overall, domestically, and internationally, “the incidents and events provoked by the publication of twelve cartoons in the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten were unexpected and have harmed Danish interests: Danish businesses have lost export earning of more than \$1 billion; demonstrations against Denmark have been global in scope; and it will be a long time before Denmark – right or wrong – can hope to regain its reputation as a small, open, and tolerant society” (Rynning and Schmidt, 2006).

Generally, “the images’ publication in Denmark has provoked diplomatic sanctions and threats from Islamic militants across the Muslim world” (“France enters Muslim cartoon row,” 2006). It has also been declared that “the diplomatic fallout from the cartoon publication was enormous and has severely shattered relations between European and Arab countries” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007).

In terms of political effects, Danish foreign policy was also affected, in the sense that Denmark was somewhat forced to do more in terms of enhancing European cooperation on matters such as immigration and soft security cooperation. “Denmark found itself in the biggest foreign policy crisis since the German occupation since the Second World War as the crisis rapidly exploded in a conflict of international dimensions” (Bonde, 2007). Moreover, the Danish government dealt with the cartoon case as one of Danish domestic policy (Bonde, 2007).

Other countries, as well as international organizations had to intervene in order to reduce the violence and tension which paralyzed Europe, and the Muslim world. The Bush administration, US president at the time of the cartoon crisis, “condemned the violent protests against the cartoons that have taken place around the world and urged governments to take steps to lower tensions” (“Danish embassy in Tehran attacked,” 2006). International involvement was offered through organizations such as the United Nation, The European Union, and the Organization for Islamic Countries. This is indicative of the fact that Europe and the Muslim world on its own, were arguably incapable of resolving the issues and violence at hand, and instead had to resort to international bodies in order to maintain peace, and prevent further backlash. Moreover, the United Nations, “under pressure from Muslim countries, some of whose records on tolerance are hardly without blemish...requested observations from the Permanent Danish Mission to the UN and launched an investigation into the cartoons’ ‘racism’” (Hansen, 2006), which shows involvement from international organizations.

Moreover, Amnesty International has stated that Europe is becoming more and more discriminatory towards Muslims. Although this cannot be said to be a direct consequence of the cartoons, they have undoubtedly played a part, which further

illustrates the power of local media (“Amnesty International finds anti-Muslim bias in Europe,” 2012), affecting European-Muslim relations on this level, as well as on all levels.

On a wide scale, it can be concluded that the relationship between European states, and Muslim states were damaged, if not completely destroyed, by the reactions to the cartoons, further showing the power of local European media. Put nicely in a single sentence, this quotation explains the situation: “while the original cause of controversy was limited to a small country in northern Europe, political actions spread worldwide, ranging from peaceful protests to diplomatic sanctions to consumer boycotts, and finally to open violence against anything symbolizing ‘the West’” (Muller and Ozcan, 2007). However, it can also be said that the consequences of the cartoons could have been worse had Denmark or any other EU member state broken its silence, and retaliated, in response to Muslim reactions. This shows further that the conflict between Europe and the Muslim world may well have turned out even worse. Thus, in this sense, it can be said that local media’s power could have been much more harmful had Europe counter reacted, further inflaming cultural tensions and perhaps even leading to a ‘war of civilizations,’ rather than a ‘clash of civilizations,’ which is ever the more suggestive of the power that local media carries with it.

4.2 Case 2: 2012 France Cartoon Affair

Charlie Hebdo, is a well-known local weekly satirical magazine in France, in which various cartoons and jokes are published, some of which can even be described as outrageous. Charlie Hebdo is one of the few newspapers to have re-published the Danish cartoons of Jyllands-Posten in 2005, and has ever since, constantly been under the spotlight as a local media outlet that frequently ridicules Islam. In September 2012, several cartoons ridiculing the Prophet Muhammad were published. These cartoons depicted the Prophet in a vulgar nude nature, in varying sexually-suggestive positions. One of the images implied that the Prophet was posing for an X-rated movie, his rear side showing, and another cartoon portrayed a bearded 'Madame Mohammed,' with her breasts shown (Lichfield, 2012).

These cartoons were published around the same time that the United States anti-Islam movie, 'Innocence of Muslims,' was released, roughly one week after, the movie causing worldwide chaos, violence, and disorder. The US movie had derived prevalent discontent throughout the world, with masses of violent protests in response, whereby protesters attacked US embassies in Egypt on the same day, as well as staged an attack in Benghazi, Libya, where the US Ambassador Christopher Stevens, and three Americans were killed (Bitterman, Meilhan, and Yan, 2012), which in itself shows the rapidity at which the cartoons unraveled internationally.

Despite the fact that the cartoons had been printed at a time not so far off from when this Anti-Islam movie had been released, and thus arguably published during a delicate period, the cartoons managed to draw widespread domestic and international dissatisfaction and attention of their own. This proves remarkable, because it shows that even though the movie had great global ramifications, due to the fact that it was released on the internet, via YouTube, and thus in a wider international context, the cartoons which had been published in this small local magazine of Charlie Hebdo, in

France, managed to gain international attention too, at a time when the world was more distracted with the severity of the movie and its greater transnational nature. Therefore, the Charlie Hebdo cartoon case is an important one, because it proves that local media has gained importance in the international arena, holding the power to affect European-Muslim on the four levels of analysis mentioned above, and thus domestically and internationally, at any given point in time.

“Charlie Hebdo's drawings instantly deepened the anti-western outrage in the Muslim world provoked by the film ‘Innocence of Muslims’,” whereby “at least 30 people, including the US ambassador to Libya, have died in the last nine days during violent demonstrations and attacks on Western embassies and commercial interests” (Lichfield, 2012). In other words, it can be said that the Charlie Hebdo cartoons exacerbated the already tense atmosphere, following-on from the US movie. Charlie Hebdo, was able to receive consideration, and was arguably even able to draw attention away from the US anti-Islam movie controversy, further showing the substantial role local media was able to have here, able to lure focus away from the movie, and arguably ‘downplay’ its significance.

It is important to acknowledge that the ramifications of these cartoons were less than those of the Danish cartoon controversy, in the sense that minimal violence had occurred, as well as relatively few protests. This is namely due to the fact that the French state had banned any protest, and alleged that any protests would be stopped and broken up immediately (“Charlie Hebdo Cartoons,” 2012). In this sense, France also took ample steps to keep peace and order, through showing intolerance for any protests. Furthermore, around one year before the 2012 cartoons, in November 2011, Charlie Hebdo had also published anti-Islam material. Upon these publications their offices were attacked, (“France to shut embassies over cartoon fears,” 2012). and

bombarded with firebombs, after an impertinent Muhammad publication (Wilsher, 2011). Furthermore, its websites were hacked, its Facebook page suspended for 24 hours, and its staff were threatened with death (Wilsher, 2011). In this sense, it can be said that after the 2012 cartoons, as well as the 2005 Danish cartoon controversy, France, its population, its police force, as well as the headquarters of the magazine Charlie Hebdo, based on previous experiences, were due to fear of counter-measures, arguably prepared and cautioned for any consequent aggressive acts. France engaged precautionary measures so as to prevent violence, and deployed riot police outside the offices of Charlie Hebdo, in order to minimize the risk of any violent attacks against them, and to deal with the situation of any potential attacks. This is arguably a valid reason as to why the cartoons did not attract as much violence as the 2005 Cartoons. Moreover, France was warned of violence too. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, leader of the Organization of Islamic Co-operation, articulated and warned that the cartoons could lead to the eruption of a new wave of anti-Western violence (“Charlie Hebdo French Cartoons, 2012). Moreover, “In Washington, White House spokesman Jay Carney said the Obama administration believed the French magazine images ‘will be deeply offensive to many and have the potential to be inflammatory’” (Keaten and Hinnant, 2012). Thus, it is clear that both France, and the Muslim world foretold that the cartoons could generate worldwide instability. It appears here, that the world, including Europe, have become more aware of the dangers that anti-Islam publications can produce, which in itself makes more visible and apparent the power of local media, as a tool capable of affecting international stability, in the sense that the world has become accustomed to the fact that cartoons can create uproar, and universal violence.

When comparing the Danish cartoon controversy, to that of Charlie Hebdo, it can also be argued that the reactions of the Danish cartoon unfolded at a slower pace. The Danish cartoons, although published in 2005, were not internationalized right away, and the situation worsened only as of the year 2006, when the cartoons were re-published, and thus subject to greater international attention. Furthermore, the Danish cartoon controversy continued to impact Europe and the Muslim world, up until the year 2010, when five years after the publications, the cartoonist Westergaard had been attacked in his home. In so far as the French cartoons are concerned, discontent unraveled quickly, the cartoons being internationalized on the same day as the publication, with protests commencing the following day, and ended within a week or two, which emphasizes the great role of globalization, and media globalization here. This is indicative of the fact that, bearing in mind that there exists a seven year gap between the Danish and French cartoon controversies, the power of local media can arguably said to have changed, and it can be debated that local media has been empowered further, within an increasingly globalized world, whereby the cartoons, and the reactions resulting there from, were made global at a much more rapid pace.

Overall, although the Danish cartoon arguably had greater international scope, France, and thus Europe, was nonetheless negatively affected by the publications of the 2012 cartoons, as well as the reactions thereafter, both domestically and internationally, impacting European-Muslim relations on the four levels of analysis, too. It is important to study these levels individually.

