

Discourses among Danish Muslims - the link between terror and Islam

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Abstract

In the recent years there has been an increased focus on the linkage between the concept of terror and Islam as religion. In the aftermath of terror attacks on the ground of western countries by perpetrators of Islamic background, the public debate has been highly affected by a focus on the perpetrators religion, and it have lead to negative consequences for resident muslim citizens in western countries. Research shows that some of the main effects of terror, is not the attack it self, but the aftermath of the attack, i.e. how we understand and talk about it. This articulation of terror events, the way we speak about it, shapes our reality and our society henceforth. A key agent in this articulatory practice is the Muslims resident in western countries as they are important contributor to the debate. The constructed link between terror and islam, urges the muslims to re-define and re-articulate their religion and what it means to be a muslim in western societies if not understood as related to terrorism, but as a concrete case of a terror attack in Denmark and the public debate afterwards shows, there are no consensus about this among the Danish muslim.

Thus, the focus for this thesis is to investigate how these specific terrors attack in Denmark are being articulated among Danish Muslim, and furthermore, to examine how these articulation affect affect our reality and society henceforth.

Methodological this is examined through the study of empirical material that are formed by various text from the public debate in the time after the attack. These texts are sorted and grouped so they represents different Muslim Voices, each representing a varity of discourses about terror and religion.

The theoretical approach is discourse theory, mainly by the application of Faircloughs critical discourse analysis to the empirical material, but furthermore by incooperation his key concepts, hegemony and ideology, along with an Foucaltian view on power, in order to discuss how the results of the textual and intertextual analysis of the text, affects and forms the social practice that the discourses is a part of, i.e. the Danish muslim society.

Through this analysis and discussion, the present thesis shows how there is a social struggle over power to define what a Danish muslim is between the different muslim voices, shaped by the struggle between the different discourses but also working the opposite way and is part of shaping the discourses in the public debate.





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1. Introduction

During the 21st century the term *terror* has had major impact on the western societies. Some argues that this started by the terrorist attacks in New York in 2001, the so-called 9-11 attack. The terror is often linked to the radical Islamism and the massive debate that follows have set a whole new agenda within various areas such as refugee policies both on domestic and international level, local integration, focus on security in foreigner policies and more. The concept of terror is present within almost every field of the western everyday life, from news media to social media, the developing of emergency evacuation plan along with drills on school etc. as well as play a big role in our inner experience world confronting us with the vulnerabilities of life. Most often the terror attacks results in a public demand for action that interfere with all the above areas. But there is no easy recipe on how to deal with terror, since the concept of terror itself and the understanding of the terrorist is not that easy to settle clearly.

The etymological root to the word terror is the Latin *terreo*, that are related to *tremo*, which means tremor or horror (Laustsen, 2014:12). In his book *terror* Laustsen notes how difficult it can be to define the concept *terror* since terror is not an academic term and thereby it is used in various ways in different contexts and by different agencies. With public authorities the word is often used with an operational orientation, while a minister of defense will often focus upon the more military and violent aspects of terror. According to Laustsen this means that the definitions of terror becomes very diverse (Laustsen, 2014: 10). Laustsen also emphasize the definitional challenges that are called for by the known phrase *one mans terrorist, the other mans freedom fighter* that highly visualize the difficulties of finding a consistent definition on terror (Laustsen, 2014: 10).

As Ph.D. in History of Terrorism Anne Sørensen says:

It is a linguistic act to use that word. History writing tells us, that terrorism has a totally different meaning and consequence than simple crime. And when we do not have an adequate objective definition, the way we speak about it, will contribute to defining whether or not an event is terrorism. Therefore, the discussion about the definition has existed as long as the concept. In the larger context, the mental processing to understand the acts of the perpetrator

will be shaped by the eyes placed on him. How we understand this story, how we speak articulate it and how we make it a part of our present and, in the long term, over history
(Sørensen & Rasmussen, 2015)

Sørensen's point is very central to why it is so important dealing with the understanding and articulation of the events and aftereffects of terror attacks since they can have great influence in shaping our future society. As Sørensen argues, terror attacks will often cause a need to understand the action of the perpetrator and here it will be a natural reaction to try to identify causal links and connections. In many cases this has led to an increased focus on the link between terror and Islam/Muslims, since some of the attacks have been executed by perpetrators with Muslim background and in the name of Islam. This has had some negative consequences for Muslims resident in western countries where some of the attacks have been (Moigne & Poulsen, 2015).

In February 2015 an incident occurred in Copenhagen, Denmark, that is widely referred to as a terror attack. The perpetrator, Omar El-Husseini, was a young Muslim man, who in the time up to the attack has been radicalized (Crone, 2015). The once again increased focus on the link between terror and Muslims had some negative consequences for Danish Muslims. This is evident when viewing some statements made by different representatives of the Muslim community in Denmark in the aftermath of the attacks. Imran Shah, spokesperson for the Islamic Religious Community in Denmark says that he had experienced increased reports from Danish Muslims that have been exposed to harassment in the wake of the incidents on the 14. and 15. of February. A uniform report comes from the Danish Documentation- and Consulting Centre for Race Discrimination, DRC, where vice chairman Kathera Parwani says that they also experience an increased number of Muslims addressing the centre on the basis of the same problem (Moigne & Poulsen, 2015).

The course of the events in Copenhagen was as followed:

On the 14. and the 15. February an incident causing two casualties and several wounded took place in Copenhagen, Denmark. The incident was rapidly labelled as a terror attack and the perpetrator was identified as a young man of Arabic origin (Rigspolitiet, 2015: 58).

The first stroke of the attack took place on Saturday the 14. February 2015 at the culture centre "Krudttønden" on Østerbro, Copenhagen. The ongoing event was a debate meeting focussing on the freedom of speech, arranged after the attack on the French magazine "Charlie



Hebdo" in Paris just weeks before, along with the other attacks that happened it the aftermath of this, and the main speaker where the Swedish illustrator Lars Vilks who in 2007 was involved in the incidents about the depicting of the prophet Mohamed (Bjørnager et.al., 2015). The perpetrator attacked from the entrance of the cafe and fired a machinegun into the foyer, which struck two guards from the Danish intelligent service PET and one police officer, who where wounded but not killed. The attack did though cause one casualty, a 55-year old movie director, Finn Nørgaard, who where fatally wounded on the street outside the cafe (Rigspolitiet, 2015).

From now on, the perpetrator where on the run for several ours around the town of Copenhagen, starting by high jacking a car close to the cafe Krudttønden where after the police lost track of him. Close to midnight, the police got a hint, that the perpetrator where dropped of by a taxi in Mølnerparken on Nørrebro in Copenhagen, but when the police arrived there where no trace of him (Rigspolitiet, 2015).

Shortly after midnight the second stroke of the attack took place outside a Jewish synagogue in Krystalgade in the central city of Copenhagen. At the synagogue, a Bar mitzvah took place with the attendance of many youngsters. A volunteer guard, Dan Utzon, with Jewish background where placed at the entrance, and due to the attack at the cafe Krudttønden, he was accompanied by two Danish police officers after a request from the Jewish community. The perpetrator shot and killed Dan Utzon and gun wounded the two police officers where after he fled out in to the streets of the central Copenhagen. For several ours the police searched for the perpetrator in Copenhagen, and around 5 a.m. he was observed at his resident on Svanevej at Nørrebro. When police officers hailed him, he immediately opened fire whereby the police responded, shooting and killing him (Bjørnager et.al., 2015).

The following days and weeks after, the debate in Denmark, both in the media, on the political level and on the social media among others, where highly affected by the attack. The opinions and reactions where diverse, ranging from right wing extreme groups reacting with hostility against both Muslims along with reactions from people with Jewish background who claimed their right for protection and to a great support for both the victims but also Muslims in Denmark who where once again in the centre of attention due to the religious affiliation of the perpetrator. It was clear from the ongoing debate that the murders of Finn Nørgaard and Dan Utzon on the 14. and 15. February where commonly viewed as a terrorist attack and linked to



radical Islamism. The consequence is, that Islam is placed as a focal point in the debate after the incidents at Krudttønden and the synagogue, and the murders on Finn Nørgaard and Dan Utzon is commonly referred to as a terrorist attack by a Muslim perpetrator, leading to Muslims and Islam being at the centre of the following debate in Denmark, both in the media and on the political level.

The reactions from Muslims in Denmark was also numerous and diverse, followed by different events and happenings aimed at articulating different viewpoints in relation to Muslims, Islam and terror. One of those who reacted where the 19-year old student, Zerk Satari. Satari recorded a video where he blindfolded stood in front of the signs on the above photography and with open arms, ready to give hugs to strangers. This event took place merely one week after the attacks, i.e. right in the aftermath of the events. The video where afterwards put on the social media where it was shared and linked to various times. Sataris point was to do away with the pre-judice against Muslims in Denmark that he believed that the terrorist attacks in Copenhagen had reinforced (Johansen, 2015).

Other alike initiatives where also made in the aftermath of the murders on Finn Nørgaard and Dan Utzon. Among these where an arrangement with a human "ring of peace" around the synagogue in Krystalgade, symbolizing unity and solidarity across religions.

Though, while Sataris focal point where centred around the fact that he himself where a Muslim and of Arabic origin, the message for the peace vigil where opposed to this, not to focus on religions, though the two arrangement shared a uniform message of trust and peace (Schlüter, 2015).

The Danish Muslim Niddal El-Jabri, was the organizer behind the peace vigil around the synagogue in Krystalgade and he says that the focus of the event was to promote the statement that the general public wants peace and needs to reasoning on what had happened. As Satari argued; *We wish to send a clear signal that we want a peaceful society in Denmark* (Schlüter, 2015).

One of the people who attended the arrangement where the Danish poet and politician Yahya Hassan who stated that:

We are here today to show, that whether you have a Jewish or Muslim background, no common people are supporting what had happened in Copenhagen. So we are here to present a

positive view on the ordinary Danish Muslim, along with other common Danish people here, who have been caught up in an agenda that they can not relate to themselves
(Boas, 2015)

The debate was, as the above quotes shows, very linked to being a Muslim since the incidents had implications on this. This also led to reaction like Saturis from other fronts, where Danish Muslims wanted to mark their distance towards the events.

In a chronicle in a Danish newspaper, 15 Danish politicians and opinion formers with Islamic background, stated that all Muslims resident in Denmark should stand forward and mark their distance from the attack (Damkjær, 2015). As the Danish politician Yildis Akdogan states, referring to the terrorist attack against USA I 2001;

Our fundamental message, is that we our self denounces these actions, without anyone asking us to do so. Whether we want to acknowledge or not, the demand for us Muslims to mark our stand is continually up for discussion. Though, we are in fact a religious minority, and 9/11 has not made this any easier. We have to try harder to legitimize our self.
(Damkjær, 2015)

But not everyone agreed that Danish Muslims should have to show their rejection of the perpetrators acts.

The Danish organization Hizb-Ut-Tahir encouraged the Danish Muslim not to take part in this joint marking of rejection. Spoke person for the Scandinavian Hizb-Ut-Tahrir, Junes Kock, argues that Muslims should instead view the events in the broader context (Kock (A), 2015). In a press release from the 15.February with the headline *Time to stand firm*, Kock argues;

(...) it is vital that we as Muslims do not take part in the rejection of the terrorist attack but contrary, consider the matters in the proper contextual frame. It is the Danish politicians and media that should dissociate from the politic that have created the circumstances that has led to hatred, intimidation, violence and ultimately, to murder, no matter whom the victims are. We, as a Muslim unity, must not, no matter what, succumb to the pressure and accept the premise that Islam is on the dock.
(Kock (A), 2015)

Also Sherin Khankan, spoke person for the forum for Critical Muslims agrees that I should not be compulsory for Muslims to dissociate from the violence committed by Islamic militants;

It should never be considered a fundamental premise, that Muslims should dissociate in general (...) When you ask Muslims to take a stand against the terrorist attack, you articulate and label them as "particularly responsible" for what had happened. You make Muslims guilty by acquaintance.
(Damkjær, 2015)

The linking of the murders of Dan Utzon and Finn Nørgaard and the perpetrators profile as an Arabic young Muslim man associated with radical Islamism, along with the prior terrorist attack against western countries and their allies therefore results in various reaction about whether or not to distance one self from the terrorist attack in light of being a Danish Muslim, this both among civilians, different organisations along with officials and politicians. To investigate the essence of the aftermath and ongoing debate after the terrorist attack, it is an important part to understand what happened and how this will affect our society from here on. Laustsen also argues that the 12.September – as representing any random date after the terrorist attacks in New York – is just an important date as the 11.September since it is not merely the terrorist attack that dictates a certain answer but it is a question of how the incident subsequently is remembered, referred to and related to practice afterwards that are important (Laustsen, 2014: 8). For that very reason it is important to clarify and try to understand the debate after the attacks in Denmark since it will have great relevance in reshaping the Danish society henceforth.

In order to understand matters – and thus how people react on them - it is necessary to clarify how they are interpreted. As Anne Sørensen states; *The way we speak about events shapes our reality* (Sørensen & Rasmussen, 2015). This recital is also supported by Bagge Laustsen that argues that terrors most important mode of operation is not the attack itself but on the contrary how we experience and understand our reality in the absence of attacks (Laustsen, 2014: 22). That is, the statements presented earlier represent the articulation of sharing religion with the perpetrator and these articulations among with the debate will in many ways affect the reality of the society further on. These articulations are continuously shaping and reshaping our social reality and conversely (Fairclough, 1992).

Thus, I have found it important to investigate these articulations among the Danish Muslims after the incidents on the 14. And 15. February (related to as terrorist attacks) to highlight how and why the events are referred to as they are and how this implies the social practice as well.

Therefore, I have found it interesting to ask the following question as the focal point for this project:

2. Research question

How are the above events in Copenhagen articulated by Danish Muslims?

&

How does these articulations represent the social reality of which the Danish Muslims are a part of?

3. Theoretical and methodological approach

In order to examine the above research question I have made some overall choices of theory and methodology along with considerations about my data collection process and choice of empirical material that I will briefly present below. Mind though, that each section is further elaborated in separate chapter following immediately afterwards, as this present chapter is mainly meant as an overview to facilitate further reading.

3.1. Theoretical and methodological framework

In the above research question I have emphasised the articulation of the incidents. My introduction also highlights the focus on how the way we speak about the incidents, has a major implication in how we construct and understand the reality we live within. This understanding of articulations as significant for the construction of reality is consistent with discourse theory. Therefore, I have chosen to use discourse theory as my theoretical approach throughout this project.

Throughout the project I will focus mainly on critical discourse theory, primarily Norman Faircloughs critical discourse theory and analysis, but I will withdraw various different discourse theories as a supplement where it finds its justification and are still consistent with Faircloughs theoretical approach in general.

My main reasons for choosing Fairclough as theoretical approach is due to his concrete methodological framework for text analysis that are consistent with the data I selected as my empirical material. Besides that, Faircloughs understanding of discourses is that discourse is by one of more social practice, i.e. there exists other social dimensions to include besides the

articulation of the events in Copenhagen, which is consistent with my main understanding of the field. I will further elaborate my reasons for chosen Faircloughs theory as methodological and theoretical foundation in the theory section where the theory is presented.

3.2. Application of the theory and structure of the project

Discourse theory and the different theoretical approaches will be applied throughout the various sections and subsection through the project, which will consist of three main parts. Firstly, I have used discourse theory as my starting point in the data search I have conducted when choosing my empirical material. Though I have found it necessary to withdraw concepts from a broader spectrum of discourse analysis, specially focussing on the theory of Laclau and Mouffe.

Secondly, Faircloughs three-dimensional model is applied in the main analysis of my empirical material. This part of the analysis will mainly focus upon the two first dimensions of the CDA, the textual dimension and the discursive practice, since Faircloughs models third part mainly finds its applicability when withdrawing from other theoretical aspects as well, which will turn the analysis and discussion in a slight different direction.

Thus, the third part of the project will consist of a discussion based upon the results of the latter analysis of my empirical material. The theoretical base will be broaden further here again, and though it is mainly based upon Faircloughs theory, other theories will be drawn upon as well, namely Foucault's theory will be used as supplement in this part.

3.3. Empirical material and data sources

As I wish to analyse the discourses among Danish Muslims related to the incidents in Copenhagen and the articulations it entails, which represent a rather broad research field, the textual material is selected from multiple sources, however all of them with the common feature of being text that are accessible for the public via the internet, since it is mainly contributions to the public debate that presents these articulations and discourses.

The textual material is then represented both as internet blogs, homepages for different organisations and associations and news paper articles among some, and for the different "Muslims voices" as representatives of the discourses, several texts have been used as data sources.

When choosing this data sources I made some reflection on what it meant that I use sources as new papers, organisations web pages and the like as basis for my empirical material. In accordance with Faircloughs theory, I have looked further into which implications the production and distribution of the text can have when I come to my opportunities to analysis it in a valid and reliable manner. Fairclough emphasis how the concept of text production can be a rather complex term since the person who authoress the text, is not always the only producer of the text in the long line of production (Fairclough, 1992: 78). For a lot of the material I use, the agent that I use as a representation of a *Muslim voice* I my analysis, am not the author of the text, but is quoted by a journalist. Thereby, the way from when the statement is actually being articulated and to the actual time when I, as a text consumer, are presented for the final article, can be long and the links in the production of the text can be complex. Thus, I been very critical when choosing the statements to use in the analysis, both by using direct quotation which I must assume is correctly presented, and by view a lot of material as supplement to see if the statement presented seems consistent with the overall opinion of the *Muslims voice*.

With this short presentation in mind I will continue to the actual presentation of the theory I will use in order to answer my research question.

4. Discourse theory

Within the spectrum of theory of science, discourse theory is a part of the social constructivist approaches, which gives me the opportunity to use the theory consistent with the understanding of people's articulations as partly constitutive for the reality. The discursive theories and approaches presented below, is rooted both in classic linguistic, structuralistic and post structuralistic linguistics along with classic Marxism among some, and inspired by theoreticians such as Althusser and Gramsci. The main idea of discourse theory is that it is through language that you can access and understand reality – thus, the discourses are fundamentally significant for the physical world. The language is thus constitutive of the social world, and hence changing the discourses also a way of transforming the social world. (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips: 17).

As mentioned I mainly use Faircloughs theory and the CDA, but since I will also touch upon other terms and concepts I my analysis, and other theories are also drawn upon and will therefore also be presented in the following sections.

One of these is the discourse theory as understood by Laclau and Mouffe. I will mainly use this theory in my initial data analysis to identify the empirical material that are relevant to include in relation to the discourses that I aim to analyse. Therefore I will just briefly present this theory along with the key concepts I use. This will be done in the immediately following section.

After that, in the next section I will focus on Faircloughs theoretical and methodological approach, i.e. his theoretical foundation and the methodological framework of the CDA. This part aims to present the theoretical base from which I will due my main analysis, which will be conducted in accordance to the CDA. As mentioned earlier, it is mainly the two first dimensions of the CDA that I will focus upon, since the last dimension according to Fairclough will include adding another theoretical understanding in order to analyse the text at the social dimension.

The theory presented in these two sections is mainly related to the first part of my research question: How are the above events in Copenhagen articulated by Danish Muslims?

Therefor I have also choosen to adopt a broader view of discourse for which the key concepts, mainly *power*, *hegemony* and *ideology*, I use will be presented in the third section of present chapter. Here I will focus more on key terms and concept that are mainly related to the last part of my research question: How does these articulations represent the social reality of which the Danish Muslims are a part of?

Here I have some pre-assumptions that sets the base for my choice of theory, these I will argue more in depth for in this last section.

4.1. The discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe

Laclau & Mouffes understands the social as a discursive construction but the way in which we understand the social will never be definitive and permanent and thereby it will always be open for battles about defining meaning. So even though some fixations of meaning seem immediate and indisputable that they seem natural, the battles about the fixation of this

meaning, will continually be fought. Exactly these processes are the focus for the discourse analysis (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 34-36).

Laclau and Mouffe understands discourse as a fixation of meaning within a certain domain (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 36), thus *the discourse is the structured totality that are a result of the articulatorial practice* (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 91).

Discourses is established by significance centred around *nodal points* that can be understood as a privileged sign from which the other characters get their meaning from. These privileged discursive points are the centre for the partial fixation that makes discourses constituted as an attempt to dominate the discursive field (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999:37; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 98-99). The discourse is formed by *moments* that can be understood as signs in the discourse, each forming a significance that differs from the other moments. Sign that are not yet discursive determined is referred to as *elements*, thus moments are articulated in the discourse, while elements are not yet (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999:36; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:91).

The moments within the discourse is partial fixed both in significance and their mutually organisation, and thereby creating a field of exclusion that consists of all the other possibilities and understandings that are not included in the discourse. This is referred to as the field of discursivity. In this field the other meanings, that a sign can potential have within other discourses, exists (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999:37), i.e. the discursive field consists of a *partial limitation of a surplus of meaning which subverts it* (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:97).

Discourses always constitutes itself in relation to what it exclude, i.e. the discursive field, and thus there is always a risk that this field can undermine the unambiguity of the discourse. The aforementioned elements is of great importance to this, since the discourses will struggle to make these ambiguous signs into moments by obtaining a *closure*. There is a certain types of elements that are also functioning as nodal points since they, when put into discourses, work as privileged signs that discourses is organized around. These elements are particularly open for attribution of significance, and are called *floating signifiers* and is characterized by being signs that are the center for struggle between different discourses (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 37-39).

When working concretely with discourse theory and wishes to conduct a discourse analysis, Winther Jørgensen & Phillips argues that a good starting point can be to identify the nodal points of each discourse in order to obtain an overview over which meaning the different signs, including the privileged, are assigned within the discourse. When the nodal points of the discourse has been identified, it is possible to investigate how other discourses defines the same signs whereby it is possible to identify the signs that are the centre of focus for the struggles over determining meaning, thus the floating signifiers. Thereby, the discourses within a certain domain can be covered (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999:40).

It is this part of Laclau and Mouffe angle to discourse analysis I'm going to take advantage of in the introductory part of the analysis because I by identifies nodal points and floating signifiers can identify relevant discourses for further analysis. Laclau and Mouffes theory gives me a useable starting point for the analysis, though it is inadequate in relation to conduction the in-depth text analysis, why I as mentioned have choose to withdraw on Faircloughs theory that can provide me with a useful methodological approach. Fairclough theory is presented in the below section.

4.2. Faircloughs critical discourse analysis

Faircloughs approach to the theory of discourses is inspired by the combination of a linguistic orientated discourse analysis combined with a more social and political mindset relevant for discourse and language. His aim is thereby to create a framework for analysis that can be applied to tangible social science research. Fairclough regards language use as a social practice where discourse is both a way a way to act, interact according to the world and each other along with a way to represent the world (Fairclough, 1992: 62-64). This also implies that there are a dialectical relationship between discourses and social structures, or as Fairclough defines it in more general terms, between social practice and social structures. According to Fairclough, the discourses are a part of what constitute the social world but as opposed to other discourse theoretical approaches, Fairclough sees the discourses as only one aspect of the social practice (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips: 1999:15). This relation entails that the discourses is both shaped and confined by the social structures, while the social structures can be seen as both a condition for and an effect of the discourses.

