



Islamophobia, Foreign Interference, and Social Stability: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Le Figaro's Mosque-Attack Coverage

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Abstract

The discovery of pig heads at several mosques in France on September 2025 attracted public attention and became one of the incidents widely reported by online media. Although previous studies have examined the representation of Muslims and Islamophobia in the media, research explaining how anti Muslim incidents are constructed into broader narratives through media framing remains limited. This study aims to analyze how Le Figaro framed the reports on the placement of pig heads at several mosques in France. The research corpus consists of seven Le Figaro news published in September 2025. The analysis integrates Robert N. Entman's framing model with Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model. Entman's framing model was employed to identify the elements of define problems, diagnose causes, moral judgments, and treatment recommendations, while Van Dijk's model was used to examine the macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure that constructed the framing. The findings indicate that Le Figaro framed the incident through a narrative progression that began with acts of intimidation against the Muslim community, followed by domestic political conflict, and subsequently emphasized the response of law enforcement authorities and official suspicions of foreign interference conveyed through statements from official sources. The discourse structure of each article reinforced this framing through textual organization, the use of official sources, and consistent lexical choices. This study concludes that Le Figaro tended to construct a geopolitical frame around an anti-Muslim hate incident without presenting the emerging suspicions as verified facts. The findings underscore the importance of responsible media reporting through clear source attribution, careful communication of uncertain information, and ensuring that narratives of alleged foreign interference do not overshadow the issue of Islamophobia.

Keywords: Discourse analysis; Framing; France; Islamophobia; Racism

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INTRODUCTION

Europe is one of the regions with the highest incidence of discrimination against Muslims in the world, a trend that is manifested due to several factors, namely discrimination, policies from right-wing political movements that trigger Islamophobia, physical and verbal attacks, as well as insults aimed at clothing worn by Muslim women such as the hijab and burqa (Adetry & Burhanuddin, 2024). Even in an interview with France 2 Television in September 2015, Nadine Morano, a politician from the Les Républicains party, argued that Muslims are racialized, placed at the bottom of the racial hierarchy, and positioned in opposition to the White population in France (Beaman, 2019). The escalation of Islamophobia during President Macron's first term also demonstrated a growing tendency to associate Muslims with terrorism in political debates, driven by the principle of *laïcité*. (Wolfreys, 2023). In several instances,

Islamophobic movements escalated into attacks targeting Muslim community centers. Mosques were burned and vandalized, and more than 2,000 communal spaces serving Muslim communities in France were closed following the 2015 Charlie Hebdo attack (Sherazi & Zahid, 2023). On Tuesday, 9 September 2025, threats targeting the Muslim community re-emerged in the form of pig heads placed outside several mosques in France. According to Le Figaro, nine pig heads were discovered outside mosques located in the 15th, 18th, and 20th arrondissements of Paris, as well as at the entrance to the Islah Mosque in Montreuil (Seine-Saint-Denis), and in Montrouge, Malakoff (Hauts-de-Seine), and Gentilly (Val-de-Marne).

According to Blumer (1969), as cited in (Aqila *et al.*, 2025) symbolic interactionism suggests that the use of violent symbols, such as pig heads, constitutes an act intended to threaten individuals or groups by targeting victims' psychological well-being and instilling fear. In this context, the media play a crucial role as a public communication channel responsible for disseminating information (Niraimathi, 2022). According to Miller (2002), as cited in (Saeed, 2007) The media possess the power to represent events in ways that shape readers perspectives, meaning that the information audiences receive depends on how those events are portrayed. One of the groups most frequently subjected to negative media framing is the Muslim community. A meta-analysis of 345 studies found that the media tend to frame Muslims negatively, with Islam predominantly portrayed as a religion associated with violence (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016)

Research on the media framing of Muslims has shown that the media play a significant role in shaping the social construction of Muslim communities. Saeed, (2007) explains that Western media tend to represent Muslims through a process of othering. Baker *et al* (2012) shows that such representations are constructed through language choices that frequently associate Muslims with conflict, radicalism, and terrorism. Ahmed & Matthes, (2016) concludes that research on the representation of Muslims in Western media is predominantly focused on issues of terrorism and conflict. In the French context, Abderrahim, (2019) found that Le Figaro and Le Monde tend to represent Islam and Muslims as a homogeneous group and frequently associate them with radicalism. Nevertheless, these studies have primarily focused on the general representation of Islam and Muslims. Consequently, no study has examined how Le Figaro framed the incident involving pig heads placed outside several mosques in France by integrating Robert N. Entman's framing model with Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis to explain how the framing is constructed through discourse structures at the macrostructural, superstructural, and microstructural levels.

This study aims to analyze how Le Figaro framed news coverage of the pig-head terror incident targeting several mosques in France using Robert N. Entman's framing model and to examine how the discourse structure of the news contributed to the construction of that framing based on Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model. Entman's framing model was employed to identify how the media defined the problem, diagnosed its causes, made moral judgments, and proposed treatment recommendations. Meanwhile, Van Dijk's model was used to explain how the framing was constructed through the macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure of the news discourse. This study was limited to seven news articles published by Le Figaro concerning the pig-head terror incident targeting several mosques in France in September 2025. This limitation was applied to ensure that the analysis remained focused on the construction of discourse within a single media outlet. The study is expected to contribute to the development of media framing and Critical Discourse Analysis by explaining how an anti-Muslim incident was constructed into a broader narrative through media reporting practices in France.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research Design

This study used a qualitative approach by integrating Robert N. Entman's framing model and Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how Le Figaro framed the pig-head terror incident targeting several mosques in France. Entman's framing model was used to identify how the newspaper constructed its framing of the incident, whereas Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model used to explain how that framing was constructed through discourse structures at the macrostructural, superstructural, and microstructural levels. The two analytical models were applied in an integrated manner, with Entman's model identifying the framing construction and Van Dijk's model explaining the linguistic mechanisms and textual structures through which the framing was constructed.

