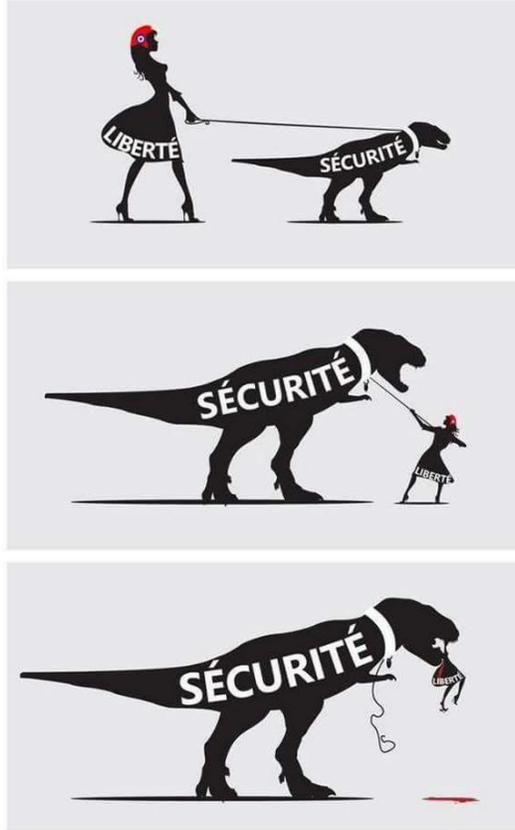


# The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

## Master Thesis



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The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

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## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

### **ABSTRACT**

In January 2015, Paris was shaken by the horrendous attacks on the Charlie Hebdo magazine. Today, one year after the shootings, when fears of inflow of immigrants are spread in the West and the right-wing movements are gaining the momentum, this event built a foundation for actors of centre right and right-wing parties to use the attacks for their gain. The aim of this study is to investigate which measures were suggested in response to the attacks by the right-wing and whether the French media contextualized the Charlie Hebdo shootings in favor of those measures. This case study is conducted by collecting the articles from the French newspapers through the LexisNexis database and which later are analyzed through content analysis. The analytical framework includes Conflict Analysis, Securitization Theory with the implementation of Framing, proved helpful as it indicated that media, by framing the issues connected to the events in favor of securitizing actors, may facilitate the securitization moves. Securitizing actors appeared to be mainly centre-right politicians and the right-wing party Front Nationale. Finally, terrorism and Islamic radicalism were portrayed as a threat to the referent objects, nurturing an essentialist and dichotomist understanding of the West and Islam.

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

CFCM - French Council of the Muslim Faith/ The Conseil Français du Culte Musulman

FN - National Front (Front National)

FNMF - the National Federation of French Muslims (Fédération Nationale des Musulmans de France)

GMP - the Grand Mosque of Paris

IS - Islamic State

PC - French Penal Code (French Code Pénal)

PEGIDA - Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West

SIPRI - Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

UMP - Union for a Popular Movement

UOIF - Union of French Islamic Organizations

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>LIST OF ACRONYMS.....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>1.1 DEBATES AROUND THE RESEARCH TOPIC.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS.....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RELEVANCE.....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND STRUCTURE.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY.....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2.2 DELIMITATIONS.....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>2.3 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>2.4 CONFLICT ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>3. BACKGROUND.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>3.1 CHARLIE HEBDO MAGAZINE.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>3.2 CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHARLIE HEBDO ATTACK.....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>4. THEORETICAL CONTEXT.....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>4.1 SECURITY CONCEPT.....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>4.2 SECURITIZATION.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>4.3 FRAME ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>4.4 THE “CULTURE CLASH” THEORY.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>5. ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>5.1 CONFLICT ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>5.1.1 ANALYZING STRUCTURES.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>5.1.2 ANALYZING ACTORS.....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>5.1.3 ANALYZING CONFLICT DYNAMICS.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>5.2 FRAME ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>5.2.1 WHO IS THREATENED?.....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>5.2.2 FRAME RESONANCE.....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>5.2.3 HOW IS THREAT CONSTRUCTED?.....</b>	<b>54</b>

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

<b>6. CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>7. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>8. ANNEX.....</b>	<b>72</b>

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Western societies continue to face a challenging situation with the integration of their respective visible and religious minorities. Outwardly, the narrative of many of these societies speaks in favor of tolerance and inclusiveness. Research Pew Research surveys show that in France, for example, 76 percent have a favorable view of the Muslim community there, similar to the 72 percent registered in 2014. However, security concerns regarding minority communities – to which floods of immigrants legal and illegal swell the ranks across Europe – prevailed within time as compared to normatively motivated appeals to support them (Munster, 2009).

Recently, the spread of attacks in the Western world by so-called radical militants has added another indication of mal-integration; jihadist inspired attacks in Canada, France, and the United Kingdom have multiplied in recent years, although Islamic radicalism remains a more acute problem in five countries predominantly: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria and Syria (Global Terrorism Index, 2014). Some 83 percent of all terrorism<sup>1</sup> takes place in these countries, costing some 14000 lives in 2013 (GTI, 2014). Nevertheless, it is the home-grown and home-directed terrorism that attracts attention. Some of the motives for this are not only that faraway events are impacting domestic society in a violent way. It is also part and parcel of the acknowledgement that things are not as well as they seem at home, that this violence is but a symptom of a deeper and perhaps more serious malaise. Finally, it strikes at our belief that our Western way of life is the end that should be pursued by any society, and that in fact many risk life and limb to make their way to North American or Western European shores to benefit from that way of life.

When that way of life is directly targeted by elements of minority or immigrant groups, society has difficulty reconciling its own need for security with the values of tolerance and inclusiveness that define it. Mass-casualty terrorism<sup>2</sup> has an obvious impact on Western societal values; everywhere terrorism hits, the need for security is expressed nearly always at the

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<sup>1</sup> A legal definition of the term “terrorism” has not been decided upon. Up to this day the UN has not come to a legal definition of the term (Schmid, 2013). For this paper, the following aspects of terrorism will be taken into consideration: Schmid (1983, quoted in Richards, 2015, p.375) constitutes that “terrorism is a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims become targets of violence”. According to Richard (2014, p.221), “the essence of terrorism lies in the intent [...] to generate a wider psychological impact beyond the immediate victims”. Thus terrorism follows a political aim which it intends to reach by terrorizing a certain audience and influencing the latter psychologically.

<sup>2</sup> In this case “mass-casualty” refers to the terrorist act in which more than 10 people died due to the attacks.

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

detriment of democratic principles. But in actual fact, minority communities were already in the cross-hairs of the security services and the official bureaucracy because of the structural socio-economic problems that these communities face. After a terrorist attack, it is normal that this attention would increase. The literature teems with the need to respond to terrorism after an attack, and although there has been scholarly research pertaining to the appropriate level of response (in such a way as not to provoke further attacks, or undermining civil rights and freedoms, for example), there is a gap in the literature in the effects that mass-casualty terrorism and its aftermath in a form of counter-terrorism policies have on the minority communities themselves. Minority communities are associated with socio-economic mal-integration by the dominant society. For the dominant society, correlation is often sufficient to suggest causation. Many studies have been put forward to explain how whole communities become stigmatized, and, having become stigmatized, individuals and groups express their anger through violent means (Prilleltensky and Gonick, 1996).

Violence often includes domestic abuse and criminal behavior not readily associated with terrorism. However, it also includes religiously or ideologically motivated attacks at home and abroad. This thesis does not seek to explore the process of radicalization. For the purposes of this research it is sufficient to treat radicalization as a postulate – as a filter – to mass-casualty terrorism. It is not the quality of a Muslim believer per se. For instance, London had witnessed equally devastating acts of terrorism caused by Irish revolutionaries in the 1980s well prior to the attacks of 7 July 2005.

France too had endured terrorism on its soil carried out by a variety of actors and in support of a variety of causes and ideologies. These have included attacks carried out by right-wing groups such as the Organisation de l'Armée Secrète in the 1950s and 1960s and left-wing groups such as Action Directe in the 1980s, as well as separatist terrorism primarily carried out by Basque or Corsican nationalists. However, the Charlie Hebdo attacks of 7 January 2015 deeply struck the public consciousness. Many saw in the identity of the target an attack on freedom of speech. Others who knew the extent to which Charlie Hebdo had gone to experiment with that freedom saw it as a reaction to a provocation, as if Charlie Hebdo had invited the attack upon itself.

After the events, there were recriminations against extremism and displays of cross-cultural and inter-faith solidarity and tolerance. Events such as these often have these impacts,

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

which are taken to be testimonials of a diverse society's deeper values. These values being held as natural and inherent, it is also normal that the feeling of solidarity also is ephemeral, because despite repeated calls for unity made by French political leaders at a time of national grief, the attacks induced a profound malaise within the French Muslim community, which feared an increase in Islamophobia and discrimination. At the same time, the French government unveiled a new anti-terror law which, according to critics, could infringe civil liberties (Independent, 2015).

### 1.1 Debates around the Research Topic

Nevertheless, the literature is poor on the impact of such events on the communities from which the culprit have spawned. How did the minority community of London react to the attacks of July 2005? What about the Muslim community in Paris after Charlie Hebdo shootings? After the September 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, analysts were quick to show that acts of terrorism worldwide dropped sharply. The question must be asked whether "nihilistic" terrorism which seems divorced from any political goal, should therefore figure in conflict analysis and management schemes. The sharp drop in terrorist attacks after 9/11 could be understood as a form of community auto-discipline, or group self-restraint in the face of a level of action that traditional terrorist organizations would have no hope of replicating due to the increased securitization response. In addition, the seemingly excessive attack on American soil on 9/11 may have driven home the point that, because of the methods employed, sharper distinctions would be made between terrorists and freedom fighters. Ultimately, the choice of methods could drive a group to widespread criticism, complicating the achievement of its political aims. In either case, there has been a sharp drop in terroristic violence after 9/11 in the lethality and scope of attacks although such occurrences are endemic in the Middle East and North Africa.

Not surprisingly, much headway has been made subsequently in solving long-standing conflicts where terrorist methods had been used by all parties. The Basque Separatists in Spain and the FARC in Colombia come to mind, as does the settlement with the Irish Republican Army/Sinn Fein for peace in Northern Ireland, although work on that process had already been in the works since 1998. In the public consciousness, however, the memory of these conflicts and

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

their settlement has been short-lived upon the onset of “hyper-terrorism” (Kouchner, 2001). This has had the effect of leaving terrorism to be ascribed to a particular ethnic background.

Things, invariably, are usually more complicated. Early in the US-declared “Global War on Terror” (GWOT), the US was slow to pick up on critical intra-Muslim fractures and other nuances at work in the Muslim world. For instance, the simplified world-view of the GWOT took no notice of sharp Sunni-Shia differences, of disparities between the urban and rural populations in the Middle East, or how the post-World War I settlement had driven the whole Arab world to divisions, so that one set of policies could not fit for every part of that vast civilization.

One of the first countries to offer its condolences to the United States was Iran. Yassir Arafat, then out-going chief of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) expressed shock and disbelief at the scale of the attacks and seemed to understand instinctively that terrorism could no longer be a tool of the PLO’s arsenal. Many other communities who would have entertained terrorism as a method to voice their grievances (the Irish Republican Army and the Tamil Tigers come to mind) may have been convinced after 9/11 that this method could not be replicated, and had sparked such international outrage that undertaking such actions would be counter-productive to their cause.

At the same time, these communities are at risk to be depicted as security threat. Especially the discourse about home-grown terrorism has been in focus, since the Charlie Hebdo attackers were born in the country in which they performed the terrorist attacks, while having immigrant parents (Kundnani, 2014). This applies not only to immigration in general, but to Muslim immigrants in particular (Rytter and Pedersen, 2014; Cesari, 2012).

## **1.2 Research Objective and Questions**

Many scholars and specialists, among which Will Kymlicka, Charles Taylor, Antulio Echevarria (II), have written about and done research on multiculturalism, migration, terrorism and counter-terrorism during the last decades. These phenomena have been approached from many different points of view, one of them being what damage they can do to security. At the heart of the debate on the merits or demerits of multiculturalism lie the apparently irreconcilable principles of cultural exclusiveness and democratic inclusiveness. In Canada, the Taylor Commission has

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

attempted, through a commission of enquiry, to resolve this dilemma by suggesting how immigrant culture and practice could be accommodated before immigrant practices came to affect the integrity of the titular culture. In essence, the point of multiculturalism is that diversity should be embraced, and that, once embraced, minority populations will reward the dominant society with loyalty. Many critics of multiculturalism, such as Marine Le Pen, believe on the contrary that this largesse will be abused and leveraged by the immigrant communities.

In as sense, critics of multiculturalism have a point; but the righteousness of their point of view does not stem from the existence of sinister plots hatched in Riyadh or Tehran, or by terrorists programmatically passing themselves off as migrants, but rather by the individual culture shock experienced by the migrants and refugees. Those new arrivals, having been led to believe in the myth of automatic democratic acceptance of freedom-loving societies, feel rejected and become resentful when confronted with the reality that their culture is not being embraced readily.

In many ways, the spate of attacks witnessed in France throughout 2015, and again in Belgium and Germany in 2016 are a function of this culture shock. But the reaction has been invariably a drive to the right of the political spectrum, as exemplified by the populist rhetoric of public figures and political candidates throughout the West. This may lead to the Left adopting partially the Right's narrative in an effort to undercut this option's rise in the polls. Regardless of the allegiance of the elite, regardless the tolerance of a multicultural environment definite shift to the right is most likely to be expected.

Nevertheless, in spite of all the material that has been provided on such topics, there is a gap in work where the main point is to examine the influences of securitization, caused by mass-casualty terrorism, on French Muslim community after Charlie Hebdo attacks.

Some scholars argue that Muslim communities and/or immigration have been gradually more securitized (Jackson and Parkes, 2008; Munster, 2009). However, no reaction can be traced to a single cause. This research considers the measures that have been taken or suggested post-attack by the authorities. The point is to acknowledge the fact that perhaps law enforcement agencies and justice officials may be undertaking policy options and security measures that increase everyone's security and make the task of community discipline easier. On the other hand, the concern can be raised that securitization processes are increasingly alienating Muslims,

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

especially young people and students, and that counter-terrorism measures may themselves feed and sustain terrorism (Equality and Human Rights, 2009).

It is therefore of interest to examine which extraordinary measures were suggested in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo shootings. Furthermore, since in recent years, right wing movements have received growing support, it should be investigated how those movements reacted to the attacks on Charlie Hebdo and in which way they tried to possibly exploit the attacks in order to introduce special policies. The research questions for this thesis are thus the following:

**Q1:** What has been the response by the right-wing to the Charlie Hebdo shootings, according to the media, and does it indicate any securitization moves?

**Q2:** How was the Charlie Hebdo attack contextualized in the media to substantiate measures that followed and that indicate securitization moves?

### **1.3 Research Problem and Relevance**

In the past, terrorist attacks have resulted in increased anti-Islamic feelings (Shuster, 2015; Kundnani, 2014; Rytter and Pedersen, 2014, Cesari, 2012). Indeed, so called “key event(s)” (Hussain & Bagguley, 2012, p.731) trigger the new creation of discourses around certain groups and may lead to the securitization of those groups (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012; Rytter and Pedersen, 2014). For instance, a recent rise of the German movement “Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West” (PEGIDA) demonstrated concerns and distrust towards immigrants, especially those practicing Islam. Although support for PEGIDA decreased in the beginning of 2015 (Spiegel Online, 2015), those fears, in particular of the Islamization of German culture, seem to have been reinforced by the terrorist attacks on Charlie Hebdo in Paris and perhaps did not vanish entirely (ibid.).

