

CAPSTONE

**The Ethnicization of Sexual Violence in German Right-Wing and Feminist Discourse:
A Critical Discourse Analysis of *Emma* and *Junge Freiheit***

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Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of how German feminist and right-wing media portray sexual violence in the discourse around ethnicized men. I conducted a feminist critical discourse analysis using articles that include the keywords migrant, women, and violence from the feminist magazine *Emma* and the right-wing magazine *Junge Freiheit*. The findings indicate that both newspapers construct an image of the dangerous ethnicized man, both villainize immigrants and attribute motivations to sexual violence, victimize white Germans and externalize misogyny. Lastly, the narrative that is created by ethnicizing sexism within the discourse around migration and sexual violence is discussed.

Keywords:

ethnicized sexism, sexual violence, migration, feminism, right-wing politics, femonationalism

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Introduction

The narrative of the violent ethnicized man who endangers white European women has long been part of nationalists' intentions in Europe, spreading fear of a “racialized Other” (Bonjour & Bracke, 2020). The most recent application of this trope can be found in the anti-immigration arguments of the extreme right (Bonjour & Bracke, 2020). However, it can also be found in the discourse of some women's rights advocates who are warning about a sexual threat of immigration (Boulila & Carri, 2017). The political and historical colonial structures of Europe marginalize ethnicized men who are often presented as being dangerous, violent, and sexist; portraying sexism as having a cultural or ethnic root rather than a patriarchal¹ one (Berg, 2019). This application of ethnic stereotypes, when discussing sexist behavior (e.g. verbal or physical harassment) is coined as ethnicized sexism (Berg, 2019). The focus of this research is set on ethnicized sexism within the German media space. To explore the nuances of ethnicized sexism, I aim to investigate the question of how German feminist and right-wing media portray sexual violence in the discourse around ethnicized men. Specifically, this study will be looking at *Emma* and *Junge Freiheit*, a feminist and a right-wing German newspaper, respectively. In order to contextualize this research I first provide information on the history of ethnicized sexism, the colonial roots of sexual violence, the current situation of the political right in Germany, and the role of feminism in this discourse. Further, I introduce critical discourse analysis and the feminist lens as my theoretical framework and explain my methodology. Lastly, I present the analysis of my results and discuss their implications.

When I use the term “ethnicized men” I refer to men whose identity of being a man, as well as their identity as a BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and Person of Colour), migrant, and/or other ethnic minority, intersect and form a unique experience; that of being a man experiencing

¹ Patriarchy: A social structure in which men hold dominance, subjugate and oppress women (Walby, 1989)

structural racial and religious discrimination (Szogs, 2017; Wigger et al., 2021; Dietze, 2022). Their race², nationality, and/or religion continuously shape their interpersonal interactions and how they are perceived by society (Szogs, 2017). I chose to use this word, in the context of migration, instead of migrant men, because people who have not migrated may still be perceived as such by others; subjecting them to the same discrimination. I use the term sexual violence to encompass any nonconsensual attempted and actual sexual intrusion (including but not limited to harassment, and assault). I want to stress that as my method is discourse analysis, statistics on sexual violence in relation to the ethnicity or migration status of aggressors in Germany are irrelevant to the scope of this thesis and will not be provided.

Literature Review

In order to provide a contextual frame to place this discourse analysis in, I conducted a literature review. Using Google Scholar and SmartCat I first used the keywords “migration”, “racism”, “sexual violence” and “Germany” to gain insight into the existent English and German literature. From this, I was able to identify key themes that helped me continue my research, searching for terms such as “femonationalism”, “ethnicized sexism” and “islamophobia and sexual violence”. Lastly, I organized the information into the themes that I present below.

The History of Ethnicized Sexism

Ethnicized sexism is deeply engrained in the political and media landscape of Europe (Berg, 2019). During European colonialism, the superiority of the ‘white race’ and of European civilizations, was the main justification for the violence and oppression of individuals from colonized countries (Boulila & Carri, 2017). By attributing an image of strong sexual drives and animalistic sexuality to enslaved men, the colonizers intended to justify their violence (Bonjour

² Referring to race as a social construct (Delgado, R., Stefancic, J., & Harris, A)

& Bracke, 2020). This laid the foundation for the widespread mythos, that non-white men have predatory impulses, which we still find today (Davis, 1981). As Angela Davis stated, “the myth of the black rapist has been methodically conjured up when recurrent waves of violence and terror against the black community required a convincing explanation” (1981, pp. 40).

Continuously throughout history, this narrative was instrumentalized for the benefit of white European societies. For instance, during France's occupation of the Rhineland, at the end of WWI, France stationed soldiers from their colonies, Senegal, Madagascar, Algeria and Vietnam, in Germany (Bonjour & Bracke, 2020; Roos 2012). In order to mobilize the German public against the French occupation, Germany spread racist propaganda, shown in Appendix 1. (Roos, 2012). They portrayed black soldiers as violent and dangerous and a sexual threat to white German women, for them to achieve their own foreign policy goals (Roos, 2012). They used the claim that they were acting in the name of women's safety to justify their racism (Roos, 2012). This myth of the ethnicized and racialized sexual predator³ keeps reappearing; from the 14-year-old Emmet Till who was murdered in 1955 for allegedly whistling at a white woman, to former US President Donald Trump referring to Mexicans as rapists, to the Dutch politician Geert Wilders calling Muslim immigration a “rape epidemic” (Hale & Matt, 2019; Bonjour & Bracke, 2020; Gökarıksel & Smith, 2016). The pattern that arises is that violence against non-white persons is given false legitimacy through the excuse of protecting white women.

Coloniality and Instrumentalisation of Sexual Assault

Sexual violence has been a constant tool of the oppression of women. The normalization of it has led to societies accepting a rape culture which results in the degradation and oppression of women (Williams, 2015). Sexual assault was used as a tool of oppression and violence from white men towards black women during slavery and colonialism (Davis, 1981). The

³ A person who is sexually violent, also; ‘sexual aggressor’

objectification of women and especially women of color is rooted in colonial structures which allowed white men to act upon women through sexual violence (Sharpe, 2012). Sexual violence is a colonial, oppressive, dehumanizing act shaped by the patriarchal colonial system that promotes the idea that certain people are superior to others (Davis, 1981). Therefore, through ethnicizing acts of sexual assault, not only are racist stereotypes perpetuated but additionally, the focus of policies and discourse is diverted from addressing the root of the issue and supporting survivors of sexual assault.

Even though sexual violence is rooted in colonial thinking, in xenophobic discourse sexual violence is being framed as un-European. This carries the assumption that Europe has reached the ideal state of gender equality, a post-sexist utopia, and that the only time sexual violence and sexism occur in Germany is through the influence of non-Western cultures (Dietze, 2022). Although the overall number of sexual assault in Germany have reportedly decreased since 2009, every third woman living there experiences physical or sexual violence at least once in their life (BMFSFJ, 2022; Weisses Kreuz, n.d). Making it seem as if Germany is not part of global patriarchal structures frames this societal issue as a cultural one.