Depending upon the case of social domain or institutional settings, the discourses can be more or less structural fixed, but that applies both ways since the discourses is also social constituting (Fairclough, 1992:64); *Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning* (Fairclough, 1992:64). Discourses contribute to the creation of social identities (or subject positions), social relations and systems of knowledge and meaning, corresponding to three features of language. These are a identity function of language which says something about how social relations are constructed in discourse, a relational function that is about how social relations between the participant of a given discourse are being staged and negotiated, and finally a ideational function that says something about how texts provides the world and its processes, units and relations with meaning. These language functions can be seen as dimensions of meaning that co exists and works together in discourse (Fairclough, 1992: 64-65). Fairclough understands the term *text* as a rather broad concept as in Hallidays broad definition where text can mean both oral and written language. Text analysis can be organised under four main headlines; *choice of word/vocabulary, grammar, cohesion* and *text structure*, and these can be considered different levels on a scale. Vocabulary is the individual words, grammar addresses the composition of words into components of sentences and complete sentences, whereas cohesion deals with how these sentences are combined, and finally the text structure deals with the overall organised features and qualities of the text (Fairclough, 1992: 71-72). The analyse of discursive practice deals with particularly three main themes; *force, coherence* and *intertextuality*. These seven headlines is the sets the frame for Faircloughs analytical concept and refers to aspect considering both text production and text interpretation along with the more formal features and qualities of a text (Fairclough, 1992:72-73).

Textual analysis

According to Fairclough sentences are multifunctional, i.e. they are a combination of ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning components. This is reflected within the texts design and structure that will reveal which meaning are assigned social identities and relations, as well as themes related to knowledge and positions. This can be observed with for example the use of transitive verbs, where an object or a process is assigned a certain

meaning, or by using declarative verbs where what is said and the speakers point of view are being presented as matter of facts (Fairclough, 1992: 73-75).

Focus in this part of the analysis can also be on the use of alternative wording and choice of words and their political and ideological meaning, and how they are reformulated as part of a social and political struggle. Fairclough uses the example of the reformulation of the word *terrorist* into the word *freedom fighter* and vice versa (Fairclough, 1992:76).

Another relevant focus of attention in this part of the analysis is word meaning. Here it is relevant to consider how word meaning can become a point of dispute as part of a bigger struggle and where different hegemonic forms can structure the relation between words and the different meaning of words in certain ways.

The use of metaphors is another significant subject, especially the ideological and political meaning of certain metaphors (Fairclough, 1992:76).

The cohesion of the text concerns how components of sentences are linked together into sentences and how sentences are linked together into longer text sequences. Here, it is relevant to investigate how this linkage is being conducted, e.g. with the use of words from same semantic field, repeating words, the use of synonyms and the use of connotations and more. In this way it is possible to uncover the argumentative structure of the text (Fairclough, 1992: 77).

The last term in the actual textual analysis is formed by the notion of text structure, which is related to the macro level of the textual type. This concerns how elements and sequences are combined in order to constitute the text concerned. This can provide insight of the system of knowledge and assumptions about social identities and relations that are incorporated into the text, which also marks the grey area from when the textual analysis moves into the field of the discursive practice (Fairclough, 1992:77-78).

Intertextual analysis

The discursive practice covers the range of production-, distribution- and consumption processes. These processes vary depending on the discourse type, which is dependent on which social factors that are, involved (Fairclough, 1992: 78). Fairclough denotes how the concept of text producer is complex and emphasises how it can be helpful to deconstruct the producer into a range of positions that can be held by one single person or several persons.

Fairclough uses Goffmans distinction between "animator", "writer" and "principal". The animator is represented by the person who actually makes the sounds in the language or write the text as writing on paper, while writer represents the person who has put the words together and are responsible for the wording, and finally principal represents the person who's position the words are representing (Fairclough, 1992: 78-89).

As an example of the ambiguity in these positions, Fairclough emphasises the qualities of newspaper articles where the different positions is often misrepresented at the immediate reading.

Text consumption is also dependent on different social contexts, both according to the type of reading that are applied when reading a text, which kind of interpretation that are available along with the distribution forms (Fairclough, 1992:79-80).

Two central concepts are *force* and *coherence* as I presented shortly in the latter section. Force is to be understood as the texts *component of action*, a part of the interpersonal meaning within the text, how the text is made a social phenomenon and which action of speech it are used to perform. This can be manifested as a promise, a threat or the like (Fairclough, 1992:79-80). When it comes to the force of the text, context is of great importance. When viewing force in relation to context it is possible to reduce the ambivalence about whether a given part of the text is for instance meant as an order or a proposal. Context can be both the situational or the strictly textual context (Fairclough, 1992: 80).

Coherence is used to term to what degree the constitutive parts of the text (understood as both sequences and sentences), are linked together in such a manner that the overall text makes sense. Fairclough highlights how certain texts can lack explicit markers for coherence but still be able to create meaningful connections, thus coherence, for certain people. This is due to the fact that certain types of discourses are associated with certain principles of interpretation. The texts will the have the ability to position the interpretation subjects, and in this manner, coherence also has a highly ideological purpose (Fairclough, 1992:83).

Finally, intertextuality is to be understood as how texts are always full of fragments from other text, both directly and indirectly. The text can "relate" to the other texts in numerous ways, e.g. by contradiction, as scientific proof and so on. Fairclough distinguish between the term *manifest intertextuality* and the term *interdiscursivity* or *constitutive interdiscursivity*. In manifest intertextuality, the text is openly referring to or draws upon other specific texts.

Interdiscursivity/constitutive interdiscursivity concerns how the text is constituted from elements from orders of discourses (Fairclough, 1992: 84-86).

As shown above, Fairclough uses various terms and concepts in his CDA framework. When conducting the actual analysis, the use of concepts range even wider than in the latter, why I will briefly elaborate upon some key concepts from his framework that I will apply in the analysis of my empirical material. This will be done in the following section.

4.3. Terms and concepts from the CDA

When analysing the textual part, Fairclough operates with an amount of terms from which I have found it relevant to choose some of the terms mostly relevant for my analyse and my empirical material. The terms I will focus upon are mainly;

Cohesion where i will focus on how clauses and sentences are linked together throughout the text in order to describe how the text is structured in means of for exampel argumenation and type of rationality created through the text (Fairclough, 1992: 174-177, 235)

Grammatical features or *grammar* where my main focus is how the words are used and linked together in sentences in order to create the representationen of reality that are linked to the text (Fairclough, 1992: 64, 235)

Transivity where my main focus is upon how processes are linked with certain subjects or objects? (Fairclough, 1992: 177-185, 235)

Modality where a main focus of my analyse will be to dertemine patterne of ways to show a a certain use of representin the reality through patterns in the text and modality verbs such as modal verbs, modal adverbs etc. (Fairclough, 1992: 158-162, 236)

Word meaning where I will focus upon if and then how keywords with not FASTLAGT meaning are used and which potential meaning that lies in the wording (Fairclough, 1992: 185-190, 236).

Wording, where i will mainly focus upon the choice of wording along with which words that are reselected on behalf of others and how this expresses the underlying interpretative perspective of the text (Fairclough, 1992: 190-194, 236-237)

Metaphors as a presentation of the text producers understanding of reality to analyse the ideological dimensions (Fairclough, 1992: 194-198, 237).

The analyse of the discursive practice is, as mentioned, formed by different dimension which Fairclough terms *Interdiscursivity*, *manifest intertextuality*, *intertextual chains* and *coherence* (Fairclough, 1992: 232).

Fairclough distinguish between genres, activity types, styles and discourses in the matter of interdiscursivity, but he also emphasize the use of the more general term *discourse type* when analysis the interdiscursivity in an article (Fairclough, 1992: 124-25, 232). When using the terms genres, activity types, styles and discourses, one has to be very specific about whether or not the actual feature of the text is actually specific characterized as a genre or and activity type and so on. For that matter, I will mainly use the more general term where I will understand discourse types, according to Faircloughs theory, as both the particular text type and the production and consumption of it (which is the feature Fairclough terms genre), the activity linked to it along with the participants involved in the activity (The activity type), the style of the text, whether this is understood as spoken/written, formal/casual and so on, and finally as the term discourse that is closely linked to dimensions such as content and ideational meaning an so on (Fairclough, 1992: 126-128).

The third dimension of Faircloughs CDA will not be addressed here, but presented in a section later on in present chapter along with the other concepts and terms that are applied in the final part of the analysis. Firstly, I will elaborate on the foundation that sets the base for this third part of the analysis. This will be done below.

4.4. Pre-assumptions prior to theory choice for the third part of the analysis

In the introduction to this chapter I stated that I had some pre assumptions that have set the ground for my choice of key terms and concepts for the third and final part of the analysis.

These assumptions are based on a theoretical foundation, which I will argue for below.

By the initial study of my empirical material, I have discovered how there is great disagreement about some central points in the different articulations. If this is considered within the frames and understanding of discourse theory, these disagreements can indicate a struggle between the different discourses about the significance of these central points, i.e. a discursive struggle. Though, here it is relevant to emphasize that every disagreement within an articluatoric context, should not be considered an actual discursive struggle. The discursive struggle is characterized by a battle over central fixation of meaning about a central focus within the discourse. When studying my empirical material, it is obvious that the different

Muslims voices have different opinion on different matters of subjects. But in order to call this a discursive struggle, these disagreements have to be on fundamental areas within the discourse. Here, I have chosen my theory on a presumed basis since I can not show how these disagreements between the different Muslims voices are of such significance that they can be said to be a centre for discursive struggle. Though it is my assumption that they do not only represent merely disagreements, but on the contrary presents more comprehensive understandments, based on each individual's position within the spectrum of the religion Islam and what it means to be a Muslim in the context of the case. This means that each text, each Muslim voice, can be seen as not only a representation of the actual subject matter of the text, but also a representation of the ideological understanding that sets the ground for this positioning, and that it is on the basis of this, that the different discourses will be arena for struggles for power to define and determine the significance of the central topics that the disagreement is centred around.

In light of this, I have therefore chosen to include the following concepts in the third and final part of my analysis which consists of a discussion of the results from the first two parts; Hegemony, power and ideology.

Primarily I will focus upon Fairclough's theory in this part, but since he is inspired by other theoreticians and theoretical approaches, others will be drawn upon as well. This is mainly Foucault and his understanding of power.

I will briefly present Fairclough's theoretical points of view on the above highlighted terms and concepts in the following section along with Foucault's concept of power and discourse.

4.5. Hegemony, power and ideology

Fairclough, hegemony and ideology

The third dimension in Fairclough's analytical framework is not formed by concrete methodological concepts and approaches, as it was the case with the first two dimensions.

This is due to the theoretical understanding that Fairclough builds his CDA upon, as discourses in his theory is to be understood as just one out of more possible social practices. But Fairclough still has some important key concepts, hegemony and ideology, related to this third dimension and to the features of discourses. Fairclough draws upon both Gramsci and Althusser's theories as starting point for his understanding of discourse as social practice (Jensen, red: 2008: 45).



According to Fairclough, there are three essential assertions from Althusser that sets the base for Faircloughs approach to ideology, even though this approach distinguish quite a while from Althusser as source of inspiration. Firstly, it is the idea of ideology as embedded within the practice of the institutions as a basis for being able to investigate discursive practice as a material form of ideology. Secondly, it is the idea of how ideologies interpellate subjects, and how this has an ideological effect where the subjects are being constituted both socially and discursively. Finally, it is the idea of how ideological apparatus of the state (Institutions such as the media) both has an interest in and is also a physical location of battles between different classes of society that leads to struggles in and about discourses (Jensen, red: 2008: 46).

According to Fairclough, the ideologies are placed both within the structure it self (for instance a discursive order) where they represent both the results of former events along with the terms and conditions for present events, and within the events that they reproduce simultaneously with transforming their structure of terms (Jensen, red, 2008: 48-49). But Fairclough does not see al discourse as ideologically invested. He emphasises how ideologies occurs in societies that are characterised by domination relations e.g. gender struggles (Jensen, red., 2008).

In regards to the ideological positioning of the subjects, Fairclough differs from Althussers originate idea and criticize Althusser for exaggerating the ideological investing of the subject and understating the subjects capability to act as active agents with the ability to criticize and oppose towards the ideologies (Jensen, red., 2008: 50-51).

Fairclough sees subjects as ideological positioned but still capable of action and thereby also capable of creating their own links between ideology and practice, thus being able to change the positioned practices. Faircloughs says that his understanding of hegemony is influenced by Gramscis understanding of hegemony (Jensen, red., 2008: 51-52).

Fairclough sees the concepts of hegemony as more an effort to create alliances and integrate than the dominance of other classes of society, genders etc. There is a constant battle of ideologies between different agents to construct, maintain or destabilise alliances and dominance positions (Jensen, red., 2008: 52).

According to Fairclough, orders of discourses are to be understood as; (...) *the discursive facet of the contradictory and unstable equilibrium which constitutes a hegemony, and the*



articulation and rearticulation of orders of discourses is correspondingly one stake in hegemony struggle. (Fairclough, 1992: 93). Discursive practice is then a part of the hegemonic struggle given that it contributes to reproduce or transform both existing orders of discourses but also existing social relations and power relations (Jensen, red., 2008: 54).

A Foucaultian understanding of discourse

Foucault understands the concept of truth as a discursive construction where different regimes of knowledge define what is to be considered as valid truth. Foucault considers power as a productive phenomenon rather than suppressive, an approach that Fairclough's theory is inspired by. I.e., power creates the social reality and is both limiting and productive as it determines why the surrounding world appears the way it does along with the fact that there are certain ways to speak about these surroundings while other ways are excluded (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips: 21-23).

According to Fairclough, Foucault discourse analysis is concerned with: (...) *Specifying sociohistorically variable 'discursive formations', system of rules which makes it possible for certain statements but not others to occur at particular time, places and institutional locations*" (Fairclough, 1992: 40).

In discourse theory and practice, Hall introduces Foucault and his concept of power, knowledge and discourse. Hall emphasises how Foucault's main interest where; (...) *the rules and practices that produced meaningful statements and regulated discourse in different historical periods* (Wetherell, et.al., 2001: 72). He argues that Foucault understand discourse as;

(...) a group of statements which provides a language for talking about - a way of representing the knowledge about - a particular topic at a particular historical moment.. Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But... since all social practice entail meaning, and meaning shape and influence what we do - our conduct - all practices have a discursive aspect.
(Wetherell, et.al., 2001: 72).

According to Foucault, discourse is not formed by only one statement or one text, but can be found within various text (Wetherell, et.al., 2001: 72-73). A discursive formation though, is

when the same object is referred to by the discourses, the same style is shared, and it supports the same strategy (Wetherell, et.al., 2001: 73).

Discourse construct the topic, and just as much as it works in order to “rule” the ways a certain topic can be talked about, it also “rules out” other ways of talking (Wetherell, et.al., 2001: 72).

With this introduction to the theory, I will move on to the first part of the analysis, where I will argue for the data selection process on the background of discourse theory.

5. Methodology in the process of selecting data

In order to work analytical with the empirical material, first and foremost, it has been necessary firstly to make a systematic selection process in order to choose relevant data that represents different articulation from Danish Muslims about the incidents in Copenhagen, and at the same time, keep in mind the theoretical and methodological foundation that Faircloughs theory provides. Therefore, I have found it necessary first of all, to take a closer look at the terms *discourse* and *discursive orders* in relation to the empirical material. First I will take a look at the discourses and orders of discourses from a more overall perspective in order to visualise my methodological approach in the project. I will follow the mindset of Winther Jørgensen & Phillips in “Discourse analysis as theory and method” (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999:141).

Orders of discourses

Fairclough defines discourse orders as a complex and contradictory configuration of discourses and genres within the same social area or institution (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 147). A discursive order can then be understood as the different discourses that it is formed by, that partly covers the same field, which they competes to add content and meaning to. Fairclough often links the concept of discursive orders and specific institution but also emphasised how the discourses and orders of discourses can exist transinstitutional (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 147)

In the process of delimiting my empirical field I have, in keeping with the points of Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, focused on where the discourses are dominant and where disagreements exists along with where there are similarities and agreement, and finally

which "truisms" that exists. In this way I will be able to narrow the field of discourses down to a minor specific representation as subject for the further analysis (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 147)

Though, I do not think it is possible to fully map out a certain order of discourses and uncover all existing discourses within it, as the discursive nature and the fact that discourses are open for transformation will work against this. But through the selection process I have conducted in my data selection, and thereby the selection of texts as representatives for the various discourses, I believe to have found some prevailing and significant and also very diverse discourses within the field.

To obtain the necessary overview of a discursive order, Winther Jørgensen & Phillips suggests to focus on the concept of "floating signifiers" as an indicator for a certain order of discourse, since all discourses and agents within a specific discourse order will try to invest different content in a floating signifier and it thereby can represent a point of centre of attention. Main characteristic of the floating signifier is that it does not yet has an unambiguous fixed meaning but that multiple discourses struggle to "conquer" it. These discourses and their reciprocal order is then what form the order of discourses (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999: 154).

When searching and selecting data for the project, my starting point where different internet databases where I searched broadly after material about the incidents in Copenhagen on the 14. And 15. February. Focus where material with statements from Danish persons with Muslim background about the aftermath of the incidents and the following debate.

A special focus has, according to my research question, been how these incidents has been linked to the religion of Islam and people with Muslim background and how this is reflected in the debate.

A common feature of my empirical sources is that they are all accessible to the public via a search on public accessible Internet databases. I chosen to use materials from this source since it is my aim to get insight in where the discourses are dominant in public debate and databases that are not accessible to all would not for fill this criteria.

A common feature of the selected text, are the agreement that as a Muslim you are pushed into take a position and mark your stand in relation to the fact that the perpetrator of the

killings on the 14. And 15. February was a Muslim. A recurring theme has been whether or not a Muslim should have to mark their revulsion of the incidents or not.

These dominant characteristic, which also represents the indifferences in the empirical material, also comes in a more general expressing to whether or not Muslims should take a stand in relation to terror-related incidents with perpetrators with Muslim background in a more general perspective. Therefore, in the foregoing process, I have worked with selection data based on the following premises; the texts should be part of the public debate concerning the incidents in CPH and written by Danish persons with Muslim background, they should share the common feature of debating whether or not Muslims have to make a stand in relation to the incidents in CPH where the perpetrator where Muslim *or* on a more general level, take a stand in relation to terror events committed by perpetrators with Muslim background

By studying a broad range of empirical material on basis of the above premises, keynotes appeared to be centred around the phenomenon of being Muslim in Denmark and what that meant to the different individuals in relation to the context of my case. This keynote, *Danish Muslim* is then used as the term floating signifier in the remaining mapping of the discursive order. To be a Muslim in Denmark appeared to be added with very different content in the different texts, thus *Danish Muslim* becomes a floating signifier which meaning is not agreed upon between the various Muslim voices, whereas I have selected the texts from a premise to present as widely a part of this spectrum of Muslim voices as possible in order to give so varied a picture as possible.

To be able to identify these diversities so the field of Muslim voices will be as representative as possible, I have worked with the keynote *Danish Muslim* in line with the concept *nodal point* when reading the texts.

Identifying the different words and concept that are linked to the text – and the discourse orders nodal point, I been able to map each texts, and thereby each Muslim voices, main features and main conceptions of what it means to be a Danish Muslim. In this way I have been able to identify five different Muslim voices as primary data sources for the further analysis. Here it should be noticed, that for each *muslim voice*, more than one single text will set the empirical foundation and that for some of these text, selected part are used in the analysis while others are left out.

Again it is important to keep in mind that discourses and the different Muslim voices should not be understood in a completely definitive manner and that the different Muslim voices can have elements from different discourses and discourse types and is not to be considered as one definitive discourse for each voice. But they can be used as the basis from where it is possible to identify discourses and discourse types more specific so the main object, to examine the dominant discourses about adding meaning and content to the concept of being a Danish Muslim.

After the empirical data has been selected in accordance to the above, I have, as mentioned, analysed this according to Faircloughs theory. The analyse is conducted in the following chapter.

6. Critical Discourse Analysis of the Muslim voices

In the below section I will present each of the five agents that represents five different *Muslim voices* that I selected as representatives for the wide spectre of Muslim voices in Denmark. They are selected in accordance with the approach which I highlighted in chapter XX, i.e. both according to the floating signifiers and the criterias I identified but also in accordance to the differences between them so that they in unity can represent as broad a UDSNIT as possible of my research group. For each Muslim voice I will do a short presentation of the agent representing it, though not focussing upon which branch of the religion Islam they are a part of and the like, since I do not intend to label and group the different voices on the basis of this but instead focus upon the diversities that characterize them from one another which is more characterized by their statements. After the short presentation I will present the text or texts from the agents that I use in the analysis and give a short introduction to the central features and arguments in the text. This will be followed up by the actual textual analysis where each text will be analysed in accordance to the first to levels of the CDA. Finally I will highlight the results of the analysis in a section where the preliminary results will be presented.

It should be noticed that since the text are very diverse in their form and type, so will the different conduction of the critical discourse analysis be. I will focus upon different key terms for the different text, and highlight different key features in the following figures to visualize the main points that the CDA results in for each text. Though, I will finish the chapter by

gather all these diverse results in an overall overview over the dominant discourses that the text represents.

6.1.: "Muslim voice" 1: Junes Kock

Junes Mads Kock Johansen is 37 years and ethnic Danish and works as spokes person and press responsible for the Islam political organization Hizb-Ut-Tahir, Scandinavia (Bjørnager, 2015).

Kock has been active in the debate after the incidents in Copenhagen in February 2015 and is the author of several press releases and debate posts on the webpage of Hizb-Ut-Tahir, along with debate post in various Danish news papers, specially with focus on whether or not Danish Muslims can be held responsible for the terrorist actions of other Muslims and if Danish Muslims should be "acquired" to mark their distancing of the incidents.

As basis for the analysis I have selected to texts from Hizb-Ut-Tahirs webpage based on the methodological reflections from chapter 5. These text will be presented and analysed according to the CDA in the next two sub sections; 6.1.1. & 6.1.2..

6.1.1. Text 1: "Time to stand firm"

(Kock (A), 2015, appendix 1)

Text

In the press release Kock argues how the politicians I the aftermath of the attacks, will use the opportunity to demand for Danish Muslims to mark their dissociation to the incidents, but also to further outline the division between moderate and radical Muslims where the moderate Muslims who favor secularism and freedom of speech is a part of the Danish community, while the radical Muslim is not. A division which only purpose is forced secularization of Muslims, and if Danish Muslims refuse this – to point them out as a possible threat to security (Kock (A), 2015). According to Kock, this stereotype perception of radical Muslims, which is often linked to the organization of Hizb-Ut-Tahir, is entirely wrong. Kock argues how the Danish politicians and opinion formers has no moral authority to portrait Muslims and/or Islam as violent since they themselves is the main holder of responsibility for what happened;

(...) it is vital that we as Muslims do not take part in the rejection of the terrorist attack but

contrary, consider the matters in the proper contextual frame. It is the Danish politicians and media that should dissociate from the politic that have created the circumstances that has led to hatred, intimidation, violence and ultimately, to murder, no matter whom the victims are. We, as a Muslim unity, must not, no matter what, succumb to the pressure and accept the premise that Islam is on the dock.