In France, the right-wing party National Front (FN) has increasingly gained support over the past years. Since France has been marked by debates about its identity and has been faced with a high level of immigration, in particular marked by an increase of Muslim immigrants, it is argued that a party that takes up issues like unemployment, immigrants and Islam, is getting increasingly popular (Harriss, 2011). Those political and social debates underline the

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

significance of studying the role of “key events” and the consequences they may have on topics and actors that are portrayed as a threat.

At the same time, some research suggests that counter-terrorism policies and practices may create a well of sympathy and silence among sections of society, especially if they increase repression, or stigmatize and alienate these groups (Silke, 2005). In the immigrant or visible minority communities, however, this sort of outcome can trigger a negative or violent counter-reaction which may take one of two forms: subdued self-discipline, or violent reactions. Both are dangerous to the sustainability of any democratic project. The dangers of the latter are well known, and are the subject of this research, but the firsts are perhaps more dangerous. In that case, securitization may lead to bureaucratization, which in turn would hinge on perpetuating itself, that is, justifying its existence. In this case, security becomes an obsessive ideology where witch hunts and scapegoating become new norms. If security becomes ideologized to the detriment of the liberty it is designed to serve, all sorts of excesses can occur under that heading, as Hannah Arendt has made perfectly clear in her work “The Origins of Totalitarianism” (1968).

Although the post-modern world does not put much stock in ideologies, we nevertheless remain hostage to the same dilemma of sacrificing liberty for security. In the end, any policy or measure is likely to end up in a reduction of liberty. Studies show that organizations closely linked to violent extremism operating in Western Europe use discrimination and the social and political marginalization of Muslims as part of their narrative for recruiting people to violence (Wiktorowicz, 2005). It is therefore considered as important to investigate if this was also the case after the Charlie Hebdo shootings or if such tendencies could be identified.

### **1.4 Literature review**

This section provides a short review of the literature on the context of immigration, perception of immigration and Muslims and in which ways the role of media has been examined. A number of sources suggest a direct relationship between conflicts abroad and different political and social dynamics in diaspora communities in host countries. Therefore, for this research, the most relevant literature has been chosen to also describe the extent to which global events might have the potential to attract individuals and groups to violent extremism, and lead their communities

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

to accept – if not embrace – terrorism as a legitimate method of combat to right perceived or genuine wrongs.

According to Scheepers et al (2002) and Semyonov et al. (2004), perceiving immigrants as a threat influences how they are also perceived by residents in host countries, although neither focus on the role of media in portraying immigrants as a threat. It is well known that the media differ according to whether their editorial policies sympathize with the Right or the Left of the political spectrum. One of the more striking examples is the British press and American televised media. In the UK, the ideological leanings of news outlets are clearer than any political platform imaginable. Similarly, US television neatly separates Republicans from Democrats according to whether audiences watch Fox News, CNN or the Public Broadcasting Service. Therefore the fifth estate has to be treated as part of the elite of a society for the purposes of this study, because of the media's power of suggestion. Strabac (2011) finds that the perception of the number of immigrants in Western Europe is unconnected to the real size. Nevertheless, whereas Strabac (2011) does not assess media in detail he does find that education plays a crucial role in perception of immigrants. If one follows this idea and if education does play a role in the perception of migrants, must we hypothesize that the role of the media is to provide education? If this is so, there is a question of what sort of education we can then expect when the media are split along ideological and political lines.

The investigation of the media portrayal of Islam is found in Said's (1997) work, where he argues the negative connotations most frequently outweigh the positive ones, although the research is not explicitly linked to terrorism. More recent works on the impact of terrorism on Islam has been conducted by Cesari (2012), Rytter and Pedersen (2014), Kundnani (2014), Hussain and Bagguley (2012) etc., where it is also noted that the way media react to those terrorist attacks is crucial for the definition and future treatment of the communities from which the culprit of the attacks seem to have spawned (Hussain & Bagguley, 2012). However, the author believes, that the investigation of the most recent case of terrorist act on Charlie Hebdo increases the understanding of the impact such events can have on securitization moves. To the public – and thanks to the media – terrorist attacks do not seem to occur in faraway places but happen repeatedly and unpredictably. Although the gravity of attacks (relative to 9/11 and the Bataclan massacre) has decreased, the frequency is definitely up.

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

Furthermore, different European anti-immigrant movements, such as right wing parties, seem to flourish in the past years. This might be, as Strabac (2011) puts it, due to the level of education and the role it plays in this context. Fetzer and Soper (2003) replicate the idea of education being a crucial factor in connection with the perception of European Muslims. Buzan et al (1998) in turn argue that media play an important role in “the definition of situations” (p.124). Therefore, media could be considered as a crucial source of information, creating possible influences on how immigrants and Muslims are being perceived in general, although in Esses’ and Medianu’s (2013) view rather dehumanizing perspective concerning immigrants by media lacks evidence.

Some scholars have also investigated the connection between terrorism and migration control, however, such investigation was linked to 9/11 and therefore referred to terrorism in the United States (Boswell, 2007, Messina, 2014). Whereas Boswell (2007) put more focus on political discourse, Messina (2014) investigated the role of mass media, emphasizing investigations following 9/11 and the potential of media as a securitization agent. Nevertheless, now in post-9/11 era when terrorism spread to Europe, political discourses might have transformed. At the same time, some scholars note the impact of foreign events on local communities at a general level. Bramadat (2011) describes the interplay of the distant world (e.g. Afghanistan, Iraq and Israel/Palestine), which may stimulate the perception of a “regularly violated Ummah (or the broadly imagined global Muslim community),” and the proximal world, which may juxtapose the “sense of entitlement and arrogance exhibited by some people living in the first world” (pp.54-58). In this model, perceptions of foreign conflict are influenced by domestic experiences and vice versa. However, Menkhaus (2009) found that “while issues and events in the Middle East have been critical in radicalizing Muslim diasporas of Middle Eastern and South Asian descent, they may not resonate as much with African Muslim diaspora groups.” (p.91) Instead, according to Menkhaus, African Muslim diaspora groups were “more likely to share grievances related to treatment of Muslims in the West generally post 9/11.” (ibid.)

What most studies agree on is that there are limitations to the effectiveness of a law enforcement driven approach to countering violent extremism. (Rudine, 2015) For instance, the UK’s model of radicalization prevention was not applicable in Canada and in some ways represented what not to do “in building a lasting and a healthy response to the phenomenon of radicalization.” (Canadian High Commission, 2008) In particular, the communities targeted by

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs are “likely to be highly suspicious of engagement strategies that are linked to a security agenda.” (ibid.) Moreover, Bhulai, Chowdhury, Fink and Zeiger (2014) discuss the need to generate “local narratives” that reject violence and violent extremism, noting that governments are typically not the most effective messenger for this kind of messaging (p.9). Other studies point out that the most effective counter-narratives against extremism are typically already present in target communities. The central role of religion in counter-narratives was referenced by Joosse, Bucerius and Thompson (2015), who found that 88 percent of participants in a study of Somali-Canadian attitudes said that religion played a major role in their daily lives. It was religiously based counter-narratives to the messaging al-Shabaab, rather than secular ones, which resonated most forcefully. The literature emphasizes that overly security-centric, government-driven CVE programming will be difficult to hard-pressed to succeed.

Karyotis and Skleparis (2013) as well as Jackson and Parkes (2008) investigate the securitization of immigration, however, they do not examine the role of the media in shaping the discourse. Similarly, Munster (2009) wrote a book about “securitizing immigration” but does not investigate the role of the media, while Ahmed, Fergusson and Salt (2015) cite five key stakeholders for a community-based collaborative model of terrorism intervention: “the local ethnic and faith-based organizations; academia; local law enforcement agencies; the provincial government’s ministries of labor, immigration, and multiculturalism; and the media.” (p.58) Therefore one can state that there is a vast amount of literature available that indicates that there are anti-immigrant and anti-Islam feelings in Europe, that immigration and Muslim communities are securitized, that education can fight prejudice and that terrorism can influence the perception of different societal groups, and the role media play in facilitating securitization seems to remain relatively unexplored.

## **2. Methodological Framework and Structure**

The following section provides an overview over the methodology used to conduct this thesis. Reflections upon the strategy, the selected case, data collection and analysis, delimitations and limitations will be presented.

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

## **2.1 Research strategy**

The research strategy employed in the thesis contains combined research methods – the study will follow a qualitative approach with certain quantitative elements. It will entail both descriptive and interpretative elements (Mikkelsen, 2005). Qualitative research is used primarily because the research uses documents as sources of data, e.g. official documents deriving from the state and from private sources, mass media outputs in online newspapers, and quantitative research is used because of the secondary analysis used in the research (Bryman, 2004). That way it will be investigated which political reactions the Charlie Hebdo shootings triggered in France according to online newspapers. The findings will further be analyzed through the Securitization Theory and Clash of Civilizations Theory. The approach of combining the two types of research in mixed method is close to the “completeness” approach, which indicates that “a more complete answer to the research questions [...] can be achieved by including both quantitative and qualitative methods”, meaning that the gap that one method leaves is filled by the other one (Bryman, 2012, p.637). As always, there are limitations in this approach; one cannot predict where and when quantitative and qualitative sources begin or end, and so filling gaps may entail the provision of assumptions and intuitions.

The relationship between the theory and the research implemented in this thesis designs an inductive method, which drives from general to more particular. Inductive method is open-ended and explanatory, since it initiates specific observations and moves to broader conclusions, generalizations and theories. In the process, patterns and regularities are withheld and some tentative hypotheses are created. In contrast, the deductive method is narrower in nature and is about testing hypotheses, working from general to specific. It is considered to be a more accurate approach, since one starts with the theory from which more specific hypothesis are deduced in order to be tested, then collects observations to address the hypothesis in order to narrow down the theory, which allows one to test the hypothesis with the data and either confirm or contradict the original theory. In this thesis, the inductive method will be in use, because the analysis will be using mainly media articles. The evaluation is, therefore, based on observations and generalizations made by the content analysis of the media.

This case study presents a case for how French media reported on measures suggested in response to the Charlie Hebdo shootings and the political reaction to the events, since the main

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

criterion for the selection of the case should be “relevance to the research objective of the study” (George & Bennet, 2005, p.83). In order to avoid selective bias, the outcome of the case study was not the condition for selection, meaning that it was not considered in the selection of the cases if securitization was successful. It is understood that we anticipate a correlation between public reaction, political reaction and the measures taken by the political elite in power after the events. The public reaction can be gleaned from media reports.

For this thesis, the decision was made to use LexisNexis database, which provides access to various newspapers. The database gives the opportunity to search the articles by chose of date, topic or a key word, thus since the interest of this thesis is in connection between the Charlie Hebdo shootings and securitization, all key words that potentially could be used in this context were searched with collocation “Charlie Hebdo”. The key words included search terms as “Islam”, “immigration”, “terrorism” and “securitization” in order to increase the feasibility of the study. Overall, 142 articles from French newspapers were found. Those articles were used to search for measures suggested in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo shootings that were presented by French media. When information is based on information retrieved from the database LexisNexis, this paper will refer to the given newspaper article with the number sign in the Annex of the thesis. Finally, the timeframe of the publications used in this thesis dated between the first day of the events (7<sup>th</sup> January 2015) until 5<sup>th</sup> March 2015 in order to identify any changes in reactions and responses within two months.

In terms of the chosen theory, securitization seemed like a suitable framework to analyze the data. By applying this theory with the implementation of Conflict Analysis (discussed in more detail further on), it can be understood whether any securitization moves were made in the context of the Charlie Hebdo shootings, which actors securitized which issue, and who or what is portrayed as the threat and why. Moreover, since the thesis mostly deals with the topics portrayed and discussed through the media, framing theory serves the analysis in order to find out how Charlie Hebdo shootings were contextualized. Therefore, by investigating which measures, referent objects, actors, and securitization moves were presented compared to others and which issues, such as Islam and/or migration/immigration were put in a context to the Charlie Hebdo shootings, it can be assessed, how the media contextualized the events to a certain understanding for their audience concerning the terrorist attacks and whether that helped to

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

substantiate the securitization moves. In this sense, frame analysis is complementary to securitization theory.

## **2.2 Delimitations**

The research is delimited by one case and the timeframe of the articles from the LexisNexis database. Although the reaction to the Charlie Hebdo shootings was triggered in many other countries, the focus of this thesis is solely the discourse that took place in France in order to avoid missing the depth in a single case because of too many cases (Creswell, 2007). In this regard the choice was made to analyze limited amount of articles from the French media with more focus on securitization rather than taking into account too many news feeds and not investigating securitization in detail. The articles from other countries were primarily used to give a background of the events.

Moreover, this thesis presumes that media reaction and public reaction mirror each other, although the distinction between the securitizing move and securitization is made by investigating whether the audience accepts the issue as the latter (Buzan et al, 1998). Hence, the Securitization Theory in this thesis is applicable only to a certain extent.

## **2.3 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This research is limited by access to data, since not all of the newspapers are accessible via the LexisNexis database. In this context it is important to mention that data was to a major extent collected from newspapers whereas social media were not taken into account.

Furthermore, accurately determine the size of the Muslim community in France is difficult given legal safeguards that were introduced in 1872, which prohibit state authorities from collecting personal information about their citizens' ethnicity or religious beliefs. At the time, state authorities believed that such information essentially was interfering with an individual's private life, and that collecting such data as part of the official census may

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

ultimately lead to discrimination based on a citizen's race or religious beliefs, thus contradicting the revolutionary principles of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité" (Freedom, Equality, Solidarity). Nowadays, this fundamental principle has been reaffirmed by Article 8 of Law no. 78-17 (6 January 1978), which states that "It is prohibited to collect or exploit personal data which would reveal, directly or indirectly, [an individual's] racial or ethnic origins, political, philosophical or religious opinions." The French state therefore does not hold or produce official statistics concerning the religious affiliation of its citizens, hence one has to rely on privately-owned polling agencies, which are allowed to enquire about and record the religious affiliation of survey respondents. However, direct observation suggests that certain areas of France and of Ile-de-France (the greater Paris area) are predominantly inhabited by minority communities. Such is the case of the 19th arrondissement and of Marseilles.

Finally, this thesis cannot consider every act of terrorism or extrapolate to non-first world instances. I postulate here that the conditions under which terrorism is being applied in the Middle East are not the same as in Denmark, England, Germany, Belgium or France. They do not share the same objectives, and furthermore the object of study is not terrorism, but the reaction to terrorism and the effect it has.

## **2.4 Conflict analysis**

In this thesis, the SIPRI Manual for Conflict Analysis will be in use. The manual presents conflict analysis tools formulated using a multidisciplinary approach to peace and conflict research and is based on lessons attained by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). SIPRI is an independent international institute recognized worldwide, established in 1966 and dedicated to research of conflicts, arms control, armaments and disarmament (SIPRI, 2016). It provides data, analysis and recommendations based on open sources to researchers, media and policymakers. The SIPRI manual was created on the basis of agency's yearlong engagement in various conflicts worldwide (ibid.). It puts emphasis on understanding the long-term structural causes of conflict and how those might eventually result in violence.