Not only does this ignore the present gender inequalities in Germany but coming from the political right it carries an inherent contradiction. While the right makes Germany out to be gender equal they meanwhile promote heteronormative family models, are known to criticize the sexual and bodily agency of women and queer people and reject what they coin “gender ideology⁴” (Berg, 2019, pp. 82). However, in the discourse around sexual harassment, right-wing groups in Germany have used the narrative of sexual nationalism⁵ to position themselves as supportive of the sexual freedom of white German women (Dietze, 2022). As explained by

⁴ The aim to abolish traditional perceptions of gender which according to the right are unnatural (Berg, 2019)

⁵ Presents sexism as a national threat utilized by racialized others (Dietze, 2022)

Dietzte (2022), they portray themselves as “pro-women” but “against feminism”. Therefore occurrences of sexual violence are instrumentalized by the political right in order to back up notions of traditional gender roles or when justifying anti-immigrant sentiments (Berg, 2019).

Right-wing Sentiment in Germany

I took a particular look at the case of Germany, where there has been a recent increase in right-wing parties and groups who are spreading anti-immigrant sentiment (Bredtmann, 2022). In 2014, the right-wing organization “Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident”⁶ (PEGIDA) started organizing marches against the “Islamization of Germany” which they claim, comes with increased migration (Wigger et al., 2021; Bonjour & Bracke, 2020). They have since been labeled as unconstitutional and extremist (DW, 2021). Around the same time, the politically right populist party, the Alternative for Germany (AfD), started to gain voters by using their platform to advocate for stricter border policies (Damm & Mlynek, date). They joined the European Parliament in 2014 and later the German Federal Parliament in 2017 (Decker, 2022). The party has been continuously criticized for being a neo-nazi party and its right-wing extremism has fostered increased violence toward refugees and other minority groups (Klikauer, T. 2019).

As a result, in 2015, when 890,000 people came to Germany, fleeing mainly from conflict, to seek asylum, they arrived in a country in which the xenophobic, racist, and anti-muslim sentiment was growing and being politicized (Bredtmann, 2022; Frey, 2020). Camps of people welcoming refugees, as well as people protesting to close the borders, formed, polarizing society even more (Wigger et al., 2021; Bonjour & Bracke, 2020; Bertoli, Brücker & Fernández-Huertas Moraga, 2016). Attacks on refugee shelters increased rapidly in 2015 and the AfD as well as groups such as PEGIDA kept spreading anti-muslim sentiments (Wigger et al.,

⁶ In German: Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes

2021). Many criticized Angela Merkel, the chancellor at the time, for being too liberal with her immigration policies (Frey, 2020; Wigger et al., 2021).

Cologne and the Aftermath

These developments were especially fueled by what has been referred to as a “turning point” in the discourse around sexual harassment in Europe; namely the events and reactions to the 2015 to 2016 New Year's celebrations in Cologne (Wigger et al., 202, pp. 23). At that time, hundreds of cases of robberies, harassment, and sexual assault were reported (Frey, 2020; Boulila & Carri, 2017). The majority of perpetrators were later described as appearing to be “North African and Middle Eastern” by survivors of the assaults (Frey, 2020, pp. 684). In German media, the nationality of the alleged perpetrators was quickly drawn to the forefront (Wigger et al., 2021). Headlines such as “The Mob Has Abused Us All”⁷ or a front cover showing an illustration of the silhouette of a black arm reaching between white feminine legs (Appendix 2), spread xenophobia as a reaction to the assaults (Boulila & Carri, 2017; Schmitt, 2016; Die Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2016).

Political responses ranged from warnings of “Islamization”, to a debate about whether the Muslim religion perpetuates violence against women, to politicians cautioning about the dangers of generalizing all immigrants as harassers (Wigger et al., 2021). In reaction to the events in Cologne, the German parliament made changes in the law against sexual assault; tying it to immigration policies and linking sexual assault to deportation (Boulila & Carri, 2017). By implementing this law, the parliament legitimized the ethnicization of sexual assault and contributed to the normalization of xenophobia (Boulila & Carri, 2017).

⁷ In German: “Der Mob hat uns alle missbraucht”

Feminism and Femonationalism

The most known feminist movements and popular discourses around feminism have historically been accredited to and appropriated by white cis-women, disproportionately benefiting them (Weber, 2015). However, there are iterations of feminism that have been developing in an alternative direction, such as intersectional feminism (Crenshaw, 2016). Intersectional feminism aims to critically target different layers of oppression that marginalized groups face, due to inequalities related to identities such as race, class, sexuality, and gender (Crenshaw, 2016; Weber, 2015). While intersectional feminism has been emerging, a contrasting feminist bubble has soldered; femonationalism. Conceptually femonationalism “promote[s] cultural superiority of societies that claim to defend women’s rights over those that don’t” (Möser, 2021, pp.1). With the increase of visibility of Islam in Germany the debate about whether increased ‘Muslim influence’ endangers gender equality has sparked debate in women's rights discourses. This is exemplified by the implementation of laws prohibiting Muslim women from wearing the burka or the questioning of gender norms of Muslim migrant households (Mascot, 2018). This islamophobia justified in the name of gender equality has united the extreme right and some feminists (femonationalists) as they share a common villain, immigrant men (Mascot, 2018). I further broke down the way this concept is narrated through the chosen texts by conducting a critical analysis.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis

Language plays a crucial role in shaping the collective reality of society. It can indicate and perpetuate inequalities which makes discourse an epicenter of social interactions and power dynamics. Therefore, when understanding a conceptual phenomenon such as ethnicized sexism, discourse can give insight into how this phenomenon occurs within different spaces. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) developed from the Foucauldian understanding of discourse, takes into account not simply the linguistics of a text but the broader socio-political context (Jäger & Maier, 2009). Foucault understands discourse as “an institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power” (Jäger & Maier, 2009, pp. 35).

I applied CDA as described by Isabela and Norman Fairclough, which aims to understand relationships of power, social identities, and institutions (2012). CDA adds a normative evaluative aspect to discourse analysis which criticizes discourse using human well-being as a standard of a “good society” therefore allowing a “critique of unequal relations of power and forms of domination which are damaging to wellbeing and which may be manifest in discourse” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, pp. 79). CDA is a qualitative tool to structurally analyze discourse by looking for the meaning, reasoning, and intended impact of different texts as well as at the underlying meanings of power, for example through understanding what and who is included, disregarded, or left out (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

I approached the CDA using an intersectional feminist lens and paid close attention to not only the social but specifically the gendered hierarchies present in the texts (Lazar, 2014). Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) is centered on dismantling patriarchal structures in

texts (presented through tone, voice, subject-object division, assumptions, etc.) and further proactively pushing toward social equity (Lazar, 2014). According to Mackinnon, “intersectionality fills out the Venn diagrams at points of overlap where convergence has been neglected” (2013, pp. 1020). In this research, I focused on the convergence of racist and sexist discrimination which have a harmful effect on both ethnicized men in Germany and people who experienced sexual assault. I consider the patriarchal and colonial structures which are responsible for the oppression that is at the root of anti-migrant sentiment and perpetuates and intersects with the patriarchal perception of sexual assault. This intersectional component of the analysis allows for a critical reflection on the junction between the constructed social realities of race and gender as narrated in the discourse. I analyzed the power and gender relations within an ethnicized media context with the aim of participating in, rather than distancing myself, from feminist social transformations.

