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Hizb ut-Tahrir in the press: A transnational perspective on what made the group newsworthy in Germany, Great Britain, and Kyrgyzstan in 2002-07

Kurzfassung: Die vorliegende Studie analysiert 226 Zeitungsartikel aus der deutschen (5 Zeitungen), 396 Artikel aus der britischen (5 Zeitungen) und 325 Artikel aus der kirgisischen Qualitätspresse (1 Zeitung) um -sowohl quantitativ als auch qualitativ – den Nachrichtenwert einer radikalen internationalen islamistischen Gruppierung, Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT), während des Zeitraumes 2002 bis 2007 zu rekonstruieren. Eine zweistufige Latent-Class-Analyse ergab in jedem der drei Länder vier verschiedene Berichterstattungsmuster und bestätigte die Annahme, dass die Gruppierung in Deutschland von geringem, in Großbritannien und Kirgisien dagegen von größerem öffentlichem Interesse war. Eine qualitative Analyse der Artikel, die jeweils während der Zeiträume von (relativ) größtem Interesse erschienen, identifiziert die Ereignisse, welche HT berichtenswert machte, die salientesten Aspekte und die Frames der Berichterstattung über die Gruppierung während dieser Perioden.

Abstract: This study analyzes 226 newspaper articles from five German, 396 articles from five British and 325 articles from one Kyrgyz quality newspaper(s) in order to quantitatively and qualitatively reconstruct the newsworthiness of a radical international Islamist group, Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT), in the period 2002-07 in Germany, Great Britain and Kyrgyzstan through a media prism. A two-step latent class analysis revealed four distinct patterns of coverage in each country and confirmed the assumptions that the group was not of great interest to the German public, but was much more interesting to the British and Kyrgyz publics. A qualitative analysis of articles written in the periods when the group received the greatest media attention identified the events that made it newsworthy, the most salient aspects of its coverage during these periods, and how it was framed in different contexts.

1 Introduction

Indicating the main subject of research in the sub-title, this paper presents some of the findings of a large-scale empirical study of the coverage of Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) in German, British and Kyrgyz quality newspapers, which have already been presented in detail (Volf, 2011). As previously stated, "Given the highly limited amount of empirical research on HT in general, this study fills a gap not only in understanding this radical Islamist organization from a cross-national perspective, but also in providing a deep pool of empirical data on HT's media representation in politically, culturally, and linguistically different countries." (Volf, 2011: 9) Therefore, a short introduction to the group and its activities in the three countries will be followed by a presentation of the study's country-specific hypotheses and methodology. The quantitative findings related to patterns in the coverage of HT and qualitative findings on the events that made HT newsworthy will be first given a closer consideration on the country level and then discussed from a transnational perspective.

1.1 Introduction to Hizb ut-Tahrir

Hizb ut-Tahrir al Islami, from the Arabic, "Party of Islamic Liberation," is an Islamist organization founded in 1952 in the suburbs of East Jerusalem by a Palestinian Islamic legal scholar and political activist with the aim to liberate Palestine and re-establish the 'Islamic caliphate'. The organization is radical and controversial, and while it insists that it will only use non-violent means, in three stages, to restore the caliphate, it has been banned in many countries for allegedly extremist and/or terrorist activities.

Unlike Hamas, Hezbollah or the Taliban – Islamist organizations tightly linked to geographical units like the Palestinian territories, Lebanon and Afghanistan – HT is a transnational movement that, like Al-Qaida and the Muslim Brotherhood, recruits members and supporters around the world, including in Western Europe. HT is particularly popular among second-generation Muslim immigrants in Western Europe, who had never had to "...flee from tyrannical states as many of their parents did..." and thus are "...more critical of democracy and the inequalities of capitalism and correspondingly attracted to Hizb ut-Tahrir's message of a just Islamic order" (ICG, 2003:11). To announce that its goal was to overthrow governments and establish a caliphate in Britain, for example, would be fatal to the organization; HT instead limits its activities in Europe to recruiting members, fundraising and media activities. It remains basically in the first stage of its program there, i.e., recruiting and educating members for the formation of the party group (Whine, 2006; Horton, 2006).

1.1.1 Great Britain

The British branch of HT was founded in 1986 by Omar Bakri Mohammed, an asylum seeker from Saudi Arabia, and a Syrian, Farid Kassim. In 1995, HT was banned from UK university campuses by the National Union of Students for inciting hatred, its strong anti-Semitic sentiments and its pressure on young women to wear hijabs (Morgan, 2007; Swick, 2005; Mandaville, 2007: 267). Bakri's provocative statements in 1995, urging "Queen Elizabeth to convert to Islam and threaten-

ing that Muslims would not rest until ‘the black flag of Islam flies over Downing street,’” led to his formal removal from control of the British branch (Wiktorowicz, 2005: 9). After Bakri’s departure, HT kept a low profile in the UK between 1996 and 2002.

Since 2002, HT has tried to re-launch its activities and to improve its image. It is well organized and elects an executive committee every two years from among its UK male and female members. The British branch of HT has ca. 10,000 active members, predominantly of Indian and Pakistani origin, and has been attracting young Muslim second- and third-generation immigrants by providing them a sense of belonging, identity and goals, which they miss in British society (Swick, 2005; Morgan, 2008; Mandaville, 2007: 263). Although HT has been charged with violating British law but has never been convicted, there have been debates on banning HT. Following the terror attacks on London in July 2005, Tony Blair urged banning HT, but as his successor Gordon Brown revealed two years later, there was not enough evidence to prohibit the group. However, legal measures by some Western states led HT to take steps to make its activities more transparent. Once strongly critical of democratic institutions and freedoms, HT has started using them to promote its own ideas. To reach new constituencies, HT campaigned against the invasion of Iraq and against Pakistan’s President Musharraf during his visit to the UK; it also conducted a number of activities to shape Muslim opinion on debates about citizenship, multiculturalism and integration (Hamid, 2007: 148).

The growth of HT in Great Britain in the 1990s was attributed by Husain (2007: 103-4), a former HT member, to media coverage of his group’s events, which boosted its morale and motivated members to reach out to new audiences of millions.

„Boosted by the intense media interest, we [HT] went from strength to strength. Nothing gave us greater motivation than to hear our ideas being amplified in the national media, reaching new audiences of millions. To us it did not matter whether the coverage was favourable or otherwise. We were resigned to biased reporting, but we knew that there was a crucial constituency of Muslims who would look upon us as their leaders, their spokesmen against the attacks of the infidels. It was this recognition we needed more than anything else. The British media provided us with it and more: Arab dictators were now increasingly worried about the rising profile of a group they had banned four decades previously. Britain breathed new life into the Hizb” (Husain, 2007: 103-4).

1.1.2 Germany

Germany, like many other European countries, has not been a target of HT, but rather a place of exile for members, moving from Palestine to Jordan, from Jordan to Lebanon and thereafter to Europe (Whine, 2006). HT supporters in Germany were mainly Muslim academics and students, who were usually based in university towns and active in small groups. HT was banned on 15 January 2003 by Otto Schily, then Minister of Internal Affairs, officially because the group was “against the idea of international understanding” (Federal Ministry of the Interior of the Federal Republic of Germany, 2004:189), and unofficially for its anti-Semitic slogans, and suspicion that HT and the NPD, a German far-right, radical nationalist party, might find a common basis for violent activities. Since HT was not considered a religious organization, the ban was not a restriction of religious freedom (Baran, 2004: 39). Although on 25 January 2006 the German Federal Administrative Court rejected HT’s appeal against the ban on its activities (Federal Ministry of the Interior of the Federal Republic of Germany, 2008:188), its presence in this country should not be underestimated. Thus in 2008 the authorities found no legal grounds to refuse to license the “Morgenland” association and allowed it to start a kindergarten that was indirectly controlled by HT members (Jürgens, 2008). Furthermore, although the organization denied this, one of the four suspects charged with plotting two train bombings in July 2006 and held in custody in Lebanon was an HT member (Morgan, 2007).

In October 2002, HT first attracted public attention and received some news coverage in Germany. At that time Shaker Assam, a HT representative in Germany, made an anti-Semitic speech at the Berlin Technical University and sought contacts with some NPD members who were also present at the meeting (Whine, 2004: 104). Ali Yildirim, the only TV journalist at the meeting, once claimed that it was good that NPD leaders had participated, because otherwise HT would not have attracted attention and thus wouldn’t have been outlawed (Wierth, 2006).

1.1.3 Kyrgyzstan

HT became active in Central Asia in the late 1990s when, after seven decades of official Soviet atheism, the Central Asian states declared their independence from the Soviet Union. They then opened their societies to many different religious movements, which rapidly filled the vacuum left by the bankrupt communist system. According to many scholars, however, ‘Muslim identity’ and the spiritual needs of Central Asian populations were not the main reasons for HT’s success in the region. Rather, poor economic conditions, a weak political culture, an absence of a civil society to channel public initiatives, limited access to power and widespread suppression of freedom of speech were the factors that strongly helped HT to spread its message (ICG, 2003: 83; Khamidov, 2003; Mihalka, 2006; Karagiannis, 2010).