SIPRI Manual consists of three elements (see Figure 1): Conflict Analysis, Scenario Analysis and Strategies and Options Analysis. This thesis will solely focus on Conflict Analysis, while the other two elements will not be in use for this thesis. Conflict Analysis helps to map the

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

conflict and understand the dynamics and the forces endorsing the conflict, while Scenario Analysis helps in assessing possible future scenarios that may contribute to changing the conflict dynamics. Finally, the Strategies and Options Analysis assesses the possible impact of future engagements for the agency. However, the primary focus in this thesis is on the Conflict Analysis, because the main interest is in understanding the conflict's dynamics, deeper structural causes or possible direct "triggers" of violence that would pave the way to securitization processes.

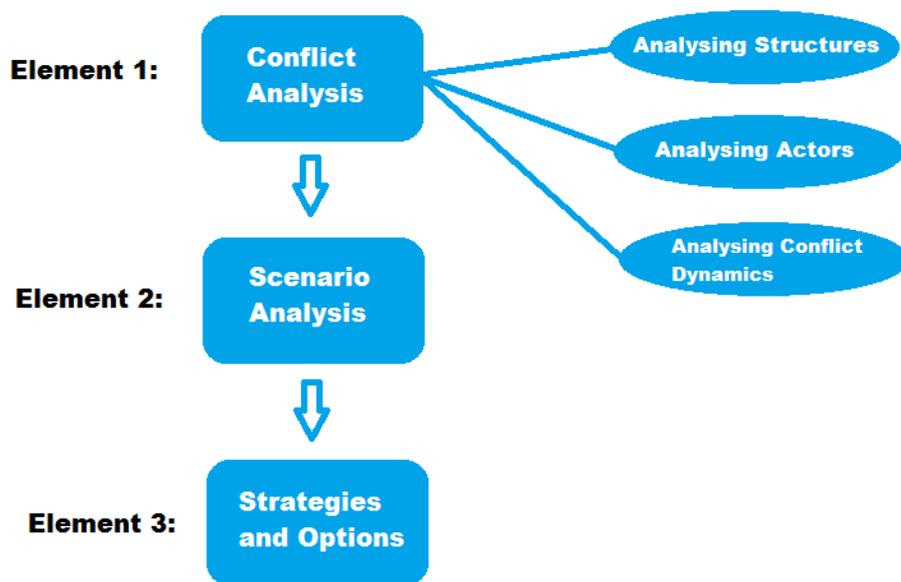


Figure 1: SIPRI Manual, constructed by the author

By analyzing the structures of the conflict I will be able to define key sources of tension and possible structural causes of the conflict, which will help me to answer the problem formulation. In the assessment of the Charlie Hebdo shootings, one needs to determine where the conflict is rooted. Since the conflicts always include key actors who motivate the conflict of the masses, I therefore will be working with the set of questions provided by SIPRI Manual to analyze structures, actors and conflict dynamics.

In terms of analyzing actors, it will give an understanding to which actors there are in the conflict and what their role is and detect possible interests of the latter and their incentives. It should be noted that although SIPRI Manual suggests looking into the sometimes different roles and interests of women, men, boys and girls when analyzing actors, in order to find suitable

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

options for actions, this particular question was omitted, as it is not relevant to the research. I have therefore chosen a set of questions from SIPRI Manual which was found to be most relevant for the purpose of this thesis.

### **3. Background**

The following section seeks to provide a short background about the key events that took place between the 7th and 9th of January 2015 in Paris. When studying securitization processes, it is crucial to bear in mind the context of the events (Rychovská, 2014). Therefore the objective is to get a more systematic grip of the events and come to a better understanding of what exactly happened in Paris on the 7<sup>th</sup> of January and the days that followed. Thus the next section provides background information on the magazine Charlie Hebdo itself as well as an overview over the events in Paris in January 2015.

#### **3.1 Charlie Hebdo magazine**

Georges “Professeur Choron” Bernier and François Cavanna launched a monthly magazine in the 1960s entitled Hara Kiri. They wanted to bring out various taboo subjects in order to confront the minds of the readers. However, the magazine had somewhat a thorny path, since it was briefly banned twice, in 1961 and 1966, because of uncompromising, provocative, sexually explicit, often violent and scatological drawings with void of ethical or moral boundaries. In 1970 the magazine became weekly, changing its name to Hara Kiri Hebdo, and focused more on political subjects. That same year the magazine was banned again because of its first cover dedicated to General Charles De Gaulle’s death “Tragic ball at Colombey: 1 dead”, and was founded again under the name of Charlie Hebdo, “Charlie” being the Anglo-Saxon diminutive to “Charles” (de Gaulle). (Jaxel-Truer, 2015)

The story of the newspaper is inseparable from the late sixties and seventies in France, as it claims to have the cultural heritage of May-68 generation - the generation that had revolted against the strict hand of Charles de Gaulle’s paternalism with a belief in unlimited liberty, unrestrained sexual behavior, drug taking and, in particular, the freedom to mock all forms of moral and religious authority. Its free tone encouraged the debate about censorship, and ironically, the newspaper became famous thanks to its ban, however, it has also covered a lot of

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

social issues that were not particularly linked to hot political issues. Due to its repugnance to values like order, authority and advocacy to powerful groups, and to the political right wing, Charlie Hebdo can be politically qualified as leftist, but the members of the staff were not leftist political activists such as Trotskyites or Maoists, and adopted a very hard-line attitude towards the left political parties. The staff consisted of anarchists, libertarians, ecologists, feminists, anti-clericals and anti-militarists who did not necessarily share the same point of view. There was no specific editorial line either, and this was accepted and proclaimed. The newspaper also remains famous for its orgiastic and alcoholic editorial meetings. In that sense the newspaper was anti-conformist without being specifically political. The magazine inspired the first version of the newspaper Liberation (far-left daily newspaper founded by J.P. Sartre and S. July in 1973 in the wake of the 1968 protests). (Visier, 2015)

The magazine disappeared in 1982 due to its lack of audience, however, resumed publishing in 1992. The recognition of the journal is not a matter of audience (120.000 at its peak in 1971, only 3.000 in 1981). It is more closely linked to its very specific inscription in the media landscape and the way it embodies some leftist trajectories after May '68. Moreover, the newspaper introduced some cartoonists who later became celebrities, and attracted very well-known columnists. (ibid.)

In 2006, the magazine got into a new controversy by republishing caricature drawings of the prophet Mohamed that was first published in the Danish newspaper Jyllands Posten. Protests against the cartoons were held around the world; some of them turned violent, with at least 200 deaths, according to the New York Times. (Cohen, 2009) In November 2011 the headquarters of the newspaper suffered from arson. Since this attack the newspaper has received several death threats and the crew had to attain police protection. Nevertheless, they continued with the newspaper being as provocative as they have always been until the 7th of January of 2015 (Jaxel-Truer, 2015)

### **3.2 Chronology of the Charlie Hebdo attack**

A total of four attacks took place, which were carried out from the 7th until the 9th of January, when security forces took down the three terrorists involved. These attacks, directed by Islamist terrorists, targeted the satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo, as well as police officers and kosher

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

supermarket. The attacks were perpetrated by brothers Saïd and Chérif Kouachi who identified themselves as belonging to Islamist terrorist group Al-Qaeda's branch in Yemen, who took responsibility for attack, and by Amedy Coulibaly, who claimed allegiance to ISIS. A point of interest here is that Al Qaeda and IS are factions that normally do not cooperate well. Therefore it suggests that the terrorists were acting as "lone wolves" with little understanding of their allegiances or the positioning of their respective groups.

### A. January 7<sup>th</sup>: The attack on Charlie Hebdo

On January 7<sup>th</sup> at 11.00 a.m. Charlie Hebdo held a weekly editorial meeting at the office. Around 11.30 a.m. Corinne Rey, one of the cartoonists better known by her pen name Coco, arrived a little later at the meeting and let in two heavily armed masked men who had been trying to crack the code of the building. (Time, 2015) They went directly to the meeting room and opened gunfire killing nine members of Charlie Hebdo and one cleaner (ibid.). Afterwards, it became clear that they shouted *Allahu Akbar* ("God is the greatest") and said they acted in the name of Al Qaeda. (Le Parisien, 2015) They also took care to spare the women. After their killing spree they ran into the streets and killed a policeman before fleeing in a black Citroën C3. The police found the getaway car later that day containing several jihadist flags, some Molotov cocktails and the identity card of one of the perpetrators in it. (ibid.) This led to a nation-wide manhunt by no less than 88,000 law enforcement personnel for the three suspects named Chérif and Saïd Kouachi, two brothers, and their brother-in-law Hamyd Mourad. The latter turned himself in as soon as he heard he was being searched for. (ABC News, 2015)

The attack was quickly labeled as a terrorist attack due to the testimonies of eyewitnesses, who talked about the exclamations of the perpetrators, and due to the nature of the attack that appeared to be highly prepared and professional. Hence it was instantly believed to be an attack on the republican values of France (*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*) and especially the freedom of speech. Although there were different disciples of both IS and Al-Qaeda, who immediately heralded the attack, an official statement of Al Qaeda Yemen (Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula or AQAP) was only published on the 9<sup>th</sup> of January. (RT, 2015)

On the evening of January 7<sup>th</sup>, there was a first gathering at the *Place de la République* in Paris and in other cities around the world to sympathize with the twelve victims that died that

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

day. (Tages Spiegel, 2015) At this gathering, many people held a pen above their heads as a symbol for freedom of speech. At the same time, there was a wave on social media under the hash tag #JeSuisCharlie, followed by many other hash tags such as #JeSuisAhmed. By condemning the attack as being atrocious and barbaric, many world leaders from different countries showed their sympathies with the victims and their survivors. On the first Sunday after the attack on Charlie Hebdo, January 11th, there was a procession, “*une marche pour l’histoire*”, of about 3.7 million people for the Republican values in the heart of France, in which more than 40 world leaders led a rally of national unity in the heart of Paris to honor the 17 victims. (Associated Press, 2015)

*B. January 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>: Montrouge, Porte De Vincennes and Dammarti-En-Goële*

On the morning of January 8th, a shooting took place in Montrouge, a little village in the Southern Parisian suburbs. A gunman with an automatic rifle opened fire and killed the policewoman Clarissa Jean-Philippe. At first, there was no concrete evidence that the shooting was related to the terrorist attack the day before. However, later it became clear that the attacker was called Amedy Coulibaly and had associations with the Kouachi brothers. (The Wall Street Journal, 2015)

On the morning of January 9<sup>th</sup> the Kouachi brothers hid themselves in a printing office in Dammartin-en-Goële, around 10 kilometres northeast of the Charles de Gaulle Airport. This led to a siege of the town, schools were evacuated and people were told to stay inside. Sometime later that day, BFMTV (a French news agency) phoned the printing shop and managed to speak to Chérif Kouachi. He seemed to be very calm and told the station that they belonged to Al Qaeda Yemen, that they only killed soldiers, no civilians, and that the Charlie Hebdo editorial office staff should be portrayed as soldiers. Last but not least, he told them that he and his brother wanted to die as martyrs, making it very clear that they would not turn themselves in. (The Local, 2015)

Meanwhile Amedy Coulibaly took hostages at a kosher supermarket at the Porte de Vincennes in Paris around 1 p.m. Coulibaly called BFMTV himself to announce that he belonged to Islamic State (IS) and that he did not kill civilians, but only soldiers, referring to the ongoing problems between Israel and Palestine. Furthermore, he threatened to kill the hostages

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

unless the Kouachi brothers would be released. In the supermarket, a young Muslim, Lassana Bathily, who worked there as a shop assistant, saved some people by hiding them in one of the refrigeration rooms. Around 5 p.m., there was a simultaneous action in both the printing shop in Dammartin-en-Goële and in the supermarket at the Porte de Vincennes. In Dammartin both Chérif and Saïd Kouachi were killed, with no other casualties. In Porte de Vincennes Amedy Coulibaly was gunned down. Alas, Coulibaly killed four other people before the end of the siege. (ABC News, 2015)

### *C. Information about the perpetrators*

Chérif Kouachi, also known as Abou Issen, was born on November 28<sup>th</sup> 1982 in Paris and was the younger brother of Saïd Kouachi born on September 7<sup>th</sup> 1980 (The Guardian, 2015). Both were abandoned by their Algerian parents at a very young age and were put in foster care. Chérif is the one who was known to the French intelligence services for his role in different terrorist networks. (ibid.) He was arrested in 2005 before he could go fight U.S. troops in Iraq, and while in prison he met Amedy Coulibaly where they both were also influenced by Djemal Beghal (founder of “*Tafkir wal Hidja*”, predecessor of Al Qaeda), a charismatic radical preacher who was imprisoned for plotting an attack on the U.S. embassy in Paris (ibid.). In 2008, Chérif Kouachi was charged and convicted for terrorism and sentenced to three years in prison, with a suspended period of 18 months. (ibid.)

In 2010 both Kouachi brothers were linked to, but not prosecuted for, the plot for a prison escape by Algerian Islamist Smain Ait Ali Belkacem (ibid.). Saïd Kouachi stayed under the radar for a longer time, however, it is known that he went to Al Qaeda camps between 2009 and 2013 and that he studied at Sana’a’s (Yemen) al-Iman University where he was under the influence of a radical preacher Abdel Majid al-Zindani (AFP, 2015). The third suspect Hamyd Mourad, born in 1996, was wrongly linked to the attack due to the fact that his sister Hyzazana Hamyd was Chérif’s wife. Hyzzana Hamyd seemed to have contact with Hayat Boumeddiene, Amedy Coulibaly’s wife. This knowledge led to an indication of an alliance between the Kouachi brothers and Coulibaly. (The Guardian, 2015) Amedy Coulibaly did appear in a video that was put online on January 11<sup>th</sup>, stating that he pledged allegiance to the Caliphate (IS) (ibid.). Furthermore, he affirms the connection between the attack on Charlie Hebdo by the Kouachi

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

brothers and his own attacks and stated to have financed both of them. He legitimized the attacks by referring to France's involvement in the war against IS (vengeance) and accuses it of killing civilians. (ibid.)

#### *D. The political answer to the Charlie Hebdo events*

A very large mobilization after the attacks first generated a national unity that possibly made it difficult for any political party to try to take advantage of the event. The management of the three-day crisis by President F. Hollande, Prime Minister M. Valls and the Minister of the Interior B. Cazeneuve and their capacity to organize the hosting of more than 40 world leaders on January 11<sup>th</sup> has been largely praised (FT, 2015). Members of far left and ecologist parties took part in the standing ovation, which could have been impossible one week earlier. Moreover, on January 19<sup>th</sup>, a poll (IFOP-Paris-Match) gave a 40% approval rate for President Hollande, which meant an increase of 21 points. (Le Figaro, 2015)

In this atmosphere, the Front National (FN) faced some difficulties: Marine Le Pen accused the UMPS (a contraction of UMP and PS, meaning the parties of the establishment) of exploiting the event and attempting to exclude the FN from the national unity (Visier, 2015). This stand appeared to be in opposition with the huge mobilization. Nevertheless, considering the FN's strategy of normalization, M. Le Pen decided to join the march on January 11<sup>th</sup>, but not in Paris (that would have meant to be a part of the establishment) (ibid.). She went to Beaucaire instead, a small town in the South held by a stronghold of the FN, where the demonstration turned into a pro-Marine meeting, a few hundred people shouting "Here, it is our home" ("On est chez nous") (Le Parisien, 2015). On the first evening of the attacks, M. Le Pen claimed the necessity to not confuse fundamentalists with Muslims, but then, she kept advocating that mass immigration paves the way to Communitarianism and fundamentalism (Visier, 2015). Her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, played a non-consensual and more provocative role, questioning the official version of the attacks and saying "I am not Charlie, this anarchist rag was the direct enemy of our party" (The Daily Caller, 2015). The dissonant note provided by Mr. Le Pen shows how Charlie Hebdo did not discriminate between its satirical targets. It is doubtful it won the Front national many adherents from disadvantaged areas of France inhabited by minorities. Nevertheless, this did not impact the increase of FN's national audience: on the 1st of February,

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

the candidate of the FN arrived ahead in the first round of legislative by-election in the Doux with 32.6 % of the votes. FN also got 25% of the votes in the first local elections held on the 23th of March, 2015 (BBC, 2015).

