



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY

They are taking our women! ?

Analysing the changes in representations of men with an
“Oriental” immigrant background as sexual predators in the
Bremen newspaper *Weser Kurier* before and after the New
Year’s night in Cologne 2015/2016

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Abstract

Representing “Oriental” men as sexual predators in the media is a recurring theme that has proliferated since the New Year’s night in Cologne in 2015/2016. This study investigates how the representation of men with an immigrant background as sexual predators has developed in the year before and after the New Year’s night in Cologne in 2015/2016 in the Bremen local newspaper *Weser Kurier*. The aim of the study is to find out in what ways the representation of “Oriental” man has changed, how a moral panic is established, and how an idea of fear is created. To reach this aim Critical Discourse Analysis will be used in combination with theories concerned with “Othering”, moral panic and Orientalism. Because of the limited scope of this study, it should be considered as a base for future research into the field.

Key Words: Media representation, Critical Discourse Analysis, sexual harassment, migrants, Germany

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1. Introduction

“I’m tired of being the good Arab. I don’t want to be the proof that under certain circumstances Arabs can be pleasant/likable.”

Abdallah 2016

The image of a group can be changed or influenced by significant events. The New Year’s night in Cologne 2015/2016 can be considered as one of those events. The men who were portrayed as perpetrators in several cases of sexual harassment were described as being of North African or Arab descent. Questions about the German immigration and asylum policy were raised after this incident, as the influx of men was considered a threat to native women. This message was part of the political discourse as well as the discourse in the media.

After the New Year’s night in Cologne 2015/2016, there were several papers published about how refugees and men with an immigrant background were represented in the reports about that specific night. Those include Dietze’s paper, “Das ‘Ereignis’ Köln”, as well as Drüecke’s “Die TV-Berichterstattung in ARD und ZDF über die Silvesternacht 2015/16 in Köln“. Those articles, however, only deal with the immediate aftermath of the event and how a group of men with a certain ethnic background were portrayed as sexual predators. The articles are mainly concerned with the critiquing of the German media for jumping to conclusions too quickly about who could and who could not be a perpetrator. Even though the inspiration for this research paper stems from those publications, the idea for this research paper was to take it a step further and consider the effects of the incident on reports of sexual harassment in wider terms, going beyond the reports of that specific night to include the years 2015 and 2016. Considering the limited scope of this research paper, the only newspaper considered is the *Weser Kurier*, which is a local daily newspaper from the city of Bremen. Critical discourse analysis will be used to analyze articles reporting on sexual harassment in which the perpetrators are stated as men with an immigrant background. Considering theories around the concept of othering such as Said’s *Orientalism* as well as Elias’ *The Established and the Outsiders* will be used to put the representation of the men into context.

2. Aim

The aim of this research paper is to examine how the representation of men with an immigrant background as sexual predators has developed in the year before and after the New Year’s night

in Cologne in 2015/2016 in the Bremen local newspaper *Weser Kurier*. This will be done through critical discourse analysis considering postcolonial theory as well as theories about moral panic and othering.

3. Research Question

The research questions of this paper are:

How has the representation in the *Weser Kurier* of the men in question changed from 2015 to 2016?

How are the articles part in creating an established-outsider relationship?

How is an idea of fear of the men in question created in the articles?

4. Background

4.1. Disposition

The refugee crisis had a great impact on European countries, and Germany was no exception. Even though a certain image of people and men - specifically with a certain migrant background - existed already before the increase in the number of refugees coming to Germany, the rapid influx of new migrants reactivated old fears and opened the grounds for assumptions and concerns. The media plays a key role in this, as they are the ones who have power over what is published and read by people. Hence it is of importance to research how the portrayal of this group has changed in the media, as it reflects change in attitudes of the people and can have a great impact on decisions made on a macro level as well.

4.2. Who are the men in question?

It is important to define the group of men this research paper will focus on. The men who are perceived as a threat are usually described as Arabs. This would include all men coming from the Middle East, the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa.¹ However, it is important to acknowledge that men from countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and several Sub-Saharan African countries are also part of this stigmatising image. Hence, one could argue that the image is more that of the Oriental man, which according to Said, in the eyes of the West can be any country from Turkey all the way to China.²

¹ Merriam-Webster 2018

² Said 2003, p. 1

When the men from the group in question are not ascribed a belonging to a specific geographical region, they are often described as asylum seekers. Considering the discourse around asylum seekers in Germany in the respective time frame, the term “asylum seeker” is connected to people from the regions and countries named in the above.

Another connection that is usually made with these men is that they are Muslim. This should be a much vaguer description, but similar as with the term “asylum seeker”, it is considered to be synonymous people from the countries and regions listed above.

For the purpose of this paper, men that fit the above descriptions will be referred to as “men with an immigrant background”. This term could refer to every man that migrated to Germany, but for the purpose of this research and in order not to use such stigmatised terms as simply “Arabs” or “asylum seekers” and because of a lack of consistent terminology to list all included countries, they will be referred to as “men of immigrant background”.

4.3. New Year’s night in Cologne 2015/2016

The new year’s night 2015/2016 became infamous for the events that unfolded in the inner city of Cologne. Several women reported being harassed and subsequently robbed in that night. There was confusion over whether the assaults were intended to mainly aim at the robbery or whether the sexual assault was the main objective.³ The perpetrators in this specific case seemed to dominantly have a North African background. Media outlets, not only all over Germany, but different parts of the world, displayed a strong reaction to this event. The general concern in the reaction was less about general women’s rights or the harassment women have to deal with, but rather specifically with the background of the perpetrators. Following this event, there was a general outcry of worry about the large numbers of Arab immigrants and asylum seekers that had just recently come to Germany. It further marked the change in attitude towards welcoming refugees. Whereas before this event, many were in favour of letting asylum seekers into the country, after Cologne, many considered this to have been a mistake.⁴ Alice Schwarzer, a well-know German feminist, went as far as saying that the attacks in Cologne could be considered to be part of ISIS’ warfare against Western Europe.⁵

³ Drüecke 2016, p. 6

⁴ Drüecke 2016, p. 3

⁵ Dietze 2016, p. 181

4.4. Statistics concerning sexual violence in Bremen

As this paper is concerned with the question of representation of sexual predators in the media, it is important to consider the statistics around sexual crime in Bremen to get a more comprehensive understanding of the situation.