In November 2003, the Kyrgyz Supreme Court outlawed HT as an extremist organization. Since then, members caught distributing literature with extremist content that might instigate religious and ethnic tensions have faced years of imprisonment. As an ICG (2009: 7) report indicated, “Any evidence linking a person to the HT – party literature, reports by neigh-

bours, or an anonymous tip – are grounds for police action.” The official statistics on HT membership in Kyrgyzstan vary widely. While in April 2009 the Ministry of Internal Affairs claimed there were only 118 active members and 1,630 supporters (ICG, 2009: 6), in 2011 then-president Roza Otumbaeva claimed that the number of HT members in the southern regions of Kyrgyzstan was about 15,000 (Zpress.kg, 2011). ICG (2009: 6) suggested, however, that Kyrgyz HT membership could be as high as 7,000 to 8,000, of whom some 800 to 2,000 could be women.

Reportedly, close contacts with the media have strategic importance for the HT branch in Kyrgyzstan as well. In 2006 *Vecherniy Bishkek*, a Kyrgyz daily newspaper, published an interview with an HT member who claimed that his group was ordered to cooperate closely with media representatives in order to discourage them from associating the HT name with public clashes and using HT as a scapegoat for social conflicts (Urumbaev, 2007). Thus as a Russian-speaking Kyrgyz, he was responsible for Russian language newspapers, a friend maintained contacts with Kyrgyz language newspapers and TV stations, and Uzbek members were assigned to strengthen contacts with Uzbek journalists.

2 Country-specific hypotheses

It is widely maintained that the private media in democratic societies take their cue from news consumers, in order to increase their profits from marketing their reportage (Hafez, 2000: 11), which thus makes the news flow “inherently audience oriented” (Östgaard 1965). Therefore, it was hypothesized that the German and British public’s interest in HT will be indirectly reflected in the high or low priority, intensity, amount and extent of coverage of HT in European quality newspapers. Given HT’s illegal status, its low membership and the low profile of HT’s German activities, we assumed that in 2002-2007 the organization would *not* be of much interest to the German public. Due to the legal status of HT, its international headquarters in London and heightened public attention to the group after the 7 July 2005 terrorist attacks on the London transportation system, we assumed that the organization would still be of great interest to the British press during the 2002-2007 period.

However, in Kyrgyzstan the privately owned newspapers have never been entirely independent of political, economic and judicial pressures by the ruling elites (Allison, 2011; Kenny, 2008; Manzella, 2005). Thus, we expected that via a demonstration of the growing threat of Islamic radicalism in the country, press ‘interest’ in HT would be more or less artificially heightened in order to justify the at times undemocratic governmental policies and/or the presence of foreign military bases in the country. Given the enormous growth of HT’s membership in Kyrgyzstan, despite its illegal status, and in view of various different political developments in the country and in the Central Asian region, it was hypothesized that this organization was of great interest to the Kyrgyz public in 2002-2007.

In light of the virtual non-existence of empirical social-scientific investigations of the newsworthiness of radical Islamist organizations in general and of HT in particular, the formulated hypotheses are exploratory in nature and based solely on a literature review related to the scope of HT’s presence in the three countries studied. Thus not limiting the operationalization of HT’s newsworthiness solely to news factors, I attempt to reconstruct the degrees of HT’s newsworthiness in the three countries studied from quantitative and qualitative analyses of newspaper articles.

3 Methodology

To test the formulated hypotheses empirically, this study analyzed 226 articles from the German quality newspapers *Die Tageszeitung (Taz)*, *Frankfurter Rundschau (FR)*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* and *Die Welt (DW)*; 396 articles from the British newspapers *The Independent*, *The Guardian*, *Financial Times (FT)*, *The Times*, and *The Daily Telegraph (DT)*; and 325 articles from the Kyrgyz quality newspaper *Vecherniy Bishkek (VB)*. They made up a total sample of articles published between 2002 and 2007 that mention HT at least once. While the German and British articles were mainly extracted from the Lexis-Nexis database, the Kyrgyz articles were collected from *VB*’s on-line archives.

The unit of analysis was each article. The coding books for the German, British and Kyrgyz samples were treated and analyzed as three independent sets of data and consisted of more than 100 variables covering the general qualifications of newspaper articles, such as source and date of publication, attribution, page, length, section, presence of pictures, main and sub-topics, main and sub-countries/regions of articles; and HT-specific variables, such as presence of the organization’s name in headlines or leads, relevance of an article to HT, mentioning of arrests/imprisonment of HT members, legal status of HT, quotations and references in relation to HT by different actors in the society, terms used to describe HT members/organization, as well as various aspects of HT’s ideology, goals and activities.

The numbers of articles used to establish inter-coder reliability indices were calculated in accordance with a formula provided by Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005: 146). Thus, 70 articles of the German sample, 81 of the British sample and 77 of the Kyrgyz sample were coded by three graduate students who were native speakers of German, English and Russian respec-

tively. The inter-coder reliability coefficients were registered for all the variables that required the coders' personal judgment. Cohen's Kappa varied between 0.64 and 1.0; the simple percentage agreement varied between 0.88 and 1.0.

The data was analyzed with a two-step Latent Class Analysis (LCA), a multivariate method similar to factor analysis, which allows establishing latent classes in multivariate categorical data or, in other words, dividing heterogeneous groups of articles into homogeneous subgroups (Reunanen & Suikkanen, 1999: 6). The first-order latent class analysis was applied to several sets of binary variables that could be logically grouped as: 'Terms applied to HT', 'Ideology of HT', 'Goals of HT', 'Activities of HT', 'Main countries/regions of articles', and 'Main topics of articles'. In the second step, classes revealed by the first-order LCA were used as categories of newly created variables, which were then analyzed together to test the country-specific hypotheses and to find patterns of coverage distinctive for every country.

4 Findings

4.1 Germany

4.1.1 Quantitative findings

The first-order LCA was conducted with two sets of variables called 'Overarching variables' and 'Countries/regions of articles'. The first set indicated whether at least one of the sub-categories of the variables: 'Legal status of HT', 'Quotes/references related to HT', 'Terms used to describe HT', 'Ideology of HT', 'Goals of HT' and 'Activities of HT' was present or absent in an article. The second set consisted of twelve predefined countries/regions, including Germany, Great Britain, Denmark, Turkey, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, USA, Afghanistan, Europe (as a region and other countries than those mentioned), the Middle East and Central Asia (as a region and other countries than those mentioned) and indicated if one of these countries/regions was the main country in an article.

Using the AIC-Criterion, the application of LCA to the set of 'Overarching variables' identified three latent classes that were called (1) not informative articles (52.52%), (2) very informative articles (32.53%) and (3) informative articles (14.95%). See Table 1 and Figure 1.

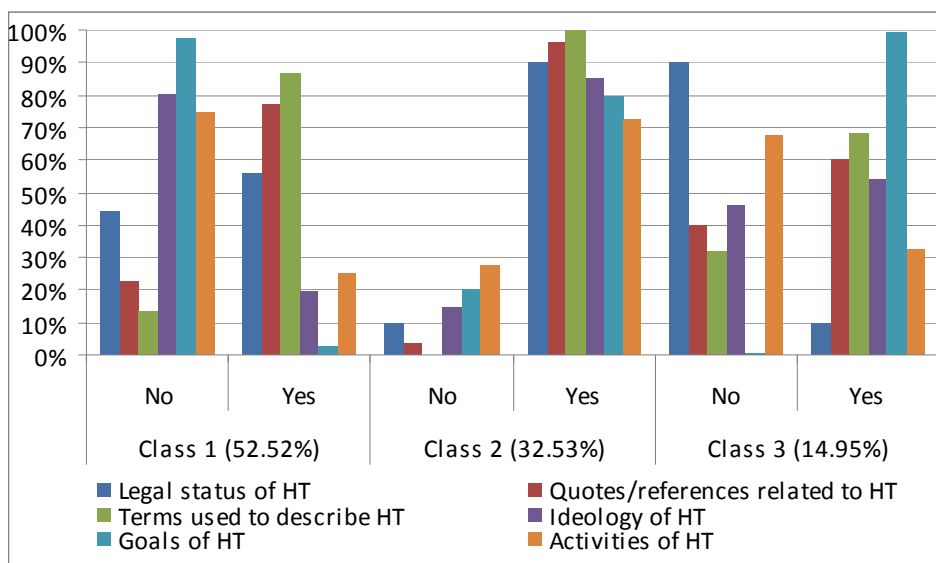


Figure 1: First-order LCA of the 'Overarching variables' (N=226)

Using the AIC-Criterion, the application of LCA to the set of variables related to the main countries/regions of articles identified three latent classes called (1) Germany and the Middle East (50.99%), (2) Uzbekistan and Russia (32.27%), and (3) Europe/Great Britain and the Middle East (16.75%). See Table 1 and Figure 2.