(Kock (A), 2015, appendix 1: page 2, column 2, line 1)

Already here, Kocks is constructing a clear distinction between "us/them", where he sees "them" as the Danish politicians and opinion formers, and "us" is represented by the part of the Muslim population that he represents by virtue of his duty as spokes person for Hizb-Ut-Tahir. His choice of word to describe the "us and them" that he distinguishes between is highly affected by his view on the politicians, "them", as being the unrighteous and unfair part, and the Muslims, "us", as being the innocent part that are accused unreasonably which also underpins his overall message that that Muslim ("us"), should not accept the premise that Islam is in the dock (Kock (A), 2015).

This distinction that are constructed through Kocks wording and choice of words, are highlighted through several examples below. E.g. do Kock call a certain policy that he mentions in his text for a *so called anti-radicalisation plan*, whereby he indicates that the plan can not be considered valid and legitimate. Kock also talks about the Danish foreign policy as *bloody* whereby he uses a metaphor that can be related to war terminology, where as he highlights both his view on the foreign policy but also the sharp line between good/bad, between them/us (Cf. Fairclough and the use of metaphors in the text in section 4.1.). The wording and grammatical construction that Kock uses throughout his text will function in a way that it not only construct politicians as the vicious part, but also cast doubts on the validity and legitimacy of political arguments, policies and the like.

When describing the *us*, i.e. the Muslims, Kock conversely uses words that can be associated with a role as a victim for the Danish politicians and policies. Kock argues that the Danish politicians through their legislative proposal and their overall rhetoric are trying to *secularise Muslims by force* and *force-feed the Muslim with western values*. Wording and vocabulary is according to Fairclough related to which word the text producer chooses to use in order to underpin his arguments, and the above shows how Kock is constructing pictures of reality where *they*, the politicians, are the vicious part, and *we*, the Muslims, are to be considered as the good part, through his choice of words (Fairclough, 1992: 235-236).

As mentioned before the main message of the text is the story about how Danish Muslims should not have to take a stand against terror but that the Danish politicians should instead take the responsibility for the politic that has created the circumstances that has lead to terror. Kocks text is build around several chains of arguments that are exactly underpinning this argument. According to Fairclough, this cohesion (Cf. the term cohesion in chapter 4) of part of sentences and sentences can say something about the rationality that the text is trying to create (Fairclough, 1992: 235). Kock structure of argumentation is visible for example in the 5.section where he links the Danish domestic and foreign policy with negative effects about how Muslims are treated in Denmark;

During the last 15 years, one has in all possible ways tried to suffocate Muslims both through a bloody foreign policy (...) but also through a hard line against Muslims internally in Denmark and Europe, with tightening of laws, stigma and suspicion, supplied with a hateful rhetoric that has lead to greater societal split and increased number of both verbal and physical assault on Muslims.

(Kock (A), 2015, appendix 1: page 1, column 5, line 1).

The argumentation follows a structure by the form *if a, then b*, whereby a picture of the Danish politicians as responsible for violence committed against Danish Muslims are being constructed. When viewing the cohesion of this text part with the following text piece in Kocks text, it can be noticed how the chain of arguments continues. As previously showed, Kock states that; *It is the Danish politicians (...) that should dissociate from the politic that leads to hatress, threats, violent assault and ultimately murders (...)* (Kock (A), 2015, appendix 1, page 2, column 2, line 2). Here a link between Danish politicians and acts such as violence and murder is created, i.e. the argumentation form is that *if a*, the Danish politicians pursuing the policy that they are, *then b*, it would lead to violence and murder. Since the context of the text is the incidents in the 14. and 15.February with the murder on Utzon and XX, the statement should be seen in the light of this, which indicates that it is murders like these that the Danish policy can lead to. The latter is related to the modality of the text as an expression of to which extend Kocks arguments, and thereby his construction of reality, is open for modification or expresses unambiguity of own statements (Fairclough, 1992: 159-160). Kocks text gives the impression of a uniform and clear determination of meaning, whereby it appears very clear and unequivocally how Kock wants to construct the picture of Danish Muslims.

Discursive practice

When Kock chooses to use the word *force* about what the Danish Muslims are being exposed to, and the wording *bloody* to indicate the actions that the Danish politicians are carrying out, it helps construct a image of reality a an image of the Danish Muslim that are in accordance to his and Hizb-Ut-Tahirs contribution to the discursive struggle about what it means *Danish Muslims* within the discursive order. This construction is also embedded within the text so that it allows for the text consumer to enter a subject position of being Muslim that are in accordance to Kocks understanding of being Muslim. This presupposes that text consumer can interpret and understand the test in a way that allows him to enter this subject position, which is related to the concept of `coherence; *Texts set up positions for interpreting subjects that are `capable` of making sense of them (...) in accordance with relevant interpretative principles, nescessary to generate coherent readings* (Fairclough, 1992: 84). I.e. the text consumer is able to enter the subject position that the text constructs, if the text consumer possesses the necessary requirements for understanding the textual links. The subject position in the text is linked to the understanding of Danish Muslims as victims of the Danish politicians and medias that puts the Muslims on the dock unjustified.

In terms of interdiscursivity, it is important to note that the style of the text, despite it being labelled as a press release, is characterised by its overall expression of a certain ideological position and e certain message about Danish politicians versus Islam and Muslims. As I mentioned in the first part of the analysis, the main centre of attention for the article is the construction of the *us/them*, and this has a greater density in the text than the matter of the attacks that the text was initial set to refer to. In this way, Kocks uses his text to present a strong ideological message about his point of view on the linkage between terror and Islam, using this approach to construct the image of a “real” Danish Muslim in accordance with his understanding of it, and thereby he creates a text that can speak to other Danish Muslim and “offer” them a standpoint and a position to take as Muslim.

I will now go on to the second of Kocks text.

6.1.3. Text 2: “In Denmark you are potentially terrorist if you do not favour democracy”

(Kock (B), appendix 2)

Text

Junes Kock begins his article by arguing that the following debate after the attack on the mosque and Krudttønden is highly politized. He takes note of the fact that immediately after the attack at Krudttønden the Danish politicians where already “tweeting” about expulsion of foreign nationals that opposes the democracy along with quotes related to the Quran, even though, Kock says, that the perpetrator hasn’t yet been identified as a man with Arabic appearance. He argues that the Danish politicians immediately used the attack as an excuse for promoting their own anti-Islamic agenda (Kock (B), 2015, appendix 2).

In the second text Kocks main argument is the same as the latter and focussed upon the methods used by the Danish politicians to suppress the Muslim part of the population, again primarily understood as that part of the Muslims population that “fits” into the definition of *Danish Muslim* that Kock constructs; *The fear of terror is used by the Danish politicians to start a battle against the Islamic set of values in the guise of the battle against radicalism* (Kock (B), 2015, appendix 2, page 1, sub headline). Here I will draw in the concept of *transivity* from Faircloughs CDA since this is linked to the ideational dimensions of the text and thereby of great relevance in relation to Kocks statements (Fairclough, 1992: 177). The transivity of a text can be analysed by looking at how a certain event or process in a text is linked to a certain subject. A transitive clause is then linked to a clause where subject-verb-object is manifest, or said in another way, where the link between an agent, an action and the goal is clear (Fairclough, 1992: 180). Transivity is a highly relevant term in the light of Kocks texts, both the latter text, where he linked the Danish politicians and their politics as a direct cause to terrorist attack, and in the present text. An example can be viewed on page 2, 3.section where Kock argues how western culture is a direct cause of youngsters in Denmark developing into violent criminals; *How painful the self-examination might be, it is indisputable, that violent criminals in Denmark, finds their inspiration and fascination of the gang life in the western cultures utilitarianism* (Kock (B), 2015, appendix 2, page 2, column 7). These violent criminals are being described as the one that commits act like the one in Copenhagen on the 14. And 15. February, i.e. Kock argues that terrorist is being created through the western societies utilitarianism. So here the subject-verb-object is actually reverse, but the clause still represents *transivity* by arguing how western utilitarianism creates terrorist. This is one of the main



purposes of the transivity of a text, to create and attribute responsibility, which is exactly what Kock do here, where he argues against the link between terror and Islam and instead argues that the responsibility lies with the western countries themselves (Fairclough, 1992:236).

Discursive practice

It is also worth noticing how Kock refers to both other texts and other discourses in order to underpin his own arguments.

One of the examples is linked to Faircloughs concept of manifest intertextuality where specific text is drawn upon in a present text (Fairclough, 1992: 233). As an argument to underpin how Hizb-Ut-Tahir can not be seen as a violent organisation, Kock refers to the Danish Attorney Generals examination of Hizb-Ut-Tahir, made on the background of accusations of being an extremist and radicalizing organisation, where the conclusion where that Hizb-Ut-Tahir is a; *(...) non-violent and even can prevent Muslims from becoming terrorist.* (Kock, 2015, appendix 2, page 3, column 1). Kock uses this reference to underpin his argument and highlight how the concept of radicalization is misleading when used by the Danish politicians, since they target their efforts against exactly Hizb-Ut-Tahir as organization (Kock, 2015). So here, Kock uses the Attorney General as a source in order to counter argue the politicians claims that the “us” that he defines Muslims by, can evidently not be linked to violent acts such as the one in Copenhagen.

Kock further underlines this by drawing on a religious discourse with references to the Quran by arguing how the Quran dictates prohibition against murders on civilians. In this way he argues how the politicians anti-radicalization campaign are build upon wrong basic assumptions and thereby is contributing to create an unjustified link between terror and Islam.

As mentioned in the latter, Kock also argues how the meaningless violence do not originate from Islamic culture, but on the contrary has its origin in young peoples fascination of the gang life and the western cultures utilitarianism, a sub genre of western pop-culture (Kock, 2015). Here Kock uses a reference to utilitarianism and thereby uses a social-scientific angel on his subject-matter presentation.

By drawing upon these different sources and discourses in his text, Kock underpins his arguments both by including a religious, a trust-worthy factual and a social-scientific angle upon the issue, which first of all has a reinforcing effect on his argumentation but furthermore can have the quality of referring to more people, i.e. more text consumers will have some sort of preconditions of interpreting the text in accordance to what Kock aims to communicate. This I will return to in the third part of the analysis that follows this chapter. Some of the key features and points of the two texts is visualized in fig. 1 and fig. 2 below. Following this is the next section where the next representative of a Muslim Voice will be analyzed.

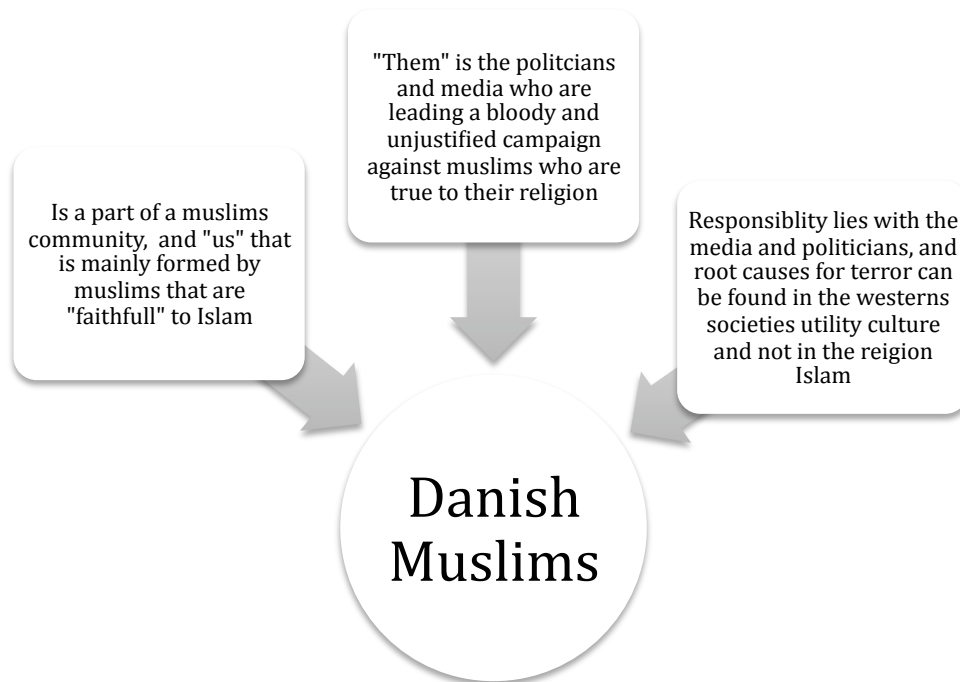


Fig. 1: Main points in Kocks presentation of the Danish Muslim in the text

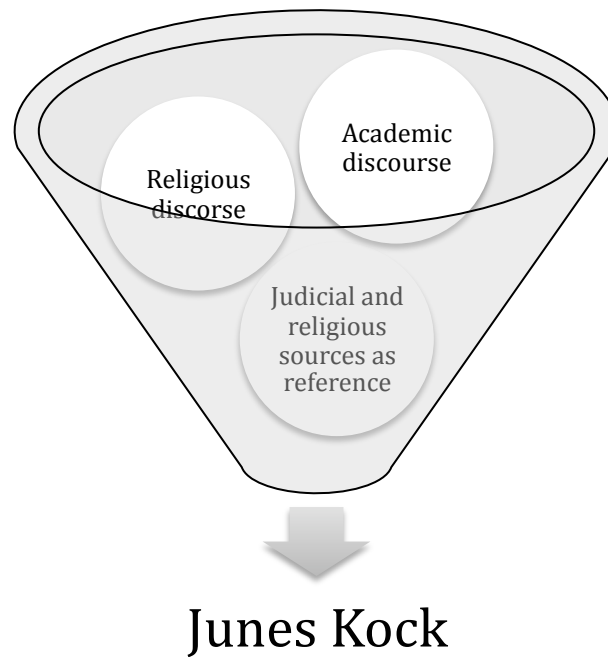


Fig.2: Discourses represented and main sources used in argumentation in Kocks Texts.

6.2.: "Muslim voice" 2: Yahya Hassan

Yahya Hassan forms another of the Muslim voices. Hassan is born in 1995 by parents that are originally Palestinian refugees from Lebanon. His upbringing has been marked by criminality and social problems until he had his debut as a socio-critical poet in 2013. Besides this Hassan has an interest and commitment in Danish politic. (Rosengren, 2013). He has been active in the debate after the incidents in Copenhagen and had argued for some points of view that had been considered controversial in the public debate.

Here, I have chosen to withdraw from two pieces of text, a minor part of a newspaper article about the incidents in CPH, and a longer article focusing on Yahya Hassan and his view upon the subject.

6.2.1.: Text 1: "A Muslim can easily sympathize with a Jew"

(Hassan (A), 2015, appendix 3)

Text

I will start by looking at the minor text piece from a new paper article about an arrangement that Hassan is attending with the formation of a Peace Virgil surrounding the synagogue in

Krystalgade. This newspaper article includes a statement from Hassan where he expresses how he participates in the arrangement to show his support and sympathy;

We are here today to show that whether you have a Jewish or a Muslim background, there is no ordinary people who support what happened in Copenhagen. So we are here to show a good picture of the ordinary Muslim and all the other ordinary people here, who has been caught up in an agenda that they can not relate to (...) we shall show that we wish to support and protect each other in this society that we are all a part of.
(Boas, 2015 , appendix 3, page 3, column 2 & 3)

Firstly, I will emphasize some features with the choice of words in the text piece. When viewing the word choice it is worth noticing how Hassan chooses to use the word *we* in his statement which has multiple functions in relation to the overall understanding of the text. The word is used several times in this rather short text piece, and can therefore be granted great significance in Hassan's text, which I will return to shortly when viewing the text in relation to the concepts of *cohesion* and *text structure*. First I will emphasize one thing in relation to the above.

Along with the use of *we*, is the use of the word *ordinary* which is likewise used up to several times in his statement in connection to either *people* or *Muslims* (Cf. Grammar, Fairclough in 4.1.). When viewing the wording in a broader textual connection, the word *we* refers to the *ordinary* (people and Muslims, but also linked to people with Jewish origin which I will analyze further in the next section) which thereby indicates that Hassan is speaking as part of, and maybe on behalf of, a broader community, a *we* that are represented by *ordinary* people. It is not clear from the text who Hassan sees as the contrary to the *we* in his text, i.e. *they*. In order to analyze this, it is necessary to analyze according to intertextuality and the second dimension of the CDA, which allows me to look at the texts *force* and the context more specific (Fairclough, 1992: 80-81). This I will return to in the next section.

Before that I will highlight some other significant formulations in Hassan's statements. Hassan uses the sentence; *caught up in a agenda that they can not relate to* linked to the *ordinary* and continues by pointing out that *we* should; *(..) support and protect each other in the society that we are all a part of* (Boas, 2015, appendix 3). Hassan uses the wording *caught up* here, indicating the phenomenon of being trapped in/by something involuntarily, a situation there can be hard to escape from. The use of this metaphorical wording (Fairclough, 1992: 237)



indicates a vulnerability that is further emphasized as Hassan continues with the wording that *we* shall *support* and *protect* each other. This indicates an allocation of a role as a victim for the *ordinary "us"*, who is caught up, innocently, in some agenda that they are not a part of. As mentioned there are no indication of who created this agenda and who are then responsible, only that Muslims can definitely not be linked to this responsibility for terror. But this will be clearer when incorporating the next text of Hassan in the analysis. First I will look at the discursive practice in relation to the present text.

Discursive practice

Firstly I will return to the use of the wording *we* as subject in the text. *We* are as mentioned linked to the adjective *ordinary* that are linked to both people as a overall category but are also divided in the sub categories *Muslim* or *Jewish*. If applying Faircloughs term *Force* to the analysis (Fairclough, 1992:80-81), the textual context adds a additional force to the use of *we* as the texts subject, both in the form of the actual article but also in relation to the events it refers to. Hassan's statements represent the people that are attending the peace vigil but also all "other" ordinary people, as a contrast to the *they* that are still not identified or defined. *Force* is an actional component and is link to how the text can interpellate individuals into having for example a certain opinion of a given subject. This can be done by indirect incitements and may not be a direct appeal (Fairclough, 1992: 82). When Hassan presents the word *we* and present how this *we* shows unity and support for each other, across religious and ethnical affiliation, he also gives a morally indirect invitation for others to joint this *us*. This finds its force just as much in the contradictory to the event, i.e. it is an "invitation" to be a part of the morally righteous *we* that supports each other in our community.

6.2.2.: Text 2: "Yahya Hassan: Take it easy with that freedom of speech!"

(Thorsen, 2015, appendix 4)

Text

Text 2 is introduced with the argument; *We push the ordinary Muslims away in our insistence on definitive freedom of speech* (Thorsen, 2015, appendix 4). Hassan continues by emphasizing how he understands the perpetrator of the events in Copenhagen due to their common shared

background where they both are trapped on the bottom of the society and due to their common shared background, both ethnical palestines, growing up partly in a refugee camp and partly in a social congested area in Denmark. Hassan points out that its merely in the recent years that their paths has been separated, causing Hassan to change course in the right direction while Omar (the perpetrator of the attacks), turned in a different and more destructive way. This is formulated with the phrase; *Of course you shall fight such an idiot. But. I understand him* (Hassan, 2015: 2, appendix 4). One of the main point of Faircloughs theoretical approach, and where he distinguishes from other discourse theories, is his view on discourses as just one out of several social practices. This implies that the social affects how certain signs are assigned with certain meaning within discourses, i.e. signs that are, as Fairclough terms it; *Words or longer stretches of text which consists of a meaning combined with a form, or a signified combined with a signifier* but on a social base and not just of arbitrary nature (Fairclough, 1992: 74). So the combination of meaning and form is thus combined for social reasons, which according to Fairclough is, also linked to the example of the contradictory distinction between “freedom fighter” and “terrorist” that are representing contrasting combination (Fairclough, 1992: 75). As I also mentioned in the theory part, wording is a way to “word ones opinion”, this means that when Hassan chooses to formulate the statement that he understand him, referring to the perpetrator of the attacks, he also puts a meaning in the text piece and the overall text that can be understood when relating it to the social context. Hassan’s point is not that he sees the perpetrator as innocent, but he emphasis that the development of a young Muslim man into a terrorist is a socially dependent phenomenon and that the potential for this development could also be found within himself a couple of years ago. Thereby he indicates that the root causes of the attack is mainly to find within the social reason to why this young man developed the way he did, i.e. Hassan condemns the act but not necessarily the person behind the act.

Hassan’s main point with making this statement is to highlight how the Danish politicians and medias are ignoring the underlying causes that are the root of the problem with migrants. According to Hassan they ignore all the social problems and instead focus on religion and ethnicity. Hassan argues that this leads to neglecting of the ordinary Muslims and problematize how politicians and media keeps on creating a link between this ordinary Muslims and the Muslims that causes terrorist attacks. Hassan questions this link and argues



that the politicians and medias are trying to monopolize the Danish values while radical forces from other sides, are trying to monopolize the values of Islam.

This argumentation is consistent through the article where Hassan emphasises how the Danish politicians and media do not focus upon these main reasons for the social problems with migrants but instead focus upon religion and ethnicity; *They draw parallels from some insane Islamist from IS and to a ordinary Muslim here in Denmark* (Thorsen, 2015, appendix 4). Hassan uses the word ordinary linked to Muslim again in this text and thereby continuing the distinction he construct between *them/us* in the first text, where *them* is now referred to as an *insane Islamic* and a *violent assailant*, but also the third party are presented in terms of the politicians and the media. Hassans use of the word *ordinary* indicates that the meaning he adds to the word, is that this type of muslim is den general and most common “type” of Muslim. This is also evident when Hassan states that; *We can not loose (...) the ordinary Muslim. And there are many of them.* (Thorsen, 2015).

The meaning potential of the words *insane* and *violent* in order to describe the other Muslims, i.e. the one that commits terror, is not that ambiguous in any way, but still it is worth noticing the connotations of the words such as abnormal for the word *insane* which is almost the contrary to being the *ordinary* or the most general type of Muslim (cf. wording and word meaning by Fairclough in chapter 4).

The agents that are represented as politicians and medias are on the other hand not assigned any adjectives that are adding a meaning to the agents themselves. Still, these agents counts for half of the articles processes are thereby plays a major part in Hassan’s argumentation. His comparison of him and the perpetrator of the attacks mainly form the first part. Process types are related to the concept of *transitivity*, which according to Fairclough; *Deals with the type of process, which are coded in clauses, and the types of participant, involved in them* (Fairclough, 1992: 177-178). In action processes the agents is orientated towards a goal, which is the case of the politician and media. They function as the agent for both; (...) *skipping easily across the causes for why there are problems with the migrants, (...) explains everything with religion and ethnicity, (...) draws parallels from some insane Islamist from IS and to the ordinary Danish Muslim* and (...) *highjack the Danish values* (Fairclough, 1992: 178, 236). In this way the clauses that refers to the politicians and the media can be said to be *transitive*, i.e. there is a clear action process described by the *subject-verb-object* form, and using action process as

process type to signify the real process, can have ideological, cultural or/and political significance (Fairclough, 1992: 180). The significant is especially important when viewing the text in both the discursive and the social practice, why I will elaborate more in this in the following section.