I looked at statistics of the Bremen police as well as the statistics of the *notruf Bremen*, which is an organisation that helps people that have experienced sexual assault. Very often, women who do not report a crime to the police still seek out support from this organisation. Hence, a combination of those two sources offers a more comprehensive image of sexual crimes that have been committed in Bremen.

It needs to be considered that these statistics consider all forms of sexual violence, meaning it does not only include harassment, but also more extreme cases such as rape. The intention of this section, however, is not to give a statistical account of sexual harassment, but rather to demonstrate the patterns of sexual crimes as reported by those two institutions versus how they are reported in the newspaper, which will be analysed in chapter 7.

The police statistics show that in the years 2008 to 2017 there have been variations in the numbers of reported cases. There were three significant increases from one year to another: from 80 cases in 2009 to 115 in 2010, from 78 in 2013 to 101 in 2014, and from 81 in 2015 to 118 in 2016. The numbers range from 78 cases in 2013 to 128 in 2017. 2017 shows the highest number of cases, as in that year the law was changed to include a wider variety of types of sexual assault. Significant decreases can be observed as well. In 2014 to 2015 the number decreased as much as nearly to the amount of cases in 2013. What is important for this research paper, however, is to see that the number of cases seems to have varied for the past nine years, showing sudden increases as well as decreases.⁶

The statistics of the *notruf Bremen* make a slightly different point. Firstly, the numbers show that there had been a decrease in clients coming to the organization in the years 2009 to 2017, and from 2015 to 2016 there had only been a small increase of 4 clients from 82 to 86 clients. Since the organization does distinguish between different kinds of sexual violence, it is possible to look specifically at the change in cases of sexual harassment. In the years 2009 to 2017, between nine and 21 percent of all clients came to the organization for counselling concerning sexual harassment. There was a strong increase from 2015 to 2016 from nine to 21 percent, however, the organization states that they receive more clients whenever an issue concerning

⁶ Senator für Inneres 2018

sexual violence is present in the media, and that this could explain such a rapid increase. In the following year, the percentage dropped from 21 to 16 percent again, returning to a level consistent with the overall average from 2009 to 2017.⁷

4.5. Previous Research

Previous research has been done by several scholars. The most notable papers are by Dietze, who deals with the issue of ethno-sexism and the aftermath of the New Year's night in Cologne in Germany on a national level. Other researchers have focused on how a racialized image of a sexual predator has been established in other contexts, such as in the UK concerning men of Pakistani background and in Australia men with Lebanese background.

Dietze published in 2016 an article called "Das 'Ereignis Köln'" (translated: The 'Cologne incident'). In it, she addresses the question of why and how the opponents of the refugee flows to Germany could attach themselves to the question of sexual violence, or in other words why and how the incident in Cologne could become such an exemplary incident. She argues that Cologne attracted such attention because it combined two major means of discrimination: sexism and racism.⁸

As her method in the article she is using a discourse analysis. She is using discourse analysis, focusing on newspaper narratives from media outlets such as the *Spiegel*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *ZEIT*, as well as the feminist newspaper *Emma*.

She points out that already in 2000, Margarete Jäger describes an "ethnisation of sexism", which explained that sexism was portrayed as an outcome of Muslim upbringing and that the problem of sexism - which native Germans had allegedly overcome - would re-emerge as Muslim immigrants were considered to pose a threat to the emancipated natives.

Dietze then continues to argue that after the opening of the borders for refugees in 2015, the main threat perceived to be was not Muslim families but rather young, single Muslim men coming into the country, who pose a potential threat to the native women.⁹ She refers to Fanon's idea of "the negro as a phobogenic object", where men of colour take the role of sexual predators, and the colonial idea of men of colour having an insatiably sexual appetite.¹⁰ She finally points out that even though there has been the notion in Germany and other western European countries that sexism has been overcome, it has actually just changed its form and

⁷ notruf Bremen 2017

⁸ Dietze 2016, p. 94

⁹ Dietze 2016, p. 95

¹⁰ Dietze 2016, p. 96f

become ethnicised, while simultaneously silencing the sexism perpetrated by native men.¹¹ Out of this constructed threat, the issue around sexual violence by Muslim immigrant men becomes a security issue as native women supposedly need protection from this group, hence security politics will be influenced.¹²

In 2013, Ella Cockbain wrote “Grooming and the ‘Asian sex gang predator’: the construction of a racial crime threat”. In this research paper, she examines how men with Pakistani backgrounds became the main object in the construction of a new racial crime threat in the UK. Based on ill-founded generalisations, men from this group have been overrepresented in the discourse surrounding violent sexual crime, creating an alleged connection between race and offending. Cockbain analyses the media discourse around this topic as well as the grounds that statistics accusing men with Pakistani background are based on. She does this by analysing the language and use of certain phrases and words to characterise the men of the minority group in different media outlets such as radio or newspapers like *The Times*. She focuses specifically on the words in the discourse that are concerned with the creation of perpetrator and victim images, which have a racist connotation to them, as they focus on interactions between brown men versus native women.¹³

The discourse is, according to Cockbain, mainly focused on creating the man of colour perpetrator and female white native victim image, ignoring cases in which the perpetrator or victim do not match the image.¹⁴ She further points out that a statistical overrepresentation is due to basing the studies on few geographical areas in which people with an immigrant background are overrepresented. In those areas, there are more people with an immigrant background than natives which consequently means that there will be larger proportion of cases of assault with immigrant perpetrators. However, when not specified in the study, this creates an image of a certain race’s prevalence in becoming perpetrators over others.¹⁵

Finally, in 2004 the book “Bin Laden in the suburbs – criminalising the Arab Other” was published, dealing with the subject of othering of Arab immigrants. Cohen’s theory of moral panic is used to analyse how the image of the Arab immigrants as a threat was created. One of the chapters specifically deals, in form of a discourse analysis of the media, with the

¹¹ Dietze 2016, p. 99ff

¹² Dietze 2016, p. 100

¹³ Cockbain 2013, p. 25

¹⁴ Cockbain 2013, p. 25

¹⁵ Cockbain 2013, p. 28

criminalised racialisation of violent sexual offenses, or in other words, the creation of a moral panic around Lebanese-Australian men raping white girls. He analyses several articles from newspapers such as *Sunday Telegraph*, *Daily Telegraph* and *Sun-Herald*, as well as radio programs such as *Radio2GB*.