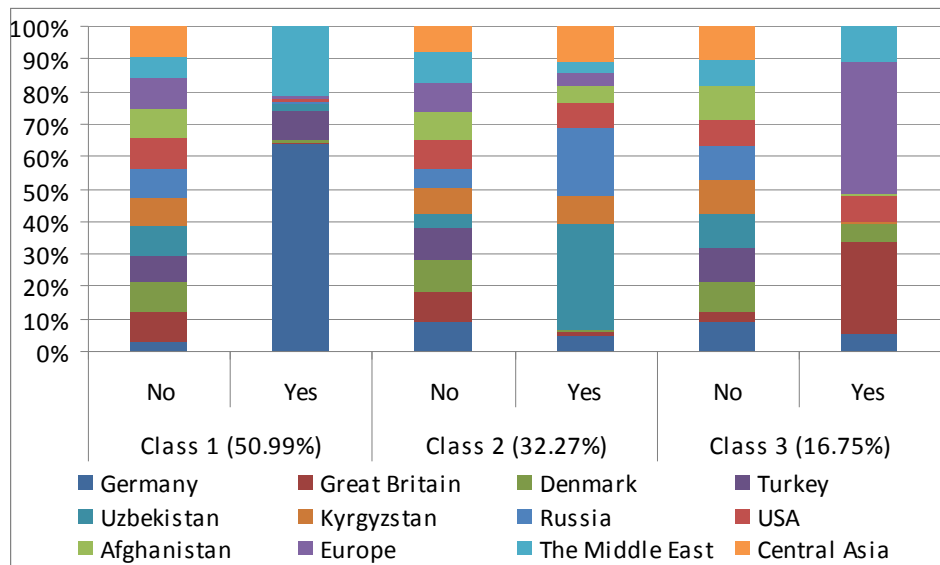


Figure 2: First-order LCA of the variable 'Countries/regions of articles' (N=226)

For the second-order LCA, the classes identified by the first-order LCA were recoded into new variables and analyzed together with the variables: 'Mentions of prosecutions of HT members', 'Mentions of origin of the HT organization', 'Length of an article in words', 'Relevance of a whole article to HT'. The lowest value of the AIC-Index identified the four latent classes. See Table 1 and Table 2.

| | N of classes (h) | N of parameters (n(P)) | Log-Likelihood | Degrees of freedom (df) | Likelihood ratio | p-value | AIC-Index |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|
| First-order LCA (Overarching variables) | 1 | 6 | -807.74 | 57 | 167.49 | 0.00 | 1627.49 |
| | 2 | 13 | -763.78 | 50 | 79.65 | 0.26 | 1553.56 |
| | 3 | 20 | -748.32 | 43 | 48.64 | 0.29 | 1536.64 |
| | 4 | 27 | -744.14 | 36 | 40.28 | 0.00 | 1542.28 |
| | 5 | 34 | -738.82 | 29 | 29.65 | 0.43 | 1545.65 |
| First-order LCA (Countries/regions) | 1 | 12 | -922.49 | 4083 | 461.11 | 1 | 1868.98 |
| | 2 | 25 | -845.7 | 4070 | 307.54 | 1 | 1741.41 |
| | 3 | 38 | -778.85 | 4057 | 173.83 | 1 | 1633.71 |
| | 4 | 51 | -766.82 | 4044 | 149.77 | 1 | 1635.65 |
| | 5 | 64 | -755.54 | 4031 | 127.2 | 1 | 1639.07 |
| Second-order LCA testing the Germany-specific hypothesis | 1 | 12 | -1183.3 | 503 | 455.38 | 1 | 2390.60 |
| | 2 | 25 | -1110.74 | 490 | 310.24 | 1 | 2271.48 |
| | 3 | 38 | -1087.76 | 477 | 264.3 | 1 | 2251.52 |
| | 4 | 51 | -1068.96 | 464 | 226.69 | 1 | 2239.92 |
| | 5 | 64 | -1056.31 | 451 | 201.4 | 1 | 2240.62 |

Table 1: Goodness of fit statistics of the LCA of the 'Overarching variables', 'Countries/ regions of articles' and a second-order LCA (N=226)

| Variables | Stdev | Categories | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| | | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Overarching variables | 0.73 | Not informative (0.54) | Very informative (0.314) | Informative (0.146) | *** | *** |
| Prosecutions | 0.37 | Not mentioned (0.836) | Mentioned (0.164) | *** | *** | *** |
| Origin | 0.26 | Not mentioned (0.929) | Mentioned (0.071) | *** | *** | *** |
| Length | 1.32 | 1-300 (0.239) | 301-600 (0.279) | 601-900 (0.212) | 901-1200 (0.146) | 1201 – (0.124) |
| HT relevance | 0.86 | Highly relevant (80-100%) (0.274) | Relevant (50-79%) (0.181) | Irrelevant (< 50%) (0.544) | *** | *** |
| Countries/ regions | 0.76 | Germany & the Middle East (0.54) | Uzbekistan & Russia (0.288) | Europe/Great Britain & the Middle East (0.173) | *** | *** |

Table 2: Categories and distribution of variables analyzed to test the Germany-specific hypothesis (N=226)

| | | Overarching variables | Prosecutions | Origin | Length | HT relevance | Countries |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------|--------|--------|--------------|-----------|
| Class 1 (32.66%) | 0 | 1 | 0.998 | 0.998 | 0.045 | 0 | 0.562 |
| | 1 | 0 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.296 | 0.162 | 0.202 |
| | 2 | 0 | --- | --- | 0.207 | 0.838 | 0.236 |
| | 3 | --- | --- | --- | 0.301 | --- | --- |
| | 4 | --- | --- | --- | 0.151 | --- | --- |
| Class 2 (27.75%) | 0 | 0.15 | 0.797 | 0.949 | 0.001 | 0.011 | 0.266 |
| | 1 | 0.403 | 0.203 | 0.051 | 0.209 | 0.097 | 0.543 |
| | 2 | 0.446 | --- | --- | 0.445 | 0.892 | 0.191 |
| | 3 | --- | --- | --- | 0.089 | --- | --- |
| | 4 | --- | --- | --- | 0.256 | --- | --- |
| Class 3 (26.51%) | 0 | 0.599 | 0.669 | 0.973 | 0.787 | 0.667 | 0.775 |
| | 1 | 0.317 | 0.331 | 0.027 | 0.213 | 0.247 | 0.225 |
| | 2 | 0.084 | --- | --- | 0 | 0.086 | 0 |
| | 3 | --- | --- | --- | 0 | --- | --- |
| | 4 | --- | --- | --- | 0 | --- | --- |
| Class 4 (13.09%) | 0 | 0.097 | 0.857 | 0.621 | 0.118 | 0.723 | 0.587 |
| | 1 | 0.902 | 0.143 | 0.379 | 0.516 | 0.277 | 0.087 |
| | 2 | 0 | --- | --- | 0.162 | 0.001 | 0.326 |
| | 3 | --- | --- | --- | 0.175 | --- | --- |
| | 4 | --- | --- | --- | 0.028 | --- | --- |

Table 3: Second-order LCA testing the German-specific hypothesis (N=226)

The first class, with 32.66%, was characterized by articles that were always: 'not uninformative' (100%) and mainly 'irrelevant' to HT (83.8%). 'Germany and the Middle East' (56.2%) were often the main country/region of such articles; 'Europe/Great Britain and the Middle East' (23.6%) and 'Uzbekistan and Russia' (20.2%) were relatively often the main countries/regions as well. This class was named 'Not informative, HT irrelevant articles often with Germany and the Middle East as main country/region'. The second class, with 27.75%, was characterized by articles that were often informative (44.6%) or very informative (40.3%), but as a rule 'irrelevant' to HT (89.2%). Such articles often had 'Uzbekistan and Russia' as the main countries (54.3%). This class was named 'Informative, HT irrelevant articles often with Uzbekistan and Russia as

main countries'. The third class, with 26.51%, was characterized by articles that were often not informative (59.9%), relatively often very informative (31.7%) and very often either HT 'highly relevant' (66.7%) or 'relevant' (24.7%). Such articles often had 'Germany and the Middle East' (77.5%) and relatively often 'Uzbekistan and Russia' (22.5%) as the main countries. This class was named 'Relatively often informative and as a rule HT relevant articles with Germany and the Middle East as the main country/region'. The fourth class, with 13.09%, was characterized by articles that were as a rule very informative (90.2%) and always either 'HT highly informative' (72.3%) or 'HT relevant' (27.7%). 'Germany and the Middle East' (58.7%) were often, and 'Europe/Great Britain and the Middle East' relatively often, the main countries of such articles. This class was named 'Very informative and always HT relevant articles with Germany and the Middle East as the main country/region'. See Table 3.