Methodology

Data Collection

I used FCDA to look at selected articles from two online news media sources. The German feminist magazine *Emma* and the German right-wing newspaper *Junge Freiheit*. *Emma* was founded in 1977 by Alice Schwarzer, a famous German feminist journalist, and author (Schwarzer, n.d). She was part of the women's liberation movement in the 1970s in Germany and played a major role in the German pro-abortion movement as well as being an advocate for women's emancipation and sexual rights (Hanisch, 2018). However, Schwarzer has repeatedly received backlash for her islamophobic and xenophobic comments, in regard to her appeal to ban the hijab in Germany and for racial stereotyping and perpetuating colonial thinking through her white feminism (Kreile, 1993; Eul, 2016a; Lucas, 2018). Most famously, in reaction to the sexual

assaults at the New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne, she blamed the sexual assaults on the government's failure of addressing the issue of 'misogynist⁸ immigrants' (Schwarzer, 2016). Additionally, she has also been criticized for being transphobic and trans-exclusionary in her feminism (Dams, 2022). I decided to look at *Emma* in the context of ethnicized sexism because it is the most known feminist magazine in Germany even though it has been heavily criticized for perpetuating racist power dynamics.

The second newspaper I chose for this research is the *Junge Freiheit (JF)*, translated to "Young Freedom", which was founded in 1986, by a 19-year-old high school student; Dieter Stein. (JF, 2013). Stein is still the chief editor of *JF* today, which has developed from a politically right school and student paper to becoming a national weekly newspaper (JF, 2013). The *JF* has been called a "right-extremists" newspaper in the past and has been criticized by politicians for spreading dangerous racist messages (Álvarez, 2016). I selected the *JF* for this analysis as it has been described as presenting the political "new right" and due to its close ties to the AfD (Mahlberg, 2017). Stein himself claims that the *JF* is a politically independent newspaper and not affiliated with any political party, however a large number of their readers are AfD voters and the number of copies sold increased by 16% in 2015 following the rise of the AfD (Álvarez, 2016). Additionally, Alexander Gauland, former leader of the AfD, stated that if one aims to understand the AfD one should read the *JF* (Kohrs, 2017). Therefore, analyzing *JF* provides insight into how spaces, which are to a certain extent representative of the extreme right sentiments in the German government, narrate ethnicized sexism in the context of migration.

⁸ "Frauenfeindlich" [women-hostile] in German, defined as a disregard, dislike and dehumanized view of women

Data Extraction

Both media outlets have online platforms (*Emma*: Emma.de, *JF*: Jungefreiheit.de) on which they publish online versions of their articles. Using the search bar of the online portals of both websites, I filtered articles on both platforms that include the keywords “Migrant” (migrant), “Gewalt” (violence), and “Frau” (woman). I chose this combination of words to concentrate the scope of the research specifically on articles connecting themes of migrant men, violence, and women. The articles were sorted by their online release date and I looked at articles published starting in 2016. This date was chosen because the discourse in Germany around sexual assault and migrant policies peaked following the 2015 to 2016 New Year's Eve in Cologne (Frey, 2020). Between the beginning of 2016 and the end of 2020, *Emma* published 55 and *JF* published 86 articles with the chosen keywords (Figure 1).

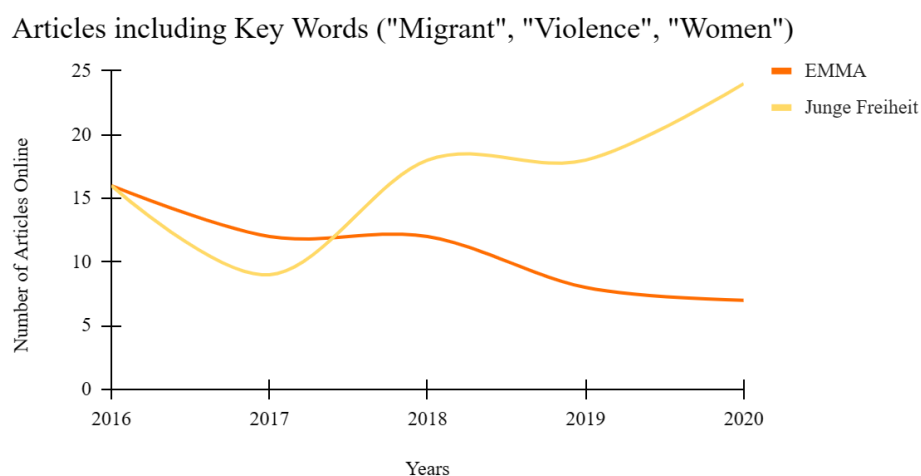


Figure 1. Articles including keywords; migrant, women, violence posted online on Emma and JF

From the pool of these articles, I included 30 articles from *Emma* and 52 from *JF* in the analysis. This was based on which articles were freely accessible at their full length and relevant to the topics of migration, violence, and sexual harassment. The articles in *Emma* were written by 15 different authors and in *JF* by 12 different authors and 5 were anonymized.

Data Analysis

Using the coding tool Atlas.ti, I conducted line-by-line open coding (Khandkar, 2009). I paid attention to elements such as the headings and subheadings as well as metaphors, quotes, evaluative language, and assumptions that were made in the text. I then generated my own codes from the process of close reading and adjusted them throughout the analysis (Khandkar, 2009). Throughout the coding process, I used FCDA to unpack how the linguistic and social elements of the texts distribute power and then outlined the patterns that arose.

Positionality Statement

I am a 21-year-old white, German cis-gender female student who was raised by German parents but did not live in Germany for the majority of my life. Therefore my understanding of German culture is not the same as that of someone who has the experience of growing up there. This may give me a unique outside perspective when looking at German media but could also lead to misunderstandings of certain cultural contexts. Additionally, being a white woman my perspective of ethnicized sexism is limited as I do not experience racism. My political and social beliefs as an aspiring intersectional feminist also shaped the way that I approached and understood power dynamics communicated in the texts. I am aware that I am not subject to the discrimination or structural barriers that ethnicized men or other racial and ethnic minorities in Europe experience. Consequently, when conducting the critical discourse analysis, I actively reflected on how my identity is impacting the way that I analyzed the data.

Ethical Considerations

To ensure the ethical standards of this research, certain considerations had to be taken into account. As the data that is being used in this analysis was published and available online to all, the ethical procedure of the capstone thesis did not require formal approval from the Ethics

Committee of the University. However, when conducting a CDA, ethical concerns regarding the interpretation and evaluation of data may arise (Gorup, 2019). I attempted to critically highlight power dynamics, and social relations within the analysis while at the same time staying reflective and questioning my prior assumptions. My positionality has been taken into account and all decisions that are made regarding the analysis were noted and reasoned. CDA has been criticized for being unscientific due to its normative approach to social inequalities (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). However, part of CDA is to advocate for social justice using a critical lens which is an ethical endeavor in itself, using research for social change (Gorup, 2019; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). Therefore CDA was used to critically investigate the dynamics between racist, anti-immigrant sentiment, and anti-sexist rhetoric to aim to contribute to a better understanding of discrimination in a broader context.