The opposition has faced difficulties in challenging the government, as President Hollande, the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior have monopolized the media and have concentrated the governmental action on the security issue. At the same time, the government has also focused on the education issue, trying to tackle the question of “living together” (Visier, 2015).

#### **4. Theoretical Context**

In the following chapter the theoretical framework of the thesis will be explained. First, it will start with a definition and explanation of the term “security”, and the question of the type of factors that are regarded as security issues will be examined. How issues become classified as security threats will then be further explored with a theoretical discussion of the process of securitization. The third section provides an overview of Frame Analysis, which investigates the role of media in portraying and contextualizing issues in particular ways. The fourth and final part will be dedicated to Samuel Huntington’s theory “The Clash of Civilizations”, which I regard as relevant and related to the continuation of this thesis.

##### **4.1 Security concept**

The term “security” is rather broad and complex concept which is difficult to encompass, as it can have many different meanings, and people and states can have different interpretations for the term. The most common definition of security “implies the absence of threat or a lack of vulnerability” (Cottey, 2007, p.6).

Security and securitization have seen their meaning change radically since the end of the Cold War. The foremost thinker on security from that era is Barry Buzan, who published “Peoples, States and Fear” in 1991. Buzan argued that internal security and international security could not be separated, that in the era of globalization, inter-connectedness meant that problems could not be interpreted along traditional lines. To him, the problem of organized crime, human trafficking, non-respect of human rights are all as important as secure borders, and powerful

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

ingredients in providing insights for the meaning we want to give to the notion of securitization. For example, securitization may entail the involvement of law enforcement in the response phase, or the involvement of social workers in the prevention and mitigation phase.

In the Dictionary of International Relations, security is a term that represents the absence of threats, and being safe from danger as well as feeling safe from danger (Evans & Newnham, 1998), whereas the Oxford English Dictionary adds the element of safety against attack, as well as the safety of states or institutions against espionage, theft and other dangerous threats. According to Cottey (2007), the traditional definition of security in international politics emphasizes the protection of territory, political independence of the nation state and core values of states from foreign threat or imposition. Cottey (2007) points out Walter Lippman's statement that a state was secured, if it could avoid war without having to sacrifice its core values, and if it could maintain them by victory if being forced into war (p.6). In other words, the traditional notion of security implies the security of the state, and the state is to be secured through military strength (*ibid.*). Depending particularly on this strength a state can have either much or little security, and the sense of security can range from full sense of insecurity for one state to almost complete sense of security for another. Nevertheless, although states can evaluate the behavior of other states, they can never be fully certain about potential future attacks, hence this works against a complete sense of security (Wolfers, 2007). This perception of security contributes to the classic realist view, which claims that the stronger a state is the more secure it is in the international system, as other states will be reluctant to attack it (Morgan, 2007).

According to Ken Booth's (2005) definition of security, it is "an instrumental value that enables people(s) some opportunity to choose how to live. It is means by which individuals and collectives can invent and reinvent different ideas about being human" (pp.22-23). Booth (2005) claims that people seek security because it sets them free to a certain extent, thus they can spend more time focusing on other things rather than dealing with existing threats and fighting for survival, and as a result individual security can be the starting point for a broader discussion about security (*ibid.*). A similar opinion is presented by Barry Buzan (2007), who states that both national and international securities are merely continuations to the idea of individual security. He further claims that while states are structured to secure the welfare of individuals within their borders, they can also pose a variety of threats to the individuals, either directly or indirectly, i.e. through political actions against individuals or groups, through implementation of law and

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

through power struggle or external security policies. In turn, individuals can also pose threats to states that may have implications for national security. According to Buzan (2007), national security can be threatened by several factors: individuals or groups like assassins, terrorists, revolutionaries and criminals; citizens that support interests of other states; political pressure and constraints on the part of citizens as well as actions by individual leaders of states who have their own interests and agendas (pp.49-62).

Thus the idea of security is not as simple as suggested by the realist definition, and many scholars have introduced their critical views on the traditional notion of the term. For instance, some claim that the security of states is not threatened only by military problems such as war, violence and invasion by other states, but rather there is a wide range of issues not connected to military that can threaten the state security. Therefore a broader definition of security is required that will encompass soft security issues not related to military sectors (Cottey, 2007). According to Soomro et al (2009), these issues are referred to as “new threats” or “non-traditional threats”, which are different from conventional threats and as a rule cannot be handled with military force. Non-traditional threats are harmful for the states as well as individuals within the states and as a consequence have led to a new definition of security, with emphasis on protecting the individuals instead of focusing only on states and their survival. New threats can come from many different sources including economic, environmental, epidemiological, social and political ones, and have therefore formed a much wider range of security problems.

The non-traditional threats can further be categorized into “climate change, energy and environmental security, gender security, health security, irregular and illegal migration, political transition, poverty and economic insecurity, pollution, transactional crime, etc.” (Soomro, Al-Qaimari, & Wahba, 2009, pp.35-36). Security in this broader sense has gained a central stage in international system after September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, especially in the developed countries where e.g. terrorism, cyber attacks, and environmental issues are thought to be the main security problems (ibid.). Developing countries, on the other hand, still face security problems such as lack of basic needs, corruption, health problems, civil conflicts, terrorism, etc. (ibid.).

As the aim of this thesis is to examine the influences of securitization, caused by mass-casualty terrorism, on French Muslim community after Charlie Hebdo attacks, the focus hereafter will be on migration as a security threat, leaving aside further discussion of other “new” security issues just mentioned. According to Cottey (2007), states have increasingly integrated

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

migration and mass population movements into their security agenda since the mid 1990s. Wars, lack of basic needs such as food and water, and natural catastrophes can cause mass population movements, as individuals escape in order to survive. However, many also migrate in search for better life and opportunities, nevertheless, these movements can affect the economic, social and political stability of the receiving country as well as the home country (Cottey, 2007). Migrants or people from other ethnic backgrounds are often also seen to threaten job security in receiving countries, while their participation on the labor market often leads to lowering of wages in certain sectors. Moreover, they are often portrayed as an additional burden on the welfare system or being linked to organized crime. Their different culture and “otherness” of values are furthermore often perceived as a threat to national identity, or something Ole Wæver et al refer to as societal security (Cottey, 2007, pp.207-213). Societal security is the realm that promotes the idea of identity and community where individuals identify themselves as members of such shared community (Buzan, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998).

Wæver’s et al notion of societal security is referring to the ability of a society to maintain its traditional character when conditions change or when potential or actual threats are being faced. Just as state security needs sovereignty, societal security needs identity to survive (Wæver, 1995). Therefore, a society that loses its identity will no longer live as itself, rather become something else. When society (or part of the society) feels threatened, for instance, by immigration, integration or cultural diversity, Wæver suggests that the response may appear through strengthening the identity of that society, but doing that turns the question of culture into a security issue. Thus, according to Wæver (1995), when the identity of society becomes regarded as a factor of security, nation states have to be extremely cautious, as that kind of definition can identify immigrants and refugees as a threat to national security (pp.65-68). Cottey (2007) too points out the way that the case of migration as well as of refugees and asylum seekers has been taken up as a very serious and important issue by politicians, and has increasingly been regarded as a security issue (p.207). Bourbeau (2007) argues that increased international migration in the wake of globalization has caused nation states, especially in the West, to seek more control over migration for security reasons. He furthermore argues that migration across international borders provokes anxiety and fear amongst the population. It has therefore become classified as a security issue in most Western states, leading to efforts to minimize the security threat that it is thought to cause (p.3).

## 4.2 Securitization

The concept of securitization comes from the Copenhagen School, which emerged at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI). (Emmers, 2010) The school is represented by scholars such as Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde and Barry Buzan, along with others, whose aim was to build a new theoretical framework that had dealt with the military and the state, and who have put forward a model of how to rethink security through the idea of securitization and de-securitization. The initial idea was to minimize the risk of overstressing the definition of security by developing an analytical framework to study it. The school has been an important participant in broadening the conception of security, as well as in outlining a framework that defines how and why issues become securitized or de-securitized, i.e. defined as security issues, or removed from the security agenda. Following the idea of securitization, there are two main actors in the process - securitizing actors and referent objects. Securitizing actors define a specific issue or actor as threatening, and these are players such as political leaders, institutions, governments or pressure groups. Referent objects, in turn, are the factors that are portrayed as being threatened like the state, the economy, sovereignty, national identities or the environment. Unlike traditional security studies that put much focus on the military sector, the Copenhagen School uses an extended definition that goes beyond military issues. It divides security into five categories: military, environmental, economic, societal and political security, as well as including processes led by non-state actors (Emmers, 2010).

According to the Copenhagen school, an issue can be non-politicized, politicized or securitized (ibid.). A non-politicized issue is something that concerns neither the state and its actions nor public discussions, while a politicized issue is a part of public policy and governmental debates. Furthermore, when a concern is raised for some specific reason or an issue is perceived as an existential threat, it can be securitized, and declared as a security issue through the process of securitization. In this sense, securitization can be considered to be a more rigorous step than politization. However, according to Buzan et al (1998), “a discourse that takes the form of presenting something as an existential threat to a referent object does not by itself create securitization - this is a securitizing move, but the issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such” (p.25). In other words, in order to complete the process of

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

securitization the securitizing actor has to convince other actors, such as the public that the issue is in fact a threat that must be treated in security terms in order to protect general security. The role of the public is crucial in this regard, since it empowers the securitizing actor by complying with his securitizing move (Balzacq, 2011).

There are, nevertheless, some conditions that may facilitate the conversion of a securitizing move into securitization (Schulze, 2012). Firstly, the securitizing actor must have enough authority and a certain level of legitimacy to perform a securitization move (ibid.). Secondly, there must be pre-existing fears and concerns within the public (Theiler, 2010). Finally, basic values of that same public should not be violated with the securitization move (Theiler, 2010). When the issue has been securitized it is regarded as a real threat, which is then seen to justify the use of extraordinary measures and political procedures against it (Emmers, 2010).

Securitization starts with what Wæver and Buzan refer to as „speech act“, or a discourse which represents an issue as a real security threat (Emmers, 2010, p.139). The language is used by securitizing actors in order to position an issue as a security threat, as well as to persuade other actors about the risk that it may cause. At times a speech act is all that it takes to create concerns about security, despite the lack of material proof (ibid.). According to Glover (2010), this is an attempt to frame a certain issue as an existential threat that must be countered immediately with any possible or necessary means. Other actors can use discourse to attract the attention of politicians or others with security authority in order to affect the policy response, so that action against the potential threat will be taken immediately (ibid., p.4).

De-securitization refers to the reverse process when a securitized issue is not seen as a threat anymore, and is moved from the security spectrum to the political sphere. The Copenhagen School argues that by requiring general approval for some issues which are treated as a threat, an over-wide definition of security that risks leaving the term meaningless may be avoided (ibid.). Emmers (2010) further argues that there is a certain number of risks that come with the process of securitization, as military and other security forces can abuse it to gain more power or legitimacy. This applies to non-democratic states and emerging democracies in particular, since the community in such states does not have the same opportunities to be heard as in democracies and has therefore fewer chances to prevent an incorrect or abusive

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

securitization process. Therefore the process of de-securitization is crucial in terms of allowing the restoration of wrongly securitized issues to the political sphere (ibid.).

Turning to current practice, Cottey (2007) believes there is still no common agreement on what should be regarded as a security issue or a threat to security; rather, this depends on each nation state, their societies, values and institutions and on what each of them portray as a security threat (p.193). The Copenhagen school points the same aspect out by regarding security as a socially constructed concept, as what is regarded as a security issue or a threat to security has something to do with general understanding and agreement between individuals in a society (Emmers, 2010). Nonetheless, it is widely acknowledged that numerous non-military issues have become securitized since the early 1990s such as “international economic relations, global environmental problems, mass migration, transnational organized crime and pandemic diseases (in particular HIV)” (Cottey, 2007, p.7). Other issues that analysts point out include foreign policy behavior, minority rights and various aspects of the “war on terror” (McDonald, 2008, p.565).

The tendency towards recognition of a broader agenda by both states and institutions has been challenging. Many non-military issues have deep roots and systems of causation that make it difficult to tackle them as security issues. (Cottey, 2007) Furthermore, when issues that have previously not been regarded as security issues are being securitized, there is always a risk that public will start to perceive them as bigger threats than they really are, and therefore treat them with more severe methods and procedures which can lead to defensive responses and worsen the situation (ibid.). For instance, the US-led “war on terror”, which has also been supposed to encourage the growth of potentially oppressive state competences in the way that the Copenhagen School warned about, has certainly met such a critique. Therefore, a wider security agenda encompassing all non-military threats needs time to be correctly defined and treated with appropriate policy responses and is best approached as a long-term process (ibid.).

Migration has increasingly been portrayed as existential threat to the security and well-being of the developed world since the end of the Cold War, and nowadays is regarded as a security issue by many developed states (Glover, 2010). However, in Glover’s (2010) view, the Copenhagen school’s model and notion of securitization is unsatisfactory and in need of further improvement, especially in the case of migration: Securitization of migration often leaves migrant communities vulnerable, threatened and criminalized (because the root causes of mal-

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

integration are most likely never addressed). This happens especially if the issue is perceived as a matter of societal security and if the aim is to defend an existing identity and homogeneity, as the Copenhagen School proposes. This approach works as a negative barrier for migrants, defining them automatically as outsiders in the community and framing them as a threatening „others” (Glover, 2010, pp.2-7). Unrestricted migration is seen as a threat to „us” or “our way of life”, communities and identities and as a result securitization of migration becomes justifiable (Buzan, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998, p.119). Watson (2007) argues about the notion of migration in the same way: it is considered to be a threat to security and usually is rooted in the feeling that migrants have their own identity which is not a part of the identity that holds the community together. Glover (2010) opposes this securitization path which, in his words, will suffocate civil society, produce an aggressive state and harm the economy. Therefore, any such securitization attempt should be regarded as a highly negative process and as a failure of the political sphere to handle complicated issues (ibid., pp.8-9).

In fact, the notion of migrants being a security threat is a new phenomenon: ethnic communities and minority groups have frequently been targeted over the centuries (Glover, 2010). The difference between then and now, however, is that governments have begun to look not only at groups in general but at individual migrants as a threat to security. This change came about after the terrorist attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 when governments began purposefully targeting migrants who were in general term seen as suspicious (ibid.). Since then the securitization of migration has become more common, especially in the West. The threat is somewhat double; it comes from radicals masquerading as migrants or refugees, but it also comes in the form of a possible threat to values in the case where authorities over-react to a threat or an attack.