4.2.1 2012 Cartoon: Four Levels of Analysis

Much in the same way as the Danish cartoons, the French cartoons affected European-Muslim relations on four levels, as will be seen below. However, it is important to note that, considering the time at which the cartoons were published, that is, as mentioned above, during a similar period of time as the US movie 'Innocence of Muslims,' the reactions to the Charlie Hebdo cartoons, and the protests which occurred in that respect, had an element of dissatisfaction from both the movie and the cartoon releases. Therefore, the majority of protests which occurred are not solely attributable to the cartoon publications, but rather are also consequential too, from the US movie. However, some protests can be identified as being directly linked to the Charlie Hebdo cartoons, although not many, which will also be discussed. Moreover, it is also important to note that due to the timing of its' publications, the extent of the reactions to the cartoons were less than foreseen, due to the fact that the world was already preoccupied with the anti-Islam movie.

4.2.1.1 Level One

In so far as European-Muslim relations on the first level are concerned, European and Muslim communities within Europe were arguably affected by the Charlie Hebdo cartoon publications.

Bearing in mind again, that peaceful relations entails two-way accommodation, it can be said that by the sole publication of the cartoons, Muslims were insulted by the lack of European respect for Islam, which on its own, can prove sufficient to tarnish their relationship on this level. Moreover, the reactions of Muslims, which were seen as unacceptable to the majority of Europeans, also affected their perceptions of Muslims, and thus, impacted their relationship on this level.

Also, in so far as Europeans are concerned, it can be said that the simple idea of living in fear of possible threats of violence, is on its own an obstruction of European-Muslim relations, on this first mentioned level. Based on previous situations where Charlie Hebdo had published anti-Islam material, and most notably after the 2005 Danish cartoon crisis, Europe, and its' communities, were arguably fairly prepared for the potential responses of the Muslim world in response to these 2012 cartoons. As such, it can be said that they were living in a state of panic, and fear, uncertain of the consequences the cartoons could derive, and knowing that the situation could escalate at any moment, which is arguably enough to damage European-Muslim relations on this level.

Furthermore, as a result of the cartoons, the website of Charlie Hebdo had also been hacked ("France in Embassy Alert," 2012), which arguably also put a strain on the relationship between European and Muslim communities, especially those working at the magazine headquarters. Hate mail was also received ("French Magazine Charlie Hebdo publishes nude cartoons," 2012), inciting additional fear among those working at the magazine, and thus among the French, which arguably affected French-Muslim relations and thus European-Muslim relations on this level of analysis.

Moreover, Stephane Charbonnier, the editor in chief of Charlie Hebdo magazine, was threatened with decapitation by a man, who subsequently had been arrested for such criminal statements ("French police turn out en masse," 2012). This action went beyond fear, and constituted an imminent threat, creating additional tension between the French and Muslims. Those working at the magazine of Charlie Hebdo, or at other magazines, were especially affected, due to the fact that they had come to work in a general sense of fear, when all they had done, was arguably simply doing their

job. Moreover, the families of those working at the magazine, were somewhat indirectly affected, too, worrying about the safety of their relatives, especially after the Danish cartoonist Westegaard had been almost killed in his home. This is specifically the case of Stephane Charbonnier, who was threatened to have his head cut off.

In addition to fear, all cartoonists in Europe can also be said to be impacted as well, in the sense that they have come to work in an environment of constant stress, working in panic of publishing any material which might offend Muslims, so as to avert the possibility of any clashes between Europe and the Muslim world, which can arguably be said to infringe their right to freedom of the press, and freedom of expression, which has been dealt with in the preceding chapter. However, this is also a factor which can arguably affect European-Muslim relations on this level.

Moreover, “Mark Fiore, a self-syndicated animator whose work won a Pulitzer Prize in 2010, is concerned that the French incident creates the impression that all cartoonists are recklessly provocative” (Teicher, 2012), which may also affect European-Muslim relations on this level, in the sense that all cartoonists have become seen as unreasonably invasive and provocative.

Thus overall, these aggressive actions against the headquarters of Charlie Hebdo, as well as against those working there, have impinged further pressure on European-Muslim relations in so far as European communities and Muslim communities inside Europe are concerned. The mere thought of aggressive behavior towards the French, and thus to Europeans, hinders their relationship, and reduces the possibility of their peaceful co-habitation within Europe.

4.2.1.2 Level Two

When looking at how the Charlie Hebdo cartoons affected the relationship between Muslim communities and European states, it can be said that this was done in several ways.

As discussed above, the precautionary measures taken by France in order to deter any threat of violence before it happens, had created instability within France, and had led to a fear of insecurity too, arguably single-handedly hindering European-Muslim relations, in so far as European states and Muslims are concerned.

It has also been said that this cartoon controversy “could prove tricky for France, which has struggled to integrate its Muslim population, Western Europe’s largest” (Keaten and Hinnant, 2012). In this respect, it can be argued that the publications could also hinder the already tough position which France and Europe is facing in terms of integrating its’ Muslim populations, and thus could impede the possibility of integration, obstructing the chances of peaceful co-habitation of Muslims in France, and consequently affecting the relationship between Muslims and Europe on this level.

Furthermore, another argument could be that the Charlie Hebdo cartoons are also responsible for aggravating the prevailingly tense relationship between Muslims and the West, pushing Muslims to see European states as being intolerant to their religion, constantly turning a blind eye to any negative remarks and hatred towards Islam, thus affecting their relationship, in the sense that Muslims have increasingly come to feel like their religion is afforded no protection. This is especially the case when looking at president Hollande, who, as mentioned above, had been elected due to his strong immigration campaign, his standing arguably being impacted by the

Charlie Hebdo cartoon publications, both domestically and abroad. This is particularly so, when one considers the fact that the Muslim world may not be so ready to distinguish between Hollande's views or opinions, and that of Charlie Hebdo, or other French media outlets (Inzaurrealde, 2012).

Moreover, "Egypt's influential Muslim Brotherhood urged France to take legal action against Charlie Hebdo" (Charlie Hebdo French cartoons, 2012), which France failed to do. The shortfall of France to commence any proceedings against Charlie Hebdo, can also be argued to have affected Hollande's standing. In this sense, it can be argued that France's image, as well as Hollande's, in so far as Muslims see them, has been tarnished, which may also affect the relationship between Muslims communities and France, especially Egypt and France here, thus affecting European-Muslim relations further both on this level, and on the fourth level as well (between Muslim states and European states).

4.2.1.3 Level Three

On the third level, it can be said that the cartoons also affected the relationship between Muslim communities and European communities outside Europe.

As mentioned above in level three of the Danish cartoon, even innocent Muslims, and innocent Europeans alike, were seen as guilty of inciting violence towards the other party, even if they condemned the actions of their counterparts. This idea that everyone is blameworthy, and not affording the benefit of the doubt to anyone, has arguably stained European-Muslim relations on this level, affecting their relations, even before they were yet to begin.

It can also be debated that the 2005 Danish cartoons have also had an effect on these 2012 cartoons. This is because, due to the 2005 cartoons, European-Muslim relations on this level have been soured in terms of past experiences of outright violence and the producing of fear, affecting the relationship of Europeans and Muslims, even where abroad. This is important bearing in mind that fear, is a characteristic which can affect all levels, as it affects all relations. The cartoons, through inciting international reactions, produced worldwide fear, which has indirectly affected the relationship between Muslim communities and European communities outside Europe, whether acknowledged or not.

Furthermore, the 2005 cartoon, along with the 2012 cartoon have increased debate as to the incompatibility of Islam with democracy and thus human rights, here making reference to freedom of speech and freedom of expression, which Muslims seem not to view as a fundamental component of Europe, but which comprises a fundamental component of European culture, as has been established above. Thus these cartoons highlighted incompatibility issues too, which undoubtedly affected European-Muslim relations on this level, as well as on level on all other levels.

Protests abroad against the French, have also arguably negatively impacted their relationship on this level. This was especially the case in Tehran, where Muslims abroad were directly hostile to the French, protesting and chanting 'Death to France,' as will be covered in level four below. Clear acts of aggression against France, arguably amounts to acts of aggression against the French. This has arguably affected the relationship of Muslims and Europeans abroad, most notably in Tehran, as well as the relationship between Muslims and Europeans on all levels as well.

France has also issued a warning to its people currently living or visiting Muslim countries, to employ ‘the greatest vigilance,’ as well as to keep away from all public gatherings, and ‘sensitive buildings’ (“France to shut embassies,” 2012). This without doubt impacts European-Muslim relations on all levels of analysis, the two most being this level, and level four, that is, the relationship between Muslim communities and European communities outside Europe, as well as that between European states and Muslim states, covered below.

4.2.1.4 Level Four

In so far as the reactions to the 2012 cartoons are concerned, the relationship between European states, and Muslim states have also been influenced. In response to the cartoons, the French government “announced that French embassies, consulates, cultural centers and schools in about 20 countries would be closed...as a precautionary measure” (Sayare and Clark, 2012). France’s temporary shutdown of various embassies and institutes worldwide, due to fear of protest, included countries including Pakistan and Tunisia (“Muhammad cartoon sparks anti-French protests,” 2012).