Discursive practice

I will continue the focus upon processes as started above, thus now, I will focus upon the discursive practice and see how agency and responsibility of the events, and particularly how Hassan link actions as root causes of terror to the agents formed by politicians and the media, can be related to the interdiscursive and intertextual features of the text.

As mentioned above Hassan present three different agents in his text and the third agent, the politicians and the media, is assigned a role as contributor to some of the main causes to why young men develops into terrorist. When assigning this agent with a responsibility, he also subscribes into a broader discursive understanding of what it means to be a Muslim in Denmark with the increased focus upon terror and terrorists with Muslim background. In this way Hassan inscribes into social critical discourse on the subject-matter terror and Muslims (Fairclough, 1992: 128). As I stated above, this also implies that the social affects how certain signs are assigned with certain meaning within discourses, i.e. signs that are, as Fairclough terms it; *words or longer stretches of text which consists of a meaning combined with a form, or a signified combined with a signifier* - but on a social base and not just of arbitrary nature (Fairclough, 1992: 74).

This is will return to now to show how the social dimension of how Hassan's text is produced, also affect the discursive practice. Here I will with draw on Faircloughs concept of *discourse types*, more specifically the term *style*. As I mentioned in chapter 4, Fairclough distinguish between four different terms when he refers to discourse style, one of them being the style (Fairclough, 1992: 125+127). According to Fairclough, a texts style can be express through terminology of systemic linguistic by mainly Halliday, where style can be expressed according to the parameters of *tenor*, *mode* and *rhetorical mode* (Fairclough, 1992: 127). It allows for me to incorporate views on style in the analysis such as whether the style is formal/informal, official, intimidating etc. in accordance to how Fairclough understand the term *tenor*, the mode of the style that Fairclough emphasises can be styles like; written-as-spoken, spoken-as-



if-written or a combination of the latter and finally to also incorporate aspects of the rhetorical mode which Fairclough understands in terms of argumentative, descriptive and expository (Fairclough, 1992: 127). The discursive style that Hassan uses differs from the other Muslims voices why I have found it relevant to analyse this more in depth by using Faircloughs concept of style. Firstly, it is relevant to look at the tenor and mode of the style. Here the terms can be viewed in combination since they are closely linked. Hassan mainly uses a informal style, his language is characterized by being an everyday language that also consist of profanity and foul words, like when he in Danish uses the wording; (...) *for helvede altså* (..) which is not easily translated directly but could be understood as something like the English “dammit”. Though it is also worth noticing how text production and distributions also has some saying in why wordings like this I included in the article since there are several more persons that Hassan that has a saying in what to include and exclude from the interview. Though, either way, I says something about Hassan and the social context that he is also a part of, since it both interact with the construction of Hassan as a young man from poor conditions – which is also highlighted in the text – and his role as a controversial artist. This representation can be deliberate from the text producers and distributors side, but do also show Hassan as he usually represented by him self. When using a everyday language, Hassan also talk to text consumers who are more receptive for this form instead of a more formal approach which is also in line with how Hassan talks about the ordinary people, i.e. the style indicates that Hassan “aims” his message towards a rather broad spectrum of text consumers. The rhetorical mode is a combination of the types that Fairclough distinguish between, mainly a exposit style where Hassan are aiming to explain his point of view but it also has some descriptive or narrative elements, where he uses his own history to underpin his arguments, which further more reinforces his rhetorical style as representing an “everyday” Muslim, speaking in a “everyday” language.

In the two figures below, the main point of the above analysis of the two text will be visualized before I will move on to the next Muslim Voice.

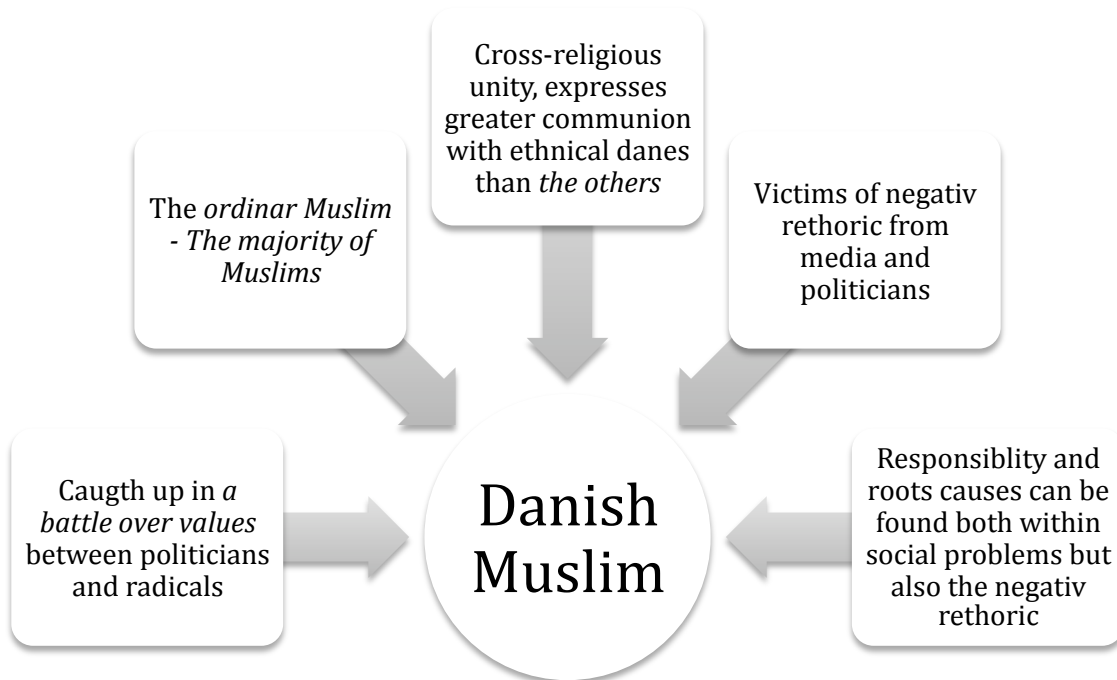


Fig.3: Main points in Hassan's presentation of the Danish Muslim in the text

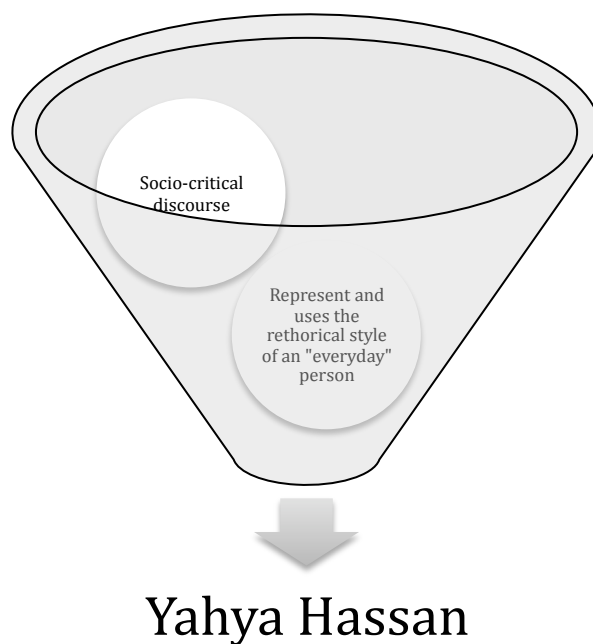


Fig. 4: Discourses represented and main sources used in argumentation in Hassan's texts.

6.3. "Muslim voice" 3: Sherin Khankan

Sherin Khankan is the founder of the Danish organization "Kristiske muslimer", which is an organization that works for a euro-integrated Islam. She holds a cand.mag from the university of Copenhagen, specialized within the field of religion and Islam. She is the author on several subject related books and has been active in debates about Islam and terror over a longer period, also in relation to the events in Copenhagen (kritiske muslimer, 2015).

Here I will draw upon three text, two minor text pieces that are the main focus for my analysis and that are produced and distributed in the aftermath of the incidents in Copenhagen and deals with the debate of whether or not Danish Muslims should have to take a stand in the debate about the terror and could be held responsible for it. The third text is a text from 2012 where Sherin Khankan discusses the view on Islamic orientated terror and this text will mainly work as a background for the analysis of the discursive practice since the two latter text is clearly based upon the same argumentation.

6.3.1. Text 1: "Muslims in Danish dispute about the reactions to terror"

(Damkjær, 2015, appendix 5)

Text

The text piece is Khankans counter argument against the main subject of the article that refers to a featured article where Danish politicians and opinion formers with Muslim background argues how Danish Muslim should take a stand against terror. Khankan argues that; *It should never be considered a fundamental premise, that Muslims should dissociate in general (...)* (Damkjær, 2015, appendix 5), and continues by stating that; *We do not ask Danish Jews to dissociate from Israels act of terror (...) or Danish Christians to dissociate from Breivik (Damkjær, 2015).*

It is relevant firstly to take a look at the link Khankan makes between the Danish Muslims dispute about the reaction to the events in Copenhagen in February and other terror related events in modern history. According to Fairclough the concept of cohesion is about how parts of sentences are linked together into larger text parts in order for the text to function as a mode of argumentation (Fairclough, 1992: 235). Khakan uses exactly these sub ordinary clauses as a mean so they overall argues for a logic that renounce Muslims the responsibility

of terrorist attacks committed by other Muslims, since Danish Jews are not held responsible for the terror actions of Israel, Christians are not held responsible for the actions of Breivik and so on. I.e. Khankan sets up a casual connection between a, b, c etc..

In the section below I will analyze this statement according to the intertextual dimension in the CDA.

Discursive practice

When Khankan builds her argumentation and logic as shown in the above quotes, she uses a historical context to underpin her arguments and inscribes into a broader discourse about terror. The comparison she makes between these different events, where each one is taken from a specific context and put in one “shared” context, can be seen in the light of discourse types (Fairclough, 1992: 128). Khankan draws upon a discourse where terror is understood in what seems to be from an anti-racial angle, by highlighting how certain other groups in society, in a context to what she sees as similarly terror events, are not blamed on either ethnicity or religious affiliation.

At the same time the text indirectly implies how Muslims who are expected to take a stand against the Muslim committed acts of terror are treated unfairly and she uses these arguments to underpin the minority status of the Danish Muslims. The *force* of the text is according to Fairclough able to tell something about how the text attempts to interpellate subjects and thereby form their opinion on a given subject as well (Fairclough, 1992).

Through the text, Khankan is using her reality construction where she reflects the current events of Copenhagen into a broader comparative historical and socio-political context, in order to affect the text consumer to subscribe to this same logic that Muslims are put unjustified in the dock. However, this interpellation will, as it was the case in one of the latter analysis of a Muslim Voice, to a high degree be depending upon who the reader are, i.e. the text consumption process is of great significance here (Fairclough, 1992).

Khankans statement in the minor text piece included in the article must also be related to the broader intertextual context that it is a part of. This is related both to Faircloughs concept of manifest intertextuality but also the concept of intertextual chains (Fairclough, 1992: 232-233). When Khankan subscribes into the anti-racial terror-discourse by making her argumentation by comparing different events, she draws upon latter texts that are dealing

with terror in the same manner. Fairclough argues that; *Manifest interteksuality is the case where specific text are overtly drawn upon within a text* (Fairclough, 1992: 117), which is what Khankan does even though she do not refer to the text herself. Though, when viewing Khankan previously contributions to the debate, it is obvious that this view on the subject is not new to her. A example is the article “Den ensidige fortælling om tro og terror er død” from 2012 (Khankan, 2012, appendix 7), where she also uses the same lines of arguments, drawing upon both Europol, quotations from Ghandi and academic and historical sources in order to underpin her arguments. So the minor text part in the article represent a minor text piece in the chain of text (text is to be understood as both written and spoken in this context) is a part of, and thereby saying a lot about her basic beliefs about the (what she sees as constructed) link between Muslims and terror events. This is also evident in the next text piece, which I will analyze in the following section.

6.3.2.: Text 2: “Muslims experience hate crimes in the aftermath of the terror attack”

(Moigne & Poulsen, 2015, appendix 6)

Text

In the second text piece Khankan continues with the same argumentation as in the latter. Here I will analyse more in depth which textual features and qualities this rhetoric implies.

Firstly it is relevant to consider who are defined as agents in Khankans text.

In the text Khankan mainly uses the Danish word “*man*” as sender for her statement. This can best be translated, in accordance with the context of the text, to the use of the wording “one says”, “one can” or the use of the word “you” in relation to the statements; *When you ask Muslims to take a stand against the terrorist attack, you articulate and label them as “particularly responsible” for what had happened. You make Muslims guilty by acquaintance.*

(Moigne & Poulsen, 2015, appendix 6, page 3, column 3, line 1).

The use of wordings like the above is significant on several levels. First of all, the general effect of using the Danish word “*man*” linked to statements where you are actually the sender of the statement can indicate a distanced form of communication. Khankan do not use the word in that sense but links it to other peoples claimed statements, whereby she sets herself in a neutral position in relation to defining who *they* are.



When Khankan chooses to use wordings like this, she also chooses to un-personalize the persons that are the sender of the message that Muslims should mark their distance towards Muslim created terror. Khankan projects her allegations mainly towards the *public* and *everywhere in the society*, which underpin the effect of a vague and undefined *they* further; *The public has been a part of assign Muslims a special responsibility for what happened in Copenhagen* (Moigne & Poulsen, 2015, appendix 6, page 3, column 2, line 7). Khankan continues by stating how a certain radio show had a broadcast with the name “*Is Islam a violent religion*”, and how this also shows how the media are also a part of creating the idea that violence and Islam are linked. It is interesting here, that even though she still uses the Danish word “*man*” and continues her rather vague formulation of who it is that are more specific responsible for the anti-islamistic rhetoric, she aims her accusations at the media her. This I will return to in the latter where I will look upon the discursive practice that the text is a part of.

Discursive practice

Here again I will drawn upon the former text from Khankan about the subject terror and Islam , because the discursive practice that the above text piece is a part of, is very clear when viewing this text. In this text Khan points out that; *Facts is, that they idea about what can be viewed as defined moments in the history, depends upon who you are, and where you are both physical and mentally*. Khankan’s point with this argument is to argue how the western narrative definition of what terror is, that while for example the attacks on 9-11 by most western countries are seen as a important infliction point in the history of terror, other events in other parts of the world is just as shocking events for them as 9-11 is for western societies; *In Lebanon I 2006 1100 civilians are killed by the Israelian military (...) for the bereaved families (...) these terrorist attacks are a symbol of a 11. September*. When arguing for her above view, Khankan repeatedly refers to the media as paying a major part in creating the narrative of terror as centred around for example 9-11 or around the religion Islam. So when analyzing how the latter text piece, text 2, is a part of the discursive practice, it is relevant to withdraw upon the text from 2012 to view how Khankan’s argumentation after the attacks in Copenhagen, is representing this broader view on terror in general. Even though her argumentation in the two minor text pieces is rather vague about who the agents of the



articulation of Muslims as specially responsible is, it becomes more clear when viewing this action process in the context of the discursive practices. Action processes is as mentioned one of several process type that are linked to term transivity in the textual dimension of the CDA, but as Fairclough also emphasize, the textual dimensions has social implication, and so is the case with the different process types (Fairclough 178). So if text piece 2 is considered only within the textual dimension, the agent of the action process will not be that clear, on the other hand, if the action process that are a part of text 2 is considered within the textual chain that the text is a part of, the actions that the agent can be linked to is then more obvious, and it becomes clear that Khankan assigns a great deal of responsibility towards the medias rhetoric, just in line with some of the other Muslim voices. This is visualized in the figures below.

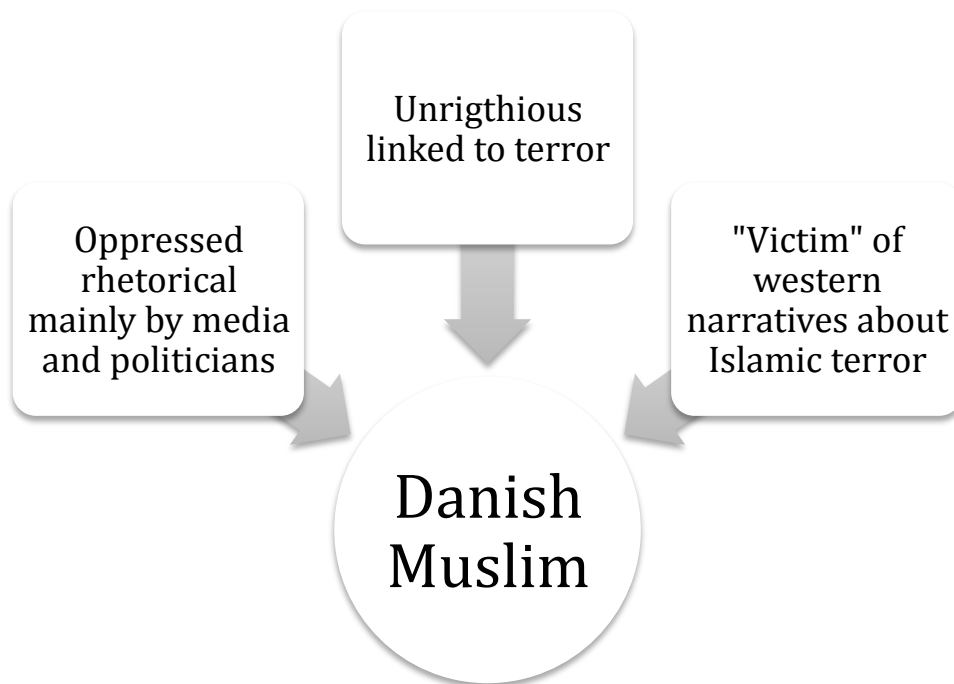


Fig.5: Main points in Khankan's presentation of the Danish Muslim in the text

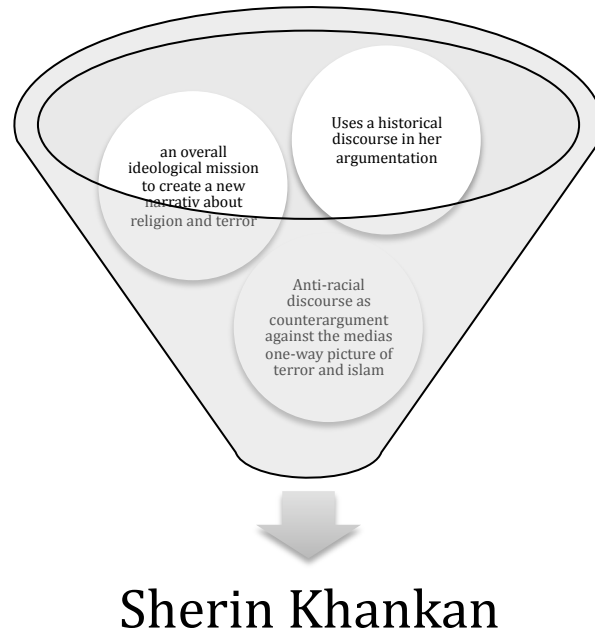


Fig 6: Discourses represented and main sources used in argumentation in Khankan's texts.

6.4.: "Muslim Voice" 4: Yildiz Akdogan

The fourth agent that are selected as a representative as a Muslim Voice, are the Danish social democratic politician Yildiz Akdogan with Turkish-Kurdish background and of Muslim origin (Holstein, 2015). Akdogan has several times contributed to the debate about the causes of young Muslims turning in to radical terrorists and have also been very active in the debate after the attacks in CPH in February. The two texts that I selected representing Akdogan as one of the Muslim voices in the analysis represents both Akdogans attitude towards the Danish Muslims reaction to the events in Copenhagen and her view on how the young men are turned into terrorists and what can be done to prevent it.

6.4.1. Text 1: "Muslims in Danish dispute about the reactions to terror"

(Damkjær, 2015, appendix 5)

Text

In the first text Akdogan states that she, along with the other Danish politicians and opinion formers, takes a stand against terror. In her argumentation Akdogan mainly sends her arguments from a position as *we*, i.e. representing her along with the other politicians and

opinion formers. This *we* are mainly used due to the form of the chronicle that is signed in unity by all the contributor. So in this context *we* is not to be understood as the construction of a *we/them* in the same way as in the other text. Though, I do have a certain effect to put 15 public known names behind the article rather than just one. Is this considered in the light of the CDA, Akdogan do have a choice as a text producer about how she words her meaning by choice of wording (Fairclough, 1992: 185). When using *we* as the sender Akdogan underpins her own opinion by the unity with the other politicians and opinion former, creating a stronger sender of the text.

Akdogan grounds this stand against terror by arguing how the question is “ever returning” whether we want it or not” and she continues by stating how; *We are a religious minority (...) we shall do more to legitimize our self* (Damkjær, 2015, appendix 5). It is interesting how she chooses to give text consumer the information she is intermediating here, where the fact that Muslims have to legitimize themselves again and again is not questioned or commented by merely presented as a neutral fact. This is linked to the concept of cohesion in the text. The rather anonymous way that this statement is back grounded in the sub clause, is according to Fairclough a way of give information and to structure the argumentation mode (Fairclough, 1992: 174, 135). The arguments are presented without any questioning but merely works as arguments to why Danish Muslims should mark their stand against acts of terror, which is linked to the discourse practice why I will elaborate this below.

Discourse practice

In the above section I argued that Akdogan sets up some claims about how Muslims have to legitimize them self due to their minority status, without she questioned the reasonableness of this even though this would in most cases be seen as a racial statement. The fact that this statement does not fall under the category of being racial has to do with the *coherence* of the text and how the discursive properties of the text sample have implications of the interpretation (Fairclough, 1992: 233). According to Fairclough, the text producer can background or foreground certain aspect of social identity, for instance ethnicity, in order let this more or less likely affect the interpretation (Fairclough, 1992: 83). When Akdogan signs as a co-writer of this article and subscribes into the *we* it represent, she also subscribes into the group *Danish Muslims* that in this case is represented by different politicians and opinion



formers. Akdogan then is a part of this minority she talks about. For some of the other Muslim voices it seems unlikely that they would state how Muslim have to do more to legitimize themselves only because they are Muslims since there argumentation is the exact opposite, this counts for Kock and Khankan. So while Kock and Khankan rejects this focus on Muslims, Akdogan mainly uses it as an argument in her further argumentation.

6.4.2. Text 2: Obsolete upbringing of male Childs can lead to terror

(Holstein, 2015, appendix 8)

Text

In the second text piece Akdogan starts her argumentation with the headline quotation; *Obsolete upbringing of male Childs can lead to terror*. There are several words in this one quotation that immediately highlights some important points in Akdogans argumentation. Firstly, Akdogan chooses to use the word *obsolete* about the upbringing, which already there gives the reader an indication that her argumentation will favourite a more modern view on parenting. Secondly, Akdogan uses the wording *upbringing of male Childs*, which already here indicates that she distinguish between the two genders, which is also, clear from the rest of the text. The meaning of this wording already indicates some ideological and political standpoints from Akdogan concerning both a rebellion against and a need for modernisation of the traditional Muslim family patterns along with a concern for gender related issues which is also clear when viewing the remaining text. Fairclough emphasis how the term *wording* implies *processes of wording the world* (Fairclough, 1992: 77), and how words and wording can have both political and ideological significance which is the case in Akdogans text (Fairclough, 1992:77). I will return to this in the next section when I focus upon the discursive practice.