In their analysis, Poynting et al. point out that the media made a connection with the refugee crisis of 2001, with Islam as a misogynistic religion and the patriarch violent cultural background of Arabs and Lebanese in specific, which resulted in the conclusion that they pose an inherent threat to native women.¹⁶ They explain how, after proving that there is no correlation between this specific group and violent sexual offenses, right-wing politics used this image and moral panic to their advantage to influence politics in an anti-immigrant way.¹⁷

5. Theoretical Framework

5.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (from now on referred to as CDA) studies the ways in which social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted and reproduced in various forms of text. One of the main aims of CDA is to determine how discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.¹⁸

Norman Fairclough is one of the key scholars regarding CDA. According to him, the critical analysis of discourse is a valuable tool to uncover hegemonic dominance of one or more social groups over others, which can be represented but also be established through discourse. In discourse, representation or interaction can be a reproduction of certain social norms, but can also enforce new or old norms. According to Fairclough, it is of importance to put discourse into context, in order to fully understand the meaning of what has been said or written.¹⁹

He distinguishes CDA from regular *Discourse Analysis* (DA) saying that in CDA the analyst is aware of the *Background Knowledge* (BGK). The BGK is what naturalizes certain assumptions and norms which can be discriminatory towards certain social groups. By being aware of the BGK and considering it in the analysis as well as putting it into the historic and social context, the CDA analyst strives towards not being part of reproducing discriminatory assumptions.²⁰

¹⁶ Poynting et al. 2004, p. 120f

¹⁷ Poynting et al. 2004, p. 124f

¹⁸ van Dijk 2005, p. 352f

¹⁹ Fairclough 1995, p. 93ff

²⁰ Fairclough 1995, p. 44

Even though, according to Teun E. van Dijk, CDA does not have a specific framework when it comes to the way the analysis is conducted, there are general tenets which combined with other conceptual and theoretical frameworks, form the basis for a comprehensive analysis. Those tenets include that “CDA addresses social problems”²¹, or more specifically, a researcher addresses a social problem through CDA. One of the most important tenets is that “power relations are discursive”²², and CDA places a strong focus on the dimension of power and how they are displayed and represented in discourse. The principle that “discourse does ideological work”²³ goes in hand with what was stated in the above, as an ideology, especially a dominant one is highly influenced by those in power which will then influence a discourse. Another important tenet is that “discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory”²⁴. A researcher applying CDA must be aware of their own bias as they are interpreting a discourse from their point of view. Simultaneously however, as the CDA the researcher dissects the discourse to uncover a social problem or injustice it is also explanatory. This connects to another tenet which is that “discourse is a form of social action”²⁵. This is also related to the first tenet mentioned earlier that “CDA addresses social problems”²⁶. A researcher does not only want to address the problem, but by pointing out a social injustice shed light on it and change it to the better.²⁷

When conducting a CDA, the analyst needs to be aware of those tenets. Another aspect one needs to be aware of when conducting a CDA is the interplay between micro and macro structures. The analysis of text is generally considered to be an analysis on a micro level. However, since in CDA macro structures such as power dimensions and social inequality are analysed but through the form of a micro structure, CDA can be considered to function as a bridge closing the gap between the two structures.²⁸

The tenets listed above give a general idea of what a researcher applying CDA should keep in mind. What stands out and is worth mentioning more than once is the focus on power relations. CDA is mainly concerned with the concept of power and dominance. Van Dijk describes power

²¹ van Dijk 2001, p. 353

²² van Dijk 2001, p. 353

²³ van Dijk 2001, p. 353

²⁴ van Dijk 2001, p. 353

²⁵ van Dijk 2001, p. 353

²⁶ van Dijk 2001, p. 353

²⁷ van Dijk 2001, p. 353

²⁸ van Dijk 2001, p. 354

as the key to controlling discourse and through the control of discourse even the control of the minds of the recipients.

According to van Dijk, discourse is created by those in power, as they are the ones to have access to it and know how to control it. This can be through politicians who have a voice that reaches many, but it also comes in form of journalists and news editors. They are the ones who decide what topics should be talked about and how. Those in power are often in dominant positions due to structural inequalities that have existed for long enough to become a hegemonic idea and is hence unquestioned by the majority of a society.²⁹

Not only are the discourses controlled by those in power, but through that control their power dominance and hegemony can be reproduced as well. Recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources such as scholars, experts, professionals or reliable media. This means that the information recipients receive is accepted by them without questioning, which gives those in control of the discourse the power to control the minds of the recipients.³⁰

So far this paper has just been considering the dominant group. But CDA, which aims to uncover social inequalities, is concerned with those who are affected by a certain kind of discourse. As mentioned above, the control of discourse can have an influence on how social groups view one another. This mental representation can be part of an older hegemonic discourse. Van Dijk speaks specifically of ethnocentrism and racism, which have been topics of concern in CDA. Minority groups have been misrepresented in discourse for a long time. Whether focusing on the exoticization of the members of those groups or stressing the other's intellectual, moral, and biological inferiority. CDA has been focusing on how this discrimination happened in linguistic text to and about minorities. Even though the discourse about these particular groups is based on old ideas, as the same group is still in power, the discourse is playing a great role in reproducing old discriminatory images.³¹

5.2. Theory on the Established-Outsider, Orientalism, Ethnosexism and Moral Panics

Elias' established-outsider model, Dietze's ethnosexism and Cohen's theory on moral panics are based on the concepts of othering and representation. Even though they have different foci, they are similar enough to be put together in one section. The following section will first discuss each theory independently and then connect them to each other.

²⁹ van Dijk 2001, p. 355

³⁰ van Dijk 2001, p. 358

³¹ van Dijk 2001, p. 361

Power relations between different groups can occur on a variety of different levels. The differences in those groups can lie in their ethnicity, religion, social class but can go as far as power dimensions between different states.³² Norbert Elias developed a model which he calls the established-outsider relation, in which he analyses the power dimension between groups and the process of stigmatisation inflicted by the established onto the outsider group.