In Lebanon, armored troops were deployed to guard the French ambassador’s house the same day as the Charlie Hebdo cartoon publications (“Charlie Hebdo French Cartoons, 2012). This created fear and instability in Lebanon, founded on fright of violence against the French ambassador, and thus against the French state, thus affecting the relationship between Lebanon and France, and thus creating sensitivity between Muslim states and European states, here namely France. Moreover, this has also arguably had repercussions on level one and three.

As mentioned above, many protests occurred in reaction to both the cartoon publications, as well as the US movie. “In Kabul, Afghanistan, several hundred of people took the streets to protest the cartoons published...by French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo and the anti-Islam film ‘Innocence of Muslims’” (Bright, 2012), thus showing that the cartoons drew extensive awareness, in conjunction with the US movie. Moreover, the Iranian President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, expressed utmost rage and discontent with the release of the US movie, and the publication of the cartoons, arguing that they are the ‘ugliest insults to the divine messenger’ (Weaver, Siddique, and McCarthy, 2012).

However, protests in Iran took place, mainly in response to the French cartoon publications. Protests outside the French embassy in Tehran took place, whereby it has been stated that “several hundred protesters demonstrated outside the French embassy in the Iranian capital Tehran, chanting ‘death to France’” (“Charlie Hebdo French Cartoons,” 2012), as briefly mentioned above. This arguably negatively affected French-Iranian relations, and thus European-Muslim relations, bearing in mind that as mentioned above, embassies under international law are the territories of the states’ in question.

Moreover, the day the caricatures were released, the French government gathered with Muslim representatives in Paris, in an attempt to defuse anger over what they perceived to be insulting cartoons (“Charlie Hebdo French Cartoons,” 2012). This meeting indicated that there was a relationship of instability between France and the Muslim world, in that Muslim representatives had to meet with the French government in order to resolve the issue at hand, affecting their relationship on a state-to-state level.

Hours after the Charlie Hebdo issue, in which the cartoons were printed, a lawsuit was filed against the magazine (Keaten and Hinnant, 2012). “Two Muslim organizations launched legal proceedings...against French satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo, accusing it of inciting racial hatred after it published provocative cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed,” a debate that will incorporate the two notions of free speech and dangerous provocation (“French Muslim groups sue magazine,” 2012), which will be addressed in the following section. These legal complaints against the magazine were filed by an organization called the Syrian Freedom Association (“Charlie Hebdo French Cartoons,” 2012). This action can be argued to have affected Syrian-French relations, and thus European-Muslim relations on a state-to-state level.

Furthermore, diplomatic missions of France and Germany, in Egypt were shutdown, even though there was no imminent threat of protests, or even a call for protests by the Egyptian people (Weaver, Siddique, and McCarthy, 2012). The day after the cartoons, “Germany's foreign ministry has decided to close its Middle East embassies on Friday, saying that its diplomats had been instructed to stay home that day” (El Sharnoubi, 2012), and the French embassy in Cairo, was for a couple days “surrounded by police trucks after sending a request to Egyptian authorities for stepped-up security outside French establishments” (“Egyptians Protest French cartoon,” 2012). However, Egypt was only subject to a small protest resulting from the cartoons (Weaver, Siddique, and McCarthy, 2012). Thus, it seems that the precautionary steps taken by France and Germany, were much larger than was needed. Perhaps, however, this is why the situation did not escalate further, and violence and protests were arguably minimal, as opposed to formerly.

Thus, it can be stated that French-Muslim relations, and thus, European-Muslim relations have been harmed by the cartoon publications of Charlie Hebdo,

portraying the ability of European local media to tarnish relations both between and within states, on an inter-state, and intra-state level.

4.3 2005 and 2012 Cases Analysis

The commonalities of these cases are that both these affairs entailed a negative portrayal of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad in local media outlets. They are also cases which show perfectly the power and influence of local media in Europe, as a mechanism influencing public opinion and attitudes, as well as tool carrying the potential to affect relations between and within states, by amplifying and inflaming cross-cultural tensions on the four levels of analysis, discussed above. What is remarkable is how such small local media outlets', through various national publications, have proven capable of enraging the Muslim world solely within hours of publication, causing uproar, and creating worldwide instability. It can be assumed that were local media outlets not so reliant, as sources of information, then the cartoons would perhaps not have generated such immense reactions.

Overall, it can be that the Danish and French local media outlets of Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo, have through their publications, affected and contributed to negative universal sentiments of Muslims, and widespread international cultural instability, which may possibly be responsible for damaging European-Muslim relations for years to come. In this sense, it can be argued that European local media can be held accountable for intensifying the gap which already existed between the West and the Muslim world, and thus reducing the possibility of peaceful relations between the Muslim world and Europe. Amnesty International has recently found that Europe is becoming increasingly anti-Islamic, and thus increasingly bias to Muslims ("Amnesty International finds anti-Islam bias in Europe," 2012). According

to Amnesty International, “Muslims who openly show their faith suffer widespread discrimination in Europe,” on grounds of culture and religion, also accusing “Belgium, France and the Netherlands of failing to implement properly laws banning discrimination in employment” (“Amnesty International finds anti-Islam bias in Europe,” 2012). Although not directly resulting from the European local media, it cannot be denied that these reactions and sensitivities in Europe are not somehow linked to the cartoons, and their reactions. Thus, in this respect, it can be argued that the cartoons are also responsible for producing additional racial biases centered on religion in Europe, as well as worldwide. This allows one to consider the immense influence of local media, as a vital and powerful constituent of society, which has the power to affect international relations, aggravating relationships, both domestically, regionally, and internationally, even though at times, this may not have been their intention.

Another similarity between these two cases is not only that they produced violence and instability, but that they increased allegations of Western hypocrisy, intolerance, and Islamophobia (Hansen, 2006), further affecting the relationship of Europe and Muslims on all levels. Thus, European media has come to play a prevailing role in creating both domestic and international feelings of Islamophobia, which knowingly or not, are often held responsible for igniting the cultural tensions across Europe, as well as throughout the world. The cartoons have led to a greater feeling that Islam and Western states, most notably Europe, are incompatible, especially in terms of the liberal European value of freedom of press. These results can be indirectly blamed on the local media outlets of Jyllands-Posten and Charlie Hebdo, who have changed how the world not only perceives Muslims, but also how the world has become disinclined to publish any anti-Islamic material, for fear of a

violence between Muslims and the West. This is especially the case in France, when one considers that “the reactions to Charlie Hebdo are guided by a mix of motives. Some express the deep conviction that in a secular country like France, the faithful of all religions should accept irony and even blasphemy. Others however, especially on the far-right, are framing the controversy as a battle between civilizations and using it to demonstrate that unreformed Islam is incompatible with the French Republic” (Marthoz, 2012).

The cartoons also highlighted a wider problem, that is, that Muslims in Europe are lacking power. In Western states, violence is seen as the weapon of the weak. By Muslims feeling inclined to employ violence so as to express their frustration, they debatably expressed weakness. Moreover, by using violence to express dissatisfaction with the cartoons, the Muslim world has made further it more perceptible that Islam is irreconcilable with European values, which has affected European-Muslim relations further.

The cartoons are also arguably responsible for somewhat further radicalizing Muslims in Europe, and throughout the world, who have become more sensitive to the West, and more inclined to erupt in the event that their religion is ridiculed, pointing to the fact that they have also perhaps arguably been pushed to become more religious. In Denmark, it has been stated that as of the Danish cartoons, “more Muslims are now finding their way to mosques and more people are making donations to Muslim charities,” in order to arguably assert their faith (Buch-Andersen, 2006). Therefore, in this sense, the cartoons have somewhat pushed Muslims in Denmark, and throughout Europe, and the Muslim world, to become more religious, which has placed Europe in more of an intimidating position,

implying that local media has not just created tensions, but worsened the situation between Europe and Muslims, in its' entirety.

Moreover, the cartoons have also somewhat pushed Europe to arguably come to see Muslims as intruders, attempting to in some way forcefully impose their religion upon them, as well as inspiring other religions to do the same. European "anxiety is further compounded by the fear that the Muslim example might encourage other religious groups and lead over time to the disintegration of the liberal political order" (Parekh, n.d.). This perception arguably also points to the fact that Europe may also have become more sensitive to Muslim presence, as they may be arguably, indirectly motivating or encouraging other religious groups to rebel against European liberal values. This can also arguably intensify the relationship between Muslim communities, and European communities inside Europe (level one), as well as between Muslims and European states (level two). The Danish cartoons have also, arguably, created the gateways through which all countries in Europe who have subsequently published anti-Islam material, locally, to be subject to dangers by Muslim reactions, as well as reactions of other religious groups. These characteristics are also, indicative and somewhat self-explanatory of the power that local media in Europe holds capable of generating worldwide 'rocky' relationships.

The cartoons, and thus, European local media, can also arguably be partially blamed for firstly stressing, and making more apparent, various unresolved cultural problems between Europe and the Muslim world, prompting international conflicts. In this sense, European local media is somewhat liable for threatening European liberal values, which is further indicative of the power of local media in Europe, concepts covered above. Moreover, it can even be said that the cartoons have incited

debate as to the feasibility of Muslim integration into Europe, arguably correctly stated by Flemming Rose, after the 2005 Danish cartoon crisis (“Q&A,’ 2006).