The headline also indicates the link that Akdogan constructs between the outdated family patterns and parenting, and the risk of young men turning in to terrorist. This argumentation mode is consistent throughout the article and is linked to Faircloughs term *cohesion* (Fairclough, 1992: 174, 235). Akdogan uses an mode of rationality where she combines several clauses and subordinate clauses into an overall argumentation that states how the outdated upbringing leads to terror; *The boy are the little prince in the family. There are no demands, no rules (...) But when he enters in to the society, he is just an ordinary Ali (...) and*



then the defeat are becoming that much bigger (...) (Holstein, 2015, appendix 8) where after she continues later on in the text; *Consequently, a lot of the young new Dane males chooses to give up and group with others that are dealing with the same problem. This is where the dangerous process begins and; When they reached this point they are easy to recruit for gangs and radical Islamists* (appendix 8) i.e. Akdogan constructs a direct link by using the young Muslim men as a central point throughout this chain of argumentation.

Discursive practice

As I argued above, Akdogans text has some focal points that express her political and ideological views. By constructing these subject matters in the way she does throughout the text, Akdogan subscribes into some discourse types that are also recognizable when viewing her profession profile and core issues along with other text on the subject. According to Fairclough discourses can be termed according to both their area of knowledge and the way they are constituted, when conducting critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992: 128). In this sense Akdogans discourse type can be identified as a political “feministic” integration and radicalization-prevention discourse, where the political and feminine refers to the angel that Akdogan puts on the subject and integration along with radicalization prevention is the subject matters of the text. I have put the term *feministic* in quotation marks since I mainly see the political angel as the primary and the feministic angel more as a sub angel to the political angel. According to Fairclough discourse types are also linked to the genres of the text, where certain discourses are often associated with certain genres (Fairclough, 1992: 128). The text is distributed through the Internet media *Altinget*, which is a political online newspaper underpinning the political angel on the subject. So the text can be seen as an input in the debate after the attacks in Copenhagen but also with an undertone of politic. But in this way the text will also have ideological significance and represent Akdogans overall understanding on the subject and not just her political views.

This I visualized in the two figures below:

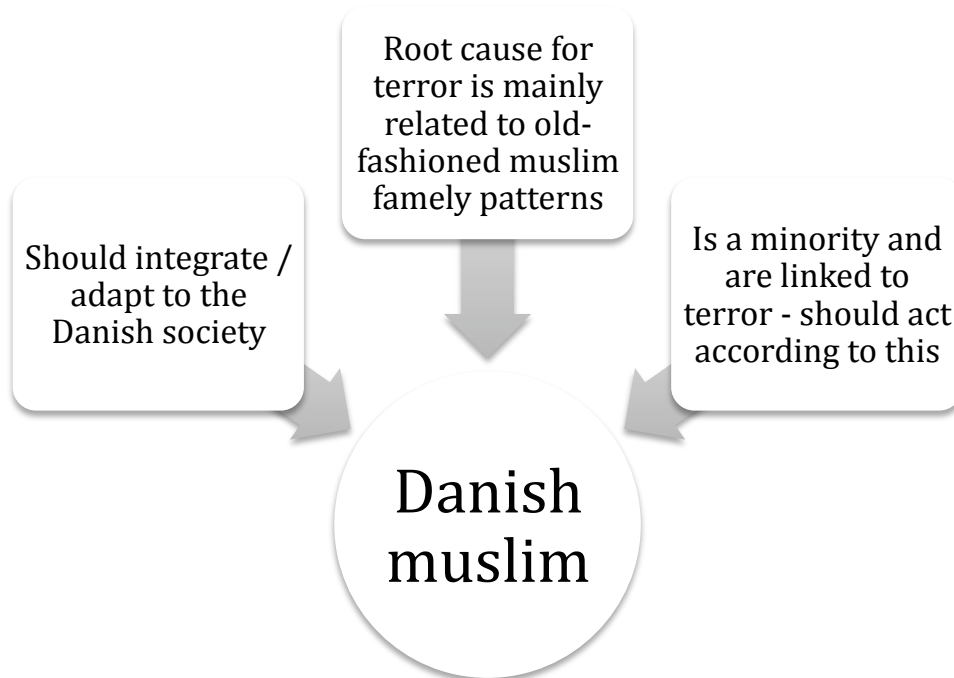


Fig.7: Main points in Akdogans presentation of the Danish Muslim in the text

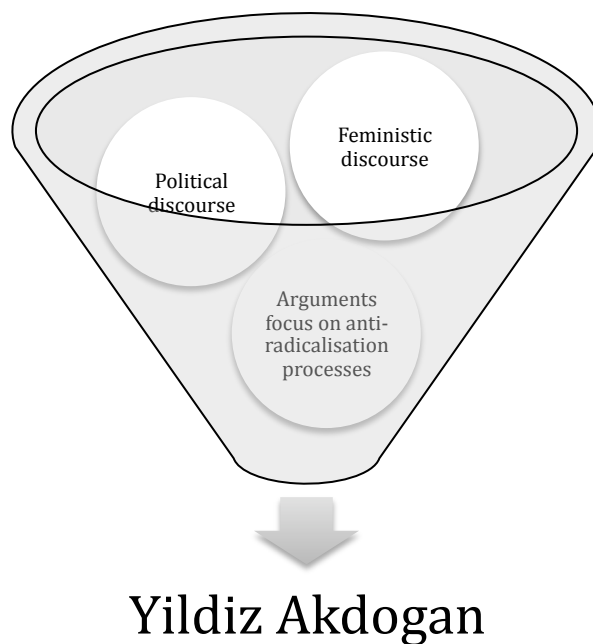


Fig.8: Discourses represented and main sources used in argumentation in Akdogans texts.

6.5.: “Muslim Voice” 5: Imran Shah

Imran Shah represents the last *Muslim Voice*. He is board member and spokesperson for an organization called “Islamisk trossamfund” in Denmark, and has been an active debater on the

area of Islam and Danish Muslims for several years, and has also been highly active in the debate after the attacks in Copenhagen in February (Kristelig Dagblad).

Here I will include material from two texts, where the first text is just briefly analysed and the second text will be used as main material for the analysis.

6.5.1.: Text 1: Mark your distance and prove that you are a fool!

(Harder, 2015, appendix 9)

Text

In this text two different levels of *them/us* are represented. Firstly Shah distinguish between *Muslims* as *us* but without defining the concept in more specific terms but this is clarified subsequently in the following piece of text it is linked with where *they* are defined in contrary to *us* with the term *ekstremistic maniacs*.

But the group *Danish Muslims* as subject are further defined by a *us/them*, where *they* are primarily the Muslim organisations and individual Muslims that Shah message is directed against – who do mark their distancing towards the attacks in Copenhagen, and a *us* that are represented by Shah (and DIT) and the representation of *Muslim* that he stands for. This distinction is the core essence within both this text and especially in the next text, why I will return to this later on. But the main point by using these distinction and using this choice of wording (Cf. Faircloughs concepts from chapter 4) is how Shah can create a link from the *extreme maniacs* and to the *them* that are the other Muslims that marks their stand against the attack in Copenhagen, by arguing how the *other Muslim* contributes to put themselves in the dock and in the same booth as the *extreme maniacs* by accepting the premise that Islam is on the dock. This will be more obvious when the second text is integrated in the analysis, why I will return to this after a short analysis of the discursive practice of present text.

Discursive practice

There are two dimensions in the textual style. The text style is influenced by how the article formulates a message from *us* as Shah and DIT, and to the subject *them* which is formed by the other Muslims, which is implied to be the ones who do denounce the attacks in Copenhagen. Text producer is characterized by having a both understanding and paternalistic role, which in particular is clear when viewing the last part of the article where *they/them* is being



forgiven and understood by the paternalistic *us*, where by the second part of the text follows up with a action-oriented part. In this action-oriented part the ideal for ways to act and what to say and which consequences it has to do so or to fail to do so is highlighted – consequences for acting wrong will according to Shah be to pass on the *role as a victim* to one's children and risk being *regarded as a fool* (Harder, 2015, appendix 9)

In this part of the text, Shah also raises an allegation of why *they* choose to act and speak as *they* do as he argues that; *It can be the right thing for you in order not to be further injured or attacked* whereby he add fear of attacks as a cause for acting and speaking in the way that *they* do. This is very linked to the concept of a texts *force* as represented in relation to the analysis of Hassan's text.

Shah also uses the chain of argumentation that Khankan use where he tries to point out the unfairness of Muslims being in the dock by viewing the situation in a broader historical and socio-political context with the claim that other political and religious individuals and organizations are not being asked to renounce acts of terror where they can be linked due to their religious stand, such as The catholic church and Breivik along with Danish politicians and the burning of mosques in Denmark.

I will now move on to the second of Shahs text, which represents the main text for the analysis.

6.5.2.: Text 2: “ How do we move on after terror?”

(Shah, 2015, appendix 10)

Text

This second text has two dimensions, one of them mainly relates to the incidents in Copenhagen while the other one is aimed at the prospects of the future. In spite of the fact that the headline of the article includes the word *terror*, this is the only place in Shahs article he uses this term. In the remaining part of the article he uses terms like *the criminal act*, “*an attack*” and *disgusting events* instead. This choice of words can indicate how one of Shahs main purposes of the article is the counter arguments against the increased focus on Muslim minorities that he argues is often linked to the term terror in western societies. According to Fairclough, *wording and vocabulary* is about choosing alternative words instead of other words as a deliberate act, and the deselection of the word *terror* in Shahs text is most likely

deliberate in order to underpin his head argument, and by not using the word, Shah eliminates the focus on the link between terror and Muslim (Fairclough, 1992: 236).

This is also connected to how Shah in his text links the word *Muslim* to words like *minorities* and *exposed* as well as links the word together in subordinate clauses with wording such as; (...) *fear an increased threat towards minorities in Denmark*. Thus, Shah uses a certain type of wording that overall gives Muslims a vulnerable role instead of linking them to terror.

With this argumentation style Shah continues his text by emphasizing how the attacks in Copenhagen leads to the population in general wants to find a scapegoat to blame for what had happen, and here Shah sets up a nexus with two possible ways of acting.

The first one is a scaremongering where Shah refers to Denmark as a country with; *One of Europe's strongest Islam phobic rhetoric's (...) and strongest right-wing party* and terms the political institution with the sentence; (...) *political spin doctors that cynical calculates the opinion polls* (Shah, 2015, appendix 10). In connection to this Shah also refers to the media, including a specific reference towards a certain news agency, which he accuses of; *issuing war declarations and shout out for further political rigours towards residential Muslims*. (Shah, 2015, appendix 10). The wording in Shahs text is affected by the use of value-laden words such as *cynical calculating* and *declaration of war* in the clauses that I emphasized above that are linked to present the scaremongering of Denmark, which will have a enhancing effect on his arguments (Fairclough, 1992: 190-194). This is also the case when Shah claims that Denmark has the *strongest right wing party*, which further works to underline his point. These choices of wording contribute to the creation of a certain perception of reality, which I will elaborate on in the intertextual part of the CDA (Fairclough, 1992: 235). The alternative to this will also be treated later on in the analysis. First I will highlight some other relevant features in Shahs text.

Throughout Shahs text there is several references to initiatives that he refers to as *so-called programs* (Shah, 2015, appendix 10). Here Shah incorporates a reservation towards these program and questions their validity and legitimacy by using the word *so-called*. This is linked to Faircloughs concept *modality* where the use of the proviso *so-called* is a way in which Shah can “model” and control the representation of reality by questioning the programs (Fairclough, 1992: 158-162).

Discursive practice

As mentioned in the first part of the CDA Shahs wording is a part of creating a construction of reality centred around the concept of being a Danish Muslim.

Shah's text dictates a message about which actions and articulations that should be used in the debate and the text is strongly affected by these incitements for certain behaviour. This is related to Faircloughs concept of *force* that as mentioned earlier says something about to what extend the text is trying to interpellate the subject into acting in a specific way and it is this function that Shah text supports through its action-oriented approach. This may be observed when Shah uses negatively loaded adjectives to create his scarymongering of the right-wing oriented Denmark where Muslims are being exposed to, and repressed, by programs and increased surveillance along with common discrimination. But also the positive loaded adjectives that are applied when describing the alternative, Denmark as a mosaic of diversity with a multicultural people. Shahs instructions for action is not only indirect but do also take a more direct approach in the end of the text where Shah sets up the choice between whether we want to;

Look back upon those days as the time when Denmark expanded its surveillance and initiated more discrimination within out institutions... Or do we want to look back upon these days, as the days where we for the first time gathered our nation across the gaps (..)
(Shah, 2015, appendix 10, page 3, column 5, line 1).

In this way you can say that the text includes clear markers for interpretation since it communicates an indirect message towards most of the text, finished up by a direct message about the future perspective and consequences of one's actions. The text can then be said to have a high degree of cohesive force which Fairclough terms *coherence* (Fairclough, 1992:233). The text follows a rigorous logical division between *good/bad*, or said in another way, a *black/white* way of thinking that sets the stage for possible subject position that text consumer can relate to and be interpellated by.

Shahs argumentation is highly affected by his political beliefs and he is clear in his criticism of the right wing orientated politics while he directly refers to politicians that belongs to the more left orientated parties, Angela Merkel and Helle Thorning Smith.

To make use of such directly references can be related to Fairclough concept of *manifest intertextuality* (Fairclough, 1992: 117-123). Faircloughs own understanding of the concept “text” is, as mentioned in the theory part of this project, a rather broad concept that includes both written and spoken language where I will assume that this is also the case when “text” is included in *intertextuality*. By using these two politicians as references Shah can add a greater deal of validity to his own arguments by using the credibility that are linked with using known and reputable sources.

There is also a possibility that Shah deliberately draws on exactly two female politicians as references in order to substantiate his own position as moderate Muslims who accepts female leadership. This feature also underpins Shah construction of a Danish Muslim as part of the mosaic Denmark, being a moderate and inclusive Muslim since the *Danish Muslim* he constructs throughout the text and in relation to the broader discursive and social practice is both representing a subject position for text consumer to take but also his own image and construction of him as a Muslim.

In line with some of the other Muslim Voices, Shah also defines a *them/us*. First it is worth noticing that the *us* is not constituted by the person who commit terrorist attacks since terror is mainly referred to as *criminal acts, attack or disgusting events* and not linked to an object for the act. Contrary Shah identifies a *them* in the right wing parties and factions along with media that are related to this. In the first case Shah is therefore mainly condemning the acts of terror and not the individual that commits the act, where he in the last case is more specific in his critic. In this way Shah is inscribing in the same rhetorical style and articulation of the term *terror* as Kock is using where the act of terror is not linked to an object for the act and certainly not to any religious division of Islam but other instances are instead blamed and held responsible for leading to terrorist acts (Jv. Fairclough interdiscursive concept, 1992: 124-132). The main points of the analysis is visualized below:

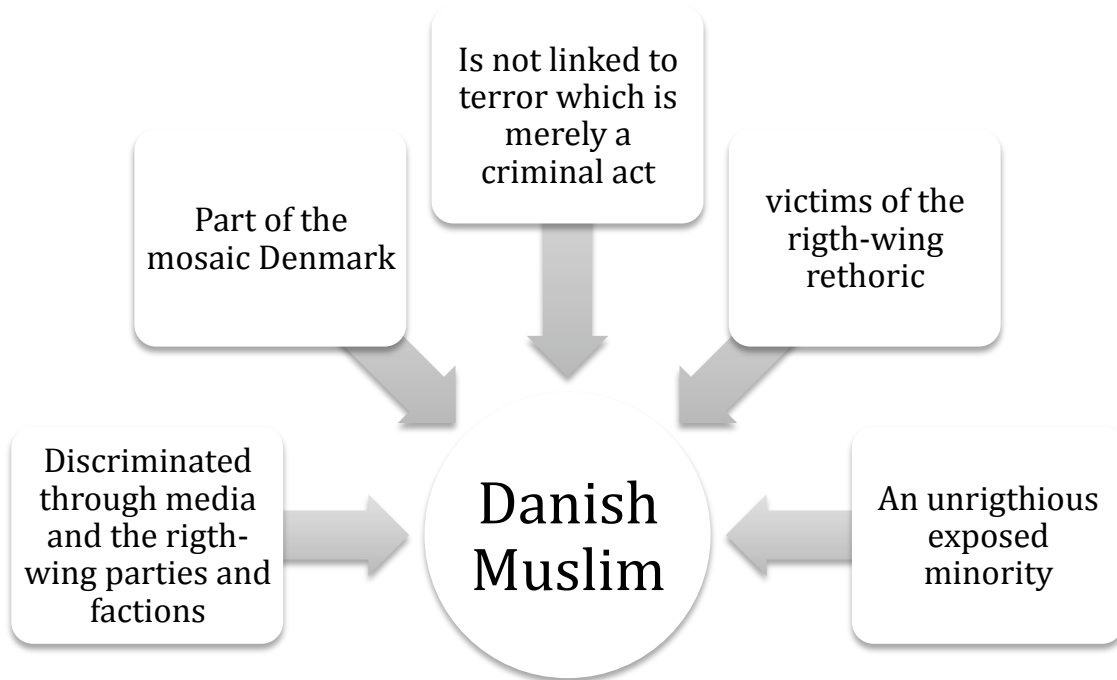


Fig.9: Main points in Shahs presentation of the Danish Muslim in the text

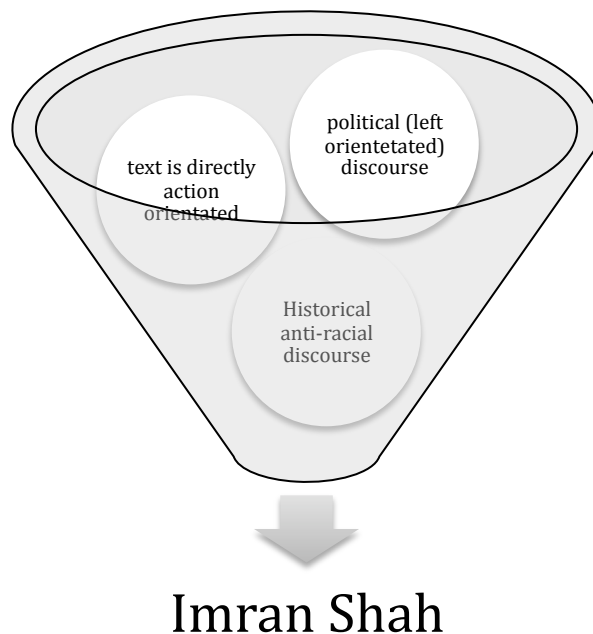


Fig.10: Discourses represented and main sources used in argumentation in Akdogans texts.

6.2. Preliminary results

According to the discursive representations from the Muslim Voices above, to be a Muslim in Denmark is highly affected by politic along with traditions and cultural aspects as key features

(and in many cases the showdown with the latter two). The historical and socio-political perspective is also of great importance when defining what I mean to be a Danish Muslim – both in relation to historical perspective on religion but also on the history of terrorism. The political perspective is to a great extent affected by the predominance of the Muslim Voices that sees the political rhetoric as destructive for the reputation of Muslims and Islam as religion. A central question that rises from the various text are whether or not you are able to be true to your religion if you as a Muslim representative of the Danish population choose to condemn the terror acts carried out in the name of Islam. So some of the main ways of representation in the text, i.e. the discourses and intertextual features that where most dominate where:

- A political discourse where mainly right-wing parties and factions, but also politicians in general, where blamed for having severe negative effects on being a Muslim and of creating a constructed link between Islam and terror
- A historical context with focus on terror in the context of ethnicity and religion
- A socio-cultural discourse that focus upon social problems and family patterns as root causes
- A religious discourse where Quran references are drawn upon
- A academic discourse where different academic references are drawn upon, such as utilitarianism
- An antiracial discourse that do not focus upon religion or ethnicity but emphasis the mosaic Denmark

What immediately catches the eye is that the above discourses can be linked crisscrossing to the different Muslim voices. Even though there seems to be a long way from Khankans Euro-islamistic understanding of being a Muslim and Kock version of Islam, they both inscribe in a political discourse, where they share there view on how western politic and rhetoric creates negative conditions for Muslims and sets up a factually inaccurate picture of a claimed link between terror and Islam. So I would be incorrect to say that Khankan is representing one discourse and Kock another, but they both represent a wide range of discourse, some agreeing

on certain aspects and some disagreeing. This is also in line with Faircloughs understanding of discourses and how text draws upon different discourses.

In opposition to Khankan and Kock stands the other Muslim voices that argues for Danish Muslims to take a stand against terror committed in the name of Islam, exactly because the link between Islam and terror are that clear. This is mainly Akdogan and Hassan. They also share the common feature of representing a socio-cultural discourse about how social problems is one of the main causes to terror.

Several of the Muslim Voices calls for cultural and religious coexistence despite the fact that they highly disagree on other areas. This is for example seen with Shah, which greatly disagree that Muslims should be held responsible or should be linked to terror, and Hassan that emphasizes how Muslims should mark their dissociation. Though they both agree and argue that the right way forward is coexisting in the mosaic Denmark, and thereby they both subscribe in the anti-racial discourse about terror and Islam.

Though, just a many commonalities and agreements that can be found across the different Muslim Voices, just as many disputes can be found, and even though both Akdogan and Kock for example subscribes into a socio-cultural view on terror and Danish Muslims, there is no fixed definition of the concept Danish Muslim.

In order to sustain an overview to what this means in relation to the research question it is relevant to consider Faircloughs understanding of *orders of discourses* before moving on.

Fairclough emphasis how a; (...) *societal order of discourse* (...) [is] (...) *the totality of discourses within a society* (Fairclough, 1992: 43). Fairclough emphasis how a discursive order is a facet of discourses, unstable and contradictory and centre of hegemony battles in the form of articulation, rearticulation and disarticulation of the meaning and significance that are not yet settled in the discourse (Fairclough, 1992:94). Even though Fairclough do not understand power as a suppression mechanism, it is in this case, relevant again to point out that he do talks about the existence of a dominant group, that; (...) *excercise power through constituting alliances, integrating rather than merely dominate subordinate groups, wining their consent* (...) *and doing so in part trough discourse and through the constitution of local orders of discourses* (Fairclough, 1992:94). The society of Danish Muslims can be said to form different orders of discourses, on the local level and organization as Hizb-Ut-Tahir that Kock is a part of, will represent one way to talk about being a Muslim, whereas the euro-Islamic society that



Khankan is a part of, will have another way of defining what it means to be a Muslim. Both of these local orders of discourses presents a broader society which goes beyond the limits of the Danish society and it is entitled to assume that the significance that are being added to *Muslim* in each of these matrixes are rather stable. Though, there seems to be a broader national society of *Danish Muslim* where this is not the case. This discursive order are formed by the different discourses that I highlighted above, among some, and is the centre for all the articulation of the concept of being a Danish Muslim. It is not that obvious to identify one dominant group in this order since it seems that the different groups and different articulation all differs from one another. This I will analyze more in depth in the next chapter by integrating the social practice in the analyze by adding the terms hegemony, ideology and power to the analysis. As mentioned earlier in the project, this will be done by applying both Fairclough understanding of hegemony and ideology to the analysis, but also a Foucaultian view on power as well.

