## Wissenschaftlicher Beirat

## Inhalt

## Vorwort

Die Geschehnisse im Jahr 2012 haben wieder einmal gezeigt, wie akut eine fundierte und sachliche Beschäftigung mit dem Phänomen der Islamophobie ist. Der Prozess um Anders Behring Breivik, die Beschneidungsdebatte, regionale Wahlkämpfe und vieles mehr beschäftigte die europäischen Öffentlichkeiten mit der Imagination des „Islamischen" als Gegenentwurf zu verschiedenen imaginierten Kollektiven. Dank der Mühe von engagierten WissenschaftskollegInnen kann auch dieses Jahr wieder eine Ausgabe des Jahrbuchs angeboten werden, in der aktuelle Geschehnisse aus wissenschaftlich fundierter Perspektive beleuchtet werden.

Den Anfang macht der Theologe Wolfgang Palaver, der sich mit dem bisher radikalsten islamophoben Terrorakt auseinandersetzt. Er geht dem Anschlag des Anders Behring Breivik in Norwegen im Jahre 2011 vor dem Hintergrund der mimetischen Theorie René Girards nach und zeigt in einem letzten Schritt im Hinblick auf die weitverbreitete islamfeindliche Propagana im Internet auf, dass „Worte nicht unschuldig sind". Çetin und Wolter widmen sich in ihrem Artikel der Beschneidungsdebatte, die über den Sommer 2012 hinweg in Deutschland (wie auch in Österreich) die mediale Öffentlichkeit beschäftigt hatte. Sie zeigen anhand der Debatte den heteronormativ determinierten Charakter von Zivilisation in diesen Debatten auf und weisen auf die Verstrickung von Antisemitismus und Islamophobie hin.

Drei Artikel des diesjährigen Bandes untersuchen Islamophobie im rechtspopulistischen bis rechtsextremen Bereich. Der Politikwissenschafter Meyrath zeigt anhand des Liedes „Krankheit" der Gruppe „Abendland" auf, wie antisemitische Denkmuster in dieser rechtsextremen Rockband fortbestehen und ohne das Objekt des Jüdischen im islamophoben Rassismus weiterwirken. Die Strategien zweier rechtsextremer Parteien im nordrhein-westfälischen Landtagswahlkampf 2012 nimmt der Politikwissenschafter David Christopher Stoop zum Anlass, Ähnlichkeiten und Differenzen in der islamophoben Ausrichtung der NPD und von Pro-NRW herauszuarbeiten. Oliver Wäckerlig und Rafael Walthert gehen in ihrer Untersuchung der sozialen Bewegungen, die hinter dem Nein zum Minarettverbot standen, der Frage nach,

# Abstracts

## A „civilizing mission" continues: On the German debate over circumcision

**Zülfukar Çetin and Salih Alexander Wolter**

This contribution approaches the so-called German „debate on circumcision" of 2012 by means of discourse analysis. Investigating the discussions in the public media and among jurists and medicaldoctors, Zülfukar Çetin and Salih Alexander Wolter are demonstrating how anti-Muslim racism and Anti-Semitism were interwoven in this debate. Following hints given by Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno in their „Dialectics of Enlightenment" as well as by Michel Foucault in his studies on governmentality, the authors question the „common Jewish-Christian tradition" invented by the political elite of the Federal Republic of Germany Instead, they point at secularized Christian-Protestant stereotypes in a populist and implicitly hetero-normative medical and human rights discourse guided by the call for „integration". By also considering the voices of those negatively affected by anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim racism in Germany, this contribution wants to set an example for possible common resistance.

**Keywords:** Anti-Muslim- Racism, Anti-Semitism, Circumcision, Human Rights Discourse, Germany

## „For Western Values and the People". Anti-Muslim Propaganda of Far Right Parties During the Regional Elections in North-Rhine Westphalia (Germany) 2012

**David Christopher Stoop**

During the regional elections in Northrhine-Westphalia (Germany) in May 2012, the far right parties „Bürgerbewegung Pro Nordrhein-Westfalen" (PRO NRW) and „Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands" (NPD) equally re-

lied on anti-Muslim provocations to gain support for their aims. In this article, I will discuss anti-Muslim racism as an element of far right propaganda by drawing upon the example of the elections in Northrhine-Westphalia. It will be shown that PRO NRW and the NPD try to use widely held prejudices against Muslims to promote their ideologies. There are, however, considerable differences between the anti-Muslim arguments of both parties. These differences can be explained as a result of the division of right-wing extremism in Germany into right-wing populist and ethno-nationalist groups. Finally, it will be argued that despite existing differences, both parties agree to the ethno-pluralist consensus that neither Islam nor Muslims belong to Germany.

**Keywords:** Right-wing extremism, anti-Muslim racism, PRO NRW, „Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands" (NPD), islamophobia

### Islamophobia in the media: State of media content research in Germany, Austria and Switzerland

**Armin Muftić**

This paper presents key findings from the comprehensive analysis of the publications on Islamophobia in the media in the field of media content research in German speaking countries. The results were emerged within the research project „Migrants images in the Austrian media". Some studies and research reports are listed in tabular form according to their country of origin. Three explanatory approaches of (re-)production of Islamophobia in the mass media – the cultural hegemony, the dispositive of power and ethnicisation approach – describe the three dominant discourses in the portrayals of Islam and Muslims on media – the discourses of binladenisation, islamisation and integration. Also discussed are the use of the term Islamophobia in the studies reviewed, and the question of what types of media and media content were focused. Insufficiently explored questions, an alternative research approach and comments on the methodology of media content analysis research indicate future tasks for the research on Islamophobia in the media.