According to Elias, the key factor that determines the roles between the established and the outsider is that the established are in the position of power. It is a key factor, because only a group that is superior in the power relation has the power to create a stigma that has an effect on the other group.³³ Even though stigmatisation is usually associated with explicit characteristics such as ethnicity or religious differences, he argues that at the base of the established-outsider's relation is the power imbalance. Differences such as race are then used by the established group to underline the otherness, but are, according to Elias, not the reason for the othering.³⁴ The outsider group, which is the group inferior in the power relation, can create a stigma against the established group, however it will have very little to no influence on the power relations. They can only start fighting back and have an impact when the power relations start to change.³⁵

The origins in those power relations can have different reasons, but typically the case is that the established have been in a certain geographical area for longer and henceforth have built up a system that they identify with and are based in, but most importantly have a stronger social cohesion than the outsiders.³⁶ The outsiders, who in many cases are newcomers as well, pose a potential threat to the established. The perceived threat is that the newcomers might change the ways of living the established have built.³⁷ As the newcomers become part of the established group's reality, the established "close their ranks" in order to protect themselves from the newcomers. By protecting, it is meant that the established want to secure their status of power dominance, which usually comes with economic power as well. The more powerful group, which tends to perceive itself as superior - not only in their power status, but as superior humans - creates a stigma about the outsiders. The established group ascribes the outsider group the attribute of the group's "worst" section, which makes every member of that group inherently

³² Elias 1994, p. xv

³³ Elias 1994, p. xx

³⁴ Elias 1994, p. xxxx

³⁵ Elias 1994, p. xxv

³⁶ Elias 1994, p. xix

³⁷ Elias 1994, p. xxii

“bad”, whereas the members of the established group ascribe themselves the characteristics of their best members, which makes all members of the established group inherently “good”.³⁸ As the image is not perceived as something created, but something inherent, it makes the image of the members of the group static, which means that it will be harder for the members of the outsider group to distance themselves from that stigma.³⁹ Since the stigma of the outsiders is a negative one, the established group creates a justification of why they should be in the dominant position as they are inherently better humans.⁴⁰

This general idea about the power relation of the established and the outsider in connection with stigmatisation and othering is part of two other theories relevant for this research paper. However, before going into the theories of ethnosexism and moral panics, it is important to speak about Edward Said’s concept of *Orientalism*.

Said’s concept of Orientalism is based on ideas of post-colonialism as well as othering. According to Said, the Orient has played a major role in the process of self-definition of Europeans. Based on stories and reports of Westerners who have travelled to the Orient since the 18th century, the new academic discipline of Orientalism emerged, which concerned itself with the study of Oriental culture and people.⁴¹ However, what Said’s focus is more about than just the academic discipline, but mainly focuses on the theme of dominance. In this, he states that the Baconian themes of knowledge and power play an essential role, which are also interconnected with the academic discipline. It was essential for Europeans to have a pre-established hegemony about their superiority in order to go to other places such as the Orient and collecting and creating knowledge and facts *about* them. Through the collection of more knowledge and the study of the people in question, the Europeans self-confirmed their idea that they were superior as they created an image of the Oriental who was described as a liar, suspicious, without any understanding of logic and reasoning. This stood in sharp contrast to the Europeans who saw themselves as clear, direct and noble, while any deviation of an Oriental in their ascribed role was considered as unnatural.⁴²

Going beyond the characteristics listed above, the sexualisation or exotification of the Oriental played a big role as well. Concerning the relationship between white men and oriental women

³⁸ Elias 1994, p. xix

³⁹ Elias 1994, p. xxxivf

⁴⁰ Elias 1994, p. xvff

⁴¹ Said 2003, p. 4

⁴² Said 2003, p. 38f

it as described in Oriental literature, according to Said, represents the way Westerners were dominating the Orient. The women who is suppressed and exoticized by the white men is representative for the Oriental culture that is dominated by the West.⁴³ However, when it comes to the image of the Oriental men that was created, especially literature from that time can give an insight into what the Oriental man was imagined to be like.

In Oriental literature, Oriental women are portrayed as “exotic prostitutes”⁴⁴, beautiful women with a large sexual desire. Just as Westerners created this hypersexualized image of Oriental women, the image of the Oriental man was just as predatorily hypersexualized as that of a brutal tyrant with a never-ending sexual appetite, driven by his violent sexual desire.⁴⁵ The way the people from this area are portrayed in literature reflects the image of the Orient in the West.

The Lustful Turk is a key example to demonstrate the predatorily hypersexualized colonial image of men of the so-called Orient. The erotic novel tells the story of an English woman that is kidnapped by an Arab sheikh, who dominates her through rape, which makes her discover her own sexual desires. The male protagonist is the classic image of the brutal, sex driven, barbaric, inconsiderate man.⁴⁶

Other scholars have based their concepts off the work of Said’s concept of Orientalism and the image of the Oriental that he describes and that is part of the European history. One of those scholars is Dietze and her concept of Ethnosexism. According to Said, the image of the Oriental man as an unpredictable and wild was a creation of Europeans, which consequently became part of their own identity creation. One scholar that has built off Said’s work is Dietze, whose concept of ethnosexism relates to Said’s concept of the image of the Oriental man.

Ethnosexism describes the intersectional phenomena in which heterosexual men of an immigrant background are discriminated against based on their belonging to a marginalized ethnic or religious group. Dietze understands ethnosexism as “a kind of culturalization of gender, in which ethnically marked individuals are being discriminated based on the assumption of them being problematic or underdeveloped sexuality.”⁴⁷ It entails the demonization and exoticization of men with an immigrant background.⁴⁸ Even though this theory has mainly been

⁴³ Said 2003, p. 6

⁴⁴ Teo 2011, p. 31

⁴⁵ Teo 2011, p. 31

⁴⁶ anon. 1828, p.16ff

⁴⁷ Dietze 2016, p. 178 – (author’s own translation)

⁴⁸ Dietze 2016, p. 178f

applied to men and women from the African continent as well as slaves, it also applies to men with other immigrant backgrounds, specifically men with an Arab or Muslim background. In the media, members of this group have been described as “a savage on the margins of the civilized world, who is not a real man, but rather a big pubescent child, infinitely cruel and short-tempered.”⁴⁹

This theory can be placed within the framework of Elias’ model of the established and the outsiders. The concept of ethnosexism could be described as the name of one of the ways in which an outsider’s group is othered by the more dominant group. In this case, the established group is the native population that ascribes the characteristics of being a sexual threat to the members of the outsider’s group. The members of the outsider group are the objects of a “fantasy”, as Elias calls it, in which the members inherently show a certain kind of negative behaviour, in this case posing a sexual threat.