Nevertheless, migrants also have a voice, although it is often weak, and they can use that voice to make the state aware of their needs and demand equality. Any securitization of migration should be approached with attention to that voice and consideration for migrants, instead of framing them negatively as a threatening “other” (Glover, 2010, p.26).

Another point in the critique of the idea of securitization of migration is that the conventional version hides the fact that immigrants’ desire to maintain their traditional culture, religion and identity, as well as their reluctance to integrate into the hosting society, is often the result of institutional factors such as discrimination, unemployment, poverty, xenophobia,

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

racisms and nationalism (Kaya, 2007). These factors cause immigrants to be reluctant to integration rather than the other way around, as often expressed (ibid.). By securitizing migration immigrants are framed as a threat, which the society has to protect itself against. Such portrayal only adds to racism and tensions between groups, therefore a de-securitization of migration is required in order to succeed in integrating different groups and letting them live peacefully together (ibid., pp.2-6).

Wilkinson (2007) further adds to the critique of the Copenhagen School's idea of securitization by arguing that the framework it presents is suitable merely for the West, since the securitization model focuses only on Western ideas of identity, society and the state, and as a result the notion of security becomes a presumption that European understandings of society and the state are universal. Instead of respecting the fact that states and societies around the world are different, the model assumes commonalities amongst them (Wilkinson, 2007). Furthermore, the Copenhagen School's emphasis on the speech act over other kinds of expression is also questioned: Western countries are mostly democratic states where the freedom of expression is crucial, however, this is not true for many non-Western countries where other forms of expression are often used to express the fear of potential threat, such as physical expression, but these do not fit into the securitization model and cannot be treated under it as a security matter. Therefore the securitization model is irrelevant outside the West and is in need of further theoretical development in order to be suitable for non-Western countries (ibid., 11-22).

### **4.3 Frame analysis**

Fisher (1997) provides an extensive account of theories of framing presented by various linguists through time. She both presents their propositions and discusses the weak points in the various theories, which brings her to conclude that there is no agreement as to what frames are and what they are used for. However, she suggests that overall "a study of framing informs the study of how societies process information to generate meaning" (p.1). Fortunately, there seems to be some recurring information in the accounts provided by some of the most prominent researchers in the field. Therefore, in this section I will attempt to reach a general definition of the frame concept which will serve as a guide for the analysis. To attain that goal, I will briefly refer to a

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

number of authors who have extensively researched the area. The focus is on three specific issues: what frames are, how they work and what they are used for.

Fillmore (2006) refers to frames as “any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits.” (p.111) He clarifies that by evoking one of the terms in a given system, all the others are evoked as well. According to Schmidt (2014), frames are like windows through which people see the world; therefore the perception of the world is limited and rather selective, which emphasizes the importance of frames in constructing and influencing the perception of reality. Lakoff (2008) notes that framing involves, firstly, having the right ideas, and secondly, being able to use language correctly in order to evoke them, so as to promote your view of the world. He describes frames as narratives, containing roles, scenarios, and relationships between participants, and adds that “even the most basic actions, like physically grasping an object, have a frame structure that can be observed at the neuronal level.” (p.22) Lakoff’s concept of narratives mirrors Fillmore’s definition of framing, since because the roles are interrelated, by evoking one of them, the whole narrative is evoked.

Lakoff (2004) makes a clear description of how frames work, marking the importance of the neural binding activity in the brain for the creation of simple and complex narratives, roles, emotional experiences and even “the simplest of actions like taking a drink of water” (pp.24-27). He points out the fact that a person’s concepts cannot be easily replaced, unless the new concepts are presented in a way that matches the person’s frames (Lakoff, 2004).

Fisher (1997) differentiates frames from ideologies, clarifying that frames are employed as a means to promote ideologies rather than the other way round. Moreover, the part of the whole the person chooses to use, shows that person’s view on the matter. To put it in other words, the theory of framing is “the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue.” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.104) Rychovská (2014) describes the work of frames as a process of negotiation between different actors which then reach a common understanding of an issue that had to be further adjusted. Therefore, framing actors envision change by portraying persons, objects or subjects as a threat or burden and by suggesting measures that can suggest change (Rychovská, 2014).

In framing, the frame resonance seeks to provide an explanation why some frames are more powerful than the others by investigating how the values of the audience are linked to a

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

frame (*ibid.*). Therefore, preferences of the audience play a crucial role for the speaking actor (Pinto, 2014). This aspect resonates with securitization theory where the reaction of the public is also crucial for successful securitization to take place. Furthermore, frames also work within the key events, i.e. the events that lead to major attention in the news due to their sensational nature. Consequently, due to the large impact those events have on media coverage, former frames can be changed or replaced through them (Schmidt, 2014).

Snow and Benford (1988) identify three core framing tasks and the degree to which these tasks are attended to will determine participant mobilization and the occurrence of frame resonance. The three tasks are: a) diagnostic framing for the identification of a problem and assignment of blame; b) prognostic framing to suggest solutions, strategies, and tactics to the identified issues; and c) motivational framing that serves as a call for action to trigger change.

In terms of what the frames are used for, according to Lakoff (2004), language can be used either positively or negatively, to someone's advantage or disadvantage. He makes a point of how, for instance, in American politics, the aim is to "activate your model in the people in the middle", who could be easier to persuade (Lakoff, 2004, p.21). Furthermore, he describes politicians to be "proactive" instead of "reactive" in an argument, since in the last case, they employ the opposite party's frames in a negative way (*ibid.*).

On one hand, framing can be used to manipulate and deceive people, and on the other hand, it can be used positively, as a tool, for example, to help social movements' activists agreeing on the best course of action. (Chong & Druckman, 2007)

Particularly interesting for this thesis is Chong and Druckman's way of relating the media to the public opinion, saying that the media is not only used as a tool linking politicians with individuals, but it is also labeled in the category of "elite", which exercises influence on the audience's attitudes and opinions. The authors call this process "framing effect" and point out that it entails "selective acceptance and rejection of competing frames." (p. 112) individuals with strong opinions, they add, are less likely to be influenced by discourses which are inconsistent with their values. Finally, Chong and Druckman also raise the question as to whether an academically educated person is more inclined to have strong opinions or to keep an open mind to new frames.

### **4.4 The "culture clash" theory**

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

The theory that seems to have stood the test of time better than most has been known in many versions and guises but is perhaps most informatively referred to as the “culture clash” theory.

Samuel Huntington’s “The Clash of Civilizations” theory argues that culture and religious identities will be the main source of future conflicts in the world. Nation states will still be powerful, but most conflicts will take place between nations and groups from different civilizations. (Huntington, 2007) The argument Huntington presents is that since the end of the Cold War there has been increased interaction between Western and non-Western civilizations, as well as among non-Western civilizations, and that with the increased importance of civilization and identity in the future there is an augmented risk of a clash between them (ibid.). He claims that there are several reasons for a future clash of civilizations, one being the historical differences between them that have been formed over centuries and will not disappear easily. Each civilization has a different history, language, culture and religion as well as a different view on the role of the state, the individual, gender, equality, liberty, human rights, etc. Interactions between civilizations are also increasing which makes people more conscious of their civilization and identity, as well as the differences between them and others (ibid.). Additionally, economical and social changes around the world have begun to separate people from their local identities which are being replaced with religion. The fourth reason Huntington (2007) gives for possible clashes is the increased desire and ability of non-Western states to shape the world in their way, while the West has held a monopoly over that role for a long time. Furthermore, the argument is made that it is more problematic to deal with cultural differences than political or economic differences and that will make conflicts between civilizations even more difficult to handle than conflicts between states. Finally, Huntington argues that when people relate their identity to ethnicity and religion, different groups are more likely to start referring to each other as „us“ against „them“ (Huntington, 2007, pp.357-362).

In Huntington’s view, because of Western domination over other civilizations during the last centuries, there has been an enticement to argue that the Western civilization is a universal civilization that can fit all societies and individuals around the world. Such flawed assumption brings out the claims that Western ideas are fundamentally different from those held by other civilizations (ibid.). The notion of a universal civilization is merely a Western idea, and what the West regards as important is not necessarily believed to be important in the rest of the world. Moreover, Western politics vary from politics elsewhere, with most Western states being

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

democracies, which is not necessarily a common form of government in non-Western states. Huntington therefore states that future world politics will be characterized by conflicts between “the West and the Rest”, as non-Western civilizations will rise up against Western domination and values. Furthermore, the biggest threats that can cause global wars in the future are conflicts between civilizations, which will be difficult to control (Huntington, 2007, pp.370-371, 376).

Population movements, according to Huntington, have always played a big role through history, and the search for a better life and opportunities has often led to mass migration by various ethnic groups. Sometimes these movements were peaceful, while at times they were violent. (Huntington, 2003, pp.198-199) Migration has then further been encouraged by globalization as well as the revolution in communications and transportation (Bali, 2008). The world has therefore become a smaller place over the last decades. It has become easier for people to travel to, and settle within, different communities, which has led to more multicultural communities around the world. This development has consequently further increased interactions between people from different parts of the world. As explained above, these increased interactions make people more conscious of their identity, as well as the differences between them and others, which, in Huntington’s view, is one of the reasons for a future clash of civilizations (Huntington, 2007, p.359).

The aftermath of the 9/11 can be referred to as an example of the clash of civilizations, where the American government sent thousands of Muslims into prisons in the search for the people who had attacked their country (Friedman, 2009). Moreover, the tensions in Europe with repeated clashes between Muslims and non-Muslims could be another example (ibid.). According to Friedman (2009), the riots and the burning of cars in Paris in the fall of 2005 by young Muslims and the publication of cartoons in Denmark the same year, framing prophet Muhammad as terrorist, were reflected in the Western media as a “clash of civilizations”, making Huntington’s theory a concrete factor in political discourse and the shaping of opinions and policies (Friedman, 2009).

Nevertheless, Huntington’s theory has several weak points as argued by Pippidi and Minreuda (2002). For instance, they have proposed that Huntington has a broad and perplexing definition of civilization, has not defined where one civilization ends and the other begins, and tries to assimilate American and European cultures into a single model (Pippidi & Maureda, 2002).

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

Although the theory has its weak points, the aim of this thesis is not to examine the accuracy of Huntington's theory, but to emphasize its political and social effects. What Huntington has expressed in his academic research is what possibly is perceived and frequently suggested in the current political discourse. Assumingly, the clash of civilizations theory is not merely a theory but a cultural and social reality for the Western world.

## **5. Analysis**

The following chapter will present the analysis of the findings that were gained through content analysis. The findings will be analyzed with the help of Securitization Theory and the integration of Frame Analysis in order to answer research questions.

### **5.1 Conflict Analysis**

#### **5.1.1 Analyzing Structures**

*What structural factors can be regarded promoting peace?*

In the context of the events that had unfolded, the reinforcement of mechanism for cooperation and dialogue between minority communities and government policymakers or officials is needed.

However, referring to the "Muslim" labeling of France's large Maghrebi population, there has been recognition and critique of the tendency for (especially far-right) French political actors to regard Islam-origin immigrants and minorities in France as a single "monolithic community" (Giry, 2006,p.88), while others have acknowledged that an alleged "Muslim" culture in France is actually a myth (Laurence and Vaisse, 2006; Giry, 2006). Therefore, Islam in France largely operates on the basis of a de-centralized network of mosques and prayer halls which are distinct from one another, unlike, for instance, strongly hierarchical Catholic, Jewish or Protestant faiths. Hence, the absence of a single "spokesperson" that would represent the interests of the whole French Maghrebis community within the state complicates the process of integration and contributes to some extent to the socio-economic marginalization of this community in the country.

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

In 1999, the then-French Interior Minister Jean-Pierre Chevènement initiated a consultation on the matter in order to provide the French authorities with a single point of contact for issues affecting the Muslim community in France (Bodreaux, 2006). This process was continued by Chevènement's successor, Daniel Vaillant, and in the end led to the creation of a centralized representative body for the Muslim community in 2003 – CFCM (French Council of the Muslim Faith). This creation brought out immediate argument that Islamic communitarianism in France was in fact created by French politicians and not by Islamic activists. French politicians have encouraged Islamic communitarianism, while at the same time criticizing it as conflicting with French Republicanism, by institutionalizing Islam at the national level and creating crony networks in the local spectrum in order to pander to the local “Muslim” vote. (Geisser & Zemouri, 2007)

CFCM is a national elected body with three main constituent groups: the Union of French Islamic Organizations (UOIF), the Grand Mosque of Paris (GMP), and the National Federation of French Muslims (FNMF), who are the key players in the CFCM, according to the Protocol of Accord that was signed on 12 December 2002 (Bodreaux, 2006). It is in CFCM's power to engage in activities that would represent Muslim faith at all events and public demonstrations when relevant and act as a spokesperson for that community in public debates and with the media.

However, the creation of the CFCM was followed by the controversial creation of a government-backed ‘Fondation de l’Islam’ (Foundation for Islam) in 2005, advocated by then-Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy. It was supposed to help support the financing of new mosques and prayer halls and was also a response to government claims that the shortage of mosques in France may encourage extremists to gain a foothold in clandestine prayer halls scattered around the country (Carlton, 2007).

CFCM's work has somewhat had alternating success: together with the Foundation for Islam it has been criticized for being extremely susceptible to state interference and have also faced critique that they do not adequately represent the diverse ethnic and religious makeup of Muslims in France. For instance, the CFCM seats are appointed by the physical square footage of each mosque (Sebian, 2012). Such system benefits groups with significant financial resources, especially those that receive funding from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States (ibid.).

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

Moreover, while it can be said that the CFCM is better than no group at representing Muslim community within the country, there are visible problems with the approach by which it represents those Muslims. The problems include gender bias (women do not vote), self-election of delegates, dominant foreign interests, and the fact that the Council by its political structure represents the few faithful Muslims in France and not the broader Muslim community or the average person who is only Muslim-by-association – the issue that the first elected president of the CFCM, Dalil Boubakeur, has come under criticism for (Bodreaux, 2006).

As discussed in Literature Review (Section 1.4), the importance of “credible community actors” should not, however, be undermined, bearing in mind that the police and other government officials are often among the least trusted members of the community. Despite the weaknesses, the CFCM has acted as a representative for the Muslim community in France and has showcased its leadership in prominent controversies concerning Muslims. These have included the controversies surrounding the banning of religious symbols (particularly the Muslim headscarf) in schools and public administrations in 2004, the riots in Paris suburbs in 2005, and the Prophet Mohammed cartoon controversy in 2006. It also condemned arson of the Charlie Hebdo office in 2011, at the same time reminding the public that “for Muslims, caricaturing the prophet remains unacceptable” (Le Monde, 2011).

### *What is the government’s institutional capacity to respond?*

Following the Charlie Hebdo shootings, the French media reported on the measures directly responding to the attacks and on government’s capacity to react in 16 newspaper articles out of the 141 in total that were analyzed for this thesis.

Firstly, France’s national security alert system “Vigipirate” (#8, # 10, #12, #91-94) for vulnerable locations in the country was raised. The state of emergency obviously is an alarming concept, however, the purpose was claimed to be protection rather than interference with citizens’ rights. “Vigipirate” has specific logistical consequences: it gives law enforcement, police, in some cases the military powers that they would otherwise not have on domestic soil in peace time, for instance, it give security forces expanded powers to conduct warrantless house raids, seize personal data, and place people on house arrest - all without authorization from a judge.