The results indicated that there is not always a clear relationship between the relevance of articles to HT and how much information they provide about this group. Thus, mainly HT irrelevant articles could often provide some information about the organization, like articles of the second class, and HT relevant articles could be rarely informative, like articles of the third class. Although Germany, together with the Middle East, was often the main country in the German sample, only about 13 percent of the articles were very informative, always relevant to HT and having Germany as the main country; HT relevant articles with mainly Germany as the main country, however, failed to provide information about the organization. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis of selected most typical articles of four latent classes suggested that the names given to the latent classes revealed by the first and second order LCA are arbitrary and serve as indicators of the general tendencies in the coverage of HT by those articles. Nevertheless, a two-step LCA supported the Germany-specific hypothesis that during 2002-2007 HT was not of much interest to the German public.

4.1.2 Events that made HT newsworthy

The statistically significant relationship between the variables 'Relevance of articles to HT' and 'Year of publication', $\chi^2(10, N=226)=37.25, p<0.001$ indicates that the number of HT irrelevant articles increased over time. The cross-tabulation of the variables 'Month' and 'Year' identified ten periods when HT was mentioned most often. See Table 4.

| Month | Year* | | | | | | Total |
|--------------|---------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|---------|-------|
| | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | |
| January | 4 | 17=11+2+4 | 6=3+0+3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 37 |
| February | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 6 |
| March | 1 | 0 | 10=1+0+9 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 18 |
| April | 1 | 11=9+1+1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 18 |
| May | 3 | 0 | 0 | 11=0+3+8 | 0 | 1 | 15 |
| June | 1 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 19 |
| July | 1 | 1 | 3 | 14=2+3+9 | 3 | 6=3+1+2 | 28 |
| August | 2 | 1 | 4 | 8=4+2+2 | 24=4+8+12 | 0 | 39 |
| September | 0 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 13 |
| October | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 8 |
| November | 8=5+2+1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 16 |
| December | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| Total | 24 | 39 | 36 | 56 | 52 | 19 | 226 |

Table 4: Year*Month cross tabulation (N=226)

* The first number after the 'equal' signs in the formulae indicates the number of articles 'highly relevant to HT'; the second number indicates the number of articles 'relevant to HT'; and the third number indicates the number of articles 'irrelevant to HT'.

Qualitative analysis of articles published when HT received wide media attention revealed events that made HT newsworthy for the German press, the most salient aspects of HT coverage during these times and how the group was represented in different contexts.

The cross-tabulation of latent classes revealed by second-order LCA with 'Month' and 'Year' of articles' publication suggested that coverage of HT in specific times and contexts was dominated by certain styles of coverage, i.e. latent classes. For example, articles about the first and second nation-wide raids in November 2002 and April 2003 in Germany aimed at locating Islamists were primarily written using the third pattern. Articles about the official ban of HT in Germany in January

2003 were written primarily using the third and fourth patterns. Articles about the popular uprising in Andijan in May 2005 were written primarily using the second pattern. Articles about the prevention of terrorist acts in Germany in August 2006 were primarily written using the first pattern. Such a distribution of patterns across topics was predictable, because the second-order LCA included the variable 'Countries/regions of articles', which heavily influenced the formation of classes. Due to space limitations, these events and patterns and how they were covered are briefly summarized in Table 5.

| Year | Month | Event | Latent classes (in articles) | | | | Total |
|------|----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|---|---|-------|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| 2002 | November | First nation-wide raid in search of 25 HT Islamists who allegedly had contacts to the al-Qaida network | 0 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 8 |
| 2003 | January | Official banning of HT in Germany by Otto Schily, then Minister of Internal Affairs | 4 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 17 |
| | April | During the second nation-wide raid in search of HT Islamists, officials searched 80 apartments, confiscated computers and HT materials but did not make arrests. | 1 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 11 |
| 2004 | January | Different events (including HT's court appeals against the ban) | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 6 |
| | March | Different events (suicide bombings in Uzbekistan and the sentencing of three British HT members to five-year jail terms in Egypt) | 4 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 10 |
| 2005 | May | HT was mentioned in the context of a popular uprising in the Uzbek town of Andijan. | 3 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| | July | Different events (partially follow-up stories on the July 7 terror attacks in London; the 'honor killing' in Germany of a Turkish girl by her own brother, who was a HT member) | 6 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 14 |
| | August | Different events (partially follow-up stories about the July 7 terror attacks on London; four HT members located in Germany using a computer-aided search for potential terrorists; Muslims and Islamist organizations in Britain and Denmark) | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| 2006 | August | Prevention of terrorist attacks on regional trains in Germany. The attack was planned by two Lebanese men, at least one of whom was suspected of belonging to HT, because his family belonged to the HT group in Lebanon. | 13 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 24 |
| 2007 | July | British government decided not to ban HT | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 6 |

Table 5: Second-order LCA*Year*Month cross-tabulation (Germany)

4.2 Great Britain

4.2.1 Quantitative findings

Since the coverage of HT in the British newspapers was more extensive and differentiated than that in the German newspapers, it was decided to analyze in the first-order LCA not only 'Overarching variables' and 'Countries/regions of articles', but also 'Technical variables', including variables related to 'HT name in a headline or a lead', 'Page', 'Attribution', 'Length', 'Section' and 'HT relevance'. See Table 6.

Using the AIC-Criterion, the application of LCA to the set of 'Technical variables' identified five latent classes that were called (1) middle size, HT 'irrelevant' articles (39.59%), (2) long, HT 'irrelevant' articles (24.08%), (3) very short HT 'highly relevant' articles (19.74%), (4) short, HT 'relevant' articles (10.92%) and (5) short articles, about equally often 'highly relevant', 'relevant' and 'irrelevant' to HT (5.67%). See Table 7 and Table 8.

| Variables | Stdev | Categories | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| HT in a headline or lead | 0.20 | No (0.96) | Yes (0.04) | *** | *** | *** |
| Page | 0.64 | Other pages (0.85) | Front page (0.05) | 2 nd or 3 rd page (0.11) | *** | *** |
| Attribution | 0.55 | Journalist's by-line (0.90) | Other attribution (0.02) | Not attributed (0.08) | *** | *** |
| Length (in words) | 1.17 | 1-300 (0.17) | 301-600 (0.33) | 601-900 (0.26) | 901-1200 (0.15) | 1201- (0.08) |
| Section | 1.20 | International news (0.14) | Home news (0.52) | Comments (0.11) | Features (0.12) | Other (0.11) |
| HT relevance | 0.79 | Highly relevant (80-100%) (0.22) | Relevant (50-79%) (0.29) | Irrelevant (< 50%) (0.49) | *** | *** |

Table 6: Categories and distribution of 'Technical variables' (N=396)

| Variables | | HT in a headline or lead | Page | Attribution | Length | Section | HT relevance |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------|------|-------------|--------|---------|--------------|
| Class 1 (39.59%) | 0 | 1.00 | 0.83 | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.04 |
| | 1 | 0.00 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.48 | 0.72 | 0.32 |
| | 2 | *** | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.42 | 0.00 | 0.64 |
| | 3 | *** | *** | *** | 0.08 | 0.00 | *** |
| | 4 | *** | *** | *** | 0.02 | 0.07 | *** |
| Class 2 (24.08%) | 0 | 1.00 | 0.97 | 0.88 | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.00 |
| | 1 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.19 | 0.08 |
| | 2 | *** | 0.00 | 0.08 | 0.22 | 0.31 | 0.92 |
| | 3 | *** | *** | *** | 0.43 | 0.31 | *** |
| | 4 | *** | *** | *** | 0.26 | 0.12 | *** |
| Class 3 (19.74%) | 0 | 0.81 | 1.00 | 0.94 | 0.44 | 0.15 | 0.74 |
| | 1 | 0.19 | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.22 | 0.37 | 0.26 |
| | 2 | *** | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.19 | 0.15 | 0.00 |
| | 3 | *** | *** | *** | 0.09 | 0.19 | *** |
| | 4 | *** | *** | *** | 0.06 | 0.15 | *** |
| Class 4 (10.92%) | 0 | 0.97 | 0.82 | 0.53 | 0.65 | 0.11 | 0.29 |
| | 1 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.31 | 0.78 | 0.71 |
| | 2 | *** | 0.16 | 0.47 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.00 |
| | 3 | *** | *** | *** | 0.00 | 0.08 | *** |
| | 4 | *** | *** | *** | 0.00 | 0.00 | *** |
| Class 5 (5.67%) | 0 | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.84 | 0.29 | 0.00 | 0.37 |
| | 1 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.71 | 0.53 | 0.33 |
| | 2 | *** | 1.00 | 0.16 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.30 |
| | 3 | *** | *** | *** | 0.00 | 0.00 | *** |
| | 4 | *** | *** | *** | 0.00 | 0.47 | *** |

Table 7: First-order LCA of 'Technical variables' (N=396)

Using the AIC-Criterion, the application of LCA to the set of the 'Overarching variables' identified four latent classes that were named (1) partially informative articles (33.5%), (2) not informative articles (30.9%), (3) very informative articles (26.2%), and (4) focus on HT's legal status (9.4%). See Table 8 and Figure 3.