7. Discussion

7.1. Ideological positioning of the subject and the creation of ideological alliances

Firstly I will take a closer look on the area of focus that concerns the construction of a *them/us* regarding other Muslims, i.e. how the individual Muslim voice relates to the other Muslim agents within the discursive order.

As a starting point I will look at Shahs text 2 taking he uses the text to construct a given subject position for *the other* Muslim, both by formulating their reasons for acting as they do but also through a specific instruction for action. The construction of this subject positions has a forgiving and understanding form why it can easily “talk” as a positive option for a given text consumer. This narrative is mainly positive, allowing Shah to construct a positive position as a Muslim for the subject to choose to occupy.

I deliberately uses the word *choose* to occupy since Fairclough emphasizes how subjects are capable of acting and creating meaningful connections between the different practises and ideologies they are subjected to (Fairclough, 1992: 91). So the subject does have a choice to occupy a certain subject position or not, even though this is still within the frames that makes it possible for the subject to do so. Given these circumstances it is also vital for Shah to



present this subject position in a way that can encourage the individual to inscribe into it. Though it is important, when I use to wording *choice*, to underline that this is not necessarily a deliberate choice, cf. Fairclough theory (Kildehenvisning, gerne bare til teori afsnittet.). By occupying this subject position the individual inscribes into the meaning- and reality construction that it represents and thereby the individual is also ideological positioned. According to Fairclough are the ideological struggles that takes place between the discourses about “enlisting members” to joins ones own representation of reality and not necessarily to suppress other ideologies and agents (Henvis til Fairclough). In this way Shahs text can also be considered a process of recruiting members to his perception of what it means to be a Danish Muslim.

A precondition for this is that the discourses the different Muslim voices represents is indeed also ideological invested since Fairclough as mentioned in the theory chapter do not necessarily considers all discourses as ideological invested (Fairclough, tekstsamling, 51). According to Fairclough ideological invested discourses occurs in societies that are characterized by relations of dominance such as struggles between social classes or gender. Bases on this I believe it can be argued that this is also the case of the Muslim voices since it represents a struggle over religion since Islam is being constructed in so many various ways by the different Muslim voices that it can be equated the divide that can occur between the two genders or lower and higher social classes.

7.2. Positioning of subjects as deliberate and the conflicting ideologies

Exactly the point that subject positions can involve a choice is of great importance for the discursive battles that are taking place over the concept of being a Muslim. If this is viewed from a traditional structural approach the individuals are merely passive ideological objects that are inscribed into subject positions without any conscience of this and without having any deliberate choice whether to do so or not. Fairclough also relates critical towards this side of the strukturalistic, and Althussers approach, exactly by emphasizing that the individual do have activeness in relation to the subject positioning (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips: 87). Texts can have multiple and conflicting potential for meaning, as well as the discursive practice can, which makes the open towards multiple possibilities for interpretation, but basically people are not aware of these various ideological dimensions and they can thereby be unconsciously positioned within the different ideologies. Through this process though,



conflicting ideologies can be exposed when the individual occupies different subject position that are not consistent. I.e. the conflicting ideologies will become an arena for the discursive battles as a process of negotiation where the individual has the opportunity to make a deliberate choice and oppose to the ideologies (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips: 87-88). Precisely the discursive field where the formation of meaning about being a Muslim, is centre for conflicting ideologies that puts the battle for hegemony out in the open. An example of this is the perpetrations of perception of being a Muslim that Kock and Akdogan presents. While Kock views traditional Islam and Muslims culture as a non-violent and thereby should not be linked with violent acts such as terrorism and instead blames western culture as primary cause of the developing of potential terrorists, Akdogan argues that the conservative, traditional Muslims family pattern is a direct cause for the development of future terrorist and calls for a modernisation of this traditional Muslim parenting (henvis til bilag). This witness of very conflicting views on the traditional Islam and which religious-cultural belief Muslims should subscribe into. It makes the ideologies behind visible and can thereby contribute into making the processes and negotiation about defining the concept Danish Muslim into a deliberate choice.

I think it is also worth noticing here how Akdogan and Kock have very different perceptions on the term *culture*. They both criticize culture but for Akdogan the critique is targeted against the traditional muslim culture, while Kock critic goes toward the western utility culture. There is a important point linked to this. Akdogan argues how the Muslim culture should comply to life in Denmark by arguing that: "Man skal undervise de muslimske mødre i hvordan de opdrager drenge i et samfund som det danske". Opposite to this Kock is emphasizing how the Danish society should be able to include the Muslim culture, but that this is not the case, and he argues that if you do not subscribe to this Danish culture as a Muslim and gives up your religious beliefs, you are immediately called a terrorist. So there is a battle going on here about whether or not Muslims has to conform to the Danish conditions and ways of living, i.e. if you as a Muslim are willing to subscribe into the Danish culture and society, and if the Danish society even permits that you can practice your religion in Denmark. When the individual is captured between these two understanding, it will lead to the conflicting ideologies about being Muslim is made visible. I would image that this could be the



case for many Muslims who feels a sense of belong to both the Danish society and to the traditional religion of Islam that are part of their inheritance.

7.3. The ideological significance of how the causes of the attack is represented

As I argued several places in the first and second part of the analysis, process types, as linked to the textual concept of transivity, can have great ideological significance. Fairclough emphasises how these process types is used in textual dimension to signify a real process (Fairclough, 1992: 180), which is seen throughout the different text when for example medias are being represented as agents to the rhetoric that leads to hate crimes, disintegration and more violence. This is the case of the argumentation from Khankan who uses a historical context to present her argumentation with an anti-racial but also in many ways anti-western angle upon the concept of terror. When I use the phrasing anti-western angle to describe the discursive type that Khankan assigns, it is based upon her formulations such as *"The showdown with the western societies physical and mental colonization is needed and not least inevitably"* (Khankan, 2012). When Khankan construct the western societies, especially the media and politicians, as agents for all these actions that leads towards an unreasonable link between Muslims and terror, she also represents an ideology that are presenting the alternative to this by arguing how the new generation of a multicultural society will chance this by occupying more of the dominant position within politics, media, security politic etc. and thereby contribute to creating new political, religious and historical narrative that will insist on telling the story that are not being told today about terror (Khankan, 2012). Kock, along with other of the Muslim voices, does in many ways represent the same process type where the agent, media and politicians, are linked to actions of "hateful rhetoric" and "creator of the circumstances that have lead to hatress, violence and ultimately killing". A lot of the argumentation that Kock uses is similar to Khankan, and both see some sort of transformation of western societies, a verbal rebellion, as the way forward. But though there are some similarities in both the process types that can be drawn from the textual analysis and the real processes that they signify, the ideologies behind that they represent, differs a lot.

7.4. Power from a Foucaultian perspective

As I mentioned there is some challenges when using Fairclough theory as a framework for analysing the social dimension in the CDA. But I see it as incorrect to argue that Faircloughs

approach is incomplete to use in order to highlight this dimension as for example Winther Jørgensen and Phillips argues. Fairclough does emphasis how the linguistic orientated approaches are weak and undeveloped when considering the functioning of discourses in social changes (Fairclough, 1992: 38), but he do also emphasis how some concepts, for example ideological effects of discourses, can be used as key concept when conducting this part of the analysis (Fairclough, 1992: 238). Therefore, Fairclough argues how the social practice can be understood by applying other theories. Foucault is often linked to and used in the third dimension of the CDA since his concept of discourse and power provides a useful social theory to supplement Faircloughs theory, but Fairclough also emphasis Foucault's understanding of discourse cannot simply be applied to a textual orientated discourse analysis but must be adjusted to the analysis (Fairclough, 1992: 37-38).

When studying a given discourse from a foucaultian point of view, one would have to focus upon the following aspect – here exemplified with the anti-western discourse of Islam as religion;

- Statements about Islam that provides us with knowledge about this religion
- The rules that are used in order to describe the certain ways of talking about Islam and exclude other ways of talking about it
- Subjects that personify the discourse about Islam
- Practices within institution for dealing with the subject

And finally one should be aware that the above is mainly linked to one particular historical period and the other discourses will supplement this discourse at a later historical period whereby a new discursive formation is being opened and producing new conceptions of what Islam and the concept of being a Muslim in Denmark means (Wetherrell et.al., 2001: 73-74). The latter is important in Foucault's thinking since he emphasis how discourse is always linked to a certain historical context; *"Knowledge about and practices around all these subjects.. where historical and culturally specific"* (Wetherrell et.al., 2001: 75).

Foucault also focussed on how *"knowledge was put to work through discursive practices in specific institutional settings to regulate the conduct of others"* (Wetherrell et.al., 2001: 75) – i.e. focus on power and knowledge.

About the linkage between knowledge and power, Foucault says; *"..there is no power relations without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not*



presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations" (Wetherrell et.al., 2001: 76). This implies that to study, as an example, the field of Islam in Denmark, is to;

(...) study how the combination of discourse and power – power/knowledge – has produced a certain conception of Islam and being Muslim in Denmark, has had certain real effects both for the Muslims and Denmark, and how this has been set into practice in certain historical specific rhetorical regime.
(Wetherrell et.al., 2001: 76).

In relation to this Foucault understands truth as how a discursive formation can sustain a regime of truth (Wetherrell et.al., 2001: 76).

In the above analysis and discussion I claimed that there is a discursive struggle between the different discourses about being a Danish Muslim. On the micro level it is obvious that there are some significant differences between the different discourses and this has of course implications when viewing the discursive order that these different discourses is a part of. Using Faircloughs theory, and the terms of ideology, I have showed how these discursive struggles are centred around the different ideologies that are behind the different representation of being a Danish Muslim. Though, Faircloughs theory is not able to be the basis of a discussion where the macro level of these discourses is being considered. Here I have to incorporate another theory, and Foucault's theory on power and knowledge is useful here. Foucault is mainly concerned with the discursive formation than the single representation that one text or one discursive practice of the formation is a part of Wetherrell et.al., 2001: 78).

Therefor, I can use Foucault in order to understand how power and knowledge works in the formation to form the truth about the Danish Muslim.

Since I have already identified subjects and statements from the above analysis, and partly also the rules for what to be said about being and Danish Muslim and what is not to be said, I will mainly focus this last part of the analysis from a macro perspective and view if there can be said to be any overall truth or rules about the understanding of being Danish and if I can identify practices related to this.

I think Foucault historical and cultural view on discourses provides the analysis with some very important dimensions that first has to be considered. It is obvious that the understanding of being a Muslim in Denmark has been going a great transformation on the



basis of various events through newer times in history. Just to mention some, the globalisation would of course have had a major impact on multi-religious societies and Danish history of migration from especially Muslim migrants will have had the same. So the discourse about Danish Muslim is not the same now, as it was for just some decades ago. Most importantly, in the context of this project, the historical events with terror attacks in the name of Islam have had a major impact as well. But as Foucault also emphasis, this must be related to a cultural setting as well. It is obvious that terror history within the last decades is understood differently within different parts of the world and different cultural settings, jv. The concept of one mans freedom fighter another mans terrorist. So the question is then, if there is a specific rhetorical regime that works as a power/knowledge system that affects the way we understand what it means to be a Danish Muslim, how we talk about it and also how we do not talk about it. I would argue that the concept of being a Danish Muslim is not settle yet, that we are experiencing a period of ongoing transformation where this historical period that we are a part of, especially with the major focus upon Islam related terrorism, has sort of made earlir fixation of meaning invalid and made what we understand as truth and knowledge, to be devaluated. With this consideration in mind I will go on to the conclusion of present project, where I will briefly highlight the results from the analysis and discussion.

8. Conclusion

In the beginning of this thesis, I asked the questions;

How are the above events in Copenhagen articulated by Danish Muslims?

&

How does these articulations represent the social reality of which the Danish Muslims are a part of?

By applying a discourse theoretical approach to the thesis, I was able to identify how these articulation where centered around some certain unfixed significations about Danish Muslims. This allowed me to select some empirical material on a theoretical foundation to form the data for my main analysis of the first part of the research question. This data was formed by five different Muslim Voices, each representing a fragment of the broad spectrum of Danish

Muslims. The Muslim Voices were selected on the basis of considerations regarding their diversity and difference, and with the theoretical concepts from discourse analysis as main criterias.

In order to conduct my main analysis I used Faircloughs critical discourse analysis as my theoretical and methodological approach. For each of the Muslim Voice I had selected some text that represented their articulation of the events in Copenhagen and/or their general view on the link between Islam and terror. Using the CDA I analysed each text and highlighted the dominant textual features along with the intertextual features, including represented discourse. The analyze showed that there were various discourses represented in the debate, each Muslim voice often representing several. Though some agreements were found in relation to minor aspect of the discourses, there were not one discourse that seemed to be most dominant.

In order to examine how these articulations also represented the social reality of which the Muslims voices are a part of, i.e. include considerations of the social practice in the analyse, I chose a broader theoretical approach regarding the discourse theoretical terms hegemony, ideology and power, here also by including Foucault. By using these concepts as a base for the discussion I showed how the different discourses were ideological invested and how there were a struggle for hegemony with the order of discourse. This could be related to a broader understanding of the power struggles in the social context, which a Foucaultian view on power helped to reveal. By considering the power relations between the various Muslim voices and the discourses about being a Danish Muslim in relation to the case, I showed how the discourses are in a certain historical period where there is an ongoing rearticulation and disarticulation of the understanding of being a Danish Muslim, with a significance that are not yet uniformly settled yet.



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10. Appendix

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Appendix 1: Junes Kock, Text 1

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Skandinavien

Pressemeddelelse

d. 26. Rabi al-Awwal 1436 e.H. / 15. februar 2015 e.Kr.

I Allahs navn, Den Nådige, Den Barmhjertige

Tid til at stå fast

Inden for det sidste døgn er Danmark blevet ramt af en række opsigtsvækkende begivenheder. Det meldes, at den formodede gerningsmand er blevet dræbt, så omstændighederne omkring aktionen forbliver formentlig slørede. Alligevel har der været et overvældende antal udmeldinger om, at dette er et angreb på de danske værdier – demokratiet, frihederne og sammenhængskraften i samfundet.

Denne sag kommer uden tvivl til at fylde i medierne og den politiske debat i det næste stykke tid, hvor politikere vil overbyde hinanden med lovforslag og retorik. Nogle vil kræve, at muslimer skal tage afstand. Andre vil mere snedigt advokere for, at ikke *alle* muslimer er ekstreme, men derimod er de en del af det danske fællesskab, så længe de går ind for sekularismen og ytringsfriheden. Begge reaktioner har i bund og grund samme formål. Muslimerne skal tvangssekulariseres, og enhver muslim, der nægter, og i stedet insisterer på de islamiske værdier og love, vil blive betragtet som en potentiel sikkerhedstrussel.

Folketinget har for nylig valgt at afsætte 60,9 mio. kr. til en såkaldt antiradikaliseringsplan, hvor man udstiller islamiske værdier og muslimer som en voldelig trussel, og derfor vil tvangsfordre muslimer med sine vestlige værdier. Det er dog direkte løgn og manipulation at fremstille demokratiet og frihederne som absolutte modsætninger til vold og ufred, når man i nyere tid ikke har set mere død og ødelæggelse end den, der er forårsaget af vestlige tropper i demokratiets og liberalismens navn.

Danske politikere og meningsdannere har i øvrigt ingen moralsk autoritet til at udpege hverken muslimer eller islam som voldelig, når man tænker på, hvor meget blod de har på hænderne. Når nogle politikere udtaler, at det er irrelevant at diskutere årsagerne til denne type hændelser, så er det højst sandsynligt, fordi netop den



diskussion vil afsløre, at de selv bærer en stor del af ansvaret.

Igennem de sidste 15 år, har man på alle mulige måder forsøgt at kvæle muslimerne både gennem en blodig udenrigspolitik, hvor tusinder og atter tusinder af muslimer er blevet slået ihjel i forsøget på at eksportere demokratiet til den islamiske verden, men også gennem en hård kurs mod muslimerne internt i Danmark og Europa, med lovstramninger, stigmatisering og mistænkeliggørelse, suppleret med en hadefuld retorik, der har ført til større samfundssplittelse og flere verbale og fysiske overfald på muslimer. Det lykkedes dem at tage alt fra muslimerne, undtagen deres islam. Derfor insisterede man, under påskud af værdikamp, på at krænke det allerhelligste i Islam for at tvangssekularisere muslimerne. Man gentager så disse krænkelser gang på gang for at dræbe muslimernes stærke følelser for islam.

Set i lyset af alt dette, er det vitalt, at vi som muslimer ikke tager afstand, men tværtimod sætter tingene i den rette kontekst. Det er de danske politikere og medier, der burde tage afstand fra den politik, som har skabt omstændigheder, der fører til had, trusler, voldelige overfald og i yderste konsekvens drab, uanset hvem ofrene måtte være. Vi, som muslimsk fællesskab, må under ingen omstændigheder bukke under for presset og acceptere præmissen om, at Islam er på anklagebænken.

De vestlige værdier er blandt årsagerne til problemet, og politikerne er udmærket klar over, at deres værdier er under pres. Ikke grundet en voldelig aktion i Indre By, da kugler ikke kan røkke det mindste ved værdier og overbevisninger. Nej, de vestlige værdiers selvmodsigelser og manglende evne til at skabe harmoniske samfund er efterhånden blevet tydelig for mange mennesker, ligesom det er blevet tydeligt, at de vestlige værdier og systemer har forårsaget menneskeheden enorme lidelser og katastrofer – heri ligger deres største krise. Tanker udfordres med tanker, så vi muslimer skal fortsætte med at bære de islamiske tanker og udfordre Vestens falske værdier og umenneskelige politik.

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(Kock (A), 2015)



Appendix 2: Junes Kock, text 2

I Danmark er man potentiel terrorist, hvis man ikke går ind for demokrati

*Af Junes Kock, Medierepræsentant for Hizb ut-Tahrir Skandinavien
Frygten for terror udnyttedes af politikerne til at indlede en kamp mod det islamiske værdisæt under dække af kampen mod radikaliserings. Der afholdes kurser for pædagoger, skolelærere og SSP-medarbejdere, hvor det forklares, at anlæggelse af skæg og udeblivelse fra drukfester er farlige tegn på en glidebane mod terror*

Synspunkt - 20. februar 2015

Der var ingen tvivl at spore. De danske politikere var i al fald sikre efter nyheden om angrebet på arrangementet i Krudttønden. Ytringsfriheden og demokratiet er under angreb. Det danske samfund er under angreb. Ja, Danmark er blevet udsat for et terrorangreb. Politiet, og formodentlig de fleste danskere, afventede yderligere efterforskning og opklaring af, hvad der egentlig var sket. Men ikke politikerne.

Således tweetede SF-formanden, Pia Olsen Dyhr, kl. 16.39, blot få minutter efter nyheden om et skyderi på Østerbro: »Et angreb på ytringsfriheden i DK! Det er helt uhørt og forfærdeligt.« Liberal Alliances Simon Emil Ammitzbøll medgav en halv timere senere ikke kun, at ytringsfriheden var under angreb, men det var nok de pokkers udlændinge, der var ude på ballade igen: »Ytringsfrihed under angreb. Kort herfra. LA: Højere straf for angreb og trusler. Udvisning af udlændinge der modarbejder demokrati.«

Ida Auken fra SF skyndte sig kl. 17.24 at spille efter partiformandens melodi og tilmed belære de uvidende muslimer om Koranen » ... der er ikke noget forbud mod at tegne Muhammad i Koranen. Læs jeres helligskrift og stop vanviddet.«

Kampen mod 'radikaliserings'

Politikere i alle partifarver mente altså at vide med det samme, at der var tale om et fanatisk angreb på de danske samfundsværdier. Dette var i øvrigt flere timer, inden politiet efterlyste en mand med arabisk udseende. Den enstemmige reaktion fra



folketingspolitikere var desværre ingen overraskelse. Det var jo det samme folketing, der i sidste uge næsten enstemmigt vedtog at afsætte 60,9 millioner kroner til kampen mod »radikalisering«. Et begreb, der kommer til at blive genstand for endnu mere fokus og politisk debat i efterdønningerne på weekendens begivenheder. Det er heller ikke usandsynligt, at begrebet vil blive brugt til at retfærdiggøre yderligere lovstramninger og øget overvågning i fremtiden.

Radikalisering beskrives nogenlunde som processen, hvorved en ellers fredelig ung borger med en 'normal' vestlig livsstil bliver påvirket af udemokratisk propaganda for til sidst at blive en samfundstrussel og i værste fald begå et egentlig terrorangreb. I regeringens handlingsplan for »forebyggelse af radikalisering og ekstremisme« fra september 2014 defineres radikalisering som »afvisning af grundlæggende demokratiske værdier og normer eller manglende accept af demokratiske beslutningsprocesser«.

Følgelig er enhver, der ikke bekender sig til demokratiet eller de vestlige frihedsværdier – pr. definition – potentiel terrorist. Samme definition var at finde i den tidligere regerings antiradikaliseringsplan fra 2009. Planen har til erklæret formål at forebygge den første del af processen, dvs. at unge mennesker i første omgang bliver tiltrukket af en udemokratisk ideologi.

Kludder i kausaliteten

Selv om denne beskrivelse af radikalisering for nogle måske lyder nøgtern, så er den ikke kun udokumenteret, men den er også stærkt politiseret. Den påståede kausalitet i radikaliseringsprocessen er simpelthen yderst spinkelt underbygget.

I den virkelige verden holder denne forklaringsmodel ikke vand. Netop hos de såkaldte islamister finder man den 'bogstavtro' tilgang de islamiske skrifter, som så ofte er genstand for dæmonisering og mistænkeliggørelse i den offentlige debat.

Alligevel er det blandt helt andre typer, man finder dem, der har gjort det til deres levevej at terrorisere samfundet og deres medborgere med drab og meningsløs vold. Den 'bogstavelige' overbevisning om, at Koranens og profeten Muhammeds forbud mod drab på civile er Skaberens åbenbarede lov, vil jo netop afholde den 'radikale' muslim fra at overtræde selvsamme. Forherligelsen af den kyniske, meningsløse vold stammer ikke fra den islamiske kultur. Tværtimod.

Hvor smertefuld selvransagelsen end måtte være, så er det uomtvisteligt, at voldelige kriminelle i Danmark finder deres inspiration og fascination af bandelivet i den vestlige kulturs nyttemoral, en åndsløs lykkeopfattelse og subgenrer af den vestlige



populærkultur.