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

Secondly, French media reported on UMP's (Union for a Popular Movement) suggestion to withdraw citizenship from terrorists if they happen to have French passports, which could be considered a potential securitization move (#91-94, #79). Moreover, the suggestion to allocate imams to the incarcerated Muslims was presented (#99, #114), which supposedly would help to avoid the prejudice of Muslims being a particular threat. This suggestion has been presented following the revelations that the perpetrators involved in the attacks passed through the French prison system described in Section 3.2 (C), which gave the notion that prisons are the fertile ground for radicalization. Figure 2 sums up the suggested measures as follows:

<b>Actor</b>	<b>Measure</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Article</b>
No reference in the article	"Vigipirate" system	General (necessary) security measures	#8, #10, #12, #91-94
No reference in the article/ Manuel Valls (Prime Minister)	Allocate imams to incarcerated Muslims in prisons/ isolation of detained radicals	Potential security measures	#99, #100, #114
FN, UMP	French citizenship withdrawal	Securitization move	#79, #91-95

Figure 2, Constructed by the author

It can be seen from Figure 2 that the actors that participated in suggesting the measures after Charlie Hebdo shootings were mostly politicians from the centre-right to right wing and in this case tried to use the attacks for their purposes which will be further discussed in Section 5.1.2. Further, in France, efforts to collect more data on citizens under the state of emergency increased dramatically after the shootings, indicating that security would be a higher priority than liberty.

### 5.1.2 Analyzing Actors

*Who and what are the key actors?*

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

As the shootings took place, the Kouachi brothers and A.Coulibaly were the key actors in the Charlie Hebdo shootings.

It is also perceptible that the scope and the brutality of the attack affected the media's coverage of the conflict. Nevertheless, it is also the case that the extent to which the media assign priority to covering one conflict rather than the other shapes the response of both national and international communities. That is why media itself in this case can also be considered to be a significant actor in shaping and possibly developing the conflict. Hjarvard (2008) describes it as mediatization, the process when "society becomes increasingly dependent on the media and their logic. This process is characterized by a duality of the media integrated into the work of other community institutions, while simultaneously the media make oneself independent as an institution in the society. As a consequence, the social interaction both within individual institutions, and between institutions and the society takes place through the media" (p.28).

As the media began to report on the Charlie Hebdo shootings, the major actor within the political parties appeared to be Marine Le Pen from the FN. Since the FN is a relatively large party in France, she is able to have some influence on her audience, in this case other parties and citizens.

Finally, as Marine Le Pen had spread her message, she made the whole Muslim community an actor as the events unfolded, although problems associated with determining who are legitimate representatives of such given community occur. While officially the representative of the Muslims in France is CFCM discussed previously, some note that "some community leaders are gateways, others are gatekeepers who can foil even the most concerted attempts to reach out to the right people. Meanwhile, reaching out to the wrong people - self-styled leaders and spokesmen who have no real credibility - can exacerbate the very tensions that a comprehensive prevention of radicalization strategy is trying to alleviate." (CHC, 2008)

### *What are their interests?*

Since Charlie Hebdo attracted attention for its controversial jokes and depictions of Prophet Muhammad, the hatred for the magazine by the perpetrators is considered to be the principal motive for the massacre. When it comes to the interest and motivation of A.Coulibaly, he was heard having a conversation with a hostage before being shot dead by police, claiming his attack

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

- and the Charlie Hebdo massacre - were motivated by French military action in Mali and Syria. Moreover, he claimed to have chosen to attack Jewish supermarket because of Jerusalem occupation by Israelites and the killings of Palestinians. (Dailymotion, 2015)

Some studies suggest that geopolitical events can be a motivating factor for violent extremists or, at the very least, a rudimentary filter for legitimating their actions. Nevertheless, research shows that the picture is complicated as the motivations of violent extremists are social as well as political. A conducted study by Ahmed, Ferguson and Salt (2015) described a range of motivations, including “the impact of globalization; the effect of peer networks; a prevailing sense of humiliation and social isolation; the tendency to express ideological/faith solidarity against injustices globally; the presence of Islamophobia within [...] society, and unfulfilled social-economic expectations.” (p.34) Among this mix of social and political factors, the authors noted that family struggles and a lack of positive support were mentioned as the key motivating factor for terrorism (ibid.). Another report pointed out similar social and political factors, including “identity crisis, personal trauma, discrimination, segregation, and alienation to misinformation about Islam and Western foreign policy,” but argued that other important factors must be present “for radicalization to take hold.” (Bizina, Northfield & Gray, 2014, p.3) Christmann (2012) describes perceptions of marginalization and Western double-standards in foreign policy as playing a role in radicalization, but also a sense of personal empowerment, friendship and social belonging. Skillicorn, Leuprecht and Winn (2012) found that “radicalization is much more a personal issue than one of social, economic, or foreign policy.” (p.951) It is possible that the attacks were carried out by deeply confused and socially alienated men, who are disillusioned by the combination of deplorable conditions in France, anti-Muslim prejudice, their own treatment by the authorities and the bloody consequences of years of US and allies’ military operations in the Middle East. However, this scenario does not exclude the possibility that their actions were facilitated by agencies and interests of which the actual perpetrators were not aware.

Marine Le Pen’s main interest was perhaps to attract more support in order to increase favorable prospects in regional elections and to strengthen the position as a possible presidential candidate in 2017. At the same time FN leader used the attacks to vindicate her divisive approach to immigration. In saying that mass immigration paves the way to Communitarianism (Section 3.2 D), Marine Le Pen demonstrates that by leaning towards the Centre, she hopes to

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

sample some of Mr. Hollande's political base. Hollande may have seen the danger and elected not to invite her into a coalition, lest it provided a platform from which the FN would surpass Holland's party.

The repeated rhetoric connecting and equalizing immigration to Islamism and terrorism can play powerfully in the minds of voters. That way Le Pen managed to pull the political center of gravity in France to the right, forcing the main center-right party to adopt a stronger anti-immigration stance and taking positions in the wake of attacks that were subsequently adopted by a Socialist President. The politicians' incentives to return to anti-immigration platform frequently occur in need for popular vote. Such discourses allow political spokesmen to claim that they are speaking on behalf of the entire nation and "encourage the strategic construction of polarizing debates that translate into battles of influence" (Bath, 1995, p.65).

Le Pen's demand for an escalation of deed in response and discussion about Islam not being compatible with French democracy (#79) can be seen as an effort to highlight the differences between "us and them". This model of discourse substitutes "culture" for "power" as the goal of securitization. Just as with power in realism, culture is promoted for its own sake. This is a self-perpetuating, and self-fulfilling complex where the pursuit of cultural dominance inevitably leads to clashes, as foreign cultures are naturally threatening. Moreover, according to Bath (1995), such discourse "gives a truncated account of what others are thinking and doing" (p.65). Culture or religion do not "represent their grounds for action, but only those grounds that are contrastive, special for "the other", and not reasons that would hold for "us" (ibid.). Bath (1995) further argues that "it thus leads to exotizing, but more importantly to mutilating the other's point of view: representing it only partially, and therefore inadequately rendering its rationality and reasonableness." (ibid.) Thus Marine Le Pen's position on portraying Muslim community in France as a monolith is a stereotyped feature of the Muslims and contrasting identities. (ibid.)

### *What are their power bases and resources?*

The legislative base is considered one of the resources for the government to confront terrorist-related acts in France.

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

The anti-terrorism legislation was adopted in France as early as 1986 (Legislationline, 2016). Within time, French counter-terrorist policies and anti-terrorist legislation have subsequently been extended and reinforced, in response to the emergence of new terrorist means of action such as the greater use of electronic communications, for example.

When it comes to the legislative base, there is frequently a question at play of how to strike a balance between strong legislation that would effectively address the law-enforcement challenges posed by terrorism, while simultaneously continue to guarantee individual and public freedoms. For years France has managed to steer clear of having to adopt exceptional anti-terrorist legislation, and has instead kept such legislation at the level of the “ordinary” provisions enclosed in criminal law, which explains why France did not need to implement a completely new legislation in 2001, following the 9/11 attacks, but has instead only had to reinforce or extend existing provisions already existing in available legislation, in a limited number of cases. (ibid.) Therefore, instead of creating a separate offence for terrorism, French legislators chose instead to apply exceptional rules to a variety of acts that already exist in French criminal laws. The criminal offence becomes terrorist offence when it is committed in a specific context and with a specific intent. Charlie Hebdo attacks certainly match that context in terms of method of attack and targeting of French Republican values. In other words, terrorist offences in France are therefore a range of common criminal offences, such as murder or extortion, which become terrorist offences as a result of the aggravated specific motive of being “committed intentionally in relation to an individual or collective undertaking, the purpose of which is to seriously disturb the public order by intimidation or terror.” (Cahn, 2009)

Article 421-1 of the French Penal Code (hereafter PC) defines the criminal offences liable to become terrorist offences when they include: “willful attacks on life and on the physical integrity of the persons; abduction and unlawful detention; hijacking of means of transport; theft; extortion; destruction, defacement and damage; computer offences; offences committed by prohibited combat organizations and disbanded movements; the production or keeping of dangerous or explosive devices; the purchase, keeping, transport, or unlawful carrying of explosive substances or of devices made with such explosive substances; detention, carrying, and transport of weapons and ammunition; designing, production, keeping, stocking, purchase or sale of biological or toxin-based weapons; developing, producing, stocking and use of chemical weapons.” (Art. 421-1, PC, Legislationline, 2016)

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

The most controversial offence related to act of terrorism is most likely the one described in Article 421-2-1, according to which “the participation in any group or association established with a view to the preparation, marked by one or more material actions, of any of the acts of terrorism provided for in previous articles shall in addition be an act of terrorism” (Art. 421-2-1, PC). This means that any participation in a criminal group in relation with a terrorist activity is considered a terrorist offence in itself, even if the terrorist act has not taken place yet. On one hand, the Article allows the law enforcement to initiate judicial proceedings against suspected individuals before they have committed the terrorist act by employing relevant collected intelligence. (Cahn, 2009) On the other hand, the Article is deemed to be controversial because of the vagueness of the wording and as it has been used to justify waves of arrest and indiscriminate detention of suspects on suspicion of preparing to commit a terrorist act. (Steiner, 2005)

In November 2014, France adopted a new law to reinforce its fight against terrorism (#76). One of the more noteworthy provisions of this new law allows the government to prohibit a French citizen from leaving French territory when there are serious reasons to believe that he/she is planning on leaving to join a terrorist group or participate in terrorist activities. (Loi No. 2014-1353, art. 1, Legifrance, 2014) This provision was applied for the first time on February 23, 2015, when French authorities confiscated the passports and identity cards of six men between the ages of 23 and 28, whom French intelligence services believed were preparing for a departure to Syria. (Francetvinfo, 2015) Despite criticism on both the content and form of the law increasing, many Parliamentarians who adopted the law were seemingly ready and willing to give up fundamental freedoms in the name of the fight against terrorism. The most discussed articles that had been identified as problematic include: travel restrictions (discussed earlier), control of freedom of movement via bans on leaving the country (Article 1); removal of the concept of “apologie du terrorisme” from the French press law of 1881 (Article 4); creation of an individual corporate terrorist offence and creation of an offence of regularly visiting terrorist websites (Article 5); administrative blocking of Internet websites that promote terrorism (Article 9).

It is, however, unknown whether the legislative base is helpful taking into consideration the resources the Charlie Hebdo attackers had. The implementation of the so-called microcells by the terrorists makes it difficult for law enforcement to depict the small groups of militants who,

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

for fear of being discovered, live their lives inaudibly, waiting to perpetrate the attacks. It is understandable that the French anti-terrorist legislation was introduced in order to intercept potential terrorists before they have committed their act, however, it is difficult to do so in the light of the microcells being impossible to infiltrate, since they are based on family ties or of close friendship, which the Charlie Hebdo shootings are the example of. Moreover, it is also questionable how the extension of anti-terrorist legislation can be of help, if such terrorist cells are difficult to intercept by electronic means of communications because their members, living in a certain relations' microcosm, share the same space, so they can communicate face-to-face on a daily basis. Finally, it is unclear to what extent a life sentence punishment for a terrorist act from Article 421-3 (when the aggravating circumstances mentioned above apply and a criminal act is classified as a "terrorist" act) can be applicable or practical, if the microcell terrorist groups are designed for self-destruction, i.e. the members know they are going to meet death, since the very inception of such groups.

It is clear that the whole objective of the policy is to increase the security of the population, which is logically opposed to the threat of potential terrorist groups within the population. By issuing the policy, the government is therefore opposed to the concept of terrorism, and in order to prevent these terrorist threats, the implementation of more surveillance techniques among the society is considered a priority. By doing so, however, the policy inevitably intrudes on the population and their privacy. Moreover, all the weaknesses within the legislative base give room for the right-wing and centre-right to suggest their programs to fight terrorism. For instance, the former head of the Directorate of Internal Security (ISB) to Sarkozy calls time to allow the installation of microphones and cameras directly in the places of conspiratorial meetings of terrorists (#66), while Marine Le Pen demands French citizenship withdrawal from Islamists (#79), since the Kouachi brothers and Coulibaly are an example of the new wave of terrorists in Europe: instead of originating from Arab countries, as in the past, they are born or raised in Europe, and they used to have a non-practicing religious life before they "rediscover[ed] Islam within the framework of a mosque" (Coolsaet, 2011, p.20).

### **5.1.3 Analyzing Conflict Dynamics**

*What events, actions, and decisions can be identified as actual or potential trigger factors?*

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

The attack against the cartoonists and columnists from the Charlie Hebdo magazine is believed to be triggered by the attackers' radicalization in prison and as a result eagerness to avenge the prophet Mohamed; hence the magazine's tendency to blasphemy was supposedly to blame as it is an affront to the faithful of any religion. In other words, the conflict takes place within the individual. It then gets transferred by the individual towards the recipient society, based on a larger structure of conflicting relations (clash of culture) taking place at the planetary level.

There are, however, limitations to research focused on the trigger factors and the experiences of violent extremists. Mainly, a shortcoming of this kind of research is that while it does show how radical ideas are internalized by terrorists post facto, it does not explain why most people who are potentially exposed to radical ideas do not become radicalized, for example, the Muslim employee at a kosher market who hid customers in a freezer during the rampage, and the Muslim police officer who became the first casualty of the siege amid his attempts to protect the Charlie Hebdo magazine from the attackers. The movement of individuals from merely being frustrated or politically disaffected towards accepting violence is poorly understood, and the question of why some people do become radicalized while others in the same circumstances do not remains a key area of inquiry. From this perspective, the role of family and community is crucial in understanding forms of resilience against violent extremism.

In the model of Bramadat (2011) described in Literature Review, perceptions of foreign conflict are influenced by domestic experiences and vice versa. To most people belonging to the titular culture, the distant world of the immigrant shall always remain distant, because it is only a fact relayed through the media, and not through personal experience. For the immigrant and refugee, however, and possibly also for the diaspora established for decades, the distant world is in actuality very proximate. Either through the power of the media, social media or the internet, the trauma that led to migration in the first place is kept alive every day. The individual is frequently unable to adjust to the safety experienced in his new country, and therefore reacts as one would if he were still in the home country. This form of shell shock could be triggered by certain stimulus. Alternatively, the individual becomes resentful of the lifestyle, and of the clash in standards of living. This resentment is frequently leveraged by charismatic leaders and radicals.