According to Daryl Cagle, a cartoonist for NBCNews.com, “each time there’s a blowup about cartoons, editors become newly timid about the work they print, limiting the expression of those artists who aren’t even looking for a fight” (Teicher, 2012). According to Cagle, cartoonists often sent him cartoons that were moderately tame, yet editors did not run them, as they were being hypervigilant (Teicher, 2012). Therefore, in this sense, it can be stated that local media was also responsible for creating fear among editors and cartoonists, in terms of what it is free to publish, thus affecting European-Muslim relations on the first level of both cases, and going against the European liberal right to freedom of expression. Overall, however, local media has proven that it has the power to inflame situations (Teicher, 2012). Because of this, according to Patrick Chappatte, drawer for the International Herald Tribune, as well as other European papers, it is dangerous for one to declare himself as a cartoonist (Teicher, 2012), which arguably affects European-Muslim relations on level one, in both cartoon cases, as cartoonists are often fearful for their life, which can only work to worsen their relationship.

The two cartoons were responsible for what can be described as a ‘global catastrophe,’ the Danish cartoon especially, arguably changing European-Muslim relations, and Muslim-West relations for years to come, especially bearing in mind that many deaths and injuries occurred, forming the worst part of the Danish controversy. These cartoons have led to more resentment in so far as Muslims and the West are concerned, especially in Europe. The cartoons also illustrate that Europe, and the Muslim world have been transformed into victims of globalization,

where cultural conflicts have increased, internationalizing into a wider context, especially after the globalization of spaces has been achieved.

Furthermore, when looking at the Danish cartoons, and bearing in mind the reactions to the US anti-Islam movie of 2012, it can be said that the reactions to the cartoons reactions were similar to the reactions to the movie. Despite the fact that the Danish cartoons were published within a national context, they arguably drew more international attention and led to more violence than that of the movie, notwithstanding the fact that the movie was released within an international context, on the internet, and thus was more prone to attract transnational attention. Furthermore, the movie reactions had not lasted more than one month, whereas the Danish cartoons held threats and ramifications for years after, and arguably still hold ramifications up until this day, as was made clear when the attempted murder of Westergaard in 2010. Moreover, the power of local media is also made apparent after the cartoon crisis of 2005, whereby the French Ministry of Culture, as well as various prominent European cartoonists met, in order to study how to “deploy the universal reach of their medium in support of peace and greater intercultural understanding” (“Islam and the West,” 2008).

Although it seems that the situations have cooled down, in both Denmark and France, this is not the case, and still, due to the power of media, and newly, due to the power of local media, there is what may be termed an on-going ‘invisible global crisis,’ between Muslims and the West, as well as between Muslims and Europe. These tensions were arguably somewhat invisible, until triggered by these anti-Islamic publications, which have proven capable of sparking instantaneous backlash, as was seen with the 2005 cartoons and subsequently with the 2012 cartoons.

One cannot, however, disregard the contribution of international media, too. Although in these two cases, local media proved to be the trigger which led to the various outbursts of violence, international media's role cannot be ignored, proving to be a tool, internationalizing these local media publications, and the reactions derived there from, intensifying frustrations between Muslims and the West. Therefore, in these cases, it can be said that local media and international media worked at some sort of interplay. However, this arguably could not have been achieved were it not for the evolution of globalization, and more particularly, media globalization, which has allowed local media and international media to arguably work as tools which are one in the same. Overall, it can be said that the cultural divides which local media has amplified, between Europe and Muslims, continue to be exacerbated both by local media and international media outlets. However, it can be argued that nonetheless, the emerging influence of local media in Europe cannot be denied, and neither can its' worldwide reach, independent of international media.

Overall, and finally, these cases prove that generally, local media can fuel certain issues. The role of local media in these cases, has arguably made the 'clash of civilizations' irreconcilable, creating what can be termed a 'culture war,' further illustrating the significantly influential role that local media has held, and continues to hold, in European-Muslim relations. It is also important to note that to some, the Danish crisis is not over yet, and will carry on to flourish for years to come. Thus, local media, has proven to be a sort of variable affecting European-Muslim relations, both directly, and indirectly.

This is made more apparent, bearing in mind that cartoons are graphical in nature, and entail little or no reading, it is arguably possible for them to be read by all individuals. Thus, considering that cartoons have no language, and are simply

founded on graphical elements, yet able to draw and ignite such widespread reactions and dissatisfactions worldwide, emphasizes the incredible power of local media, and its' publications.

Looking at the crises from a more positive angle, however, it can be said that the cartoon controversies worked to the advantage of Muslims and Europe, as it allowed both sides to see that there is a constant and long lasting issue between them, that needs to be addressed. This is especially the case in so far as the Danish cartoon is concerned, whereby “almost everyone agrees that the ensuing row was a wake-up call for Denmark. Ironically, the controversy may have been what the country needed to begin engaging with its Muslim citizens” (Buch-Andersen, 2006). Thus, in this sense, European local media is also powerful, in the sense, that it also ‘awoke’ Denmark and France too, showing and stressing the fact that there subsists a problem between Europe and its’ Muslims, which needed to be considered, even if they have not responded to this so called ‘wake up call.’

4.4 Cases: Freedom of Expression

These two cartoon cases have ignited prevalent debate on freedom of expression, especailly in so far Europe, and Islam are concerned. This is because Jyllands-Posten, Charlie Hebdo, and other media outlets who re-published their cartoons, defended the right to publish them under the right to freedom of expression. The debates also allowed the consideration of whether the right of freedom of expression, ought to be restricted or limited, or whether it ought to constitute an absolute right. It also led the West to consider more significant issues, for example, whether Europe and the Muslim world are compatible, and whether their cultures can tolerate one another. The cartoons, and thus local media, made these issues more apparent, and

ever since, it is arguable that there has been much discussion regarding these matters, within wider contexts. This is further indicative of the degree of power that local media holds, as a player capable of affecting European-Muslim relations both in the past, present, and not to mention, the future.

It is important to look at the cases separately, so as to understand them better.

4.4.1 Jyllands-Posten

After the publications on 30 September 2005, Flemming Rose, Jyllands-Posten's culture editor, argued that he did not ask the cartoonists to draw satirical sketches of the Prophet, but rather just to sketch him as they saw him. His words were "I did not ask the illustrators to make the Prophet a laughing stock - I asked them to draw the Prophet as they see him" ("Viewpoints: Cartoon Row," 2006). This was seen as being an affirmation of free speech, as well as an attempt to ignore pressure by Muslims to respect their religious feelings (Asser, 2010). "Newspaper editors who have republished the cartoons say they are defending the right to free speech and acting in solidarity with Jyllands-Posten" ("Q&A," 2006). The magazine of Charlie Hebdo had also re-published the Jyllands-Posten Muhammad cartoons, and was consequently taken to court, accused of inciting hatred towards Muslims, by re-printing the Danish cartoons ("French cartoons editor acquitted," 2007). However, in 2007, Charlie Hebdo was later acquitted ("French cartoons editor acquitted," 2007), which shows the reluctance of European courts to denounce the right to freedom of expression. It has often been stated that this case was "seen as an important test for freedom of expression in France" ("French cartoons editor acquitted," 2007).

A few months after the publication of the cartoons, and after much international pressure, Jyllands-Posten published an article on 30 January 2006, whereby it was

stated that “in our opinion, the 12 drawings were sober. They were not intended to be offensive, nor were they at variance with Danish law, but they have indisputably offended many Muslims for which we apologise” (“Q&A,” 2006). The Muslim world was not satisfied with this apology, due to the fact that they did not see it as constituting a direct apology, because Jyllands-Posten defended the cartoons as sober, apologizing only for offending Muslims, and not for the cartoons themselves. In this sense, “the paper had apologised...for causing offence to Muslims, although it maintained it was legal under Danish law to print them” (“France enters Muslim cartoon row,” 2006). This was arguably a way for Jyllands-Posten to attempt to prevent further violence and upsurge, without deprecating nor decreasing from the value of freedom of expression. Furthermore, Flemming Rose especially defended the cartoons under the argument of freedom of speech, because “Rose had recently become concerned that European media organizations were self-censoring themselves with regard to issues sensitive to Islam, and was worried that the principles of freedom of speech were under attack” (Powers, 2008). Therefore, overall, it can be argued that in so far as Jyllands-Posten is concerned, it used the concept of freedom of expression as a sort of getaway, hiding behind the concept, in order to protect itself for publishing what was seen by many Muslims, as culturally offensive, and unacceptable material (Khan, 2008).

In addition to Jyllands-Posten, the Danish government also pushed to defend the right to free speech. “The Danish government has consistently argued the cartoon row was about freedom of expression” (Buch-Andersen, 2006). Although the “Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen welcomed the paper's apology,” he “defended the freedom of the press” (“France enters Muslim cartoon row,” 2006). These factors are indicative of the great and indispensable importance that is attached

to the right to freedom of expression, within Denmark, and as such within Europe. Nevertheless, Rasmussen also stated that “freedom of speech is the most valuable right of liberty – we must defend it to the very last” (“Q&A,” 2006). A year after the cartoons, Rasmussen expressed confidence, arguing that he believed he handled the Danish cartoon crisis properly (Buch-Andersen, 2006). This portrays the fact that Europe is willing to accept violence, much before it is ready to denounce its’ fundamental right to freedom of expression.