“A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media,”⁵⁰ This could be considered a very brief description of the concept of moral panics, according to Cohen. Societies experience this phenomenon on a frequent basis. A group or condition that might have been present in the past or might have become a part of a society only recently, which can be the cause of concern, suddenly seems to be posing a threat to the rest of society. Cohen points out that this threat is usually perceived on a moral dimension in which certain social groups are perceived as a threat to an established value system.⁵¹ There are five key features which are part of a moral panic and can help researcher to determine whether a chain of events can be considered a moral panic. Those five key features of moral panics are: concern, hostility, consensus, disproportionality, and volatility. These five stages describe the process of first, the concern in a society which is usually sparked by an event, the hostility against a specific group, consensus in the negative social reaction about the event as well as the group in question, disproportionality of the representation of the extent of threat this group might pose, volatility of the media’s reporting which can cause panic to emerge but might disappear just as quickly again.⁵² Cohen showed a special interest in the role the mass media can play in creating a moral panic. According to Cohen, the key actions of the mass media are to create a distortion of the events by over-reporting on an issue or an event, as well as the

⁴⁹ Dietze 2016, p. 182

⁵⁰ Cohen 2002, p. 1

⁵¹ Garland 2008, p. 11

⁵² Garland 2008, p. 11

exaggeration of the seriousness of the event through changing facts or misrepresenting numbers.⁵³

Even though Cohen acknowledges that the media itself does not necessarily create a certain image, “their reporting of certain ‘facts’ can be sufficient to generate concern, anxiety, indignation or panic.”⁵⁴ Reporting on certain facts specifically plays a role in the phase before an event has struck. According to Cohen, in the time frame before the phase of moral panic begins, there is a time of foreshadowing of certain concerns which are usually communicated through the media. The pre-established thoughts or rumours about a certain condition or group is what forms the basis for panic once an event has occurred as the event then seems to confirm already-existing rumours.⁵⁵

Similarly to Dietze’s concept of ethnosexism, Cohen’s theory on moral panic also displays similar components. The moral dimension is one major component. The idea that a group, which can be new to a society, poses a threat to the morals and established value system is similar in both scholars’ descriptions. According to Elias, the fear of having a certain order disturbed leads to othering, whereas in Cohen’s model the result is moral panic of the majority group. In both theories, the image that is created of the members of the threatening group become, as Cohen calls it, “public property”⁵⁶ as those members do not have control over how they are represented and talked about. This follows Elias’ idea of power dimensions, as the folk devils or outsiders do not have the power to create their own image, but that is done by the majority group through the media, which are usually in the hands of the established and hence those in a position of power.

6. Method

6.1. Material and Data collection

There were two main reasons why I decided to focus only on the city of Bremen and the *Weser Kurier*. One reason was that due to the size of this research paper, if several cities had been included it would not have been possible to go into the necessary depth, hence the decision to use only one city as an example of how the representation of the group in question has changed

⁵³ Cohen 2002, p.26

⁵⁴ Cohen 2002, p. 10

⁵⁵ Cohen 2002, p. 24

⁵⁶ Cohen 2002, p. 2

since the New Year's night in Cologne. Due to my personal connection to the city of Bremen, which is the place that I grew up in, it was easier for me to get access to the relevant police statistics as well as the statistics of the *notruf Bremen*. But Bremen is a good case for this research paper for its demographic aspects as well. Bremen is of average size in the context of Germany as the 11th largest city in the country. In 2016, Bremen had 679 000 inhabitants.⁵⁷ Out of those 679 000 inhabitants, around 16.5% were people without German citizenship.⁵⁸ This means that there is a considerable mix between native population and people with a different background.

Politically, Bremen has been very consistent in the sense that since the end of the second world war it has been governed by the Social Democratic Party (SPD).⁵⁹

CDA has been criticized for using a term such as discourse, which according to Henry Widdowson “is something everybody is talking about but without knowing with any certainty just what it is”⁶⁰. In order to counterfeit this weakness it is important to specify what discourse means in the context of this research paper. In this case, discourse stands for media discourse as only newspaper articles from one newspaper are used. Even though from a research perspective, one could have gotten a more comprehensive understanding of the problem by not exclusively focusing on media discourse of one newspaper, however due to the scope of this research paper it would have damaged the quality of the research as it would have gotten too superficial.

The *Weserkurier* is a daily newspaper that is published in the province of Bremen but also includes other newspaper with a more regional focus published in 6 other municipalities around Bremen. The newspaper is the largest one in the region with around 140 000 copies printed every day. It is fairly difficult to determine what the political orientation of the newspaper is. The first editors of the newspaper were a communist and a conservative from the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), which speaks for the range of political opinions expressed by different journalists in the newspaper.⁶¹

The archives of the *Weser Kurier*, which were used for the data collection, also show the articles published in the newspapers with a more regional focus, which have individual names.

⁵⁷ Statistisches Bundesamt 2018

⁵⁸ Statistisches Bundesamt 2017

⁵⁹ Arzheimer 2008, p. 7

⁶⁰ Widdowson 1995, p. 158

⁶¹ Pressestelle des Senats 2001

However, since they are all part of the *Weser Kurier* and their articles show up in the archives as well, this paper will only refer to the *Weser Kurier* instead of all 7 individual ones.

The desired articles for this research paper were accumulated in a systematic way. Within the online archives of the *Weser Kurier* is a search function in which one can search according to dates and key words. The time frames that were searched within were the entire year of 2015 as well as the entire year of 2016. This means that there is an equal amount of time before and after the incident of the News Year's night in Cologne in 2015/2016. The most useful results were obtained by searching for the keywords "Sexuelle Belästigung", which translates to "sexual harassment". Using other terms failed to return the same quality of results. Searching for the term "Gewalt Migranten" which translates to "violence migrants" found articles that were only related to cases among immigrants, not interacting with the native population. However, the term "sexuelle Gewalt" which translates to "sexual violence" did not bring up enough of the relevant articles, as mostly articles concerning sexual violence in general came up, in contrast to the reports of cases of sexual harassment.

Out of all the articles found by the search, only those that reported on a case of sexual harassment within Germany were used. In some cases, there was more than one article reporting on the same subject. This was especially the case in the New Year's night. For the purpose of this research, however, only the article with the most extensive report was chosen. All those articles reporting on celebrity cases were excluded.