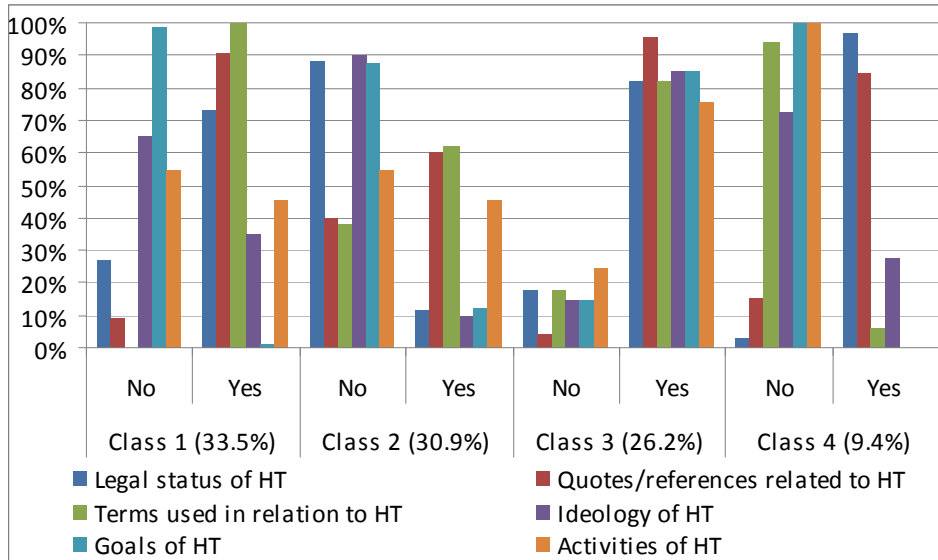


Figure 3: First-order LCA of 'Overarching variables' (N=396)

Using the AIC-Criterion, the application of LCA to the set of the variable 'Countries/regions of articles' identified three latent classes that were named (1) Great Britain (78.32%), (2) Uzbekistan and USA (14.39%), (3) the Middle East and Great Britain (7.3%). See Table 8 and Figure 4.

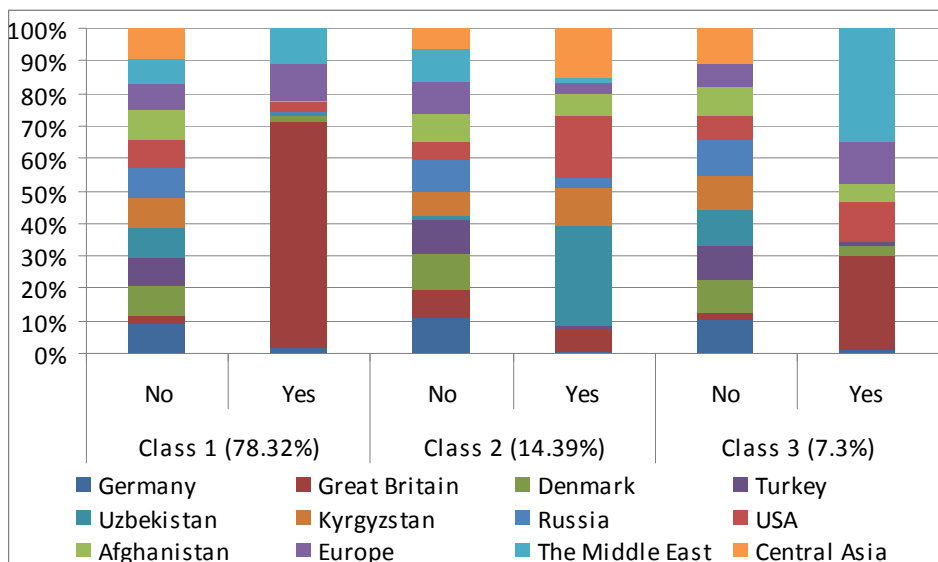


Figure 4: First-order LCA of the variable 'Countries/regions of articles' (N=396)

For the second-order LCA, the classes identified by the first-order LCA were recoded into new variables and analyzed together with the variables: 'Mentions of prosecutions of HT members' and 'Mentions of origin of the HT organization'. The lowest value of the AIC-Index identified the four latent class solutions. See Table 8.

| | N of classes (h) | N of parameters (n(P)) | Log-Likelihood | Degrees of freedom (df) | Likelihood ratio | p-value | AIC-Index |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|
| First-order LCA of the 'Technical variables' | 1 | 15 | -1970.77 | 1310 | 621.79 | 1 | 3971.54 |
| | 2 | 31 | -1881.32 | 1294 | 442.89 | 1 | 3824.64 |
| | 3 | 47 | -1833.52 | 1278 | 347.28 | 1 | 3761.04 |
| | 4 | 63 | -1817.25 | 1262 | 314.74 | 1 | 3760.5 |
| | 5 | 79 | -1798.65 | 1246 | 277.54 | 1 | 3755.3 |
| | 6 | 95 | -1784.09 | 1230 | 248.43 | 1 | 3758.18 |
| First-order LCA of the 'Overarching variables' | 1 | 6 | -1448.43 | 57 | 237.25 | 0.00 | 2908.87 |
| | 2 | 13 | -1374.22 | 50 | 88.82 | 0.00 | 2774.44 |
| | 3 | 20 | -1360.93 | 43 | 62.25 | 0.30 | 2761.86 |
| | 4 | 27 | -1348.73 | 36 | 37.85 | 0.38 | 2751.47 |
| | 5 | 34 | -1343.13 | 29 | 26.64 | 0.59 | 2754.25 |
| First-order LCA of the variable 'Countries/ regions of articles' | 1 | 12 | -1245.01 | 4083 | 539 | 1 | 2514.03 |
| | 2 | 25 | -1088.5 | 4070 | 225.98 | 1 | 2227 |
| | 3 | 38 | -1069.2 | 4057 | 187.38 | 1 | 2214.41 |
| | 4 | 51 | -1060.1 | 4044 | 169.18 | 1 | 2222.21 |
| | 5 | 64 | -1048.14 | 4031 | 145.26 | 1 | 2224.29 |
| Second-order LCA testing the British-specific hypothesis | 1 | 11 | -1554.33 | 208 | 254.51 | 0.05 | 3130.66 |
| | 2 | 23 | -1499.34 | 196 | 144.52 | 0.99 | 3044.68 |
| | 3 | 35 | -1480.53 | 184 | 106.91 | 1 | 3031.06 |
| | 4 | 47 | -1467.54 | 172 | 80.92 | 1 | 3029.08 |
| | 5 | 59 | -1457.41 | 160 | 60.66 | 1 | 3032.82 |
| | 6 | 71 | -1452.7 | 148 | 51.24 | 1 | 3047.4 |

Table 8: Goodness of fit statistic of LCA of the 'Technical variables', 'Overarching variables', 'Countries/ regions of articles' and a second-order LCA (N=396)

| Variables | Stdev | Categories | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Technical variables | 1.21 | Middle size, HT 'irrelevant' articles (0.407) | Long, HT 'irrelevant' articles (0.237) | Very short, HT 'highly relevant' articles (0.217) | Short, HT 'relevant' articles (0.078) | Short articles, about equally 'highly relevant', 'relevant' and 'irrelevant' to HT (0.061) |
| Overarching variables | 0.96 | Partially informative (0.328) | Not informative (0.346) | Very informative (0.232) | Focus on the legal status of HT (0.093) | *** |
| Countries/ regions of the articles | 0.56 | Great Britain (0.795) | Uzbekistan & USA (0.144) | The Middle East & Great Britain (0.061) | *** | *** |
| Prosecutions | 0.35 | Not mentioned (0.859) | Mentioned (0.141) | *** | *** | *** |
| Origin of HT | 0.21 | Not mentioned (0.955) | Mentioned (0.045) | *** | *** | *** |

Table 9: Categories and distribution of variables analyzed to test the Britain-specific hypothesis (N=396)

The first class, with 39.17%, was characterized by articles in which Great Britain (98.1%) was always the main country. Such articles were mainly 'irrelevant' to HT (83.1%) and not informative (50.2%). This class was named 'HT irrelevant, not informative articles with Great Britain as the main country'. The second class, with 36.79%, was characterized by articles

in which Great Britain was often the main country (88.1%). Such articles were relatively often 'highly relevant' (24.2%) or 'relevant' (15.9%) to HT and had partly informative content about HT (57.0%). This class was named 'partly HT 'relevant' and partly informative articles with Great Britain as the main country'. The third class, with 13.13%, was characterized by articles in which the main countries/regions were often Uzbekistan and USA (57.1%) and the Middle East and Great Britain (40.2%). Such articles were often 'middle size, HT 'irrelevant'' articles (69.2%) and either not informative (51.1%), partly informative (28.8%) or very informative (20.1%). This class was named 'mainly HT 'irrelevant', sometimes informative articles without Great Britain as a main country'. The fourth class, with 10.9%, was characterized by articles in which the main countries were often Great Britain (76.5%) and sometimes Uzbekistan and USA (16.4%). Such articles were always very informative (95.5%) and often 'very short, HT 'highly relevant' articles (75.9%). This class was called 'HT highly relevant, very informative articles with Great Britain as the main country'. See Table 10.