It can be argued that Denmark dealt with the situation in its’ best interest. This is because in addition to regional and international law, which Denmark is inclined to apply and implement, Denmark also respected its’ own domestic laws’ on free speech, under section 77 of the Danish Constitution, without giving in to international pressure and violence. This is because “Denmark has some of the most robust free expression laws in the world” (Hansen, 2006), the non-solicitation of which, would have proved detrimental for Denmark’s stability, because laws form the foundations and cornerstones of all states, especially democratic ones.

In addition to seeing the cartoons as an offensive attack on their faith, Muslims perceived the cartoons as being tremendously and purposely invasive in the sense that it illustrated a mounting hostility towards them in Europe arising from fear (“Q&A,” 2006). However, when posing the question of whether Muslims had acted reasonably and uniformly, however, the answer is arguably no, and even “some Muslims have accused protesters of overreacting” (“Q&A,” 2006). Although “Muslims are deeply and genuinely offended by the Danish cartoons,” it can be said that “this offence is the price of living in a liberal society, one that has been paid by many groups before” (Hansen, 2006). It has often been articulated that no religion is above satire and mockery, especially not in liberal states, and as such Muslims need

to decide whether or not they wish to adapt to the European way of life, and live peacefully in a liberal democratic society, which if they do, will entail them accepting, or at least respecting liberal rights (Hansen, 2006), much in the same way as other religions have done.

However, it must be acknowledged that “ironically, although the cartoons were published in the name of securing freedom of expression in Denmark, in the eyes of many international observers Denmark’s image as an open and progressive society has been severely tarnished by as a fallout from the crisis and its lingering aftershocks. And not without some justification. While Denmark in many ways remains a prime example of a well-functioning liberal democracy, securing a high quality of life to a very broad percentage of its population, the question of to what degree Danish society is willing to accept cultural diversity has yet to be answered” (Henkel, 2010). In this sense, it can be argued that local media here, was also powerful in the sense that it did not just affect European-Muslim relations on the four levels discussed above, but has also tarnished Denmark’s image as a liberal country, in the eyes of many international figures, as it has proven reluctant to accept and accommodate respect for cultural diversity, especially in so far as Islam is concerned. Therefore, local media here has also negatively affected the way Denmark is seen, internationally, and most probably not for the time being, but rather for years to come, which has indirectly affected the way Europe is perceived, too. This can arguably also have a negative impact on European-Muslim relations on all four levels.

Although Denmark, and Jyllands-Posten were condemned by many for publishing what they saw as provocative cartoons, they did receive some regional support. The French interior minister at the time, Nicholas Sarkozy, articulated that

he much favored "an excess of caricature to an excess of censure" (McDonough and Oliver, 2006), further showing the inclination of France, and European states, or otherwise put, Western states, to protect the right to freedom of expression, accompanied by an unwillingness to censor this right.

Summing up the above, it can be said that the Danish cartoon controversy has been described as having "spurred local and national dialogue efforts across Europe that often were explicitly aimed at fostering both religious and cultural sensitivity and an appreciation of norms of free speech and expression" ("Islam and the West," 2008).

4.4.2 Charlie Hebdo

Upon previous Charlie Hebdo anti-Islamic publications, Stephane Charbonnier, editor of Charlie Hebdo, stressed that Islam could not be an exception to the rule on freedom of expression, stating that "if we can poke fun at everything in France, if we can talk about anything in France apart from Islam or the consequences of Islamism, that is annoying" ("French satirical paper Charlie Hebdo attack condemned," 2011). Moreover, Le Monde's editorial stated that in a secular state, such as France, "freedom of expression trumps all other norms, especially religious norms. Religions are respectable forms of thought and belief but they can be freely analyzed, criticized, and even ridiculed" (Marthoz, 2012). Agnes Poirier, French political commentator, also told Huffington Post UK, that "the freedom of the press is paramount. It's not negotiable. Charlie Hebdo has always been quite provocative. It doesn't pull its punches. The magazine is...just doing its job of being satirical" (Thornhill, 2012). Furthermore, in response to the 2012 Cartoons, Ivan Drapeau, of French newspaper La Charente Libre, expressed that Charlie Hebdo "has not broken

the law, has not disturbed public order, has not incited to hatred or discrimination and has not undermined respect for people” (“Charlie Hebdo row: Cartoon divide French press,” 2012).

In addition to the opinions of media figures in France, politicians are also convinced that freedom of expression is an irrefutable right in France. In 2011, the French Prime Minister at the time, Francois Fillon stated that freedom of expression amounts to an inalienable right in France (“French satirical paper Charlie Hebdo attack condemned,” 2011), expressing his full support to upkeep this immutable norm. Interior Minister of France, Manuel Valls also professed that freedom of expression, and specifically the right of caricature, is "a fundamental right defined by law," which he guaranteed he would uphold, and articulated that he would treat those demonstrators who aggravate public order with ultimate strictness (Marthoz, 2012).

Salman Rushdie also told the New York Time’s, Charles McGrath, “some of the British Muslims now say, ‘We think we were wrong.’ Some of them for tactical reasons, but others are actually using the free-speech argument: “If we want to say what we want, he has to be allowed to say what he wants. So I think some little bit of learning has happened” (Greenhouse, 2012). Nonetheless, even though the reactions to the cartoons are perhaps regretted now, it is arguable that the reactions have already arguably negatively affected European-Muslim relations arguably for years to come, further showing the widespread influence of local media on this relationship.

The cartoonist of the 2012 caricatures stated that Charlie Hebdo treats “the news like journalists. Some use cameras, some use computers. For us, it’s a paper and pencil.” He went on to say that “a pencil is not a weapon. It’s just a means of

expression” (West, 2012). Charbonnier also told Le Monde, “I don’t feel as though I’m killing someone with a pen. I’m not putting lives at risk. When activists need a pretext to justify their violence, they always find it” (Greenhouse, 2012). He further stated that the cartoons will only “shock those who want to be shocked” (Greenhouse, 2012). This illustrates that Charbonnier, and consequently too, Charlie Hebdo, believe they are doing nothing wrong by publishing cartoons, even though at times, they can be offensive.

Furthermore, according to Charbonnier, “Muhammad isn’t sacred to me” (West, 2012). He stated that “I live under French law; I don’t live under Quranic law” (West, 2012). Bearing in mind that the cartoons of 2005 and 2012 were done on European soil, and not in less liberal countries, like the Muslim world, there should have arguably been no debate as to the whether or not the cartoons were permitted by law. This is because they are subjected to the laws of the state in which they are published, here namely France, or subject to laws of the region, that is EU law, and as established above, these laws allow for minimal restrictions on freedom of expression, in order to ensure that one feels able to express one’s self, without any confined borders. Charbonnier further stated that he felt no remorse or guilt over the violence which arose in response to the cartoons. “I’m not the one going into the streets with stones and Kalashnikovs.” He also said “we’ve had 1,000 issues and only three problems, all after front pages about radical Islam” (West, 2012). Thus, Charbonnier believes that Charlie Hebdo has done nothing wrong, as opposed to Muslims who have been inciting violence, and blaming it on the magazine. It has also been stated that after the French Charlie Hebdo cartoons, it should not be the case that “the insanity of foreigners dictate what French citizens are allowed to say in their own country” (Dreher, 2012), no matter how pressuring.

After the cartoons, Charlie Hebdo's journalist, Laurent Leger, stated that the aim of the cartoon was to laugh, and "we want to laugh at the extremists – every extremist. They can be Muslim, Jewish, Catholic. Everyone can be religious, but extremist thoughts and acts we cannot accept" (Bitterman, Meilhan, and Yan, 2012). Leger went on to say that "In France, we always have the right to write and draw. And if some people are not happy with this, they can sue us and we can defend ourselves. That's democracy. You don't throw bombs; you discuss, you debate. But you don't act violently. We have to stand and resist pressure from extremism" (Bitterman, Meilhan, and Yan, 2012).

Nevertheless, the daily French 'Liberation,' argued that blasphemy was a 'sacred' right, arguing that within all democracies, "every publication is free to establish its editorial line; every reader is free to read or not read; free is every offended person to seek reparation before the courts, the only legal arm. And let's hope that, in other regimes, arms of a different nature are not used" (Greenhouse, 2012).

Charbonnier stated that "the freedom of the press, is that a provocation? I'm not asking strict Muslims to read Charlie Hebdo, just like I wouldn't go to a mosque to listen to speeches that go against everything I believe" (Thornhill, 2012). He also said that "if we start to question whether we have the right to draw Muhammad or not, if that is a dangerous thing to do or not, the next question is going to be: can we depict Muslims in the newspaper? And then: can we represent human beings in the newspaper?" (Thornhill, 2012). Thus, if Europe was to give up its' right to represent Islam, it would be giving up much more than that, and be limited as to who it may depict. Another power of the right to freedom of expression, is that it allows one to express him or herself, without forcing others to listen or participate. Therefore, as

Charbonnier articulated, where Muslims are depicted in the media, they need not purchase the newspaper or magazine, or turn on the television to witness such representations. Both sides are free.