Findings

Through this analysis, I was able to identify a number of patterns that appear in articles from both *Emma* and *JF*. I will present my findings in the following sections;(1) Characterization of Ethnicized Men (2) Attributed Motivation for Violence (3) Victimization and (4) Externalization of Misogyny. These themes were chosen because they constitute how sexual assault is narrated in the discourse around ethnicized men.

Characterization of Ethnicized Men

Both *Emma* and *JF* construct the image of an ethnicized man, through generalization and stereotyping, they characterize them as violent, dangerous, and sexist. According to both of them, most immigrant men are young and from the Middle East or Africa.

Emma

The majority of the time, when ethnicized men are topicized in *Emma*'s articles, they specifically refer to either immigrant men or Muslim men, and most often; Muslim immigrants. When the religion or background of ethnicized men is unknown it is assumed that they are Muslim and from the Middle East or Africa. *Emma* makes the distinction between Islam as a religion and political Islam which they characterize as radical, sexist, and dangerous to Germany's safety and to women's rights. A large amount of the discourse is centered around the dangers of political Islam and specifically how, according to *Emma*, young immigrant men bring this political Islam to Germany.

Additionally, it is often assumed and/or implied that any given ethnicized man that is spoken about is potentially misogynistic. *Emma* does not consistently attribute sexism to be inherent to ethnicized immigrant men but attributes it to the socialization of their 'patriarchal home countries'. Frequently *Emma* generalized these attributes; being part of extremist political Islam, being socialized in a 'patriarchal culture', being sexist and violent towards women, to ethnicized men in any context, even when their religion, country of origin, or speculative background is unknown. This shapes a narrative of the 'dangerous Muslim immigrant' who is unpredictable, violent, and hates women (Figure 2, Quote 1, 3). To contrast, *Emma* occasionally mentions a counter-example of the "good immigrant man" (Figure 2, Quote 4) who is not associated with political Islam, is integrated into Germany's gender-equal society, condones the sexual violence from the "bad immigrant men" and is an ally to *Emma*'s feminism. This dichotomy is continuously applied to label any given ethnicized man as either "good" or "bad"; as "integrated" or "sexist"; "liberal Muslim" or as "radical Muslim" and therefore either as harmless or as a sexual predator.

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“marodierenden Männern,” (Schwarzer, 2018a)	marauding men
2	“Asylbewerber und Illegale” (Schwarzer, 2016a)	Asylum seekers and illegals
3	“patriarchal-autoritären Muslim-Milieus” (Schwarzer, 2018a)	patriarchal-authoritarian Muslim milieus
4	“Es hatte an diesem Abend aber selbstverständlich auch „die guten Araber“ gegeben.” (Schwarzer, 2016a)	But of course there had also been "the good Arabs" that evening.

Figure 2. Emma: *Characterization of Ethnicized Men*

Junge Freiheit

JF also characterizes ethnicized men as dangerous, sexist, and unpredictable, similar to *Emma*. However, *JF* does not make a clear distinction between political and religious Islam, speaking about Islam as homogenous, and presenting it as a threat to German traditional values. An assumption that is continuously made in *JF* is that the great majority of ethnicized men are asylum seekers. Further, it is implied that they are not actually refugees (Figure 3, Quote 1) and therefore lying about their reason for coming to Germany. When speaking about ethnicized men, when their nationality is known, it is always mentioned and presented as a cause for being violent. *JF* also describes the assumed home countries of any given ethnicized man as violent and oppressive (to women). When the nationality of an ethnicized man who engaged in unlawful or violent behavior is unknown, *JF* associates them with the region of the world and religion they assume they are from, due to their looks, for example, one author, in *JF* describes them as “young men from the Islamic-Arab-African cultural area” (Figure 3, Quote 4). According to *JF*, people who are originally from these regions of the world are more likely to be sexually violent

and are endangering Germany. The archetype of the ethnicized man is framed as being not only open to the use of violence (“Gewaltbereitschaft”; ‘readiness to use violence’) but also as “aggressive” (Figure 3, Quote 3). This is set in opposition to the white German man who is portrayed as not at all or less sexually violent and less brutal. *JF* also sporadically mentions the “good ethnicized men” who they characterize as being integrated (lawful, respecting German traditions, hard-working), in contrast to the other “bad” ethnicized men who are characterized as lazy and benefitting from Germany’s economy and care system.

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“Die Täter: angebliche „Flüchtlinge“ aus fremden, gewaltgeprägten und frauenverachtenden Kulturen, die im Zuge des von der Kanzlerin angeordneten Kontrollverlusts in dieses Land gekommen sind und auf unsere Kosten hier leben.” (Paulwitz, 2018)	The perpetrators: alleged "refugees" from foreign, violent, and misogynistic cultures who have come to this country in the wake of the Chancellor's ordered loss of control and are living here at our expense.
2	“zunehmend von orientalischen Migranten ausgehende Gefahr, überfallen und mißhandelt zu werden.” (Paulwitz, 2017c)	increasing danger of being attacked and abused by oriental migrants.
3	“aggressiven orientalischen Jungmannen”(Paulwitz, 2016d)	aggressive oriental young-men
4	“Die „Risikogruppe“ heißt nämlich nicht „junge Männer“, sondern „junge Männer aus dem islamisch-arabisch-afrikanischen Kulturraum“ “ (Paulwitz, 2017)	The "risk group" is not called "young men", but "young men from the Islamic-Arab-African cultural area".
5	“gut integrierten Deutschen mit Migrationshintergrund,” (Schunke, 2019)	well-integrated Germans with a migration background,

Figure 3. *JF: Characterization of Ethnicized Men*

Attributed Motivation for Violence

When speaking about subscribing a certain motivation to the (sexual) violence that according to both media is specifically an issue when it comes to immigrant men both *Emma* and *JF* create a contradicting narrative. They both characterize violence when in association with ethnicized men as (1) uncontrolled and at the same time as (2) structured and planned.

Emma

Two contradicting stories emerged from *Emma*'s articles. One, of the ethnicized men who have “no inhibitions at all” and see women as prey to be hunted (“freiwild”, Figure 4 Quote 1). Framing ethnicized men as being inherently (socialized to be) predatory, not recognizing their personal agency.

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“überhaupt keine Hemmungen” (Schwarzer, 2016a)	no inhibitions at all
2	“der aufgrund seiner Kultur Frauen als ehrloses Freiwild ansieht.” (Schunke, 2016)	who, because of his culture, views women as dishonorable fair game/prey.

Figure 4. *Emma*: Motivation of Violence characterized as inherent

The other image that is being constructed is of a structured attack that ethnicized men plan with the intention to “put women in a state of shock” (Figure 5, Quote 3) and scare and harass them. *Emma* describes this sexual violence as a “strategy of terrorism” that was carefully planned (Figure 5, Quote 2).