| Classes and variables' subcategories | | Technical variables | Overarching variables | Countries | Prosecutions | Origin of HT |
|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| Class 1 (39.17%) | 0 | 0.389 | 0.194 | 0.981 | 0.996 | 0.998 |
| | 1 | 0.442 | 0.502 | 0.019 | 0.004 | 0.002 |
| | 2 | 0.116 | 0.136 | 0 | *** | *** |
| | 3 | 0.047 | 0.168 | *** | *** | *** |
| | 4 | 0.007 | *** | *** | *** | *** |
| Class 2 (36.79%) | 0 | 0.423 | 0.570 | 0.881 | 0.743 | 0.998 |
| | 1 | 0.054 | 0.223 | 0.118 | 0.257 | 0.002 |
| | 2 | 0.242 | 0.131 | 0 | *** | *** |
| | 3 | 0.159 | 0.075 | *** | *** | *** |
| | 4 | 0.121 | *** | *** | *** | *** |
| Class 3 (13.13%) | 0 | 0.692 | 0.288 | 0.027 | 0.998 | 0.998 |
| | 1 | 0.257 | 0.511 | 0.571 | 0.002 | 0.002 |
| | 2 | 0 | 0.201 | 0.402 | *** | *** |
| | 3 | 0.011 | 0.001 | *** | *** | *** |
| | 4 | 0.04 | *** | *** | *** | *** |
| Class 4 (10.9%) | 0 | 0.07 | 0.044 | 0.765 | 0.585 | 0.587 |
| | 1 | 0.097 | 0 | 0.164 | 0.415 | 0.413 |
| | 2 | 0.759 | 0.955 | 0.071 | *** | *** |
| | 3 | 0 | 0.001 | *** | *** | *** |
| | 4 | 0.074 | *** | *** | *** | *** |

Table 10: Second-order LCA testing the Britain-specific hypothesis (N=396)

The results point to some relationship between the HT relevance of articles and how much information they provide about HT. Since Great Britain was very often the main country in the sample, only one class did not point to this country as the main one. Furthermore, among three classes with Great Britain as the main country, the prevalence of the second and third classes over the first class suggests that there were more HT relevant informative articles than irrelevant and not informative articles. Therefore, HT was of great interest to the press in Great Britain during 2002-2007.

4.2.2 Events that made HT newsworthy

Similarly to the German press, the statistically significant relation between the variables 'Relevance of articles to HT' and 'Year of publication', $\chi^2(10, N=396) = 34.29, p < 0.001$, indicated that the number of HT irrelevant articles increased over time. The cross-tabulation of the variables 'Month' and 'Year' identified 11 periods in which HT was mentioned most often. See Table 11.

| Month | Year | | | | | | Total |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | |
| January | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 12 |
| February | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 22=3+7+12 | 3 | 29 |
| March | 2 | 2 | 13=5+2+6 | 5 | 11=2+6+3 | 0 | 33 |
| April | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 21 |
| May | 1 | 5 | 1 | 30=3+7+20 | 0 | 5 | 42 |
| June | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| July | 3 | 2 | 1 | 22=4+4+14 | 10=2+6+2 | 28=2+2+24 | 66 |
| August | 5 | 1 | 2 | 48=16+15+17 | 6 | 3 | 65 |
| September | 4 | 0 | 2 | 22=5+8+9 | 4 | 3 | 35 |
| October | 10=2+8+0 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 29 |
| November | 5 | 0 | 2 | 12=0+3+9 | 9 | 3 | 31 |
| December | 4 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 24 |
| Total | 41 | 24 | 31 | 163 | 78 | 59 | 396 |

Table 11: Year*Month cross tabulation (N=396)

| Year | Month | Event | Latent Classes | | | | Total |
|------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|----|----|----|-------|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| 2002 | October | Three British HT members tortured in an Egyptian prison for attempting to revive the HT party in Egypt and to undermine the Egyptian government. The issue was covered in the frame of a 'violation of human rights', providing details of ill treatment of the defendants and describing torture techniques used on them or other prisoners in Egypt. | 0 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| 2004 | March | Suicide bombings in Uzbekistan and accusing the Uzbek government of torturing and killing political opponents under the pretext of combating Muslim extremism. Criticizing trial procedures in Egypt, and the British government for failing to intervene when British HT members in Egypt received five-year prison sentences. | 0 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 13 |
| 2005 | May | The popular uprising in the Uzbek town of Andijan. HT was called a banned 'Islamist' or 'Muslim' group accused by President Karimov of organizing the rebellion. Journalists often referred to the official HT statement from London denying any involvement in the uprising and rejecting violence as a political tool. | 1 | 6 | 20 | 3 | 30 |
| | July | Discussions of reasons why certain British Muslim youths made terrorist attacks on the London transport system. The newspapers became in general very critical of HT and questioned many aspects of HT's activities in Britain. | 12 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 22 |
| | August | Tony Blair's plan to ban HT and curb terrorism and extremism in Britain. HT was more often called 'a Muslim political party', rather than 'a radical Islamist organization'. Four articles advocated a ban, and 14 argued that HT should be kept legal. | 20 | 15 | 3 | 10 | 48 |
| | September | Public debates on HT's possible proscription. Three favored HT's proscription, and four opposed it. HT was called a 'political', 'Islamist', 'extremist', 'radical' and sometimes 'terrorist' organization. | 7 | 10 | 2 | 3 | 22 |
| | November | Public debates on HT's possible proscription. These articles were mainly not informative in regard to HT, and the group was often called 'a radical Islamist organization'. | 5 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 12 |

| Year | Month | Event | Latent Classes | | | | Total |
|------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---|---|---|-------|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| 2006 | February | Different events (British HT members were released from Egyptian prisons; Blair secured 'anti terrorism' legislation; HT organized protests against the publication of Muhammad caricatures in Western media.) | 12 | 8 | 2 | 0 | 22 |
| | March | Three British HT members were released in Egypt; HT supported a girl who wanted to wear a hijab to school before a British court; HT was mentioned in the context of a potential bomb plot in London. | 5 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 11 |
| | July | Two Muslim groups were banned, but not HT. Police, intelligence officers and civil groups advised Blair against banning HT, which would otherwise backfire by driving a non-violent group underground. | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| 2007 | July | Brown's failure to answer Cameron's question of why HT was not banned; terrorist attack on Glasgow airport prevented. | 23 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 28 |

Table 12: Second-order LCA*Year*Month cross-tabulation (Great Britain)

Qualitative analysis of articles from periods when HT received widespread media attention revealed events that made HT newsworthy for the British press, the most salient aspect of HT coverage during these times and how the group was represented in different contexts. Table 12 illustrates that reportage on HT in specific times and contexts was dominated by certain patterns of coverage. For example, the coverage of internal British affairs, including Blair's intention to ban HT and his successor Brown's being questioned about why the Labour government failed to do so, was dominated by the use of the first patterns. The coverage of the three British HT members arrested and tortured in an Egyptian prison, as well as public debates on reasons for the 7/7 terror attacks and their aftermath, were dominated by articles written using the second pattern. The coverage of the terror attacks and the popular uprising in the Uzbek town of Andijan was dominated by the articles written using the third pattern. The widest use of the fourth pattern in reporting on HT was present in August 2005, when Blair announced his intention to ban HT; this class, however, did not dominate coverage of HT in this period. Since the second-order LCA testing the Britain-specific hypothesis included the 'main country/region' variable and was heavily influenced by it, such a distribution of classes across topics was predictable.

4.3 Kyrgyzstan

4.3.1 Quantitative findings

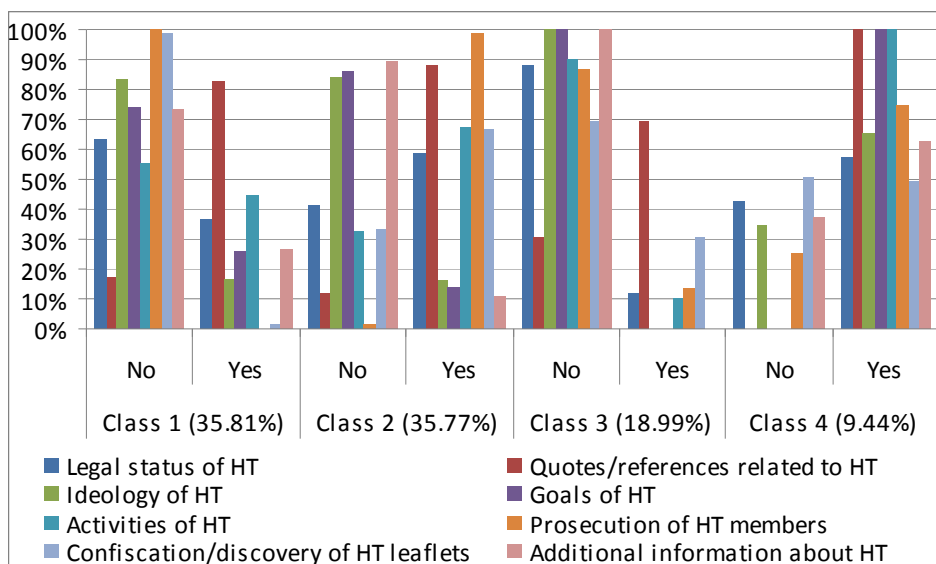


Figure 5: First-order LCA of the 'Overarching variables' (N=325)

Similar to the German sample, the first-order LCA was made using two sets of variables that were called 'Overarching variables' and 'Countries/regions of articles'. However, unlike the German and British samples, the 'Overarching variables' in the Kyrgyz sample included not only the variables related to 'Legal status of HT', 'Quotes/references related to HT', 'Ideol-

ogy of HT', 'Goals of HT' and 'Activities of HT', but also the variables 'Prosecution of HT members', 'Confiscation/discovery of HT leaflets' and 'Other informative points about HT'.