Nonetheless, Charlie Hebdo has witnessed first-hand what the publishing of anti-Islamic material can do as a means of enraging Muslim communities both within, and outside Europe, having watched the upsurges of violence arising out of the 2005 Danish Cartoons, as well as their 2011 Cartoons mentioned above, and 2012 Cartoons, among others. Therefore, they were well aware that their cartoon publications would most probably incite violence, and perhaps lead to instability both within Europe, and internationally. Despite this knowledge, Charlie Hebdo magazine seems persistent to exert and utilize its right to freedom of expression, and thus continue to publish offensive anti-Islam material. It mattered not to them that violence may break out, but rather it seems that what mattered more was the safeguarding and preservation of the indispensable principle of freedom of expression. This was made clear furthermore when Stephane Charbonnier, in January 2013, after the 2012 cartoon controversy, published a special comic book edition on the Prophet Muhammad, called 'The Life of Muhammad,' despite past discontent and tensions. According to Charbonnier, the main point of ridiculing Islam and Muhammad, is to 'trivialize' Islam into European culture, like any other religion, in order for the violence which is derived from the drawings to either be reduced or stopped (Lauter, 2013). According to Charbonnier, ridiculing Islam is necessary, and must continue, "until Islam is just as banal as Catholicism" (Greenhouse, 2012). This shows that not only is Charlie Hebdo attempting to preserve its right to freedom of expression, but rather is also fighting to change Muslim culture, and make it more attuned with European liberal cultures and values.

After this 2013 release, there were much lesser reactions to those of the 2012 publications (Romdhani, 2013), and as such, it can be debated, that Charbonnier's, and thus Charlie Hebdo's attempt to push Muslims to adapt and change their culture into a more tolerant, liberal, and European accustomed one, is arguably working. It can also be said, that until Islam adapts to Western culture, it will most probably remain targets of European local media, which shows the importance of European culture in Europe, especially the right to freedom of expression. "Muslim icons remain however convenient targets, especially that Islam itself is suspect in the eyes of an important segment of French opinion" (Romdhani, 2013). Perhaps, as was seen with the non-reaction of Muslims to the 2013 Charlie Hebdo publication on the Prophet Muhammad, "Muslims have learnt that indifference is the best attitude towards attempts at provoking their wrath" (Romdhani, 2013), especially after European local media chains have made it clear that they will stop at nothing to preserve their right to freedom of expression, and continue to ridicule Islam, if they so choose.

Chapter Five

Local Media's 'Infinite' Protection

5.1 Political Orientations Lean to Bias

Although Europe operates under the concept of liberalism, as has been outlined above, various European local media outlets are often found to be bias. It can also be said that Islamophobia is present in Europe, whether or not accepted, and whether or not acknowledged, thus further increasing the probability of bias, although at times, bias arises subconsciously, and not purposely. It is important to study the political orientations of both Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo, in order to determine whether or not they are more likely to prove bias.

Jyllands-Posten is a right-wing newspaper. It often expresses notions of anti-Islam, and anti-immigration, arguably proving responsible for igniting numerous Muslim sensitivities and also, sometimes hatred. European right-wings often see immigrants as culturally threatening the future of Europe, and so place emphasis on tougher immigration policies (Yilmaz, 2012). Right wing leaners also tend to increase attention on Islamic threats, which can work to create a fear of Muslims. A Muslim Imam, named Abu Laban, also a leader of Denmark's Muslim communities, stated that the cartoons were a direct insult to the Islamic religion, and were an attempt by right-wing forces to expose Muslims as unsuited to Danish values, (Bilefsky, 2006) further showing that right-wingers are recognized as opposing Islam. Therefore, based on its' political orientation, Jyllands-Posten can be said to be a biased media outlet in Denmark, especially in so far as Muslims are concerned. This is further made evident when one comes to consider the fact that in the year

2003, Jyllands-Posten refused to print cartoons that made fun of Jesus Christ, on the grounds that they could be interpreted as offensive to readers (Fouche, 2006). The Sunday editor of the magazine, at the time, Jens Kaiser, argued “I don’t think Jyllands-Posten’s readers will enjoy the drawings. As a matter of fact, I think that they will provoke an outcry. Therefore, I will not use them” (Fouche, 2006). This incident directed much critique upon Jyllands-Posten, who were arguably seen as holding double-standards, in that they arguably accept to publish anti-Islamic material, but refused to offend the Christian faith, showing that they are more discriminatory towards Islam. This further points to the notion that Jyllands-Posten is indeed a bias media organization.

Charlie Hebdo is a magazine with left-wing positioning (“Charlie Hebdo French cartoons: complaint filed in Paris,” 2012). Although left-wing politics is often concerned with equality, and trying to remain neutral, it is often the case that left-wing media outlets prove bias too. Charlie Hebdo is a magazine which is often referred to as anti-clerical, but even more so, anti-Islamic, despite its’ left wing positioning. It opposes religion, especially that of Islam (Marliere, 2012), and thus, in this sense, it can be said that Charlie Hebdo is arguably prone to publish material which proves bias towards Muslims. The difference between Charlie Hebdo and Jyllands-Posten, is that Jyllands-Posten has proven reluctant and fearful to publish material which may attack religions other than Islam, most notably Christianity, whereas Charlie Hebdo, despite potential Muslim bias on their part, are ready and willing to issue offensive material towards other religions, treating all religions as one in the same, and mocking them as equals. Therefore, it can be argued that Jyllands-Posten is at heart more bias than Charlie Hebdo. However, regardless of the fact that Jyllands-Posten proves to be more bias than Charlie Hebdo, both media

organizations are nonetheless biased, in the sense that they hold a 'grudge' against Islam and Muslims, irrespective of the degree of this bias.

Having established that overall, the political orientations of Jyllands-Posten and Charlie Hebdo lean towards bias, it is possible to conclude that they are more likely to hold antipathies against Muslims, and thus prove more inclined to publish anti-Islamic material. This is made more apparent when one looks at the fact that the cartoon publishers have themselves too been described as being racist due to a variety of events in the Middle East. For example, they have been termed as being "frustrated with poverty, social exclusion, discrimination, the war in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestine" (Hansen, 2006). This further implies that prejudice in both Jyllands-Posten and Charlie Hebdo is ever the more probable, due to the negative perceptions and views from the cartoon publishers, as well as from the magazine staff in their entirety, accompanied with frustration on their part from Muslim reaction to the cartoons, somewhat arguably motivating them to publish anti-Islam material, especially in the endeavor to preserve their right to freedom of expression.

Moreover, it is also often the case that "some in the west use freedom of speech to make their immigrant populations feel less welcome by insulting what they value most. One of the most famous examples of this is of course the Danish cartoon incident which began in 2005" (Khan, 2008). This is arguably the case not just with Jyllands-Posten, but also with Charlie Hebdo, these two media outlets, arguably and generally negatively portraying Muslims and Islam, with the objective of making the majority of Muslims arguably feel less at home, which in time has hindered the chances of peaceful European-Muslim relations, and further pointed to the fact that bias is more likely to be present.

Nonetheless, this thesis argues that despite the extent or degree of bias in either Jyllands-Posten or Charlie Hebdo, this matters not, because local media outlets in Europe, and throughout Western liberal and democratic states, are somewhat ‘shielded’ under the legal right to freedom of expression, or freedom of speech.

5.2 Local Media’s power is shielded

Due to the liberal setting of Europe, bias is arguably tolerated, and even more so, arguably protected. This is due to the simple fact that freedom of speech offers leeway for media maneuvering, in the sense that it affords local media outlets a sort of right to publish what it pleases. As outlined above, these rights are rights afforded by law, under international, regional, and domestic law, although domestic laws vary among states, within not just Europe, but also among the majority of Western states. However, it would be incorrect to say that the right to exercise free speech is unlimited, these limitations imposed by law, discussed above, in the section on ‘Freedom of Expression Laws.’ Nonetheless, it is also arguable that the limitations are in practice, rarely employed, and seldom set aside. This is namely due to the fact that if the right were to be restricted, it is arguable that its’ essence would become eroded and no longer be preserved, thus endangering European culture, an argument formulated above.

The disinclination of Europe to restrict freedom of expression, is made more apparent when it is considered that despite the reactions to the 2005 and 2012 cartoons, Europe did not give in to international pressure throughout the crises, and did not disregard, nor set aside the right to free speech in order to afford Muslims religious consideration, even where restricting the right would have perhaps prevented global instability and violence. This in itself re-emphasizes and re-asserts

the importance of the right to free speech in Europe. In this sense, it can be argued that both Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo were, thanks to their right to free speech, somewhat 'let off the hook,' and not penalized for their publications, even though these media outlets are generally speaking, more bias than liberal.

As such, it can be said that local media outlets are generally speaking, and in practice, often unrestricted in what they may publish, even where found to be potentially bias. Therefore, in the above mentioned respect, it can be argued that freedom of expression laws have somewhat given local media outlets in Europe the right and ability to publish or censor more or less whatever they want. It is also arguable that they have also indirectly been granted, to a certain extent, the right to offend.

The right to free speech is arguably exceptionally safeguarded for many reasons, some of which are outlined in the chapter on 'Liberalism, Culture, and Freedom of Expression.' The main reason, however, is that imposing limits on freedom of expression, would arguably threaten the liberal culture upon which Europe functions, proving more detrimental than favorable, bearing in mind that liberalism forms an essential, and fundamental principle in Europe, one which cannot, and ought not, to be ignored nor trumped. This is especially the case in an environment where Europe and its' people have come to feel increasingly threatened by Muslim presence and culture, in the wake of increasing and multiplying Muslim immigration to Europe, which has pushed Europe to become somewhat more assertive of its' principles, Europe continuing to protect its' liberal values, cultures, and societies, so as to ensure their preservation so they don't wither away (Michaels, 2009).