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“Die Männer hatten sich verabredet, um auf ihre Art zu „feiern“. vermutlich gab es eine Handvoll Initiatoren; Leute, die genau wussten, was sie da planten, als sie die „Einladung“ zu der Kölner „Silvesterfeier“ an die Flüchtlinge und Illegalen	The men had arranged to "celebrate" in their own way. presumably, there were a handful of initiators; people who knew exactly what they were planning when they launched the "invitation" to the Cologne "New Year's Eve

	aus muslimischen Herkunftsländern lancierten.”(Schwarzer, 2016a)	celebration" to the refugees and illegals from Muslim origin countries.
2	“sexuelle Gewalt in der Kölner Nacht sei genauso eine terroristische Strategie, wie es zuvor auch schon Bomben und Attentate waren.”(Eul, 2016b)	sexual violence in the Cologne night was as much a strategy of terrorism as bombs and assassinations had been before.
3	“SIE WOLLEN DIE FRAUEN IN EINEN SCHOCKZUSTAND VERSETZEN!”(Eul, 2016b)	THEY WANT TO PUT WOMEN IN A STATE OF SHOCK!
4	“Uns Frauen sollte gezeigt werden, dass wir am Abend nichts zu suchen haben im öffentlichen Raum – oder aber Flittchen und Freiwild sind”(Schwarzer, 2017b)	Us women was supposed to be shown that we have no business in public spaces in the evening - or else we are sluts and fair game

Figure 5. Emma: Motivation of Violence characterized as strategic

Junge Freiheit

In *JF* a similar pattern arose however the language used differs. When speaking about sexual violence on one side, *JF* made use of racist idioms that present ethnicized men as having animalistic sexual urges. They refer to groups of ethnicized men as “packs” [of animals] and describe them as being “hot-blooded” (Figure 6, Quote 2, 4). The motivation for being sexually violent here is presented as instinctual (Figure 6, Quote 4).

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“Migrantenmob” (Paulwitz, 2017b)	Migrant mob
2	“Rudeln” (Klonovsky, M. 2019)	Packs [of animals]
3	“Die Räumung des „Dschungels“ hat begonnen” (Weißmann, 2016)	The clearing of the "jungle" has begun.
4	“Heißblüter mit Importbiographie zu treffen, deren unbändiger Stolz in Verbindung mit gewissen Rudelinstinkten” (Klonovsky, M. 2016)	hot-blooded [men] with import biographies, whose unbridled pride in combination with certain pack instincts

5	“Und im Wettbewerb um die wenigen Frauen ihres Alters fühlen sich offensichtlich nicht wenige berechtigt, das Recht des Stärkeren anzuwenden” (Paulwitz, 2016a)	And in the competition for the few women of their age, quite a few (referring to immigrant men) obviously feel entitled to apply the survival of the fittest
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Figure 6. JF: Motivation of Violence characterized as inherent

The second narrative is that (sexual) violence is used as a tool to attack Germany and German values. Using war language, sexual violence here is presented as part of a militarized takeover of Germany by immigrants. The similies that immigrants are “like a real army”, or “like conquerors” portray the motivation of sexual assault as an organized “hunt” (Figure 7, Quotes 4, 3, 1).

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“Frauen und Mädchen vor den SexTreibjagden marodierender Araber- und Afrikanerbanden zu schützen” (Paulwitz, 2016b)	Protecting women and girls from the sex-drive-hunt of marauding gangs of Arabs and Africans.
2	“tragisch“ etikettierten – „Einzelfall““ (Paulwitz, 2016c)	"tragically" labeled - "isolated case"
3	“führen sich in der Stadt wie Eroberer auf” (Meckelein, 2018)	conduct themselves in the city like conquerors.
4	“Wie eine richtige Armee”(Stein, 2016a)	Like a real army

Figure 7. JF: Motivation of Violence characterized as strategic

Victimization

Another pattern that emerged was that both *Emma* and *JF* presented various groups as direct and indirect victims of (sexual) violence and of migration in general. Both newspapers present themselves as the only ones who are aware of who the “real” victims of migration are. The process of victimization differed in both newspapers but was always framed in contrast to the villainized ethnicized man.

Emma

In *Emma*, when German women are referred to they are presented as independent and goal-oriented. *Emma* recognized patriarchal structures in place but importance is placed on how much progress has been made by German women for emancipation. However, when the focus is on migration in relation to (sexual) violence, white German women are painted as the forgotten victims of migration. White women are presented as being powerless against this threat. Through this, the majority of white female authors of *Emma* are also positioning themselves as victims of uncontrolled migration. A binary is created presenting all white women as victims, disempowered, and all ethnicized men as aggressors. According to *Emma* due to migration, there is a lack of safety in public spaces for women to move around freely. Additionally, they ascribe migration to an increase in sexual harassment and assaults and a general increased misogyny in society which indicates that the freedom which German white women have achieved is deteriorating (Figure 8, Quote 3). Additionally, when it comes to speaking about topics of racism against migrant men *Emma* recenters the conversation around how there is a lack of recognition of “the feelings of the women” in the context of violence by racialized men (Figure 8, Quote 2). White women are further presented as the main victims of a general “Islamization” which in *Emma*’s narrative is synonymous with the “misogynization” of society.

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“Frauen nicht ernst genommen und mit Verachtung behandelt wurden,” (Schwarzer, 2016a)	women were not taken seriously and were treated with contempt,
2	“MAN LIEST VIEL ÜBER RASSISMUS, ABER NICHTS ÜBER DIE GEFÜHLE DER FRAUEN” (Schunke, 2016)	ONE READS A LOT ABOUT RACISM, BUT NOTHING ABOUT THE FEELINGS OF THE WOMEN
3	“Die fanatischen religiösen Vorstellungen der SchülerInnen treffen auch Lehrerinnen: So manche Kollegin komme nur noch mit langen Ärmeln in die	The fanatical religious ideas of the students also affect female teachers: Quite a few female colleagues only

	Schule und verschweige ihre „wilde Ehe“, weil die Schüler das sündige Verhalten ansonsten mit Verachtung strafen.” (Louis, 2020)	come to school with long sleeves and keep quiet about their 'wild marriage' because otherwise, the students punish the sinful behavior with disdain.
4	“Heute fühlt sie sich „fremd“ in ihrem eigenen Viertel” (Mahler, 2017)	Today she feels "foreign" in her own neighborhood"

Figure 8. Emma: *Victimization of White Women*

Additionally, *Emma* victimizes Muslim women by presenting them as subject to the oppression that is carried out through political Islam. Muslim women are depicted as powerless objects that are fully subject to their culture, which is coined to be inherently patriarchal. Their experiences are solely presented as suffering, at the rules set by Muslim men. As shown in Figure 9, Quote 1, Muslim men are villainized and Muslim women are victimized and are displayed as being without agency and their personal decisions are not recognized as such. Additionally, *Emma* frames Muslim women as in need of having to be saved from their own culture by white German women. *Emma* makes Muslim women out to be victims due to the oppression they face imposed by men in their culture and religion.

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“die vollverschleiert sind, keine Musik hören dürfen (haram) und mit Puppen ohne Gesicht spielen müssen. Denn auch das Gesicht einer Frau und ihr Haar sind haram, sind Sünde. Und die kleinen Jungen? Die bewachen ihre Schwestern wie Gefangene und träumen vom Djihad” (Schwarzer, 2018a)	who are fully veiled, are not allowed to listen to music (haram) and have to play with dolls without faces. Because even a woman's face and her hair are haram, are sin. And the little boys? They guard their sisters like prisoners and dream of jihad
2	“Und wo sind die Frauen? Die wenigen sind mit ihren Kindern in Flüchtlingslagern – und niemand schützt sie vor den marodierenden Männern, denen sie schon in ihren extrem frauenverachtenden Herkunftsländern ausgeliefert waren.”(Schwarzer, 2018a)	And where are the women? The few are in refugee camps with their children - and no one protects them from the marauding men they were already at the mercy of in their extremely misogynistic countries of origin.