When all the relevant articles were collected, they were put into different categories. First, they were separated according to the year of publication. Within those two groups, the articles were separated according to whether they mentioned the perpetrator to be a man with an immigrant background, those articles in which the perpetrators were described with words such as "asylum seeker", "Arab or North African appearance" and so on. The articles from 2016 which do not describe a profile applicable to the men in question were not used for the analysis. However, the articles from 2015 are all considered even though they do not include descriptions of the men in question, in order to answer the research question concerning the change from 2015 to 2016.

Since the study was dealing with only a limited number of articles - 21 in total - there was no need to use any kind of software for the analysis, so it was done manually. Depending on the contents of the article the analysis was separated into five different topics: Creating the "Other", moral panic, the perpetrators, the foreign Perpetrator vs the Native "Saviour", and the question of: who is talking?

6.2. Ethical consideration

Creswell states that “qualitative research is interpretative research”⁶², which means that the interpretation is subjective and hence carries a risk of bias. Before beginning with this research I was involved in activism for the rights of asylum seekers and have personal relations to people who have experienced discriminatory behavior towards them, such as described in this paper. If not taken into consideration, my personal involvement could potentially compromise the research and result in subjectivity. However, in order to prevent my personal bias from interfering with this research, I describe clearly how this research was conducted in an academic way. In this way, transparency is created to see through my thoughts and processes.

In the context of this research, there is little ethical concern regarding the data collection. Only articles that are accessible to the public were used, and the systematic approach described above was used to avoid bias in data collection.

6.3. Translation

Since the articles are published in German, it was necessary for the author to translate them to English. This poses a limitation for the research study as contents might get lost in translation. However, all articles are accessible to the readers and links are provided in the bibliography so that it is possible for the reader to access the original texts.

6.4. Presentation of material

Listed below is a table cataloguing all the relevant articles for this analysis. The table includes a numerical listing of the articles and the original headlines of the articles in German, as well as a translation in English. The author and the date of publication are listed together with a list of important key words from the articles.

Before going into the analysis of the individual articles, it is important to consider the number of relevant articles. Between the years 2015 and 2016, there was a vast increase in the number of articles found. Even though for both years the same key words were used, in 2015 there were only three articles which reported on cases of sexual harassment. Within those three articles, the only description that is given of the perpetrators is their age.

In 2016, on the other hand, there was a great change in quantity of articles as well as representations made of the perpetrators. The overall number of relevant articles was 39. Out

⁶² Creswell 2003, p. 184

of the 15 articles reported on cases of harassment but did not specify the perpetrator, three mentioned specifically German or Western European-looking perpetrators and 20 articles name specifically perpetrators who belong to the group of interest for this research paper. Those 20 articles are listed in the table above.

Before starting the analysis, it is important to clarify two German terms. One of these terms is “Südländer” or “südländisches Aussehen”. The literal translation of this would be “southerner” or “southern looks”, but the semantics of this term in German are quite specifically referring to people from southern Europe, Northern Africa or the Middle East. Since the term “southerner” in English does not represent what it means in German, the German terms will be used in the analysis.

Nr.	Title	Author	Date	Key Words
1	Mutter mit Töchtern sexuell belästigt Mother and daughters sexually harassed	Elke Hoesmann	11.4.2015	Drunken man
2	Mann entblößt sich vor Mädchen Man strips in front of girls	Justus Seebade	9.5.2015	Mass harassment, sexual harassment, "südländisches" or Arabic looks, refugees
3	Prozess wegen Vergewaltigung Rape case on trial	Heidi Niemann	17.11.2015	
4	Massive Attacken auch in Hamburg Massive attacks in Hamburg as well	Markus Lorenz	5.1.2016	Mass harassment, sexual harassment, "südländisches" or Arabic looks, refugees
5	Welle von Anzeigen nach Übergriffen von Silvester Wave of police reports after the new year's assaults	anon.	6.1.2016	Grave assaults, north African or Arabic origin, asylum seekers, organised crime
6	Sexuelle Übergriffe in Oldenburg Sexual assaults in Oldenburg	Sabine Bickmeier	11.1.2016	Algeria, Moroccan asylum seekers, refugees
7	Schwimmbadverbot für männliche Flüchtlinge in Bornheim Swimming pool ban for male refugees in Bornheim	anon.	15.1.2016	Sexual harassment, asylum centre, security concept
8	Junge Frau im Bahnhof und Zug sexuell belästigt	anon.	15.1.2016	Südländer

	Young woman sexually harassed in train station and train			
9	Zutrittsverbot für Migranten in Freiburger Discos - Stadt überrascht Club ban for migrants in Freiburg - City surprised	anon.	23.1.2016	Migrants, refugees, foreigners, sexual harassment, theft, violence
10	Frauen verfolgt und belästigt Women stalked and harassed	Elke Hoesmann	2.2.2016	Guinea, sexual harassment, violence
11	Randale im Hauptbahnhof Rampage at the Central Railway Station	anon.	16.2.2016	Sexual harassment, North African, brawl
12	Belästigung junger Mädchen Harassment of young girls	anon.	27.2.2016	Migrant background, massive harassment, asylum seekers, Afghanistan, threat, insults, fear
13	Schülerin in Bus belästigt Female student harassed in bus	Heinz-Peter Petrat	4.3.2016	Dark complexion, spoke broken German
14	Sexuelle Belästigung auf der Osterwiese Sexual harassment at the Osterwiese	Elke Hoesmann	30.3.2016	Syrian
15	14-Jährige im Stadtpark belästigt 14 year old harassed in city park	Irene Niehaus	14.4.2016	Asylum seekers
16	Junge Frauen beim Karneval der Kulturen begripscht und bestohlen Young women groped and robbed at Karneval der Kulturen	anon.	15.5.2016	Groped, robbed, group of young men, Turkish origin
17	Sexuelle Übergriffe in Berlin: Zahl der Anzeigen gestiegen Sexual assaults in Berlin: Number of police reports increasing	anon.	17.5.2016	Südländisches Aussehen, Turkish nationality, foreign nationality
18	26 Frauen sexuell belästigt 26 women sexually harassed	anon.	1.6.2016	South Asian origin, Pakistan, asylum seeker
19	Mädchen in Schwimmbad belästigt Girl harassed in swimming pool	Julia Ladebeck	2.6.2016	Foreign young men
20	Mehr Belästigung auf Breminale	Pascal Faltermann	19.7.2016	Refugees, Afghanistan

	More cases of harassment at Breminale			
21	Frau sexuell bedrängt Woman molested	Heinz-Peter Petrat	16.8.2016	Black skin colour
22	Zwei Frauen sexuell belästigt Two women sexually harassed	Kristin Hermann	13.9.2016	North African looks, black hair and eyes
23	Sexualstraftat im Bremer Westen Sexual offense in the west of Bremen	anon.	18.10.2016	Unaccompanied minor, refugee

7. Analysis

7.1. 2015

The main focus of the analysis is on the articles from 2016. Nevertheless, in order to answer the first research question of this paper, the articles of 2015 will be analysed to recognise changes from 2015 to 2016.