Thus, it can be argued that overall, the right to freedom of expression is affording European local media outlets a sort of infinite power, in the sense that they have naturally, and legally, been given the right to do, and publish, what they so choose. They have proven able to veil themselves behind the mask of freedom of expression and freedom of the press, fundamental rights afforded to them by law. The importance of this right is that it “contains two guarantees: prohibiting prior restraint and a prohibition of subsequent punishment” (Munsayac, n.d.). This means that it is afforded protection both before and after publication, which further shows the amplified prospect that local media outlets are arguably unlimitedly protected, even where bias is present, such bias capable of being masked and secured under the wings of freedom of expression. This is even more clear when one comes to consider that the right to free speech offers local media outlets a sort of leeway to abuse: “media bias is an abuse of the right of ‘free’ speech” (Indiana, 2008).

Furthermore, after the 2012 US anti-Islam movie, Barack Obama in addressing the UN, condemned the movie as both “cruel and disgusting,” yet stressed the importance of the right to freedom of expression, even “with views that we profoundly disagree with” (Morse, 2012). This further shows that Western states are less likely to denounce the right to freedom of expression, even where invasive and insulting, or founded on bias. Nonetheless, Lars Tonder (2012) in his recent article which examined the 2012 US anti-Islam movie, had described freedom of speech, as the “not so innocent right to free speech,” which is indicative of the fact that this right, and its’ use, is often not used harmlessly, and at times can even arguably be used to cause and enflame hatred.

In conclusion, it can be said that based on the European liberal and democratic conception of freedom of expression, arguably proving to be, in practice, although

not in law, an absolute, and irrefutable right, the fact that Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo may be described as being bias local media outlets, proves irrelevant. This is because freedom of expression, a right upon which the European Union as a whole operates, as well as the Western world at large, forms a rational and latent justification for material which may be published, even if such material proves to be anti-Islamic, or holding a hint of bias. "In a liberal democratic society, religion is, like it or not, a fair target for criticism, satire and, fortunately or unfortunately, mockery and ridicule" (Hansen, 2006). This is something which ought to be accepted by all. Therefore, in this sense, it can be said that both Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo's publications are defensible under the notion of freedom of press, regardless of the fact that they are bias. This idea is further confirmed by Flemming Rose of Jyllands-Posten, who stated that "if we talk of freedom of speech, even if it was a provocation, that does not make our right to do it any less legitimate before the law" (Bilefsky, 2006). In this sense, it can be argued that all local media outlets in Europe are gifted, or otherwise enshrined, with an unlimited or 'infinite' amount of power, in the sense that even where they are found to be bias or provocative towards a particular religion, including Islam, they are nonetheless arguably afforded layers of legal and non-legal safeguards, whether domestic, regional, or international ones, allowing flexibility for such outlets to publish freely.

5.3 Solution

Considering all the above covered aspects of this thesis, especially in so far as culture is concerned, it is blatant that many Muslims are not adapting to European culture, and Europe seems unwilling to change, reluctant to give religious safeguards to Muslims. It is necessary, therefore, that a solution be struck, in order to reduce the

tensions which currently exist between Europe and the Muslim world, as well as the Muslim world and the West, before European-Muslim relations reach a stage arguably beyond repair. Media, and local media, will be given as a solution, further showing the arguably 'immeasurable' power that local media holds, potentially capable of resolving and repairing exceedingly damaged relations. It is important that this be addressed.

It has often been argued that if citizens are to accept immigration, they must feel like their sense of belonging, and identity, are guaranteed, and mutual understanding must be present (Joppke, 2004). This thesis argues that overall, what needs to be present in order to restore amicable European-Muslim relations is greater tolerance from both sides, so as to at least make peaceful relations possible. This tolerance, however, cannot be generated so easily, especially since European-Muslim relations have reached a point where there is constant "mutual hostility and suspicion. Each fears the other not just politically but morally and culturally, and sincerely believes that it cannot survive without defeating the other" (Parekh, n.d.).

It has also frequently been reiterated that the "reaffirmation of Muslim identity is a reaction to the social exclusion, unemployment and discrimination that the Muslims experience in their adopted countries in the West. As the current reality shows, the more discrimination and social exclusion members of a minority face, the more they tend to unite around their religious affiliation" (Anspaha, 2008). Moreover, Europe is becoming more 'Islamophobic,' and more insistent of its liberal values, so as to also 'reaffirm' its' European identity. Therefore, it can be argued that both sides are becoming more and more sensitive to the presence of the other, arguably trying to push each other out, rather than adapt to the presence of one another, which makes it ever the more adamant that a solution be achieved.

Arguably, in order to achieve greater tolerance, both sides need to employ greater understanding. What is necessary on the part of Europe is to employ their liberal principles, without any bias, even where such bias may be present. All bias and Islamophobia towards Muslims, which the world has come to feel, ought to be set aside so as to prevent the further escalation of European-Muslim relations, as well as the relationship between the Muslim world and the West in its' totality. This will arguably reduce tensions, in the sense that the majority of Muslims will feel less like they are 'targets' to European critique, but rather that European criticism towards them will genuinely be done in the same way as it is being done towards other religions and communities.

Perhaps what needs to be done from the side of the bulk of Muslims, is to have greater understanding for liberal European values, cultures, and laws, and thus not retaliate when anti-Islamic material be published in Europe, bearing in mind that freedom of expression is a fundamental right permitted in Europe. Generally speaking, more peaceful and diplomatic reactions from Muslims will arguably rectify the universal image that they, and media everywhere has created of them, that they are violent. This will not require Muslims to approve of such publications, and thus will not require that they go against their faith, but much in the same way as Europe is not attempting to deprive its' Muslims of their right to freedom of religion, they ought not to attempt to deprive Europe of its' right to freedom of expression. Muslims ought to instead express dissatisfaction and offense through dialogue, and not mass violence. Therefore, in this sense, the majority of Muslims need to become more tolerant and accepting of European, and thus Western values, and the West lest critical to Muslims.

Once effort is put in from both sides, and greater tolerance is achieved, it is debatable that the best chance to achieve and sustain peaceful European-Muslims relations can only be done with the help of the media, both local, and international. However, this is arguably easier said than done. Nonetheless, using the media to attempt to fix this damaged relationship is necessary, or Europe, as well as its' Muslims, will be placed in a challenging predicament, whereby their families, and future generations will arguably continue to be affected by intensifying relations, threatening the stability of Europe, and the Muslim world, in its' entirety.

It is important to understand why the media is being afforded as a potential solution, although this solution appears to be somewhat idealistic. The reason as to why the media is being afforded as a solution, is because all media, and especially local media, have proven to be powerful weapons, able to generate and incite different attitudes, especially in so far as Europe and Muslims are concerned, as has been established throughout this thesis. This is made apparent when one comes to consider that although it has been twelve years since the 9/11 attacks, the worldwide negative image of Muslims constructed by the media over the years, as a result of this event still exists, Muslims still being portrayed as being linked to terrorism, and proving to be a security threat. Thus, it can be argued that since the media can ruin Muslim images, it also holds the potential to remedy this image, or at least improve it. Although one may wonder whether it is too late for the media to repair their image, it is important that the media at least try to make Muslim communities feel more welcome, and stop representing them as just problematical, but rather try to define positive qualities they may have, as this is arguably affecting Europe's perceptions of them.

Despite the great power it holds in influencing individual outlooks, it can be said that generally speaking, “the media play a wide range of roles in our lives. Some of these roles are constructive and some are destructive” (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). Therefore, in this sense, it can be said that “the media can play very positive roles in conflict prevention and peacebuilding” (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). The greatest field in which the media has proven to participate is in the promotion “of positive relationships between groups, particularly in conflicts over national, ethnic, religious identity. The media can lessen polarization between groups” (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). This is especially the case in so far as Muslims are concerned, considering that overall “the Western media both directly and indirectly play a central role in the spreading and preserving of negative images of Islam and its followers” (Shadid and Von Koningsveld, 2002). This is further indicative of the fact that the media can arguably mend European-Muslim relations. In the US, it has been argued that “in order to repair the image of American Muslims and fix the misperception problem, the media must work harder to help make the unfamiliar feel familiar” (Khan, 2010). This ought to arguably be done with Muslims in Europe, too.

Moreover, it is arguable that “if we consider the Danish media landscape very little is done to ease the integration of immigrants into the Danish society” (Bonde, 2007). With this in mind, it is possible to argue that the lack of Muslim integration of many Muslims in Denmark can be to some extent blamed on Danish local media, who have arguably not attempted to contribute to the facilitation of their integration. This is debatably the case with the majority of European states, including France. Furthermore, it can be stated that the non-integration of many Muslims into Denmark and France, is arguably a partial product of the cartoons, further illustrating the importance of Danish media, and French media, and thus European local media

in general, in the integration processes of Muslims in Europe. Thus, much in the same way as the media has been held accountable for creating cultural divides, and enflaming European-Muslim relations, the media, and most notably local media, is also capable of bridging these gaps, and working towards creating a sense of unity and peace among Europe and Muslims.