3	“Diese verhetzten Männer kennen nur noch Heilige und Huren. Die Heilige ist zuhause eingesperrt und möglichst verschleiert – die Hure bewegt sich im öffentlichen Raum.” (Schwarzer, 2016b)	These hateful men know only holy ones and whores. The holy one is locked up at home and veiled as much as possible - the whore moves into the public space.
4	“Da sind Frauen vollends relative Wesen, sind rechtlose Mündel von Vater, Bruder oder Ehemann, werden in den fundamentalistisch-islamischen Ländern unter das Kopftuch oder den Ganzkörperschleier gezwungen und aus dem öffentlichen Raum verbannt. Sie riskieren schon beim kleinsten Ausbruch aus der Frauenrolle ihr Leben” (Schwarzer, 2017a)	There, women are fully derivative beings, are the lawless wards of father, brother or husband, are forced under the headscarf or full-body veil in their fundamentalist Islamic countries and banned from the public sphere. At the slightest escape from the role of women, they risk their life.

Figure 9. Emma: *Victimization of Muslim Women*

Junge Freiheit

JF also partakes in victimization however contrasting to *Emma* they present all German people as being in danger through migration and young immigrants as threats in specific. White women are portrayed to be victims of ethnicized men, specifically by “men who have not lived [t]here that long” (Figure 10, Quote 2). This victimization extends to white women being presented as being in potential danger simply through the presence of an ethnicized man. However, only when ethnicized men are villainized, are white women victimized, as indicated when violence by white German men towards any women is discussed, and white women are no longer victimized. White men’s violence is presented as less severe than ethnicized men's violence and women who are affected by it are either devalidated or blamed. Ethnicized women are also victimized however without recognition of patriarchal structures but rather that they are subject to the ‘dangerous men’ in their culture.

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“Die Schwachen – siehe Köln – geraten als	The weak - see Cologne - are the first to go

	erstes unter die Räder.” (Stein, 2016a)	under the wheels.
2	“Eine junge, westlich gekleidete Frau muß bei jeder Art öffentlicher Lustbarkeit damit rechnen, von Männern, die noch nicht so lange hier leben, verfolgt, belästigt, begrapscht, beklaut oder gar platzfrei penetriert zu werden,” (Klonovsky 2016)	A young, Western-dressed woman must expect to be followed, harassed, groped, stolen from, or even placelessly penetrated at any kind of public pleasure by men who have not lived here that long.
3	“Der kollektive Angriff auf wehrlose Frauen und Mädchen, der die Opfer traumatisiert und gedemütigt” (Paulwitz, 2016a)	The collective assault on defenseless women and girls that traumatizes and humiliates the victims.
4	Die Opfer: junge Mädchen und Frauen, denen das politisch erwünschte und gesellschaftlich antrainierte arglose Zugehen auf die Merkel-Gäste zum Verhängnis geworden ist.” (Paulwitz, 2018)	The victims: young girls and women for whom the politically desired and socially trained careless approach to Merkel's guests has become their undoing.

Figure 10. *JF: Victimization of White Women*

Secondly, German men are victimized when it comes to sexual and non-sexual violence by ethnicized men. Sexual violence by ethnicized men against white German women is directly linked to white German men, presenting them as “humiliated by their own helplessness and defenselessness” (Figure 11, Quote 1). Due to the relation a German man may have to a woman who experienced sexual violence (e.g. being the partner, brother, or father of the survivor of sexual assault), they are also presumed victims of the assault. According to *JF* the sexual violence a woman experiences impacts German men as they are not able to protect “their women” and are hurt in their pride. White German men are also victimized due to the assumed threat of violence that ethnicized men pose toward them. The characterization of ethnicized men as dangerous also means the German white men are presented as victims of this brutality.

Another way they are victimized is through the general potential violence they might experience from ethnicized men.

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“ihre männlichen Begleiter erniedrigt durch die eigene Hilf- und Wehrlosigkeit.”(Paulwitz, 2016a)	their male companions humiliated by their own helplessness and defenselessness
2	“Sie fordern von deutschen Frauen „Respekt“ und den Vortritt und belästigen junge Mädchen. Ehemänner und Freunde, die den Frauen zur Seite stehen, werden zusammengeschlagen oder mit Messern bedroht.”(Meckelein, 2018)	They demand "respect" and priority from German women, and harass young girls. Husbands and boyfriends who stand by the women are beaten up or threatened with knives.
3	“Ihre Tochter könnte die nächste sein.”(Paulwitz, 2018a)	Your daughter could be next [in relation to sexual violence]

Figure 11. JF: *Victimization of White German Men*

Lastly, all Germans, are presented as victims of the sexual assaults that women experience, when an ethnicized man is the perpetrator, as this violence according to *JF* decreases general public safety and attacks German identity. Additionally, when writing about migration in general, the German population is characterized as weak and defenseless in contrast to the “oriental young men” who are characterized as “aggressive” (Figure 12, Quote 2).

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“ist ein direkter Angriff auf die Identität, ja die Existenz der in dieser konkreten Situation zur überrollten Minderheit gemachten einheimischen Bevölkerung.”(Paulwitz, 2016a)	is a direct attack on the identity, indeed the very existence of the native population who in this specific situation have been made the run-over minority.
2	“Deutschenhaß tötet. Unmittelbar, wenn er von aggressiven orientalischen Jungmännern im Bewußtsein der von einer schwachen und wehrlosen Aufnahmegesellschaft gewährten Narrenfreiheit hemmungslos ausgelebt wird.”	German-hatred kills. Immediately, when it is unrestrainedly acted out by aggressive oriental young men in the consciousness of the jester's freedom granted by a weak and defenseless host society.

	(Paulwitz, 2016d)	
3	“ein nächtlicher allzu autochthoner männlicher Passant oder Benutzer von öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln zu gewärtigen hat, auf eine Gruppe juveniler Heißblüter mit Importbiographie zu treffen,”(Klonovsky, 2016)	a nightly overly autochthonous male passerby or user of public transportation must expect to encounter a group of juvenile hot-bloods with import biographies,

Figure 12. JF: *Victimization of Germans*

The Externalization of Misogyny

I identified that both *Emma* and *JF* participate in the externalization of misogyny. To different degrees, both newspapers attribute misogyny to certain cultures rather than structures and through this present it as less or not German.

Emma

Emma frames Germany as having reached a certain standard of gender equality that countries outside of Europe do not have. According to *Emma*, this is due to a great extent to the German feminist struggles in the past decades. *Emma* discusses sexism and sexual violence by German people in Germany and subscribes this to patriarchal structures. Nonetheless, gender equality is presented as being part of German modern culture but not of the “orientalized⁹” origin countries of immigrants (Figure 13, Quote 1). *Emma*’s framework of patriarchy links gender equality to Germany in the same manner as it links the oppression of women to Islamic countries. Islamic countries are referred to as “the patriarchal origin countries” furthermore materializing patriarchy as an outside force tied to culture (Figure 13, Quote 4). Therefore, according to *Emma*, this cultural misogyny is brought to Germany only through immigration. It is characterized as being more violent than German sexism and as ‘uncivilized’. This creates the image of foreign cultural patriarchy which paints patriarchy to be cultural rather than global.