Using the AIC-Criterion, the application of LCA to the set of 'Overarching variables' identified four latent classes that were named (1) informative not crime stories (35.81%), (2) informative crime stories (35.77%), (3) not informative articles (18.99%), and (4) very informative articles (9.44%). See Figure 5.

Using the AIC-Criterion, the application of LCA to the set of the 'Overarching variables' identified two latent classes that were named (1) Kyrgyzstan (87.79%) and (2) Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan (12.21%). See Figure 6.

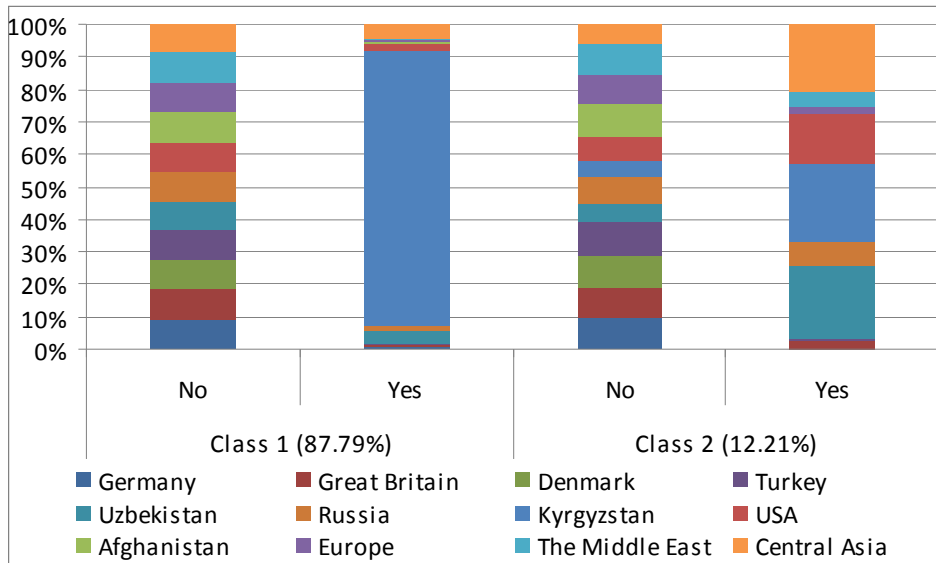


Figure 6: First-order LCA of the variable 'Countries/regions of articles' (N=325)

For the second-order LCA, the classes identified by the first-order LCA were recoded into new variables and analyzed together with the variables 'Mentions of HT's name in a headline or a lead', 'Length of an article in words' and 'Relevance of a whole article to HT'. The lowest value of the AIC-Index identified the four latent class solutions. See Table 13 and Table 14.

| | N of classes (h) | N of parameters (n(P)) | Log-Likelihood | Degrees of freedom (df) | Likelihood ratio | p-value | AIC-Index |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|
| First-order LCA of the 'Overarching variables' | 1 | 8 | -1514.4 | 247 | 3044.74 | 1 | 3044.74 |
| | 2 | 17 | -1429.8 | 238 | 2893.49 | 1 | 2893.49 |
| | 3 | 26 | -1393.9 | 229 | 173.84 | 1 | 2839.86 |
| | 4 | 35 | -1379.85 | 220 | 145.68 | 1 | 2829.71 |
| | 5 | 44 | -1373.5 | 211 | 133.05 | 1 | 2835.07 |
| First-order LCA of the variable 'Countries/ regions of articles' | 1 | 12 | -497.41 | 4083 | 150.93 | 1 | 1018.81 |
| | 2 | 25 | -461.91 | 4070 | 79.93 | 1 | 973.81 |
| | 3 | 38 | -459.79 | 4057 | 75.69 | 1 | 995.57 |
| | 4 | 51 | -447.02 | 4044 | 50.16 | 1 | 996.04 |
| Second-order LCA testing the British-specific hypothesis | 1 | 11 | -1476.31 | 208 | 536.93 | 1 | 2974.62 |
| | 2 | 23 | -1328.56 | 196 | 241.42 | 0.01 | 2703.12 |
| | 3 | 35 | -1294.82 | 184 | 173.93 | 0.55 | 2659.64 |
| | 4 | 47 | -1278.25 | 172 | 140.81 | 0.80 | 2650.5 |
| | 5 | 59 | -1269.63 | 160 | 123.57 | 0.75 | 2657.26 |

Table 13: Goodness of fit statistics of LCA of the 'Overarching variables', 'Countries/ regions of articles' and a second-order LCA (N=325)

| Variables | Stdev | Categories | | | | |
|----------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| | | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Overarching variables | 0.95 | Not informative crime stories (0.329) | Not informative crime stories, often with the HT name in headlines/ leads of articles' (0.366) | Very informative crime stories (0.215) | Not informative articles (0.089) | *** |
| Length | 1.2 | 1-300 (0.508) | 301-600 (0.209) | 601-900 (0.154) | 901-1200 (0.077) | 1201 - (0.052) |
| HT name in a headline or a lead | 0.47 | No (0.677) | Yes (0.323) | *** | *** | *** |
| HT relevance | 0.88 | Highly relevant (0.526) | Relevant (0.169) | Irrelevant (0.305) | *** | *** |
| Countries | 0.3 | Kyrgyzstan (0.902) | Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan (0.098) | *** | *** | *** |

Table 14: Categories and distribution of variables analyzed to test the Kyrgyzstan-specific hypothesis (N=325)

| | | Overarching variables | Length | HT name in a headline or lead | HT relevance | Countries |
|----------------------------|---|-----------------------|--------|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Class 1 (34.76%) | 0 | 0.122 | 0.900 | 0.337 | 1 | 0.998 |
| | 1 | 0.773 | 0.093 | 0.663 | 0 | 0.002 |
| | 2 | 0.086 | 0.007 | *** | 0 | *** |
| | 3 | 0.019 | 0 | *** | *** | *** |
| | 4 | *** | 0 | *** | *** | *** |
| Class 2 (30.43%) | 0 | 0.444 | 0.222 | 0.998 | 0 | 0.869 |
| | 1 | 0.141 | 0.222 | 0.002 | 0 | 0.131 |
| | 2 | 0.414 | 0.334 | *** | 1 | *** |
| | 3 | 0.001 | 0.131 | *** | *** | *** |
| | 4 | *** | 0.091 | *** | *** | *** |
| Class 3 (20.92%) | 0 | 0.528 | 0.510 | 0.878 | 0.242 | 0.814 |
| | 1 | 0.187 | 0.298 | 0.122 | 0.756 | 0.186 |
| | 2 | 0.284 | 0.091 | *** | 0.002 | *** |
| | 3 | 0.001 | 0.072 | *** | *** | *** |
| | 4 | *** | 0.029 | *** | *** | *** |
| Class 4 (13.88%) | 0 | 0.295 | 0.148 | 0.517 | 0.921 | 0.861 |
| | 1 | 0.112 | 0.338 | 0.483 | 0.079 | 0.139 |
| | 2 | 0.001 | 0.224 | *** | 0 | *** |
| | 3 | 0.592 | 0.157 | *** | *** | *** |
| | 4 | *** | 0.133 | *** | *** | *** |

Table 15: Second-order LCA testing the Kyrgyz-specific hypothesis (N=325)

The first class, with 34.76%, was characterized by articles in which Kyrgyzstan (99.8%) was always the main country and articles were always 'highly relevant' to HT (100%). Such articles were often very short (90.0%), 'informative crime stories' (77.3%) with 'HT name in a headline or a lead' (66.3%). This class was named 'HT 'highly relevant', very short and informative crime stories with Kyrgyzstan as the main country'. The second class, with 30.43%, was characterized by articles in which Kyrgyzstan was very often the main country (86.9%). Such articles were always 'irrelevant' to HT (100%) and

never had the 'HT name in a headline or a lead' (0.0%). Such articles could be of a different length and with different amounts of background information about HT. They were never 'very informative' articles (0.0%). This class was named 'HT 'irrelevant' and partly informative articles with Kyrgyzstan as the main country'. The third class, with 20.92%, was characterized by articles in which Kyrgyzstan (81.4%) was very often the main country. Such articles were often 'informative not crime stories', very short (51.0%) or short (29.8%) and always either HT 'highly relevant' (24.2%) or HT 'relevant' (75.6%). This class was named 'mainly HT 'relevant' and informative not crime stories with Kyrgyzstan as the main country'. The fourth class, with 13.88%, was characterized by articles in which Kyrgyzstan (86.1%) was very often the main country and articles were often 'very informative' (59.2%) and, as a rule, HT 'highly relevant' (92.1%). About half had the 'HT name in a headline or a lead' (48.3%). This class was named 'HT 'highly relevant' and very informative articles with Kyrgyzstan as the main country'. Because Kyrgyzstan was the main country in the overwhelming majority of articles, each of four latent classes had Kyrgyzstan as the main country. Therefore, this indicates that during 2002-2007 HT was of great interest to the press in Kyrgyzstan. See Table 15.