Overall, therefore, the majority of Muslims and Europeans alike, as well as media outlets, both local and international, need to somewhat work together to fix the already dented European-Muslim relationship which exists, as well as Muslim-Western relations, so as to potentially create greater worldwide stability between Muslims and the West. All media, as much reliance is placed on them, ought to work hand-in-hand to come up with a strategy aimed at creating and disseminating positive images of Muslim worldwide. Since local media outlets in Europe have evidently proven to be so powerful, perhaps they should be used for the better good, in order to burn out the fire which currently exists within European-Muslim relations, and restore peaceful relations between the two sides, or at least try to improve them to a certain extent. Perhaps this can even be done with cartoons, which have proven significantly powerful within Europe. Defined in one sentence, it can be argued that “Islam deserves a media makeover” (Khan 2010), in the sense that the media ought to arguably undo what they have done, that is, negatively construe many Muslims within Western states, or at least stop doing so.

Furthermore, it is important to note that this solution is discretionary, in the sense that it is up to the discretion of Muslims to become more tolerant to European values, and up to the will of Europe to become more tolerant of its’ Muslims. It is also up to the discretion of the media to repair Muslim images. If the media, however, is not interested in remedying European-Muslim relations, then perhaps

they ought to simply stop exacerbating it, and stop constantly highlighting Muslims as amounting to a universal ‘problem,’ bulking them into a single group, and describing them as the ‘Others’ of the West, when this cultural categorization and discrimination is not done with respect to any other religion. This solution is not asking that the media give up its’ right to freedom of expression, but that it expresses its’ views, without directly attacking Muslims and creating discriminatory stereotypes.

It is possible to state, however, that so far, Europeans are those who have most suffered, and Muslims are those who have most come to show change, especially considering that upon Charlie Hebdo’s recent 2013 publication, the Muslim world did not backlash. Perhaps Charbonnier, of Charlie Hebdo, was right when he stated that the Muslim faith needed to be ‘trivialized’ into European cultures, stressing that the only way to achieve this is by treating Islam the same as all other religions. The lack of reaction on the part of Muslims is arguably an attempt on their part to accept European cultures, or at least not fight them. Therefore, the greater credit ought to be afforded to Muslims, who seem to have become more tolerant and habituated to European liberal values, and the mocking of their religion. Moreover, in this respect, it can be argued that local media has played a major role in trivializing Islam into European cultures, making Muslims more habituated to such publications, which further portrays its’ power.

Providing local media outlets as a partial solution, further portrays the capabilities, and powers, of local media outlets in Europe, as tools capable of harnessing a relationship often thought to be damaged beyond repair. However, this solution will arguably take time.

5.4 Conclusion

As a general rule, it can be concluded that “the current levels of international conflict, the persistent perception of economic and security threats, and the scale and level of violence all point to a severe deficit in trust internationally. Perhaps the most specific and severe instance of this deficit in trust is found between the Western and Muslim communities” (“Islam and the West,” 2008). This deficit has often been exacerbated by both local and global media which have arguably amplified tensions in European-Muslim relations.

European-Muslim relations have for as long as can be remembered, been of central debate to Europe, especially in terms of integration and immigration policies. It is often said that “of all Europe’s great and present miseries, the one receiving the most uncertain remedies is the failing of integration of its increasingly large and alienated Muslim communities” (Vinocur, 2011). Although this lack of integration is can arguably be attributable to a large number of factors, it is undeniable that the media, and more importantly, European local media, forms a significantly great factor hindering integration, or at least peaceful relations, as was made clear after the reactions and repercussions of the cartoon crises of 2005, and 2012.

In broad, it can be firmly stated that the media, whatever the type, and no matter how acknowledged, holds the power and ability to influence the thinking, behavior, and attitudes of individuals, and societies, bearing in mind that “the media can incite people towards violence” (Bratic and Schirch, 2007). This was also made evident after the cartoon controversies of 2005 and 2012, where local media was able to affect the attitudes and comportment of Europe and the Muslim world, and the majority of the communities therein, towards one another. Europe has come to see

the Muslim world in more of a negative light, often being perceived as being the violent ‘Other’ within not just Europe, but also throughout the West. This perception, however, can both be blamed on international and local media, and especially local media, which is arguably responsible for highly charging the environment in which Europe and the majority of Muslims (both inside Europe and all over the Muslim world) have come to interact. These media organizations have debatably somewhat discouraged both sides to get to know one another, both sides presuming to know everything there needs to be known about the other. Moreover, the media has through its’ arguably ‘aggressive behavior’ towards Islam, not just affected the way the Western world see the bulk of Muslims, but has also impacted the way the Muslim world has come to see the West, and most notably Europe. This has further negatively impacted their relationship, and somewhat pushed both sides to become more radical, and arguably more assertive of their beliefs, cultures, and principles, in an attempt to affirm their identities, and somewhat push the other out.

Local media’s is arguably no longer limited to its’ customary scope, but rather, has been able to appertain to universal audiences through its global reach. “With the help of media, we have been able to extend our communicative reach in space and time, to exchange ideas across distances and through the ages. In this broad sense...communication is not limited to a particular medium or type of human interchange. It includes all information transmittals, whether the information is spoken, written, drawn or performed, whether it is relayed through analogue or digital means, whether it is transmitted in traditional forms, like letters or books, or via a computer, a telephone or any other communication appliance” (Mayer-Schonberger and Hurley, 2009). However, it is arguable that this ‘international’ scope, is attributable to media globalization, which has somewhat allowed local

media outlets to be transformed into such significantly powerful and influential tools, capable of affecting relations between and within states. This is because, generally speaking, globalization has pushed the world into more of an information and communication revolution era, where all media types, even the historically weaker ones, including local media outlets, have been transformed into active worldwide participants, at times even able to derive cultural debates and international violence, as was the case with Jyllands-Posten, and Charlie Hebdo. Therefore, in this respect, it is possible to argue that the phenomenon of globalization has somewhat ‘mutated’ the world, into a single global community, with all what is local, becoming global, and all what is global, becoming local. Media globalization has empowered both local and international media chains, allowing them to interact further, working at an inter-play, complementing one another, and blurring the historically clear-cut lines dividing the two.

Considering the vast cultural discrepancies which exist between the Muslim world and Europe, as outlined throughout this thesis, it is somewhat expected that cultural battles occur. This is especially so when considering that as a result of globalization, cultures have become increasingly intermixed, which accompanied by increasing interconnectedness and increasing immigration, makes it only natural that clashes of culture occur. Moreover, according to Karen Armstrong, “now we are all living in this multicultural society cheek-by-jowl with one another, not even within a single country but we are linked to one another in our global village. We have to learn to live side by side better than this” (“Viewpoints: Cartoon Row,” 2006). However, it is as a result of local media, and its’ provoking publications, including those of 2005 and 2012, that culture differences between Europe and Muslims have been made more visible, triggering further what is often described as a ‘culture war’

between both sides, which portrays the importance and authoritative character of local media outlets in Europe. Moreover the cartoons were able to reverberate unsettled international political battles, and were able to generate more important questions which threaten the essence of European-Muslim relations, and the potential for peaceful relations between the two parties. Such questions include: Are the West and Islam compatible? Can their intensifying relationship be resolved? Is there a culture war between the two sides? The simple fact that these questions have received attention, has arguably diminished the prospects for tranquil European-Muslim relations, as it has become an established principle that the Muslim world, and the West, are at heart incompatible. This further stresses the extensive scope and longstanding power of local media outlets, as robust tools, capable of highlighting and exacerbating tensions between groups.

Moreover, this thesis allows one to understand the importance of the right to freedom of expression, a right that although clashes with Islamic beliefs, forms a fundamental component of the liberal nature of the European Union and its' member states, proving to be, to some extent, an indispensable value protecting local media organizations almost always. It has given local media outlets a sort of 'boundless' power, affording them an extreme shield and a means justifying their publications, even if driven by bias.

Thus, overall, this thesis allows one to draw the following conclusion: Local media in Europe has proven to hold a phenomenal power, and influence, able to affect European-Muslim relations on the above mentioned four levels, that is, both on an intra-state level, and inter-state level. It is arguably functioning as a sort of dictator on European-Muslim relations, making peaceful co-habitation between both sides, less feasible. Its' power was made ever the more blatant in Europe, after the

cartoon crisis, where it was able to generate a domestic, regional and international chain reaction,' with ramifications expected to ripple across the world for years to come, with expected global instability. The power of local media has arguably been derived as a result of globalization, its reach, scope, and audience extended. However, when one comes to look at its' arguably 'unlimited' power to publish material as it desires, under European liberal culture, most notably the right to freedom of expression, its' power, and scope is arguably amplified, as an outlet which arguably operates with little geographical boundaries, as well as little boundaries as to content. Therefore, local media can be described as being a powerful actor, or weapon, in the international arena, capable of impacting international relations, as well as the international system in its' entirety. This conclusion can be drawn as local media has proven able to generate and create universal instability and from country to country, and at a 'super' speed, on four different levels. Its' importance is made even more obvious, considering that it has even been provided as a potential solution capable of spawning to some extent peaceful relations between Europe and the Muslim world. Local media has somewhat confirmed and reiterated the well-known cliché, 'the pen is mightier than the sword.'

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