⁹ Referring to the applied colonial and imperial prejudice that form a harmful, stereotypical view of the global East

Emma problematizes sexual assault generally and claims that they are pointing out the connection between sexual assault and migration, which according to *Emma* others are too scared to speak on due to them being scared to be labeled as racist. However, instead of speaking about sexual assault within that discourse, the articles focus on culture and migration rather than on the root issues of the oppression of women. Consequently, it places immigrants as the ones responsible for bringing misogyny, or a certain type of misogyny, to Germany. Additionally when speaking about sexism in relation to ethnicized men it is referred to as being part of a ‘parallel society’ (“Parallelgesellschaft”) that even though it is within Germany, is externalized from it and presented as separate and non-German (Figure 13, Quote 5).

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“Hier immer mehr Staatschefinnen – da immer mehr Frauen unterm Schleier. Das muss unsere Welt ja zerreißen.”(Schwarzer, 2016b)	Here, more and more female heads of state - there, more and more women under the veil. This must be tearing our world apart.
2	“frauenverachtenden Herkunftsländern”(Schwarzer, 2018a)	misogynistic countries of origin
3	“der Unterschied ist die weitgehende Legitimierung von Gewalt in den patriarchalen Herkunftsländern der Täter, sie kennen keine Frauenbewegung und keine Gleichberechtigung.”(Schwarzer, 2016b)	the difference is the extensive legitimization of violence in the patriarchal countries of origin of the perpetrators, they don't know women's movements or gender equality.
4	“Und fast immer kommen die Täter aus tief patriarchal geprägten Ländern.”(Hamann, 2019)	And almost always are the perpetrators coming from deeply patriarchal countries.
5	“Sie erklären: „Religiöser Extremismus beginnt nicht erst bei Mord, er gedeiht in abgeschottet lebenden Milieus, die sich unseren Werten verschließen (...)”(Louis, 2020)	They explain: "Religious extremism does not begin with murder, it thrives in segregated environments that are closing themselves off from our values (...)

Figure 13. *Emma: Externalisation of Sexism*

Junge Freiheit

In *JF* sexism and sexual violence are only problematized when in connection to ethnicized men. Sexual violence by white German men is not problematized, and not presented as structural or patriarchal. As Quote 3, Figure 14 shows, white men's sexism is characterized as unsure, and chivalrous and ethnicized men's sexism is characterized as brutal and serious. This creates the image that immigration is at fault for the "real" and "bad" sexual violence. *JF* frames traditional "German" gender norms as natural and normative, but if associated with Islam or "orientalized" cultures it is non-German and threatening to these "German" gender norms. Through this, they frame misogyny as "imported" (Figure 14, Quote 2).

	Original Quote	Translation
1	“die durch Gewalterfahrungen geprägt sind und ein religiös vermitteltes, rückständiges Frauenbild praktizieren, das mit unseren Werten unvereinbar ist.”(Paulwitz, 2016d)	who are shaped by experiences of violence and practice a religiously transmitted, backward image of women that is incompatible with our values,
2	“Jede importierte Gewalttat ist unnötig.”(Paulwitz, 2016e)	Every imported act of violence is unnecessary.
3	“Wohl wahr: „Wir müssen reden.“ Aber nicht über den an in immer neuen Variationen zum Popanz aufgeblasenen Sexismus alter und junger „weißer Männer“, die in ihrer Verunsicherung bisweilen nicht mal mehr wagen, einer Dame die Haustür aufzuhalten, sondern über Zwangsehen, Ehrenmorde, Genitalverstümmelung und die importierte archaische Frauenverachtung. Wer diese Auseinandersetzung verweigert, ist der wahre Frauenfeind.”(Paulwitz, 2017c)	True: "We have to talk." But not about the sexism of old and young "white men" who, in their insecurity, sometimes don't even dare to hold the front door open for a lady, but about forced marriages, honor killings, genital mutilation and the imported archaic contempt for women. Whoever refuses this confrontation is the true misogynist.
4	“Muß man denn gerade aus diesen Herkunftsländern so viele Einwanderer ins Land lassen?”(Paulwitz, 2016e)	Is it necessary to allow, particularly from these countries of origin, so many immigrants into the country?

5	“Früher waren Gruppenvergewaltigungen in Deutschland nahezu unbekannt”(Krautkrämer, 2019)	In the past, gang rapes were almost unheard of in Germany
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Figure 14. JF: Externalisation of Sexism

Discussion

The aim of this research was to understand how feminist and right-wing media portray sexual violence in the discourse around ethnicized men. My findings indicate that both *Emma* and *JF* construct an image of the dangerous ethnicized man, both villainize immigrants and victimize white Germans, both externalize misogyny and both attribute similar motivations to sexual violence from ethnicized men. Hence, I identified parallels between two types of media bubbles that actively present themselves as different from each other. *Emma* condemns the extreme right for being racist and misogynic and *JF* portrays feminists as overly sensitive and endangering traditions. Even though there are parallels between the two newspapers, there are also clear differences. Both magazines attribute their focus to a different form of structural threat. *Emma* refers to patriarchal structures and oppression of all women, while *JF* speaks about a structural attack on Germany by migrant men. *Emma* and *JF* do not create the same narrative, however, they both fuel and use the myth of the dangerous migrant rapist.

The Myth of the Muslim Immigrant Rapist

The findings revealed that both *Emma* and *JF* actively construct a narrative around the social identity of ethnicized men. The main difference between the two constructs is that *Emma* refers to patriarchal socialization when it comes to the characterization of ethnicized men whereas *JF* refers to culture and race. Both newspapers reinforce the “myth of the black rapist” which was identified by Davis (1981). In the current political climate in the context of increased

migration in Germany, the myth is reframed as the “myth of the Muslim immigrant rapist”. Bonjour and Bracke (2020) coin this trope the “Rapefugee”. They refer to the construct that the media has created of refugees, portraying them as masses of sexual predators who are entering Europe and endangering white women (Bonjour & Bracke, 2020). Another way to conceptualize this myth is through the concept of intersectional stereotyping (Wigger et al. 2021). According to Wigger et al. “The intersecting of religious, racialized and gendered patterns in media representations of male Muslim migrants” construct the stereotype of the Muslim migrant predator (2021). Both newspapers, when characterizing ethnicized men, use this intersection of being Muslim, being a BIPOC, and being a man as well as occasionally being young and connect these attributes to being sexist, violent, and dangerous. *Emma* ascribes sexual violence to people who *Emma* perceives as being Muslim and male. Especially, when speaking about sexual violence, this intersection of religious and gender identity is highlighted as a causal agent to being predatory. *JF* also uses the intersection of Islam and being male, however, additionally places focus on the nationality and race of the ethnicized man. This addition of perceived nationality broadens the spectrum of who, according to *JF* fits into this stereotype. Both newspapers attribute the intersection of religion, gender, and national identity to draw upon the “myth of the black rapist” in the context of migration.