4.3.2 Events that made HT newsworthy

The statistically insignificant relation between the variables 'Relevance of articles to HT' and 'Year of publication', $\chi^2(10, N=325)=10.89, p>0.05$, indicated that the proportion of articles with different degrees of relevance to HT fluctuated only slightly over the years. The cross-tabulation of the variables 'Month' and 'Year' identified ten periods when HT was mentioned most often. See Table 16.

| Month | Year | | | | | | Total |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|------|-------|
| | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | |
| January | 4 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 25 |
| February | 6 | 6 | 4 | 8=6+0+2 | 3 | 3 | 30 |
| March | 8=3+2+3 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 22 |
| April | 3 | 7 | 9=5+0+4 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 28 |
| May | 0 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 26 |
| June | 1 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 17 |
| July | 3 | 4 | 4 | 9=5+0+4 | 8=2+3+3 | 4 | 32 |
| August | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 13=6+4+3 | 5 | 30 |
| September | 8=2+3+3 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 13=6+2+5 | 4 | 32 |
| October | 5 | 5 | 9=5+3+1 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 35 |
| November | 6 | 9=8+1+0 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 27 |
| December | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 21 |
| Total | 49 | 53 | 56 | 53 | 69 | 45 | 325 |

Table 16: Month*Year cross tabulation (N=325)

Qualitative analysis of these articles helped identify events that made HT newsworthy for VB. Table 17: Second-order LCA*Year*Month cross-tabulation (Kyrgyzstan) illustrates that the coverage of HT in specific times and contexts was dominated by certain styles of coverage. For example, in November 2006, when HT was officially banned in Kyrgyzstan, HT suddenly became very newsworthy, with the number of very informative articles being very high and the number of 'irrelevant' and not informative articles being zero. In April 2004, when references to HT were mainly made in the context of terrorist attacks in Uzbekistan, coverage did not include any informative non-crime stories; HT was either a focal point of crime stories or was merely referred to in the news stories by authors without additional information about the group. The high number of informative crime stories and very informative articles in July, August and September 2006 could well be attributed to the governmental order for the law enforcement institutions to intensify their efforts in combating extremism. However, since crime stories dominated coverage of HT in VB in general, wide use of this pattern in all time periods was expected.

| Year | Month | Event | Latent classes | | | | Total |
|------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---|---|---|-------|
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
| 2002 | March | Different events with 'religion' as a general theme and only passing references to HT. | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 8 |
| | September | HT became more active in spreading its propaganda, and this was used as a justification for introducing a moratorium on its assembly. | 2 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 8 |
| 2003 | November | The extensive and highly negative reporting on HT culminated in the 'breaking' news that activities of this 'extremist' organization were banned by the decision of the Kyrgyz Supreme Court. | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 9 |
| 2004 | April | Arrests of HT members in Kyrgyzstan and references to HT in the context of terror acts in Uzbekistan in March 2004. | 4 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| | October | HT coverage is seen as an attempt to highlight the threat of terrorism and extremism in Kyrgyzstan after the president's order to launch widespread propaganda to stop the dissemination of religious-subversive ideas. | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| 2005 | February | HT calling on Muslims to boycott parliamentary elections, on one hand, and HT supporting certain candidates from the opposition, on the other. | 4 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 8 |
| | July | Different issues, including presidential elections in Kyrgyzstan, arrests of HT members and interviews with HT members. | 4 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| 2006 | July | Different stories, including those on the efforts of law enforcement officials to combat extremism, often connecting HT to either crime or terrorism. | 2 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 8 |
| | August | The killing of a leading imam in the south by law enforcement officials when he was found in a car with suspected terrorists spurred public debates about official clergy supporting radicals, on one hand, and negligent actions by law enforcement officials, on the other. | 5 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 13 |
| | September | HT was often mentioned in a crime context or in interviews with various social actors. | 4 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 13 |

Table 17: Second-order LCA*Year*Month cross-tabulation (Kyrgyzstan)

5 Discussion and conclusions

In formulating the sub-hypotheses for each country and conducting latent class analyses, it was desired to make the three samples as mutually comparable as possible. However, owing to the different extents of HT's influence and activities in the three countries, and to the different methods of data compilation, it was not possible to operationalize newsworthiness in the three samples in an entirely equivalent manner. Nevertheless, although HT's newsworthiness could only to a certain extent be evaluated in a comparative perspective, this analysis did establish a number of commonalities and distinctions regarding HT coverage in the three countries.

It appears that the journalists and editors of the well-established German and British newspapers found it unnecessary to draw close attention to HT through the publication of reports on HT on title pages, mentioning it in headlines or by including visual images. Making the HT name "more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences" (Entman, 1993: 53) would certainly set a public agenda and raise more questions about a 'foreign' movement in Europe. Due to technical limitations, it was not established how many articles appeared on the front pages of the Kyrgyz newspaper, but one-third of the Kyrgyz articles contained the HT name in a headline and/or lead; half the 'highly relevant' and 'relevant' articles contained a visual image. In Kyrgyzstan, these tendencies were attributed to 'sensationalism' as a determining news factor for Kyrgyz reporting, in general, and to social and political pressures on journalists to highlight the presence of 'threatening' and 'dangerous' movements in the region, in particular.

The established negative relationship between the 'relevance' of articles to HT and their length has a practical explanation. Since in the short articles references to HT inevitably appeared in the first and often only paragraph, these articles were coded as 'relevant' or 'highly relevant'. Longer articles only rarely focused solely on the organization and, therefore, were often rated as 'irrelevant' or 'relevant'. Thus, the increase in mainly 'irrelevant' articles could be explained less by HT's diminishing newsworthiness than by a growing tendency to refer to the group in irrelevant contexts or along with other controversial organizations.

The fact that the main countries of articles in the three samples were predominantly Germany, Great Britain and Kyrgyzstan suggested that the 'proximity' news factor (Galtung and Ruge, 1965) played a crucial role in these countries, but was more influential in Kyrgyzstan and Great Britain than in Germany. Furthermore, the majority of British articles were published in the 'Domestic News' section (52%); the majority of the Kyrgyz articles were published in the 'Overview of the Day' (27.1%) and 'Actual/Main Topic' (14.8%) sections; and, the majority of the German articles were published in the 'Politics' section (42.9%). Since HT was not very active in Germany during the time-frame of the research, German reporting on HT was often foreign-oriented, including reporting on its activities in Uzbekistan, the Middle East, Great Britain, Russia and other European countries. The strong influence of 'the Middle East' as the second main region in the German sample was explained by the fact that German journalists often referred to HT's goals as 'To destroy Israel' and 'To kill Jews'. These goals were never mentioned in the Kyrgyz sample and almost never in the British sample. At times, it seemed that HT was newsworthy and banned in Germany only because of its anti-Semitic slogans, which were often salient in the German articles. Although the British and Kyrgyz newspapers are poles apart in economic resources for foreign news reporting, in both cases reporting on HT was predominantly 'domestically' oriented.

It was not surprising that the most relevant and informative articles with Germany, Great Britain and Kyrgyzstan as the main countries in the three samples respectively were present in the smallest classes in the samples. It was surprising that these classes constituted from ten to fourteen percent of the national samples, which suggested that every tenth article was highly relevant to and very informative about HT, independently of the degree of the group's newsworthiness in each country. The cross-tabulation of latent classes with 'Year' revealed, however, that such articles appeared only during certain 'big' events in Germany, Great Britain and Kyrgyzstan. Thus in Germany such articles appeared mainly in January 2003, when HT was officially banned there; in July 2005, following the terror attacks in London; and, in August 2006, when a terror attack against German regional trains was prevented. In Great Britain, ten such articles appeared in August 2005, when Blair announced an investigation to find grounds to ban HT's activities there; at other times this number was never more than three. In Kyrgyzstan, six such articles appeared in November 2003, the month HT was banned; at other times, this number was never more than three.

To conclude, the quantitative and qualitative findings on the coverage of HT in German, British and Kyrgyz quality newspapers lent support to the hypotheses that in 2002-2007 HT was not very interesting to the German public, and was, in contrast, very interesting to the British and Kyrgyz publics.

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