Hizb ut-Tahrir er et praktisk eksempel på radikaliseringsbegrebets indbyggede selvmodsigelse. Vi anses af politikerne og medierne som en ekstremistisk bevægelse, der radikaliserer unge mennesker. Det er næppe at gå for vidt, hvis man påstår, at vi endda er det primære mål for regeringens antiradikaliseringsplan. Men hvordan forklarer man så, at Rigsadvokatens undersøgelse i 2008 konstaterede, at »Hizb ut-Tahrir er ikkevoldelig og endda kan hindre muslimer i at blive terrorister«?

Pas på skæg og afholdenhed

Den ukritiske tilgang til radikaliseringsbegrebet og beskrivelsen af processen er baseret på subjektive antagelser, der afspejler en ideologisk og politisk dagsorden. Det blev slået fast med den første antiradikaliseringsplan fra 2009, da daværende velfærdsminister Karen Jespersen (V) i forbindelse med planen udtalte:

»Jeg er glad for, at vi meget klart har slået fast, at der er tale om en værdikamp, hvor vi fra politisk hold ikke skal legitimere ekstreme grupper ved at gå i dialog med dem.«

Frygten for terror udnyttes af politikerne til at indlede en kamp mod det islamiske værdisæt under dække af kampen mod radikalisering. Der afholdes kurser for pædagoger, skolelærere, SSP-medarbejdere og andre, hvor det forklares, at tiltagende islamisk adfærd er farlige tegn på en glidebane mod terror. PET advarede bl.a. om, at anlæggelse af skæg, udeblivelse fra drukfester og diskussioner om Palæstina-konflikten alle er tegn på, at en person er i færd med at blive radikaliseret.

Brutale statsterrorister

Demokratiet fremstilles som antitese til voldelig ekstremisme, mens udemokratiske ideer gøres til en naturlig løbebane mod vold og terror. Det er en særdeles uholdbar og ironisk opstilling, hvis vi tillader os at udvide diskussionens snævre rammer en smule:

De blodigste konflikter i nyere tid har hverken været motiveret af religion eller udemokratiske ideologier. Finansiering af blodige borgerkrige i Latinamerika og Afrika, umenneskelige sanktioner og besættelse af mellemøstlige lande samt hensynsløse droneangreb mod landsbyer i Nordpakistan og Yemen – alt sammen anført af demokratiske, liberale nationer. Folkevalgte regeringer vel at mærke. Korea-, Vietnam-, Irak- og Afghanistankrigene blev alle ført for at 'udbrede demokrati og frihed' til verden.



Eksport af vestlige frihedsværdier har vist sig at være et ekstremt blodigt foretagende. Drab på civile bortforklares af sekulære liberalister som collateral damage – for målet helliger midlet. Et princip, som har gjort vestlige regeringer til brutale statsterrorister, og et princip, som ingen legitimitet har i førnævnte 'bogstavelige' forståelse af Koranen.

Rapporter savnes, der belyser den proces, som radikaliserer en ellers fredelig, sekulær vesterlænding til en voldelig sadist, der poserer med nøgne torturfanger på amerikanske militærbaser. Eller en person, der uden kvaler massakrerer civile på Pakistans højsletter ved at trykke på en knap, som var det et computerspil.

Ja, man kan kun håbe, at PET holder øje med de 4-5 millioner sekulære og frihedselskende personer i Danmark. Man ved jo aldrig, hvornår det værste sker, og terroristen udklækkes!

(Kock (B), 2015)



Appendix 3: Yahya Hassan, text 1

DANMARK 14. MAR. 2015 KL. 17.48

»En muslim kan sagtens have sympati for en jøde«

Jøder, muslimer og kristne stod hånd i hånd om synagoge i København for at sende signal om tryghed.

SIMON BOAS Journalist

TERROR I KØBENHAVN

To civile blev dræbt og seks betjente såret under **det værste angreb** på dansk jord i nyere tid.

Lørdag 14. februar 2015 klokken 15.33 angreb gerningsmanden et møde om **ytringsfrihed**, der foregik i kulturhuset Krudttønden på Østerbro. En bliver dræbt og fire betjente såret.

Natten til søndag cirka klokken 00.45 slår terroristen til mod **synagogen** i Krystalgade. En frivillig vagt myrdes og to politifolk såres.

Nogle timer senere dræbes han under en **skudveksling** med politiet på Svanevej ved Nørrebro Station.

»I skal sprede jer lidt ud, hvis vi skal nå hele vejen rundt om«, bliver der råbt fra en af de fremmødte.

For få uger siden var det et blomsterhav, der mødte en, når man drejede rundt om hjørnet ved Krystalgade i København, men i dag er blomsterne byttet ud med mennesker, der står hånd i hånd for at danne en fredsring rundt om den



boligblok, der huser Københavns synagoge.

»Vil du ikke have en badge«, spørger en af arrangørerne bag og uddeler en lille blå badge, hvorpå der står: »Nej til had og frygt«, og på fortovet står en ung mand med en kalot på hovedet og taler med en af de mange fremmødte muslimer, mens de kan se, hvordan fredsringen sekund for sekund bliver længere.

Fredsringen er foranlediget af det terrorangreb, som ramte København 14. februar i år, hvor to personer blev dræbt heriblandt jøden Dan Uzan, som blev skudt og dræbt foran synagogen i Krystalgade. Det har fået en række muslimer til at gå sammen om arrangementet, hvor man forinden havde håbet, at 600 mennesker ville møde op, så man kan nå hele vejen rundt om den boligblok, som ligger rundt om synagogen.

Og en af dem, der er mødt op for at vise sin sympati, er den kontroversielle digter Yahya Hassen

»Vi er her i dag for at vise, at uanset man har jødisk eller muslimsk baggrund, så er der ikke nogen almindelige mennesker, der støtter op om det, der skete i København. Så vi er her for at vise et godt billede af den almindelige muslim



og alle de andre almindelige mennesker her, som er blevet fanget i en dagsorden, som de ikke selv kan relatere til«, fortæller digteren og fortsætter:

»Vi skal vise, at vi ønsker at støtte og beskytte hinanden i det her samfund, som vi alle er en del af«, siger han og tager kort tid efter opstilling i fredsringen foran hovedindgangen til synagogen.

Lyden af klapsalver

Det strømmer til med flere mennesker, der alle stiller sig ind i fredsringen. Antallet af fremmødte er efterhånden tættere på 1.000 end på de 600, som arrangørerne havde håbet på.

Politiet er også mødt talstærkt og står langs fortovet. Nogen med maskingeværer, andre med hvide roser, som de har modtaget af de mange mennesker, der har lagt vejen forbi Krystalgade i dagens anledning. Hele tiden kan politiets helikopter høres. Den flyver rundt oppe under de grå skyer og observerer enhver bevægelse blandt menneskemylderet hernede i Københavns gader.

Men det markante politiopbud lader ikke til at påvirke de mange mennesker, der i dag forsøger at sende et vigtigt signal til omverdenen. En af er den 39-årige jurist Asia Khan,



der har taget opstilling i den næste fuldendte fredsring

»Det var en trist begivenhed, der ramte København, og derfor er jeg her også for at markere, at det ikke er det, som Danmark står for, og vi vil ikke tolerere den had. Der er plads til alle uanset politisk, religiøs eller kulturel oprindelse, og sådan skal det fortsætte med at være. Vi skal leve i fred, harmoni og kærlighed til menneskeheden og hinanden«, siger Asia Khan.

Pludselig høres der klapsalver. De to ender har nået hinanden, og ringen er nu fuldendt. Som et symbol på at fordomme og had skal konfronteres, står de tæt på 1000 fremmødte nu hånd i hånd uden på nogen måde at skele til hinandens baggrund.

Sympati for de efterladte

Selv om fredsringen nu går hele vejen rundt om boligblokken, så bliver folk stående. Der bliver talt, grint og krammet, mens faderen til den dræbte Dan Uzan går hele vejen rundt og giver samtlige i fredsringen hånden og takker for deres tilstedeværelse.

Og netop tilstedeværelsen af så mange forskellige kulturer og nationaliteter, der står hånd i hånd, er befriende, synes



26-årige Haffed Amin Saidane.

»Jeg er her for at vise min sympati for de efterladte oven på den forfærdelige hændelse. Jeg er her om person og ikke på grund af min egen religiøse tilhørsforhold, men mere for at vise, at vi allesammen er en del af det her og er nødt til at se hinanden i øjnene og vise, at jeg med mit arabiske udseende godt kan stå ved siden af en med jødisk udseende«, siger han og fortsætter:

»Når jeg kigger på de medmennesker, jeg har stået med, så har jeg en jøde i min ene hånd, og det er befriende, at vi alle kan stå her. Folk skal vide, at en muslim sagtens kan have sympati for en jøde, der dør uretfærdigt. Det er noget, der er så basalt i vores hjerter, at vi kan vise sympati for hinanden«, siger han.

Tæt på ham står 36-årige Jahanier Haider, der ligeledes ønsker at sende et signal om, at ingen almindelige mennesker bakker op om de hændelser, der skete i København den 14. februar.

»Det, der er sket, det har fyldt meget i mit hoved, og man bliver vred inderst inde. Det repræsenterer ikke mig, og det er ikke del af mig. Jeg deltager, fordi jeg er dansk muslim og



en del af det her samtund, og så synes jeg, at det er smukt at fortælle jøderne, at der er plads til dem, os og til alle uanset religion, etnicitet eller hudfarve«.

(Boas, 2015)



Appendix 4: Yahya Hassan, text 2

KULTUR 20. FEB. 2015 KL. 22.30

Yahya Hassan: Slap af med den ytringsfrihed

Vi skubber de almindelige muslimer fra os i vores insisteren på absolut ytringsfrihed, mener digteren Yahya Hassan.

NILS THORSEN Journalist

Den ene blev landskendt digter.

Den anden dræbte to civile og sårede fem betjente, før han selv natten til søndag endte livet i en skudveksling med politiet i en københavnsk gade. Springet fra ung, formodet terrorist og til ung, berømt digter kan synes stort.

Men er det ikke nødvendigvis.

»Selvfølgelig skal man nedkæmpe sådan en idiot. Men ... jeg forstår ham«, siger digteren Yahya Hassan om den formodede gerningsmand til drabene i København i sidste weekend.



Fanget på bunden

Omar el-Hussein var 22 år. Tre år ældre end Yahya Hassan. Begges forældre er af palæstinensisk afstamning. Omars kom fra en flygtningelejr i Jordan. Yahyas fra en lejr i Libanon. Og begge er de vokset op i socialt belastede områder.

»Han var fanget på bunden af samfundet ligesom jeg. Han var indigneret over den palæstinensiske situation og forvirret over den højreorienterede drejning i Europa«, siger digteren.

»*Han* har stukket nogen ned. *Jeg* har stukket nogen ned. *Han* har været i voldelige klammerier. *Jeg* har været i voldelige klammerier. *Han* har begået kriminalitet, mens han boksede og prøvede at finde sin passion og formåen. *Jeg* har lavet kriminalitet, mens jeg skrev en digtsamling. *Han* tabte sin boksekamp og fortsatte med automatvåben. *Jeg* var heldig at blive udgivet. Jeg siger ikke, at ellers var jeg endt som terrorist, men jeg havde siddet fast i nogle af de samme omgivelser«.

Danske muslimer må klart tage afstand fra fundamentalisterne, mens danskerne må »få ind i roen«, siger Yahya Hassan, at »de bliver manipuleret fra højre og



venstre«. Ellers vil kløften vokse.

Den almindelige muslim

Ifølge digteren springer politikere og medier let forbi årsagerne til, at der er problemer med indvandrere. Fra sociale udfordringer og til de krige, de er flygtet fra. Og forklarer i stedet alt med religion og etnicitet.

»De drager paralleller fra en eller anden sindssyg islamist i Islamisk Stat og til en almindelig muslim i Danmark. Altså: Hvorfor kalder vi den formodede gerningsmand til drabene i København for muslim? Han er sgu da først og fremmest kriminel. Hvorfor har vi et behov for at skabe en parallel mellem en kriminel voldsmand og den almindelige muslim, når vi ikke gør det mellem en sindssyg HA'er og den almindelige dansker?«.

Ifølge Hassan kaprer visse politikere og partier de danske værdier, »ligesom en eller anden idiot fra Grimhøjmoskeen prøver at kapre alle de muslimske værdier«, som han udtrykker det.

»Og vi må ikke miste – for *helvede* altså – den almindelige muslim. Og dem er der mange af«.



Problemet er ikke, mener han, at Muhammed bliver tegnet eller islam kritiseret, men at politikere og medier bruger kunsten politisk.

»De er kun interesserede i at sige: Islamkritik. Og: Ytringsfrihed. Og så bliver kunsten og værdierne udhulet. Jeg siger ikke, at vi skal stoppe med at trykke tegningerne. Men hvis vi tegner bare for at tegne og lave ravage og vise, at vi tør, så er det plat«.

(Thorsen, 2015)



Appendix 5: Sherin Khankan, text 1 & Yldiz Akdogan, text 1



Folk i København lagde blomster ved den franske ambassade på Kongens Nytorv torsdag den 8. januar 2015 for at mindes medarbejderne ved den franske satireavis Charlie Hebdo der blev dræbt onsdag. Foto: Niels Ahlmann Olesen Foto: Keld Navntoft

Muslimer i dansk strid om reaktion på terror

Af Ole Damkjær, Mandag den 12. januar 2015, 22:30

15 danske politikere og meningsdannere med muslimsk baggrund opfordrer alle herboende muslimer til i klare vendinger at tage afstand fra terror.

»Det er vores alles frihed og tryghed, vi bør koncentrere os om at værne om. Sat på spidsen vil vi langt hellere foretrække millioner af »stødende tegninger« end at frygte,

at vore kære ikke vender levende hjem, fordi én eller anden har følt sig stødt af et par streger i en avis.«

Med den konstatering opfordrer 15 danske politikere og meningsdannere med muslimsk baggrund i en kronik på debatsiderne i dagens Berlingske alle herboende muslimer til i klare vendinger at tage afstand fra terror.

»Vort hovedbudskab er, at vi selv gør det, uden at nogen beder os om det. Uanset om vi vil det eller ej, så vender det konstant tilbage, at vi som muslimer skal tage afstand. Vi er jo en religiøs minoritet, og det har 11. september gjort sværere. Vi skal gøre mere for at legitimere os,« siger folketingsmedlem Yildiz Akdogan (S) med henvisning til terrorangrebet på USA i 2001.

Men det er et farligt ærinde, de 15 underskrivere af debatindlægget er ude i, mener Fatih Alev, leder af Dansk Islamisk Center:

»Hvis vi som muslimer skal tage afstand hver gang, voldspsykopater går amok, så opstår der netop det her lighedstegn mellem terror og muslimer. Det er ikke islams skyld, at nogen misbruger det,« siger Fatih Alev.

Sherin Khankan, som er talsmand for Forum for Kritiske Muslimer, mener heller ikke, at det bør være enhver muslims pligt at tage afstand fra vold begået af militante islamister.

»Det bør aldrig være en præmis, at muslimer generelt skal gøre det. Det svarer til, at man er skyldig ved bekendtskab, og det er dybt problematisk. Men hvis man er repræsentant for en gruppe, en organisation eller lignende, så giver det mening, at man giver sig til kende, fordi der er brug for en balanceret synspunkt,« siger Sherin Khankan.

»Vi beder ikke danske jøder tage afstand fra Israels terrorhandling og drab på 450 børn sommeren 2014 eller danske kristne om at tage afstand fra Breivik. Desuden har majoriteten af danske muslimske organisationer samt ledende samfundsdebattører fordømt terrorangrebet. Så artiklen konstruerer en præmis som allerede er imødekommet«, siger Sherin Khankan.

Berlingske forsøgte i går uden held at få en kommentar fra Det Islamiske Trossamfund, der udsendte en længere pressemeddelelse umiddelbart efter terrorangrebet i Paris i sidste uge. Men trossamfundets talsmand, Imran Khan, understregede i en artikel i går om muslimernes stemme i den offentlige debat, at det indtil videre ikke har hjulpet, at muslimernes religiøse ledere her i landet gentagne



gange har taget afstand fra terror.

(Damkjær, 2015)



Appendix 6: Sherin Khankan, text 2

Muslimere oplever hadforbrydelser i kølvandet på terror

JANNIE LE MOIGNE OG MARIE LOUISE POULSEN

26. februar 2015 10:21



"Når man beder muslimer tage afstand fra angrebene, italesætter man muslimer som "særligt ansvarlige" for, hvad der skete. Man gør muslimer skyldige ved bekendtskab," siger Sherin Khankan, formand for Exitcirklen og talskvinde i Forum for kritiske Muslimer **Foto: / Scanpix Denmark**

Sociale medier har i disse uger berettet om overfald på danske muslimer. Der er en klar tendens til, at muslimer oplever vold og chikane efter terror, men også til, at det ikke anmeldes, siger observatører

Især sociale medier har berettet om vold og chikane mod muslimer i



kølvandet på, at to mænd blev slået ihjel og fem politibetjente såret, da en mand angreb et debatarrangement i Krudttønden på Østerbro og forsamlingshuset ved Synagogen i Krystalgade. På Facebook fortæller en far med muslimsk baggrund, hvordan hans 4-årige søn bliver slået i ansigtet af en etnisk dansk mand, der efterfølgende siger: "Det har han godt af! I skal bare opføre jer ordentligt, sådan nogle som jer!" Talsmanden for Det Islamiske Trossamfund, Imran Shah, har til flere nyhedsmedier udtalt, at han også oplever et stigende antal indberetninger fra muslimer, der har oplevet chikane efter attentatet i København. Og konsulent og næstformand i Exitcirklen- nej til psykisk vold og talsperson for Dokumentations- og rådgivningscenter om racediskrimination (DRC) Khaterah Parwani fortæller, at hun i løbet af den sidste uge har modtaget mindst 10 henvendelser fra muslimer, der er blevet udsat for vold eller anden form for diskrimination:

"Det er bestemt flere, end vi plejer at få på en uge. De fleste udsatte har været kvinder - kun en enkelt mand, nemlig faderen til den fireårige, der blev slået i ansigtet, har jeg talt med," siger hun og fortsætter: "Husk på, at det kun er de henvendelser, jeg har fået. Det kan tyde på, at der er flere derude, der er blevet udsat for overgreb."

Hos Københavns Politi har man efter forrige weekend kun fået en enkelt anmeldelse om en hadforbrydelse mod en muslimsk borger. Det er derfor svært for dem at se en tendens.

"Men jeg vil gerne understrege, at det er vigtigt at anmelde, hvis man oplever noget af denne art. Det er jo den eneste måde vi kan komme problemet til



livs", siger vicepolitiinspektør Jens Møller Jensen.

Brian Arly Jakobsen tilføjer, at der er en tendens til, at vi ikke hører så meget til angreb mod muslimer: "Muslimer og de muslimske organisationer anmelder ofte ikke sådanne forbrydelser. Det skyldes måske en oplevelse af, at det alligevel ikke nytter noget. Der er højst sandsynligt et stort mørketal af hadforbrydelser mod muslimer, der ikke bliver anmeldt", siger Brian Arly Jakobsen. For Khaterah Parwani handler det dog også om, at politiet ikke altid får registreret henvendelserne rigtigt: "Nogle anmeldelser går bare ind som vold. Den skærpelse, der skal til, når det drejer sig om en hadforbrydelse, anvendes ikke altid. Det er et problem, vi har kæmpet med i flere år nu," siger hun.

I både København og i Aarhus har man nu oprettet et sikkerhedsnetværk under navnet "Beskyt dine søstre". Det er et netværk bestående af fredelige muslimske mænd, som kvinder kan tilkalde, hvis de havner i en situation, hvor de føler sig utrygge eller bliver udsat for verbale eller fysiske overfald. Det fortæller religionssociolog Sherin Khankhan, der er leder af Exitcirklen-nej til psykisk vold og talskvinde i Forum for kritiske Muslimer. Hun mener, at offentligheden selv har været med til at give muslimer et særligt ansvar for det, der skete i København:

"Når man beder muslimer tage afstand fra angrebene, italesætter man muslimer som "særligt ansvarlige" for, hvad der skete. Man gør muslimer skyldige ved bekendtskab," siger Sherin Khankan. Og det sker alle steder i samfundet:



"Når man i et ellers seriøst program på DR's P1 giver et program titlen "Er islam en voldelig religion?" er man med til at skærpe forestillingen om, vold og islam hænger sammen. For mig at se er det en anti-islamisk præmis," siger hun. Og konsekvensen af den retorik og indholdet af retorikken er ikke alene voldelige overfald:

"Jeg kender flere, der har været udsat for chikane. En af mine venner fik efter angrebene i Paris malet et hagekors på sin dør sammen med ordene DØ," eksemplificerer hun.

Sherin Khankan understreger, at vold mod muslimer ikke er et nyt fænomen. Efter 11. september har hun observeret bølger af hatecrimes, vold og chikane. Og det sker især efter terrorhændelser, bekræfter religionssociolog Brian Arly Jacobsen, der forsker i muslimer ved København Universitet:

"Det skete også efter terrorangrebet mod Charlie Hebdo i Paris og i 2005 i London, hvor flere moskeer og muslimske skoler blev udsat for hærværk og brandattentater", siger Brian Arly Jacobsen.

I Danmark har der været en række tilfælde af hærværk og angreb mod muslimer og muslimske organisationer, særligt i årene efter Muhammed-krisen. Det har været hærværk og angreb mod moskéer og muslimske skoler. I Frankrig er der registreret over 50 angreb mod muslimer og muslimske institutioner siden terrorangrebet mod satiremagasinet Charlie Hebdo d. 7. januar.



På et pressemøde dagen efter terroranslaget d. 14. februar fastslog statsminister Helle Thorning-Schmidt: "Terrorangrebet i København handler ikke om en kamp mellem muslimer og ikke-muslimer."

Men selvom der overalt på forskellige nyhedsmedier og sociale medier har været ytringer omkring vigtigheden af at stå sammen som samfund og ikke lade hadet og mistilliden sejre, er det ikke tilstrækkeligt til at forhindre hadforbrydelser: "Der er desværre en klar tendens til den her type af overfald efter terrorangreb. Uanset politikernes og mediernes insisteren på, at konflikten ikke handler om religion, så vil der altid være mennesker, der vil sætte lighedstegn mellem en afvigende islamistisk ideologi og islam generelt", forklarer Brian Arly Jacobsen.

Han afviser dog, at det ikke vil nytte at anmelde hadforbrydelserne: "Jeg tror bestemt ikke, at der hos politiet er en modvilje mod at efterforske hadforbrydelser mod muslimer. Og selvom det er rigtig svært at undersøge, da der ofte ikke er mange beviser, er det vigtigt at kende omfanget af disse forbrydelser."

I det jødiske samfund registrerer man løbende indberetninger af antisemitisme. Men danske muslimske foreninger har ikke samme tradition med at registrere tilfælde af islamofobi. Den manglende viden om omfanget af hadforbrydelser mod muslimer skyldes derfor også manglende registrering.