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

*What consequences have these trigger factors had or will they have on structural causes and key actors?*

As a consequence to the trigger factors and the events that unfolded, French media reported on the suggestions by UMP and FN discussed before and that can be portrayed as securitization moves. It should be noted, however, that the amount of the 16 articles reporting on securitization moves is not a large number, although the opposite had been expected prior to the research.

Furthermore, 14 articles wrote about how terrorism is the main threat for the country, which also became the argument to justify extraordinary measures described previously. Further, in six articles terrorism was connected to the subject of Islam or Islamic fundamentalism and was portrayed to be the cause of terrorism, hence Islam was marked as the aspect that poses a major threat and needs to be paid attention to. The negative discourse surrounding terrorists fell onto the question of integration or, more specifically, the lack of thereof in four articles, and by that it in a way automatically casted a shadow over French Muslims, as they repeatedly find themselves in the situation of being labeled as potential terrorists because of failed integration and affiliation with the religion, around which their values and needs presumably revolve around. Here, moreover, it is crucial to note that the French media's discourse pertaining to the subject of minority integration in France uses the term "Muslim" to refer to immigrants and minorities of North African descent in general, while excluding any effort to not continually categorize and label French North Africans and Maghrebis as "Muslims". For instance, if we do not habitually refer to French persons of Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox background as "Christians" in contemporary scholarly and political discussions, we (and the media included) should not do the same for persons of Islamic background in order to make everyone fit into the same pattern. Moreover, the use of the term "Muslim" to describe France's Maghrebi community ignores the relatively small portion of French Maghrebis that are of Jewish or Christian faith or those that are non-practicing Muslims.

Furthermore, immigration was mentioned in two articles as a threat. This substantiates Cottey's (2007) point within the securitization theory that the case of migration as well as of refugees and asylum seekers has been taken up as a very serious and important issue by politicians, and has increasingly been regarded as a security issue.

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

It should be noted that not many articles analyzed for this thesis got engaged in presenting the opinions and grievances of the Muslim community after the attacks. Nevertheless, due to the events that had unfolded, that the Maghreb and African Berber-Muslim communities were living “its worst nightmare.” (#136) Since the attack on Charlie Hebdo, many started talking that “hopefully those who did this are not going to proclaim pseudo-Islam”. (#36, #37) Moreover, President Holland argued that Muslims were “the first victims of fanaticism and fundamentalism.” (#87) According to Djelloul Seddiki, director of Al-Ghazali Institute of the Great Mosque of Paris, Muslims “do not want to be the Jews of tomorrow,” recalling the fear of the Jews during the German occupation (#1). The imams and Catholic leaders have called for avoidance of frequent unpleasant representations of the religion of others (#1, #87-88).

### *What is/are the main mechanism(s) driving the conflict?*

The nature of the target is instructive of the motives and origins of the perpetrators. However, Charlie Hebdo had always been iconoclastic, and anti-establishment. Its satire of Mahomet has never been less scathing than that leveled at the Catholic Church or other public figures. For many Charlie Hebdo “had it coming” (#56). However, the magazine had been operating under such licentious editorial policies for decades, so why now?

According to André Rakoto, director of the Office for Veterans and War Victims (Office national des Vétérans et Victimes de Guerre) in Paris, and former policeman, in the unstructured interview carried out in February 2015, “there is a mixture of factors. First, there is the deeply-ingrained resentment at the colonial experience, the history of which has not been very well handled by the education sphere in France. That history is over-apologetic and discounts the indigenous roles in their own exploitation. Secondly, the decades of Left-leaning propaganda during the Cold War, which aimed at emancipating those very people from the colonial overlordship, also played its role. There is this myth of “stolen lands”, of exploitation and finally of economic discrimination in the Metropole. That is understood and, like many other disadvantaged individuals and groups, they thrive and derive an identity from that narrative. They depend on it, and do not want to lose it. However, when the tenets of their faith come under attack by the same people who stole their lands and livelihood, and deny them the advantages of the new society, it is normal that the cup will now run over.” So it can be said that the counter-

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

reaction to the Charlie Hebdo satire would target the equally sacrosanct principles of democratic life, such as freedom of expression and of the press.

## 5.2 Frame Analysis

As stated in Securitization Theory, securitization starts with speech act, and language is used by securitizing actors in order to position an issue as a security threat (Emmers, 2010). Therefore, in the following section, the findings will not be analyzed solely on framing but through implementation of the combination of Frame Analysis and Securitization Theory in order to investigate the process(es) of contextualization of the events and arguments in the newspapers that possibly helped to substantiate securitization moves.

### 5.2.1 Who is threatened?

Out of 142 articles analyzed, 16 newspapers in France reported on the vulnerability of and the threat posed to the values of the country and its citizens, which is shown in the Figure 3 below. As the Charlie Hebdo magazine has become synonymous with the fight for freedom of expression, the implication has followed that the change of values or, more accurately, the attack on the so-called “our” Western/French values is perceived as threatening and unacceptable.

<b>Who/ what is threatened?</b>	<b>Article</b>
Freedom of speech/ freedom of thought	#15, #38, #42, #57, #75, #24, #74
“Our” Western/ French culture/ civilization/ values	#40, #55, #74, #109
Democracy	#14, #96
Jews	#56, #109, #122

Figure 3, constructed by the author

According to the media, freedom of expression and the western values in particular were perceived to be attacked by the perpetrators. Since these arguments were mentioned by the media

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

more frequently than the others, the probability of successful construction of securitization moves, which appeal in favor of protection of values, may increase.

### **5.2.2 Frame resonance**

Both Securitization Theory and Framing specify that the role of the public is crucial when it comes to successfully securitize the issue or frame it in such a way so that the securitization is possible. Furthermore, the measures that the securitizing actor(s) suggest should not clash severely with basic values of the audience which is also connected to the frames that are used being in line with the beliefs and values that the audience shares.

Marine Le Pen, who suggested the emergency plan (#79) and advocated measures such as immediate disarmament of the French suburbs, withdrawal of French citizenship from individuals suspected in abetting jihad, etc. is speaking to the National Assembly that supposed to adopt the laws as well as reaching out to voters. In this case, the referent object, securitizing actor and the public are connected. However, the measures could also be considered rather disproportionate and conflicting with French/ Western/ “our” values. In this case, it is crucial to see to how fears of the threats are created to help the securitizing actor(s) pull such measures through and possibly, increase support from voters.

### **5.2.3 How is threat constructed?**

As mentioned previously, a threat construction in this thesis is understood to take place, according to the theory, when an object or a group is portrayed as a threat opposed to a referent object, i.e. the identity, the state or the sovereignty whereas no exact or disproportionate measures are suggested.

It is important to take into account that in the case of the media reporting on measures that were portrayed as the direct response to the Charlie Hebdo shootings there is no interaction between the audience and the media. Whereas for example, in the upper and lower houses of the parliament of the Fifth Republic threats can be discussed and negotiated (although discussions did not prevent the implementation of previously discussed controversial anti-terrorist law in November 2014), the media’s reports in itself are merely a one-way communication. The

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

definitions provided by the media about threats, are hence not negotiable, indicating the major importance media plays in the context of securitization and shaping perceptions and meanings.

In French media, 37 articles which contain explicit threat constructions were identified. The reports took place right after the Charlie Hebdo shootings, on 7<sup>th</sup> January and continued right up to the mid February. In French media, the most commonly mentioned threats were terrorism (14 articles), failed integration (4 articles), radical Islam and Islamization (17 articles) (see Figure 4). By implementing the frames of Islam, radical Islam and Islamization in the articles, those phenomena are portrayed as threat thus imply negative connotations. Similarly, the frames, such as withdrawal of citizenship or restricted immigration as selected measures to fight these threats, imply a set of suppositions that present the issues in a certain way to the audience and increase the possibility of acceptance of the measures among the latter.

<b>Threats</b>	<b>Articles</b>
Terrorism	#14, #26, #38, #40, #55-57, #61, #79, #95, #107-109, #135
Radical Islam/ Islamization/ Islamic fundamentalism/ fanaticism/ Islam	#15, #16, #24, #27, #40, #55, #56, #68, #69, #73, #77, #86, #99, #100, #112, #125, #135
(Failed) integration	#27, #67, #73, #77
Immigration	#73, #77

Figure 4, constructed by the author

Interestingly enough, French media only reported on one securitization move, which was made by the UMP and FN, suggesting amongst others the withdrawal of residency of French citizens if they are subjected to suspicion of participating in terrorist groups. Overall, the media were scarce on the articles dedicated to the measures suggested or general rhetoric of FN, whereas international media were more generous on publishing, for example, Marine Le Pen's remarks on immigration. Nevertheless, some measure suggestions in the newspapers could be labeled as securitization moves depending on their interpretation. For instance, Marine Le Pen

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

announced that it is essential to remove “thousands of weapons circulating in the suburbs”- the promise that former President Sarkozy was never held accountable for. (#79) The removal implies stricter legislation concerning weapon trade in France, although it is somewhat unclear how this measure would help prevent any potential future attacks, if the weapons are frequently (if not always) acquired illegally by the perpetrators. Moreover, at first sight, the potential security measures concerning the segregation of the radical Islamists from other prisoners in order to help fighting radicalization in prisons, seems to be proposed for security reasons. Nonetheless, the assumption can be made that the focus on a very specific group, i.e. the Muslims, indicates a religious group or affiliation to the religion is indirectly portrayed as a threat.

In addition, Prime Minister Valls suggested fighting the “apartheid” in French suburbs, as “the fight for secularism has been (...) neglected for too long” (#112). The argument that is indicative of a link between terrorism and those living in suburbs or arrondissements (administrative districts) with high number of population with other ethnic background. The act of interconnecting those two facets, however, might contribute to understanding it in a frame in such a way that presupposes people’s attribution to terrorism by mostly growing up in French suburbs, which indicates a diagnostic frame and potentially might even foster exclusion of those that live in specific areas or arrondissements.

Based on the assumption that the early timing of proposals for the measures implies a level of importance, it seems relevant to identify possible patterns in timing concerning securitizing actors, securitized topics and securitization moves following the Charlie Hebdo shootings.

French media reported on securitization moves mostly from 7<sup>th</sup> of January 2015 until 22<sup>nd</sup> of January. This may be understood as the fast reaction by the French media and implies a high level of urgency concerning the suggested measures. However, the amount of newspaper articles per day published on securitization moves were not frequent and did not vary greatly.

Whereas since the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 2015 onwards terrorism was the main threat presented in the context of suggested measures, within time, radicalization, jihad and failed integration were taken up in the context with securitization moves. On the 13<sup>th</sup> of January 2015, Marine Le Pen, known for her anti-immigrant politics, also began mentioning immigrants and policy restricting the latter in the context of the attacks (#80). This means that terrorism was the threat and was

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

assigned most urgency to by the securitizing actors, while the following days after the Charlie Hebdo shootings also immigration, radicalization, jihad and failed integration were placed on the agenda as threats.

As discussed previously, media plays a significant role in defining situations and transferring messages to the public. As outlined above, the French media paid much attention to the attacks and the description of the latter, together with the measures responding to the shootings. By mentioning and describing the certain events frequently, media put such events high on the agenda and reaches the same audience many politicians are trying to reach with their means - the general public. Therefore, it is important to look at which articles were printed which (different or the same) newspapers and what the articles dealt with in order to figure out whether the repetition helped to substantiate measures. Furthermore, by framing the issues mostly through diagnostic and prognostic frames, media might have contributed to the interpretation of the events by the public. As shown in Figure 5, the findings are the following:

<b>Published</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Securitization move</b>
<b>Same</b> newspaper, <b>same</b> publishing date	#57 = #58	No
	#68 = #69	No
	#14, #26, #56,	No
	#73	Yes
<b>Same</b> newspaper, <b>different</b> publishing dates	#135 = #136	No
	#5 = #16	No
<b>Different</b> newspapers, <b>same</b> publishing date	#30= #32=#34=#35	No
	#46 = #47 = #48	No
	#87 = #88 = #97	No
	#63 = #64	No
<b>Different</b> newspapers, <b>Different</b> publishing dates	#132 = #133	No

Figure 5, constructed by the author

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

The LexisNexis database is designed to show all searched results, even if they are published in the same newspaper and on the same day with the same content. The database allows one to see the possibility for repetitions, which in the French media there were 13 out of 142 newspaper articles. However, despite the frequent repetition, only one article included a securitization move. The main focus for repetition in some articles was on the Charlie Hebdo becoming an “honorary citizen” of Paris (#30), German PEGIDA trying to take advantage of the Charlie Hebdo shootings while organizing anti-islam movement (#46), Pope Francis’ acknowledgement that freedom of expression is a “fundamental right” with simultaneous plead to not insult the faith of others (#87), etc.

By talking about threats, the threatened media did contribute to the link between the characteristics of the perpetrators and threats, although that contribution was not big as expected before: the articles that presented FN’s stand on the issue were few in numbers. This may be explained by the fact that since French media, for example, was selective and predominantly reported on centre-right party’s comments in regard to the attacks and securitization moves, rather than reporting more on the FN’s engagement, the frame was applied in this context. Nevertheless, those articles that were found enabled the securitizing actors to speak security more successfully by enforcing the threat images that are attempted to be built through frames.

The selectiveness of the media can also be noticed in connection with the coverage of the attacks. For instance, the explicit mentioning of the request made by Amedy Coulibaly in the international media used for the background description of the events, namely that France should withdraw its troops from Mali and Syria, was not referred to in the newspaper articles analyzed. Instead, the media has shown unfailing allegiance to the position of the West being threatened by radical Islamic terrorism, without investigating in depth what truly causes this phenomenon. Of course, there were single voices of those who tried to warn against “emergency legislation” (#14), i.e. the temptation of changing the legislative arsenal too quickly, however, it is difficult to trace the miniscule number of articles that do not regard terrorism as social phenomenon but rather as an lone act of individuals.

Finally, the creation of the dichotomy within the Western/ French values theme, such as democracy/ freedom of speech/ freedom of thought and terrorism/ Islamization/ radical Islam as the securitized topics, the message of Islam being incompatible with Western values and the way of life is evoked to a certain extent. The variety of religious affiliations within a broader putative

The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

“Muslim” culture therefore is neglected, whereas an essentialist understanding of the religion is spread further in the media in response to the terrorist attacks.

## **6. Conclusion**

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the response by the right-wing politicians to the Charlie Hebdo shootings that would indicate any securitization moves by studying the reactions of the French media and the contextualization of the attacks in order to substantiate the measures that indicate the securitization moves. It became evident that in the country that was shaken by the attacks securitization moves of topics such as Islam and terrorism were of greater focus, whereas the topic of immigration was mentioned not as frequently as expected prior to the analysis. Since FN is well-known for its anti-immigrant stand and stricter immigrant legislative base, the findings can be explained by media’s selectiveness in regards to highlighting the reactions to the events of certain actors.

By applying the Conflict Analysis while at the same time combining Frame Analysis with Securitization Theory, the analytical framework was further advanced, finding framing to be complimentary to Securitization theory and indicating the strong link between the two theories. Furthermore, the combination of studying securitization with content analysis showed that valuable insights concerning trends can be gained.

Moreover, the analysis in this thesis has demonstrated that the context of the discourse is crucial for securitization moves. In fact, ever since 9/11 the debates about terrorism have been taken place not only in France but the whole Europe. Also, debates around immigration and Islam have taken place for several years. Nevertheless, more debates concerning Islam were triggered in France if one considers the regularity with which newspapers covered that topic.