**Keywords:** media content research, Islamophobia research, state of research, binladenisation discourse, islamisation discourse, integration discourse, dispositive of power, cultural hegemony, ethnicisation approach, media content analysis, Germany, Austria, Switzerland

### Skrewdriver's Grandchildren. Between Islamophobic and Antisemitic Racism

**Martin Meyrath**

The author describes islamophobic racism in the song „Krankheit" (disease) by a band named Abendland (occident). He identifies elements known from classic antisemitism. The author argues that these persistant patterns of thought work as ideological grounds for the mobilisation of both, islamophobic and antisemitic racism.

**Keywords:** Islamophobia, Antisemitism, Racism, R.A.C.

### Crusades – Legitimating violence by all adversaries

**Rainer Feldbacher**

Confrontations between east and west have always been part of human history. Upheavals and mutual influences hand in hand with the conquests under the half moon and the cross are indisputable. The crusades should bring the war into enemy's region, though officially they have been the response to Near Eastern Christians´ cry for help. Even under those circumstances both sides won culturally and economically. Information and know-how have been exchanged not only by trade and diplomacy, but by wars. In times of globalisation those different cultures were approximating each other. News concerning wars, civil wars, „clash of cultures", terrorism come up day by day. In the Near East circumstances become more critical due to politics and conflict, nourished partially by national fanaticism and religious fundamentalism, not only from the Muslim side. One obstacle overcoming the gap between eastern and western societies is the lack of interest for the other´s history and culture and ignoring inner and outer social problems. That excluding attitude by either side leads to mutual misunderstandings and therefore distrust, hindering a dialogue between the monotheistic religions, in spite of their common origin.

**Keywords:** Jerusalem, Constantinople, Mamluk, Seljuk, Umayyads

## From Islamophobia to the ban on minarets. The success of a social movement

Oliver Wäckerlig and Rafael Walthert

This paper analyzes the islamophobic social movement in Switzerland, which achieved a major success with the acceptance of the popular initiative against the construction of minarets. The focus of this paper lies on the factors involved in the transformation of local conflicts into a national problem and in its successful introduction to the political agenda.

Based on the analysis of the discourse in the mass media, the frames, actors and opportunity structures of the movement are identified. This allows for a reconstruction of the relevant strategies of the movement: The abandoning of religious argumentation, the inversion of offender and victim and the avoidance of personalized discrimination. Further, the role of the institution of popular initiative is being discussed, which certified the problem frames of the movement and fostered its unity.

**Keywords:** Islamophobia, ban on minarets, popular initiative, social movement, right-wing populism

## Insignificant Signification: A Feminist Critique of the Anti-Muslim Feminist

Stefanie Claudine Boulila

This article follows the Anti-Muslim feminist as she made an appearance in Switzerland during the campaign for the minaret ban and became sticky to feminism as a whole. In November 2009, Switzerland passed a popular initiative banning the building of minarets. Although the campaign was driven by nationalist and Christian-conservative forces, it (ab-)used women's rights as their major argument to promote the initiative. After Swiss feminist author Julia Onken joined the proponents of the campaign, her islamophobic attachments became emblematic for Swiss feminism as a whole.

This article attempts to problematise the Anti-Muslim feminist as a symbol for feminism, as it has been put forward by the media and some scholars. Whilst it is vital to criticise feminists who enter alliances with imperialist warfare and the Right in Europe, it is equally important to recognise that the fiercest critics of Anti-Muslim feminists are feminist themselves. Postcolonial and anti-racist feminism has a long-standing tradition and informed contemporary feminist inquiry with concepts such as intersectionality. It is also those feminists who have provided the most comprehensive analyses of how anti-Muslim racism mobilises through gender and sexuality, a critique that has largely been missing from intellectual analyses of the minaret ban and consequential islamophobic discourses.

**Keywords:** minaret ban, racism, feminism, intersectionality, biopolitics, women's rights

## Islamophobia - an anthropological approach

Alexander Steffek

The paper „Ein sozialanthropologischer Blick auf den Islamophobiebegriff“ deals with the term Islamophobia and tries to provide a working definition through a social anthropological perspective.

**Keywords:** Islamophobia, Politics, Identity, Culturalism

## Words are not innocent: What the terrorist attack of Anders Breivik should makes us aware of

Wolfgang Palaver

Against the background of René Girard's mimetic theory this article investigates the deeper reasons of the terrorist attacks that Anders Breivik committed in Norway in 2011. Firstly it deals with the escalation of violence triggered by reciprocal imitation typical of our contemporary world that is haunted by terrorism. A second step throws some light on the psychological disposition of the Norwegian terrorist by interpreting it with the help of mimetic theory and its insight that a resentful leaning towards violence follows the growing indifference among us in our world. A third step investigates the religious and ideological background of this terrorist attack. It concludes that an islamophobic ideology widely spread throughout the internet contributed significantly to this act of mass murder. By this we can understand that words are not innocent and that freedom of speech relies on charity and civility.

**Keywords:** Breivik, Anders; terrorism; resentment; islamophobia; freedom of speech; civility