There are considerably fewer articles from 2015 than 2016. There were only three articles in all of 2015 that reported on cases of sexual harassment in public. None of the articles give detailed descriptions of the perpetrators. In articles 1 and 3, the age of the perpetrators is stated, but the description does not go beyond that. In article 2, the perpetrator is not described in any other way than being described as “a man”⁶³ This means that even though they are perpetrators and portrayed as such, as there is a lack of description in the articles, they are not created to be an outsider group.

There are no exceptional terms used to describe the actions. This results in a lack of creation of a moral panic, as the cases are presented individually with no reference to other cases.

The findings that can be drawn from 2015 are limited by the small number of articles from that year. The main part of this analysis follows below, in which the different themes which occur in the articles will be analysed.

⁶³ Niemann 2015

7.2. Creating the “Other”

Throughout all the relevant articles that were considered for this research paper, there is a common: “the establishment of an insider-outsider relation through one tool, by explicitly stating the origin of the perpetrators. More specifically these articles point out how the perpetrators are not German, meaning not a part of the dominant insider group. There are several different examples:

“Eyewitnesses and victims claimed that the perpetrators were mainly of North African or Arabic origin. According to the police, there is no proof yet that among the suspects were asylum seekers as well.”⁶⁴

In this part, we see othering done on the basis of geographic and ethnic origin, as well as on the legal status of residence as the question of whether the perpetrators were asylum seekers or not is asked.

The article “Ban from Discos for migrants in Freiburg – City surprised” includes the following passage:

“Currently refugees have great problems to go clubbing in Freiburg as they are denied entry. The owners justify this as there have been alleged cases of sexual harassment of women by foreigners, as well as theft and violence [...]”⁶⁵

There is a confusing mix of terms used interchangeably in this paragraph. In the heading, the men in question are referred to as “migrants”, which changes to “refugees” in the first line of the article, and finally, in the following sentence “foreigners”. Even though the three terms have different meanings, they are used as one. This vague image of “the Other” that is created, has a very strong effect, as the men are described to have allegedly committed certain crimes, but by using the terms interchangeably, the people that fall into the description of one of these three terms, their ethnic belonging, are made into one homogenous group. More specifically saying, all refugees or foreigner or migrants could be considered criminals, according to this depiction.

The descriptions in the articles used for the perpetrators are not only based on geographic or ethnic origin, or their legal status of residency, but also include other descriptions, such as

⁶⁴ anon. 6.1.2016

⁶⁵ anon. 23.1.2016

“black hair and eyes”⁶⁶ in article 19, or “dark complexion” and “spoke broken German” as described in article 10.⁶⁷

In article 9, the behavior of the men in question is described in detail and can be categorized into two groups: the behavior they display towards the girls and the behavior that they display towards the police. The words used to describe the behavior they display towards the girls are “watched” and “haunted”⁶⁸. This kind of stalking behavior is pointed out in the beginning as well as the end of the article. Towards the police, the men are described to be aggressive: “There were grave insults, threats as well as bodily harm.”⁶⁹ The Western description of the “Oriental” according to Said, which includes both the stalking behavior towards women as well as the irrational aggressiveness is represented in this article.

These ways of describing the perpetrator create a supposedly homogenous image of what a sexual predator looks like, whether it is the way they look or speak as described above or their ethnic or geographic origin. They are described in a way that distinguishes them as one group separate from the native group.

Even though none of the articles might have the intention to create this certain image in the heads of their readers, by giving such detailed descriptions of the perpetrators in connection with these cases of assault, an image is created.

7.3. Moral Panic

“Could it have been a coincidence? After the simultaneously occurring cases of sexual mass harassment of women in Hamburg and Cologne on New Year’s night, the police are investigating whether the unknown suspects might have coordinated their attacks”⁷⁰

Already in this short excerpt from article 1, different components of a moral panic become evident. The introduction with a rhetorical question asking whether the incidents in Cologne and Hamburg could have been a coincidence is the first aspect, and the question phrased in a way with the following sentence that one wants to answer that with a no. The following sentence reports that the harassments were planned, that the harassments were planned on a larger scale

⁶⁶ Hermann 13.9.2016

⁶⁷ Petrat 4.3.2016

⁶⁸ anon. 16.2.2016

⁶⁹ anon. 16.2.2016

⁷⁰ Lorenz 6.1.2016

in two different large cities in Germany. It then turns into the question whether the men in question pose a threat for the native population as gangs with the intention of committing “sexual mass harassment”. This theme continues over the next couple of months.

“More than 20 men with a migrant background harassed and stalked three girls in a shopping mall in Kiel. [...] Initially two asylum seekers from Afghanistan haunted the girls, aged 15, 16 and 17, watched and stalked them and filmed and photographed everything with their mobile phones. Bit by bit, the number of men increased up to 20 to 30 people. After initial investigations, no sexual assaults were committed other than in the New Year’s Eve in Hamburg and Cologne.”⁷¹

This article reports on yet another case of harassment committed by a large group of men of immigrant background. Even though the term “sexual mass harassment” is not used in this article, it creates a similar image by insinuation. Three young girls who are “haunted”, “watched and stalked” by a large group of men. The article paints a similar picture to the other cases in Hamburg and Cologne, making the connection clear by explicitly mentioning those incidents. Although it is described how this case diverged from the original incidents, simply mentioning those cases from other German cities contributes to the creation and perpetuation of feeling of a national threat.

7.4. The perpetrators

Article 3, “Sexuelle Übergriffe in Oldenburg”, was published on the 11th of January and describes the harassment of two young women. What is of particular interest in this article is the interchangeable use of the words “the perpetrators” (“die Täter”) or as “the Algerian”. As those two terms are used as if they were the same, they create the feeling as if they were. “The Algerian” becomes one with “the perpetrator”. The men are described as perpetrators in two different ways.