Fear and Lack of Agency

In addition to constructing how ethnicized men behave, both newspapers present contradicting motivations for sexually violent behavior; presenting it as both inherent and controlled. The combination of two different narratives when it comes to attributing motivation for sexual assault increases the perceived threat of any given ethnicized man. This presents

Germany as being in a state of crisis and perpetuates fear and anxiety. It also carries an inherent call to action for Germany (*JF*) / German women (*Emma*) need to defend themselves.

On the other side, portraying sexual violence by ethnicized men as inherent draws upon colonial narratives of being “uncivilized”. *JF* explicitly uses animalistic language which directly projects the colonial narrative that the racialized Other has animalistic sexuality (Bonjour & Bracke, 2020). *Emma* does not draw directly on this rhetoric however depicts ethnicized men as not being able to control their sexual instincts. In this narrative, “patriarchal cultures” are portrayed as having the power to prevent men from being able to control their sexual impulses. This disregards the agency of ethnicized men to make their own moral decisions. Additionally, it again frames sexual violence as inherent to certain cultures but not to others.

Femonationalism and Culturalization

A parallel was also identified between *Emma* and *JF* when it comes to how both newspapers externalized misogyny and further presented sexism and sexual violence as non-German. Even though *JF* does not argue for feminist ideas or terminology, it still presents Germany as less violent towards women. *Emma* clearly portrays Germany as more advanced in the process of women's emancipation. Both newspapers, therefore, convey femonationalist traits. According to Farris (2012), femonationalism materializes when “nationalist parties and neoliberal governments” mobilize “under the banner of the war against the perceived patriarchy of Islam in particular, and of migrants from the Global South in general”. Within this discourse, both newspapers give a lot of space to how “orientalized” cultures contribute to sexual violence however do not give space to the discussion of the patriarchal or colonial roots of sexual violence. Their femonationalism also comes with the assumption that sexual violence is not as severe in Germany as sexual violence in the origin countries of immigrants. Especially in *JF*, the

narrative that is painted is that the only sexual violence that is to be taken seriously within Germany is the one where ethnicized men are the perpetrators. Similarly, by presenting sexual violence by ethnicized men as cultural, *Emma* also constructs hierarchies between the severity of sexual violence depending on the ethnic, religious, and cultural background of the aggressor.

Instrumentalization of Sexual Violence

The patterns that emerged in the two newspapers reiterate a phenomenon that has occurred constantly throughout history, namely that sexual assault and the suffering of women is being instrumentalized, rather than actually addressed, in order to oppress the racialized ‘Other’. Sexual assault is only given weight when in connection to migration. This is shown when *JF* partakes in victim blaming when the mentioned aggressor is a white German man and when *Emma* does not address the structural roots of sexual assault when ethnicized men are the aggressor. The topic of sexual assault in the context of migration is used as a hook and further, as a tool to frame migration as a sexual threat. Within this discourse, the newspapers both condemn sexual assault but only in order to condemn migration. The dominant message, that is sent, even from *Emma* who position themselves as a feminist newspaper, is that it is more important to address the ignorance people have towards sexual assaults caused by migration than the sexual assaults themselves. Further, they utilize sexual violence to victimize the social group that the majority of authors and audience from each newspaper belong to (*Emma* - “emancipated” white German women / *JF* - German white men). This re-directs the conversations around migration, from refugees fleeing their home country, or debates about racism to the emotions of white people. This not only reinforces the colonial hierarchies but also does not do justice to the conversation of sexual assault within global patriarchal structures.

Implications

Due to the power that media carries, the ethnicized sexism that both *Emma* and *JF* instrumentalize impacts how the audience of these newspapers perceive sexual violence and ethnicized men. By using the trope of the “Muslim immigrant rapist” and by using animalistic and militaristic language, the audience is presented with a racist construct of ethnicized men which can lead to increased racism, xenophobia, and anti-immigration sentiment as well as fueling Islamophobic violence. By positioning Germany as superior by presenting it as more gender equal, *Emma* and *JF* perpetuate colonial power dynamics in which European countries present themselves as superior due to being more “civilized” than other countries. As reiterated by Bonjour & Bracke (2020) colonial structures were upheld by justifying colonists' violence through portraying people from the colonies as “animalistic” and “uncivilized”. Through the femonationalism in both newspapers, they are both sustaining these narratives to position immigration as a threat to Germany’s moral dominance. Additionally, the distinction between sexual violence by the religion or ethnicity of the perpetrator carries inherent risks. Firstly, it can lead to racist prejudice toward ethnicized men and generalizations of these racist depictions. Secondly, it can lead to the dismissal or disbelief of sexual violence survivors if the aggressor does not fit within the profile that society has constructed of how a sexual predator looks like.

Limitations

This research gave insight into how sexual assault is being instrumentalized to create a xenophobic narrative around migration. One potential constraint I faced during the research was the limitation in time wherefore I was only able to look at articles between the year 2016 to 2020, rather than analyzing all articles from 2016 until today. Additionally, a potential bias may

have shaped the results as I analyzed more articles from *JF* than from *Emma* because *JF* publishes more frequently. Additionally, the topic of migration is thematized more in the right-wing discourse which may also contribute to there being more articles with the chosen keywords. Another limitation is my comprehension of the articles in *JF*, as I have limited knowledge of right-wing rhetoric which may have led to misunderstandings in analyzing the texts. The research output may have benefitted from not only looking at articles with the chosen keywords but also looking at how sexual violence is portrayed when it is not discussed in the context of migration. Lastly, both *JF* and *Emma* only present one fraction of the right-wing and feminist media sphere and are therefore not generalizable. Especially, *Emma* can be argued as not being representative of modern feminism and has also been continually criticized by other feminists.

Conclusion

In this research I investigated the two German newspapers *Emma* and *JF* for ethnicized sexism and the narrated relationship between migration and sexual violence. I found that both newspapers participate in ethnicized sexism and through this, both construct similar world views. By characterizing ethnicized men in similar ways, attributing motivation to the violence of ethnicized men, victimizing white Germans, and externalizing misogyny both newspapers instrumentalize sexual violence to ethnicize sexism. This may influence the readers of the newspapers to ethnicize sexism and perceive sexual violence as culturalized. Further deflecting from solving the root causes of sexual assault and diverting the discourse toward the threat of migration. Likewise, the prejudice spread in both newspapers can have harmful consequences, especially when it is disguised under the banner of feminism. The similarities that I found between *Emma*, which is representative of some feminists, and an extreme right newspaper

raises concerns about racism within some German white feminisms. Further research would be needed to look at more intersectional feminist media to analyze how they conceptualize sexual assault. This discourse analysis gave insights into how these two opposing newspapers construct similar narratives around migration by instrumentalizing sexual assault in framing ethnicized men as sexual predators.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

One stamp out of a collection of a set of stamps, 1921:



Translation: “The black horror” - “defencelessly exposed”

Flyer against “Black Shame”, 1925:

*If the White Race has a Moral Mission Here is its
Most Imperative Need!*



(Roos, 2012)

Appendix 2.

Front Image of the weekly newspaper “Süddeutsche Zeitung”, 2016