"Det skyldes blandt andet, at Danmark har så mange forskellige muslimske organisationer, så det er svært at lave en samlet registrering", forklarer Brian Arly Jacobsen.



(Moigne & Poulsen, 2015)



Appendix 7: Sherin Khankan, text 3

Khankan: Den ensidige fortælling om tro og terror er død



Siden terrorangrebet i New York 11. september 2001 har der været fokus på islamisk orienteret terror, som om denne udgør den største sikkerhedstrussel i verden. Men den seneste rapport over terror i Europa foretaget af Europol viser, at muslimer står for en meget lille del af Europas terror., skriver religionssociolog og TV-vært Sherin Khankan. **Foto: Ulrik Jantzen Denmark / Scanpix**

AF SHERIN KHANKAN



AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

17. april 2012 01:00

>Vi er nødt til at problematisere, hvorfor der er nogle menneskeliv, der er mere værd end andre. For det er her, at kimen til megen terror ligger begravet<, mener religionssociolog og TV-vært Sherin Khankan

Mahatma Gandhi fik engang stillet følgende spørgsmål af en vestlig journalist: Mr. Gandhi, hvad er din mening om den vestlige civilisation? Gandhi svarede: Det ville være en god idé.

Pointen er, at Gandhi ikke opfattede Vestens orientalisme og koloniseringsprojekter som særligt civiliserede, og med kritikken af den vestlige civilisation sætter han spørgsmålstegn ved, hvem der for eksempel har retten og dermed magten til at definere, hvad der er godt og ondt, og hvad der er progressivt og bagstræberisk.

I debatten om tro og terror er Gandhis pointe om ret og magt væsentlig. For faktum er, at definitionen af terror varierer, alt efter hvem man er og hvor man befinder sig. Således blev frihedskæmperen Nelson Mandela, som modtog Nobels fredspris, erklæret terrorist i USA indtil 2008. Dette eksempel aktualiserer nødvendigheden af at skelne mellem terrorisme (vold og drab mod tilfældige civile) på den ene side og befrielsesbevægelser kamp mod undertrykkende regimer, som for eksempel kampen mod det sydafrikanske apartheidregime,



palæstinenserne kamp mod den israelske besættelsesmagt eller den syriske modstandsbevægelses kamp mod det syriske regimes statsterror.

Islamisk terror er ikke den største trussel Siden terrorangrebet i New York 11. september 2001 har der været fokus på islamisk orienteret terror, som om denne udgør den største sikkerhedstrussel i verden. Men den seneste rapport over terror i Europa foretaget af Europol viser, at muslimer står for en meget lille del af Europas terror. Ved at gøre 11. september til et vendepunkt i historien fastholder man en myte om, at islamisk terror udgør størstedelen af verdens terror, samt at islamistisk terror er den største trussel mod de vestlige demokratier.

Religion bliver misbrugt til terror Jeg mener, at størstedelen af verdens terror primært er politisk motiveret. Når den alligevel opfattes som religiøst motiveret, så kan det skyldes, at sproget og rammen ofte er religiøs. Nogle bruger religionen til at legitimere deres terrorhandlinger, men ofte handler det om politiske forhold. Men at hævde, at religionen ingen rolle spiller er også forkert. For religionen udgør en stærk kraft og kan mobilisere mennesker med tro. Religion er ofte blevet brugt og misbrugt af mennesker verden over til at skabe rædsel, frygt og terror. Der findes masser af eksempler på politisk og religiøs motiveret terror begået af mennesker med tro såvel som uden tro. Tro begår ikke terror. Det gør mennesker derimod, og det er mennesker frem for en tro, der skal stilles til ansvar. Ifølge Rune Engelbreth Larsen handler terror ofte om had og hævn. Et eksempel på religiøst motiveret terror, som sjældent nævnes i danske medier, er massedrabet på 8000 civile bosniske muslimske mænd og drenge helt ned til 9 års alderen i 1995 i Srebrenica.



Srebrenica er et eksempel på religiøs terror Flere forskere, herunder professor Michael Sells, har defineret Srebrenica som religiøst motiveret terror, selvom mange har forsøgt at definere terroren som en etnisk konflikt mellem to ligeværdige partnere. 8000 civile blev dræbt af kristne serbere med velsignelse af kristne biskopper, fordi de var muslimer slet og ret. Termen religiøst motiveret terror handler ikke om, at serbere begår terror, fordi de er kristne, men at de dræber civile mænd og drenge, fordi de er muslimer. Denne terrorhandling er langt mere omfattende, hvad angår civile tab, end 11. september. Årsagerne til, at Srebrenica ikke bliver et vendepunkt, skyldes blandt andet, at vestlige medier og den kristne kirke generelt var tavs omkring, hvad der skete i Srebrenica i 1995.

11. september er ikke det eneste vendepunkt i historien Man finder sjældent fortællinger om det grusomme massedrab i de danske historiebøger eller i de danske fortællinger om terror og tro. Pointen er, at vi ofte definerer os i forhold til det, som er velkendt og til dem, som ligner os mest. Hvis solidaritet og næstekærlighed ikke skal være en særlig form for prioriteret egenkærlighed, er det væsentligt at problematisere, hvorfor 11. september blev et vendepunkt i historien, og ikke for eksempel Srebrenica 1995. Pointen er, at der findes et hav af terrorhandlinger, der har status af 11. september, for eksempel massakren i Sabra og Shatila, der er betegnelsen på en massakre udført af kristne falangister ledet af den libanesiske militsleder Elie Hobeika i september 1982. Over 3000 mistede livet i massakren i Sabra og Shatila. I Libanon i 2006 bliver 1100 civile dræbt af det israelske militær og i Gaza i slutningen af 2008 start 2009 bliver 1200 civile dræbt af det israelske militær herunder mere end 450 børn. For de efterladte familier i Libanon og Gaza er disse terroraktioner symbolet på en 11. September.

En anden side af krigen i Afghanistan I bogen Historien der ikke bliver fortalt- om krigen i Afghanistan udfordrer den



danske journalist med afghanske rødder, Nagieb Khaja, den ensidige danske mediedækning af den 10 år lange krig i Afghanistan. Som den første danske journalist giver han de afghanske civile ofre og Taleban en stemme. Khaja viser nuancer og fejlfortolkninger af krigen i Afghanistan, som er helt ukendte i en dansk sammenhæng. At danske medier bevidst fravælger at berette om den afghanske eller irakiske lidelseshistorie i forbindelse med drab på uskyldige civile begået af de vestlige koalitionsstyrker, herunder også de danske, er tydeligt. Det er væsentligt, at vi hører og ser lidelseshistorier fra dem, som har mistet deres kære, for det er primært igennem disse, at vores sympati vækkes og styrkes. Det er primært via lidelseshistorier, at vi bliver opmærksomme på, at næstekærlighed og solidaritet også bør gælde dem, som er langt fra os selv, både mentalt og fysisk.

Magtbalancen vil blive ændret Jeg tror, at de globale krydsfelter og det multikulturelle samfund vil ændre den mentale magtbalance i verden. Opgøret med Vestens fysiske og mentale kolonisering er tiltrængt og ikke mindst uundgåeligt. Det vil ikke længere være muligt at fastholde entydige narrativer om, at 11. september er det mest væsentlige vendepunkt i historien om tro og terror, eller at krigen i Afghanistan var en succes i en verden, der består af multikulturer og globale identiteter. For disse vil via den dobbelte loyalitet insistere på en ny form for retfærdighed og balance i historiefortællingen, som anerkender, at 11. september blot er en tragedie ud af mange tragedier - samt at det i høj grad er spørgsmålet om positionering, der afgør hvilke menneskelige tab, der tildeles størst betydning. Fordelen ved et pluralistisk udgangspunkt, som man kan finde i det multikulturelle samfund, er, at man bliver tvunget til at fokusere på det, der forener os som mennesker, at man trænes i at elske og ære flere principper, værdier og livsanskuelser på samme tid. Men vigtigst er det, at vi tvinges til at gøre op med vores fasttømrede og entydige idéer



om, hvad der er definerende øjeblikke i historien. Det er blandt andet gennem viden, etik, tilhørsforhold, tro, tradition, sympati, loyalitet, sund fornuft og erfaring, at mennesker skaber idéer om godt og ondt. Vi er nødt til at problematisere, hvorfor der er nogle menneskeliv, der er mere værd end andre. For det er her, at kimen til megen terror ligger begravet. Faktum er, at idéen om, hvad der er definerende øjeblikke i historien varierer, alt efter hvem man er, og hvor man befinder sig både fysisk og mentalt. I takt med, at Danmark uddanner en ny generation af mentalt globale krydsfelter, vil disse langsomt indtage magtpositioner indenfor politik, forskning, kunst, religion, medier, forsvar, sikkerhedspolitik og erhvervsliv og derigennem vil der blive skrevet nye politiske, religiøse og historiske narrativer. Narrativer, der som Nagieb Khajas, vil insistere på at fortælle den historie, som ikke bliver fortalt i medierne i dag.

Sherin Khankan Talskvinde for Kritiske Muslimer, forfatter, foredragsholder, religionssociolog og studievært på DR2's debatprogram "Tro om igen"

(Khankan, 2012)



Appendix 8: Yildiz Akdogan, text 2

Yildiz Akdogan: Forældet drengeopdragelse kan lede til terror

Erik Holstein | 11. april 2015 kl. 7:30 |



Yildiz Akdogan (S): "Hvis vi skal stoppe med at reproducere de her totale losers, skal man starte tidligt i opdragelsen." (Sofie Pihl)

TERRORFOREBYGGELSE: *Uden et opgør med den traditionelle muslimske drengeopdragelse vil flere etniske drenge rekrutteres af bander eller islamister, siger Socialdemokraternes Yildiz Akdogan.*

”Hvis vi ikke skal producere flere udgaver af Omar, skal vi tage fat i

ligestillingen og drengelopdragelsen i de muslimske miljøer.”

Yildiz Akdogan (S) er insisterende. Det her er et vigtigt emne for hende.

Den socialdemokratiske folketingspolitiker med tyrkisk-kurdisk baggrund blev som andre rystet over terrorhandlingen begået af Omar el-Hussein. Men hun mener hverken, at anti-terrorpakker eller socioøkonomiske tiltag er nok, hvis fremtidige terrorhandlinger skal undgås.

”Hvis vi skal stoppe med at reproducere de her totale losers, skal man starte tidligt i opdragelsen. Så vi ikke får en masse vrede, nydanske unge mænd, der bliver farlige for deres omgivelser,” siger Yildiz Akdogan.

Den lille prins Det problem, hun peger på, er ubestrideligt og går endnu videre end risikoen for terror. For på alle parametre er der uforholdsmæssigt mange drenge og unge mænd med muslimsk baggrund, der klarer sig dårligt i det danske samfund. Det gælder i folkeskolen og på arbejdsmarkedet – og det ses som en kraftig overrepræsentation i kriminalitetsstatistikkerne.

Mange af de kedelige statistikker skyldes forældede kønsrollemønstre, mener Yildiz Akdogan:

”I nydanske familier skal pigen passe skolen, hjælpe med mad og rengøring og passe små søskende. Mange piger fra konservative muslimske hjem bruger topkarakterer i skolen

til at skabe mere frirum og respekt.”

”Drengen derimod er den lille prins i familien. Der er ingen krav, ingen regler, ingenting. Han bliver opvartet og skal ikke andet end at være sønnen i familien. Men når han kommer ud i samfundet, er han bare en ganske almindelig Ali: Der er ikke nogen, der henter kaffe til ham, eller viser ham en særlig respekt. Og så bliver nederlaget så meget desto større.”

"Fuck dig, luder" Med den baggrund bliver det svært at håndtere den kritik og tilrettevisning, der er en del af en normal opdragelse:

”Hvis en traditionelt opdraget muslimsk dreng møder krav fra kvindelige lærere i skolen, clasher de to kulturer. Så reagerer nogle af drengene med et ”Fuck dig, luder”,” siger Yildiz Akdogan.

Ifølge Akdogan er det helt afgørende at få de etniske mødre til at forstå, at de gør sønnerne en bjørnetjeneste ved at forkæle dem:

”I de første 12-13 år er det moderen, der står for opdragelsen. Først når Ali kommer i puberteten, træder hans far ind, og så bliver der pludselig stillet krav. Men det er for sent. På det tidspunkt er Ali kommet bagud i skolen og kan ikke opfylde farens forventninger.”

”Derfor vælger en del nydanske drenge at opgive det hele

og finder i stedet sammen med nogle, der har samme problemer som ham selv. Det er her, den farlige proces begynder.”

Bander og salafister Kombinationen af tidlig forkælelse og nederlag som følge af, at man ikke har dygtiggjort sig, gør nederlagene svære at klare, forklarer Akdogan:

”Så kommer alle undskyldningerne, og drengene bliver hurtigt enige om, at deres problemer skyldes ”den møgkælling af en lærer, der garanteret også er racist”.”

Så risikerer de vrede unge mænd at blive brugt som et våben af andre, advarer Akdogan.

”Når de er nået derhen bliver de lette at hverve for banderne eller de radikale salafister. Tidligere var det to adskilte grupper, men nu er der sket en sammensmeltning. Det gør det endnu farligere. Som Omar var et eksempel på.”

”Grupperne tilbyder de unge drenge en identitet og bekræfter dem i, at deres nederlag er omgivelserne skyld. Så vender de vreden mod samfundet, og så risikerer vi at få flere Omar'er”.

Mødrene på banen Skal udviklingen vendes, skal man frem for alt have fat i de muslimske mødre, siger Akdogan, der selv har gode erfaringer med at diskutere opdragelse med mødrene:



”Man skal undervise de nydanske mødre i, hvordan de opdrager drenge i et samfund som det danske. Mødrene vil jo deres sønner det bedste, så de skal forstå, at man gør drengene en bjørnetjeneste, hvis man ikke stiller krav.”

Yildiz Akdogan under sig over, at ligestillingen ikke fylder mere i de mange projekter, der findes i udsatte boligområder:

”Der bliver sat et hav af projekter i gang i boligområderne, så det er på tide, at ligestillingen også bliver et tema.”

Berøringsangst Men også i skolerne, hvor muslimske piger ofte overhaler de muslimske drenge, skal man sætte ind. Her bør kønsligestillingen være et nøglebegreb, mener Yildiz Akdogan:

”Ligestilling bør være en integreret del af undervisningen. Det gælder i folkeskolen, men det er lige så vigtigt at stille krav til de muslimske friskoler, der tit har en meget konservativ dagsorden.”

Grænserne og normerne skal i det hele taget gøres klarere allerede i skolen, hvis det står til Yildiz Akdogan:

”Man må ikke have berøringsangst. Når der i skolerne er nydanske drenge, der optræder med den der ”Fuck dig-attitude” over for lærerne, skal det konfronteres. Man skal være meget tydelig over for de nydanske forældre, der ikke stiller krav til deres drenge,” siger den socialdemokratiske

politikere, der selv er blevet opdraget i et progressivt hjem,
hvor der ikke blev gjort forskel på hende og hendes brødre.

Yildiz Akdogans advarsler kommer i en situation, hvor gruppen af
utilpassede unge mænd, der tiltrækkes af bander eller
islamister har været stigende. Såvel i Danmark som i andre
europæiske lande.

(Holstein, 2015)



Appendix 9: Imran Shah, text 1

Islamisk Trossamfund: Tag afstand og bevis du er et fjols

Verden over har muslimer taget afstand fra terror-drabene i Paris - men i Danmark advarer Islamisk Trossamfund mod at tage afstand

Af: Thomas Harder



Imran Shah er talsmand for Islamisk Trossamfund, der er trætte af, at muslimer hele tiden skal tage afstand fra handlinger, som andre muslime begår. (Foto: Anthon Unger)

- Til de muslimske organisationer og de enkelte muslimer skal følgende siges: I er blevet tildelt en rolle, hvor I skal tage ubetinget afstand fra denne hændelse.

- Jeres stilhed i denne henseende vil på mest uretfærdig vis blive direkte fejlfortolket - bevidst eller ubevidst - som værende en accept af drab på uskyldige.

Pas på med at give efter for presset - I vil dermed blive fremstillet som potentielle terrorister, der muligvis kan finde på at gøre noget lignende i Danmark.

- At give efter for det massive pres, der vil blive lagt på jer har dog historisk vist sig slet ikke at gavne på nogen som helst måde på sigt.

Sådan skriver Islamisk Trossamfund i en pressemeddelelse vedrørende angrebet på det franske satireblad Charlie Hebdo, der blev lagt på trossamfundets hjemmeside i går aften. I løbet af dagen havde muslimske organisationer verden over i en lind strøm taget afstand fra angrebet - i Danmark gik Dansk Muslimsk Union (DMU) f.ex. ud og kaldte attentatmændene for ekstremistiske galninge:

Sådanne galninge er en trussel mod alle - Deres handlinger er en foragt for alt, der ikke harmonerer med deres egen totalitære tankegang.

- I dag er de imod mennesker, der har et andet syn på livet og samfundet end dem selv, og i morgen er det alle muslimer, der ikke deler deres ekstreme og forvrængede syn på Islam, der bliver deres mål.

- Sådanne galninge er en trussel, ikke blot mod det samfund, de færdes i, men mod ethvert af disse samfundets borgere, skrev unionen i en

pressemeddelelse.

Men selv om Islamisk Trossamfund ikke vil kritisere den muslimske union, mener de at den slags automatiske afstandsreaktioner på sigt er ukloge. Pressemeddelselsen fortsætter nemlig således:

Ved at tage afstand bliver I koblet til terror - Ved en gentagen afstandstagen bliver I nemlig indirekte koblet til diverse frygtelige handlinger rundt om i verden og dermed sættes en kobling til vores barmhjertige, elskede samt fredelige religion.

- Dette på trods af, at I er fri for sådanne handlinger og aldrig kunne finde på at foretage dem. Den katolske eller protestantiske kirke blev ikke bedt om at tage afstand fra terroristen Breivik.

- Diverse politikere indenlands er ikke blevet bedt om at tage afstand fra afbrændingen af moskéer og terror på disse i Danmark. Og de ville heller ikke nødvendigvis gøre det, da man kan risikere at blive stillet til ansvar for handlingen indirekte.

Vi vil ikke bebrejde Jer, hvis I tager afstand - Vi vil dog gerne udtrykke forståelse for jeres bekymringer og eventuelle valg ved, at I atter tager afstand og vil aldrig bebrejde jer for at have gjort dette. Det kan være det rette for jer for ikke at blive skadet eller angrebet yderligere.

Tag afstand og bevis du er et fjols - Men overvej gerne om ikke der er en mere farbar vej på sigt. Nogle gange er det bedre at tie trods risikoen for at blive anset som et fjols end at tale og fjerne alle tvivl om det.

- Vi skal ikke videregive vores børn og den kommende generation offerrollen og lade dem kæmpe en kamp, der ikke kan vindes, men blot vil betyde tab for

dem og for samfundet, skriver Islamisk Trossamfund, der opfordrer muslimer til at tage en dialog med andre mennesker om den smukke mosaik Danmark efterhånden udgør.

(Harder, 2015)



Appendix 10: Imran Shah, text 2

Hvordan kommer vi videre efter terror?

synspunkt

AF IMRAN SHAH

20. februar 2015 07:40



"Vi står skulder ved skulder. Muslimer, jøder og kristne, mennesker af forskellig politisk overbevisning. Vi står sammen som danskere", sagde statsminister Helle Thorning-Schmidt efter terroren. Sådanne udsagn og gentagelsen af dem vil bidrage til, hvordan de næste par dage, uger og måneder vil stå imod og samle nationen, mener Imran Shah, der er talsmand for Det Islamiske Trossamfund. **Foto: / Scanpix Denmark**



Vi bliver nødt til at have en ærlig offentlig diskussion om årsagerne til, at disse modbydelige hændelser fandt sted, mener talsmand Imran Shah

Skulle det vise sig, at vi som samfund og politikere falder tilbage til de vante måder at diskutere og debattere indvandrer og muslimer på, så har vi ikke lært af krisen.

Den kriminelle handling, der udspillede sig i weekenden, var et angreb, der var dybt uacceptabelt, og vi forsøger stadig at forstå den virkelighed, hvori den foregik.

Tab af uskyldige menneskeliv og sårede mennesker, sammen med det kaos og den oprevethed folk har oplevet, er svært at begribe.

Følelserne kan naturligt nok sidde ude på tøjet efter disse uerstattelige tab. Kravet om håndfast handling trænger på. Vi må gøre noget for at forhindre, at sådanne handlinger finder sted i fremtiden. En syndebuk skal findes.

Med et Danmark der har en af Europas stærkeste islamofobiske retorikker i forvejen samt stærkeste højreparti, så er der god grund til at frygte en øget trussel mod minoriteterne i Danmark. Af samme grund holder myndighederne også et vågent øje med de minoriteter, der måtte være mest udsatte - herunder jøder og muslimer.

Den følelse af utryghed, vi kan mærke som samfund og som minoritet, kommer det til at tage noget tid at bearbejde, og den skal bearbejdes uden, at politiske spindoktorer kynisk kalkulerer meningsmålingerne.



Angela Merkel sagde i kølvandet på den højreorienterede Pegida-bevægelses fremmarch i sin juleaftenstale, at "islam er del af Tyskland, og jeg er kansler for alle uanset baggrund og ophav".

Et stærkt signal der blev gentaget af Statsminister Helle Thorning-Schmidt, der sagde "Vi står skulder ved skulder. Muslimer, jøder og kristne, mennesker af forskellig politisk overbevisning. Vi står sammen som danskere".

Sådanne udsagn og gentagelsen af dem vil bidrage til, hvordan de næste par dage, uger og måneder vil stå imod og samle nationen. "Krigserklæringer" og råben efter yderligere stramninger over for herboende muslimer, som der bliver slået til lyd for i Jyllands-Posten, må stå for deres regning.

Skulle det vise sig, at vi som samfund og politikere falder tilbage til de vante måder at diskutere og debattere indvandrere og muslimer på, så har vi ikke lært af krisen. Før såkaldte programmer iværksættes, bliver vi nødt til, at have en ærlig offentlig diskussion om årsagerne til at disse modbydelige hændelser fandt sted.

Enkelte politikere har udtrykt et ønske om det, men det skal ske i en meget bredere forstand, og det kræver en holdningsændring hos politikerne generelt. Spørgsmålet er, ønsker vi at se tilbage på disse dage, som dengang Danmark udvidede sin overvågning og igangsatte mere diskrimination i vores institutioner, hvor splittelse og "os" og "dem" endnu engang er grundsubstansen i vores beslutninger?

Eller vil vi se tilbage på, at disse dage for første gang samlede nationen på tværs af skel efter års stigmatisering og skræmmeretorik, hvor vi stod vagt om vores samfund i fællesskab. Meget afhænger af, hvordan vi kommer frem til

årsagerne for terroren, og hvordan disse efterfølgende vil blive brugt. Det Islamiske Trossamfund har altid og vil altid arbejde for sammenhørigheden, og Kierkegaards opfordring til menneskebad bliver udført dagligt, fordi det er derigennem tillid, fællesskab og samhørighed blomstrer.

(Shah, 2015)