“Saturday evening in the city centre of Oldenburg, five women were the victims of sexual harassment. They were intimately touched and insulted by two men from Algeria.”⁷²

⁷¹ anon. 27.2.2016

⁷² Bickmeier 11.1.2016

The women are described as “the victims”, while the descriptive word used to describe the men is “men from Algeria”. It is a logical process of thought that where there is a victim, there must be a perpetrator as well. The article continues:

“As the perpetrators were leaving the club, they started to harass two women by the exit.”⁷³

Now the description changed to calling the men the perpetrators. However, this changes again in the next paragraph:

“Thanks to the emergency call, the police were able to confront the two Algerians close to the crime scene.”⁷⁴

This is a very similar process to the first quote. The description of someone being “confronted” close to a “crime scene” creates the immediate association with a perpetrator, who in this case are “two Algerians”.

In all three descriptions, the men are described as perpetrators: in the first and last by association, and in the second by explicitly using the word “perpetrators”.

Elias describes this process, in which members of the insider group ascribe negative attributes to the members of the outsider group.⁷⁵ In this case, it is not necessarily a bad attribute but rather the image of “the perpetrator” which becomes one with “the Algerians”. The consequence is that the word and concept of a perpetrator who is connected to sexual harassment becomes connected to the group of Algerians and the other way around.

7.5. The foreign perpetrator versus the native “saviour”

The most obvious contrast created in the articles is that of the “foreign” perpetrator versus the local “victims”. However, one recurring theme in some of the articles is that of the local who intervenes to save the victim.

This can be observed in article 14. The article reports on cases of harassment at street festival in Berlin., including two cases of harassment by men of “südländisch” looks in which three young women are described as the victims. The article continues:

⁷³ Bickmeier 11.1.2016

⁷⁴ Bickmeier 11.1.2016

⁷⁵ Elias 1994, p. xix

“In both cases two men intervened and freed the women. A 27-year-old filmed and intervened, even though the perpetrators aggressively tried to chase him away. [...] A speaker of the police commented on the Friday night, ‘A witness interfered and resolutely stood up and said: ”I will call the police” and therefore saved the situation.”⁷⁶

The origin of the men who intervened is not described; however, since the perpetrator’s supposed origin of having “südländisch” looks is described whereas the victims’ or “saviours” background is not, there is an establishment of an Established-Outsider relation. The image that is created of the men who intervened is that of strong, determined men who “resolutely stood up” and would not stop trying to save the women even though “the perpetrators tried to chase them away”.⁷⁷

Article 7 presents a similar situation:

“Two young men harassed two women in a bar in a clubbing area. When the two women from Bremen left the bar to get away from the harassment, the two men from Guinea (18 and 19 years old) followed them and would not leave them alone. In Herdentorsteinweg a fight emerged and violence occurred. A 25 and a 27-year-old man from Bremen interfered.”⁷⁸

In this article, the group division is very present. The victims as well as the “saviours” are described to be from Bremen, whereas the perpetrators are reported to be from Guinea. The perpetrators are described as members of an outsider group, men from a foreign country who are harassing local women. According to Elias, the relationship is created by ascribing members of the outsider group negative characteristics, in which the members of the established group differ by being ascribed the positive opposite traits. This becomes very evident as the foreign men are the ones who harass whereas the local men are the ones who intervene

7.6. Who is talking?

A key element when talking about the established-outsider relationship is that the image that is created of the outsider group is created by members of the established group.⁷⁹ The established group is the native population of Bremen and the outsider group is men with an immigrant

⁷⁶ anon. 17.5.2016

⁷⁷ anon. 17.5.2016

⁷⁸ Hoesmann 2.2.2016

⁷⁹ Elias 1994, p. xx

background. In this context, it is important to consider who writes the articles. A bit more than half the articles were published with an author listed. All the authors have typically German names, which makes them part of the established group who have a certain power as they are in a position to report on an issue and create an image.

In this context, it is important to note that while men of the groups in question are consistently mentioned by others, in none of the articles are their voice directly represented. This becomes explicitly evident in article 4, which reported on the ban for male refugees by a swimming pool in the town of Bornheim. The perspectives of people of the established group were represented, such as the concern of staff and visitors of the pool, as well as the person in charge of security in the pool, who is quoted:

” As soon as we receive the message that the message is understood, the ban will be lifted again.”⁸⁰

The men in question are talked about as if they were children who do not understand the rules of a game and are henceforth punished for their misbehaviour. A member of the established group is in a position of power over those who belong to the outsider group.

8. Conclusion

Even though in this particular field of research many questions are still to be asked and answered, three key findings were discovered within this particular research study: There has been a drastic change from 2015 to 2016 in the number of articles published representing men with an immigrant background as sexual predators, the way in which the men in question are represented is part of a larger othering process which results in a clear distinction between them and the native population, and a moral panic is created through several different mechanisms.

A great change in representation of the men in question from the year 2015 to 2016 was discovered in this research. It changed in quantity from 3 articles in 2015 to 39 in 2016, as well as in description. Since the change started after the New Year’s night in Cologne it can be concluded that this incident was what sparked the change from very sparse reporting on cases of sexual harassment to reporting in larger numbers and focusing and describing those perpetrators that have an immigrant background.

⁸⁰ anon. 15.1.2016

Within this description Elias' concept of the established-outsider relation was applied to demonstrate the process of othering and power relations, through the way the men in question are described as predators and dangerous and the fact that the representation is exclusively done by members of the established group. Another finding of this research study was that by contrasting a "foreign perpetrator" versus a "native saviour" was another means to establish a relation of superiority versus inferiority.

In a most of the representations of the men on question, it was possible to discover elements of Said's Orientalism. It became mainly evident in the descriptions of the men as aggressive and irrational, but like Elias' concept, the fact that an image of the men in question was created by the members of another group, is a key factor as well.

Finally, the elements of a moral panic as described by Cohen were discovered in the research as well. Creating connections between different cases of sexual harassment and presenting the perpetrators in ways that create the idea of large masses or gangs roaming Germany and looking for new victims among the female native population is the key mechanism in doing this.

Even though the three research questions that were asked in the beginning of this research study were answered there is still a lot of room for further research. This study can be considered to create a base or an idea for further research. It is recommended to expand the research to more than just one newspaper and to increase the time frames to receiving more comprehensive results. It would also be interesting to do a cross national comparison of whether this change in representation has happened in other countries that did not experience a key such as the New Year's night in Cologne that triggered the change in representation in Germany.

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