Furthermore, the thesis also emphasized the undeniable influence of the media in framing discourses for the readers. As argued before, media can play a significant role in shaping connotations and meanings. At the same time, media can reflect current trends and opinions of citizens. Although this thesis presumed that media reaction and public reaction to mirror each other, it is quite difficult to determine whether it is the media who reacts to the public opinion or the public opinion is shaped by the media.

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

Finally, the further analysis has pointed out that the tendency of presenting Islam and the Western values/culture in the media as two opposing forces, the predictions of Samuel Huntington in his theory of clash of civilizations are applicable. However, in the analysis the argument is made that such scenario is unrealistic due to the overseen specificity of Islam: the tendency of French political actors to regard Islam-origin immigrants and minorities in France as a single “monolithic community” is flawed. In any case, the threat images that were conveyed raise awareness for the importance of avoiding the simplification of any particular minority group - let it be Maghrebis or any other.

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## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

**Annex I: Analyzed articles**

<b>Number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Title</b>
#1	07.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Attentat contre Charlie Hebdo: l'imam de Bordeaux appelle les musulmans à manifester leur colère
#2	07.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Charlie Hebdo: l'islam de France redoute les amalgames
#3	07.01.2015	Le Figaro Newsflash-News	Charlie Hebdo : l'islam "trahi" (président Ali Bongo)
#4	07.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Charlie Hebdo pris pour cible depuis plusieurs années
#5	07.01.2015	Les Echos.fr	Charlie Hebdo : 45 ans d'insolence foudroyés
#6	07.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 23H00
#7	07.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La journée en un clin d'oeil: le tour de l'actualité du mercredi 7 janvier
#8	07.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Charlie Hebdo: Paris se barricade
#9	07.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Paris : plusieurs victimes dans une fusillade au siège de Charlie Hebdo
#10	07.01.2015	LePoint.fr	Charlie Hebdo : Paris sous « protection renforcée »
#11	07.01.2015	Le Figaro Newsflash-News	Charlie Hebdo : sécurité renforcée au journal danois
#12	07.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Charlie Hebdo : après les alertes de décembre, le pire des scénarios pour l'antiterrorisme
#13	07.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Charlie Hebdo: «Les terroristes jouent avec la violence des images pour semer la terreur»
#14	07.01.2015	L'Opinion.fr	Les démocraties doivent se préparer à gérer les conséquences du terrorisme; François Heisbourg : « Les salopards qui ont tué des gens chez Charlie Hebdo doivent être traqués comme les criminels qu'ils sont, pas comme des représentants de qui ou de quoi que ce soit»
#15	08.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Boualem Sansal: l'islam de la discorde
#16	08.01.2015	Les Echos	45 ans d'insolence foudroyés
#17	08.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 09H00
#18	08.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 07H00
#19	08.01.2015	Agence France Presse	A NOTER POUR AUJOURD'HUI... JEUDI 8 JANVIER 2015
#20	08.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Charlie Hebdo : sécurité renforcée dans les ports britanniques, drapeau en berne

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

#21	08.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Au nom de notre liberté
#22	08.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Des Buttes-Chaumont à Daech, dix ans de filières djihadistes vers l'Irak et la Syrie
#23	08.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Projet de loi antiterroriste et sécurité renforcée à Londres
#24	08.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	En Allemagne, les anti-islam de Pegida veulent profiter de l'émotion
#25	08.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Charlie Hebdo: séquence émotion dans les entreprises
#26	08.01.2015	L'Opinion.fr	Le profil toujours plus inquiétant des nouveaux djihadistes; Le djihad 2.0 qui séduit des centaines de jeunes Occidentaux est en plein essor, à la faveur de l'interminable guerre civile en Syrie
#27	09.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Terrorisme islamiste: cette guerre qui commence était hélas prévisible!
#28	09.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	«Nous sommes tous Charlie», vraiment?
#29	09.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 15H00
#30	09.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Charlie Hebdo fait citoyen d'honneur de la Ville de Paris
#31	09.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Minute de silence au Conseil de Paris pour Charlie Hebdo
#32	09.01.2015	La Gazette des communes.fr	Charlie Hebdo fait citoyen d'honneur de la Ville de Paris
#33	09.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	À Paris ce week-end : Charlie, galettes, Rocky et voitures anciennes
#34	09.01.2015	Le Figaro Newsflash-News	Charlie Hebdo: fait citoyen d'honneur de la Ville de Paris
#35	09.01.2015	News Press	Charlie Hebdo fait citoyen d'honneur de la ville de Paris à l'unanimité au Conseil de Paris
#36	09.01.2015	Paris-Normandie	Après l'attentat à Charlie Hebdo, la communauté musulmane s'inquiète : « Quelque chose a changé »
#37	09.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	«La communauté musulmane vit son pire cauchemar»
#38	09.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Je suis Charlie, un héros si discret
#39	09.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Prise d'otages : comment procèdent les négociateurs
#40	09.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Hugues Moutouh: sommes-nous condamnés à être faibles parce que nous sommes civilisés?
#41	09.01.2015	sante.lefigaro.fr	Otages : «L'enjeu est d'éviter les séquelles traumatiques à long terme»
#42	10.01.2015	CourierInternational.com	CHARLIE HEBDO; Menaces sur les cartoonistes turcs

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

#43	10.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Prévisions internationales du samedi 10 janvier (actualisées à 21H00 GMT)
#44	10.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Prévisions internationales du samedi 10 janvier (actualisées à 16H30 GMT)
#45	10.01.2015	Le Parisien	« Paris accorde à un journal le respect dû aux héros »
#46	10.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Allemagne: 35.000 personnes contre le mouvement anti-islam Pegida à Dresde
#47	10.01.2015	Le Figaro Newsflash-News	Allemagne: manif de rejet des anti-islam Pegida
#48	10.01.2015	SDA-Service de base français	Grande manifestation contre le mouvement anti-islam Pegida à Dresde
#49	10.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Prévisions internationales du samedi 10 janvier (actualisées à 21H00 GMT)
#50	10.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Agenda Europe du dimanche 11 janvier
#51	11.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Prévisions internationales du dimanche 11 janvier (ACTUALISEES A 03H00 GMT)
#52	11.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Prévisions internationales du dimanche 11 janvier (ACTUALISEES A 03H00 GMT)
#53	11.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Agenda Europe du dimanche 11 janvier
#54	11.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	L'impressionnante liste des politiques présents à la marche à Paris
#55	11.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Nétanyahou et Abbas participeront à la marche républicaine
#56	11.01.2015	L'Opinion.fr	Attentats : après l'émotion, une foule de questions
#57	12.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Chantal Delsol: va-t-on continuer à nier le «Totalitarisme vert»?
#58	12.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Va-t-on continuer à nier le «Totalitarisme vert»?
#59	12.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 19H00
#60	12.01.2015	Bulletin Quotidien	Charlie Hebdo / Paris : Le Conseil de Paris, réuni vendredi en séance extraordinaire, a observé une minute de silence en hommage aux victimes de l'attentat, avant de faire de "Charlie Hebdo" un citoyen
#61	12.01.2015	LePoint.fr	Terrorisme : l'Élysée consacre sa matinée à la sécurité intérieure
#62	12.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Merkel en première ligne contre le mouvement anti-islam qui mobilise à Dresde
#63	12.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Allemagne: le mouvement anti-islam veut profiter des attentats pour gonfler ses troupes
#64	12.01.2015	LePoint.fr	Allemagne: le mouvement anti-islam veut

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

			profiter des attentats pour gonfler ses troupes
#65	12.01.2015	SDA-Service de base français	Merkel monte au front contre le mouvement anti-islam Pegida
#66	12.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Bernard Squarcini : «Il faut légaliser les opérations spéciales»
#67	13.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	De «Je suis Charlie» à «Nous sommes français»: pour le retour du service national
#68	13.01.2015	Le Figaro Économique	Voltaire, je crie ton nom
#69	13.01.2015	Le Figaro	Voltaire est-il vraiment Charlie?
#70	13.01.2015	Midi Libre	Pegida étend son « refus de l'islamisation »
#71	13.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 17H00
#72	13.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 15H00
#73	13.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Charlie Hebdo, radicalisation marginale ou raté de l'intégration?
#74	13.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Gueniffey : ce qu'est le terrorisme
#75	13.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Gueniffey : «Le terroriste se vit comme l'instrument du destin»
#76	13.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Condamnations en série pour apologie du terrorisme
#77	13.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Goldnadel: «Je le confesse, je ne suis pas allé marcher»
#78	13.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Barack Obama empêtré dans son faux pas médiatique
#79	13.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Marine Le Pen veut «désarmer» les banlieues françaises
#80	13.01.2015	Le Monde	Immigration, diplomatie... Marine Le Pen veut passer à l'offensive
#81	14.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Caricaturer ou pas, l'impossible choix
#82	14.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 13H00
#83	14.01.2015	Agence France Presse	A NOTER POUR AUJOURD'HUI... MERCREDI 14 JANVIER 2015
#84	14.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Manuel Valls redevient Manuel Valls
#85	15.01.2015	CENTRE PRESSE	Al-Qaïda revendique l'attaque, la Turquie dénonce une provocation
#86	15.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	François Hollande veut rassurer les musulmans
#87	15.01.2015	Agence France Presse	Pour le pape François, la liberté d'expression ne donne pas le droit de moquer la religion d'autrui
#88	15.01.2015	LePoint.fr	Charlie Hebdo - Pape François : "On ne peut insulter la foi des autres"
#89	15.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 11H00

## The Charlie Hebdo Effect: Security versus liberty?

#90	15.01.2015	LePoint.fr	Attentats : YouTube a mis 6 jours à bloquer la vidéo intégrale de l'exécution d'Ahmed
			1.154 hommes en renfort; Sécurité Le plan Vigipirate «vigilance renforcée » est maintenu dans les cinq régions du quart Nord-Est avec le déploiement de plus de 400 policiers et gendarmes ainsi que 700 militaires sur 65 sites sensibles
#91	15.01.2015	L'Est Républicain	
#92	15.01.2015	L'Est Républicain	Vigilance
			Les CRS présents devant la synagogue de Nancy.
#93	15.01.2015	L'Est Républicain	Photo Alexandre MARCHI
			Des militaires du 3e régiment de hussards de Metz avec leurs fusils d'assaut FAMAS en faction devant la synagogue de Nancy, une semaine après la série d'attentats à Paris, notamment au journal hebdomadaire satirique Charlie Hebdo ayant fait douze morts.
#94	15.01.2015	L'Est Républicain	Photo Alexandre MARCHI
			L'UMP précise ses propositions sur la déchéance
#95	15.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	de nationalité des terroristes
#96	15.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	«Même pas peur» : le message des journalistes pour la liberté de la presse
#97	15.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Le Pape : «En matière de liberté d'expression, il y a des limites»
#98	16.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Rémi Brague: «En France, on a le droit de tout dire, sauf ce qui fâche»
#99	16.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Le bâtonnier de Paris : « Rien ne me choque dans les mesures prises ces derniers jours »
#100	16.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Pour lutter contre la radicalisation en prison: les mesures qui s'imposent vraiment
#101	16.01.2015	Le Figaro Newsflash-News	Charlie Hebdo: prison pour un manifestant russe solidaire
#102	16.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	L'imam et la République
#103	17.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 21H00
#104	18.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 09H00
#105	28.01.2015	Métro	Menacé, Facebook censure des pages sur Mahomet en Turquie
#106	18.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 19H00
#107	18.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Depuis les attentats, la justice a prononcé 132 condamnations pour apologie du terrorisme
#108	19.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Dominique de Villepin: «"Je suis Charlie", ça ne

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			peut pas être le seul message de la France»
#109	19.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Tuerie de Vincennes: le sort de la France est lié à celui de ses Juifs
#110	20.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	La grande traque des tueurs de Charlie Hebdo
#111	20.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Manuel Valls, le pari du «temps long»
#112	20.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Terrorisme : Valls dénonce « l'apartheid » dans les quartiers
#113	21.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Charlie Hebdo : l'itinéraire des frères Kouachi
#114	22.01.2015	L'Opinion.fr	Islam : faut-il adapter la loi de 1905 ?; Depuis les attentats des 7 et 9 janvier, on ne parle plus que de laïcité. Sans vouloir poser la question qui fâche, celle de la place de l'islam en France. Un tabou qu'il faut briser
#115	22.01.2015	Le Figaro Online	Les dix-sept victimes des attentats de Charlie Hebdo
#116	27.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 23H00
#117	27.01.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 21H00
#118	28.01.2015	TF1	Patrice, directeur de l'Hyper Cacher: «Tout à coup, j'ai entendu une détonation très forte »
#119	28.01.2015	TF1	A 8 ans, il est convoqué au commissariat pour apologie d'acte de terrorisme
#120	28.01.2015	TF1	A 8 ans, un élève de CE2 convoqué au commissariat pour apologie d'acte de terrorisme
#121	31.01.2015	TF1	Coulibaly a sans doute envoyé les images de la tuerie de l'Hyper Cacher
#122	02.02.2015	Méto	Ces juifs azuréens qui quittent la France
#123	02.02.2015	Méto	Le Clézio prône l'ouverture des frontières
#124	03.02.2015	Jeune Afrique	Mauritanie : Aziz n'est pas Charlie
#125	03.02.2015	Le Figaro Online	Joshua Mitchell: «L'islam radical veut exercer un droit absolu sur le monde»
#126	04.02.2015	Le Figaro Online	Pourquoi pointer les chrétiens du doigt pour les exactions des terroristes islamistes?
#127	04.02.2015	TF1	Dieudonné condamne les attentats et dit "s'être senti exclu" de la marche
#128	05.02.2015	Le Figaro letudiant.fr	Belgique : un étudiant dit avoir été agressé pour avoir défendu Charlie Hebdo
#129	06.02.2015	France2	AU MODÉRATEUR ARABEDE TON MAGHREB TU N'ARRIVERAS PAS À NOUS MUSELER COMME T'ES FRERES ONT ASSASSINÉ CHARLIE HEBDO ISLAM = ASSASSINS DE CHARLIE HEBDO
#130	08.02.2015	Méto	Le sénateur UDI Pozzo di Borgo s'inquiète de la diffusion d'"American Sniper" en France

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#131	10.02.2015	Agence France Presse	Il appelait à détruire l'imprimerie de Charlie Hebdo: 3 mois de prison ferme
#132	10.02.2015	Le Figaro Newsflash-News	SMS anti-Charlie Hebdo: un homme condamné
#133	11.02.2015	L'Echo Républicain	Il appelait à détruire l'imprimerie de Charlie Hebdo
#134	13.02.2015	Agence France Presse	La semaine judiciaire
#135	14.02.2015	La Libre Belgique	Attentat à Copenhague: "L'Europe ne se laissera pas intimider"
#136	15.02.2015	La Libre Belgique	Attentat à Copenhague: "L'Europe ne se laissera pas intimider"
#137	17.02.2015	RTL-Belgium	Cet élu pakistanais offre 200.000\$ à qui tuera le propriétaire de Charlie Hebdo: Paris ouvre une enquête
#138	18.02.2015	Midi Libre	HEXAGONE
#139	19.02.2015	La Voix du Nord	L'islam «pris en otage»
#140	20.02.2015	Agence France Presse	La Une en France à 19H00
#141	25.02.2015	Agence France Presse	A NOTER POUR AUJOURD'HUI... MERCREDI 25 FEVRIER 2015
#142	05.03.2015	TF1	L'Hyper Cacher de Vincennes est sur le point de rouvrir