Research Corpus

The research corpus consisted of seven news articles published by the online newspaper Le Figaro concerning the discovery of pig heads outside several mosques in France in September 2025. Le Figaro was selected because it is the oldest national newspaper in France, having been established in the mid-nineteenth century (Barushkova & Komissarova, 2021). The seven news articles were selected because they specifically discussed the chronology of the incident, the responses of law enforcement authorities, the responses of political figures, and the alleged involvement of foreign intelligence agencies in the incident. The data were collected using purposive sampling through searches conducted on Le Figaro's official website using the keywords *tête de porc*, *tête de cochon*, *mosquée*, and *France*. The search was conducted in October 2025. The initial search identified nine Le Figaro news articles related to the incident. The articles were then screened based on several criteria: they had to be published by Le Figaro, discuss the incident involving pig heads placed outside mosques, not be duplicate news articles, and contain sufficient information to be analyzed using Entman's framing and Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis.

Table 1. Research Corpus

Code	Date	Author	Title	Translation	Source
A1	9/09/25	Le Figaro avec AFP	<i>Têtes de cochons devant des mosquées: « L'islamophobie se déchaîne en France, chauffée à blanc par Retailleau », accuse Mélenchon</i>	Pig Heads Outside Mosques: "Islamophobia Is Running Rampant in France, Fueled by Retailleau," Says Mélenchon	https://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/tetes-de-cochons-devant-des-mosquees-l-islamophobie-se-dechaîne-en-france-chauffée-a-blanc-par-retailleau-accuse-melenchon-20250909
A2	9/09/25	Alexandra Perrini	<i>Têtes de cochons découvertes devant des mosquées à Paris : Laurent Nunez évoque l'hypothèse d'une ingérence étrangère</i>	Pig Heads Found Outside Mosques in Paris: Laurent Nunez Suggests Possible Foreign Interference	https://www.lefigaro.fr/faits-divers/tetes-de-cochons-decouvertes-devant-des-mosquees-a-paris-laurent-nunez-evoque-l-hypothese-d-une-ingerence-etrangere-20250909
A3	10/9/25	Nicolas Daguin	<i>Île-de-France : les images du suspect déposant une tête de cochon sur le pas de la mosquée de Montreuil</i>	Île-de-France: Footage Shows a Suspect Placing a Pig Head at the	https://www.lefigaro.fr/faits-divers/ile-de-france-les-images-du-suspect-deposant-une-

Code	Date	Author	Title	Translation	Source
				Entrance of the Montreuil Mosque	tete-de-cochon-sur-le-pas-de-la-mosquee-de-montreuil-20250910
A4	10/9/25	Steve Tenré	<i>Les têtes de cochon ont été déposées devant des mosquées «par des personnes de nationalité étrangère» ayant «aussitôt quitté le territoire»</i>	Pig Heads Were Placed Outside Mosques by “Foreign Nationals” Who “Immediately Left the Country	https://www.lefigaro.fr/faits-divers/les-tetes-de-cochon-ont-ete-deposees-devant-des-mosques-par-des-personnes-de-nationalite-etrangere-ayant-aussitot-quitte-le-territoire-20250910
A5	11/9/25	Nicolas Daguin, Leopold Paitier	<i>« Actes abjects » : neuf têtes de cochon découvertes devant des mosquées, à Paris et aux alentours</i>	“Abject Acts”: Nine Pig Heads Discovered Outside Mosques in Paris and Its Surrounding Areas	https://www.lefigaro.fr/faits-divers/des-tetes-de-cochon-decouvertes-devant-des-mosques-a-paris-notamment-annonce-laurent-nunez-20250909
A6	29/9/25	Le Figaro avec AFP	<i>Des mains rouges aux têtes de cochon : l'inquiétante ombre de l'ingérence étrangère qui plane sur la France</i>	From Red Handprints to Pig Heads: The Alarming Specter of Foreign Interference Looming Over France	https://www.lefigaro.fr/faits-divers/des-mains-rouges-aux-tetes-de-cochon-l-inquietante-ombre-de-l-ingerence-etrangere-qui-plane-sur-la-france-20250912
A7	29/9/25	Le Figaro avec AFP	<i>Têtes de cochon devant des mosquées en région parisienne : onze personnes arrêtées en Serbie</i>	Pig Heads Outside Mosques in the Greater Paris Area: Eleven People Arrested in Serbia.	https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/tetes-de-cochon-devant-des-mosques-en-region-parisienne-onze-personnes-arretees-en-serbie-20250929

Note: A1 = News Article 1, A2 = News Article 2, etc.

Research Procedure

The research began by collecting articles based on the established inclusion criteria. Subsequently, each article was read repeatedly to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the news content. The first stage of analysis was conducted using Robert N. Entman's framing model to identify how events were defined, causes were determined, moral judgments were constructed, and solutions were recommended. Afterward, the same articles were analyzed using Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model through the examination of macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. The findings from both analytical models were then compared and interpreted to explain how discourse structures contribute to the construction of news framing.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted by integrating Robert N. Entman's framing model and Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model. The first stage employed Entman's framing model to identify how Le Figaro framed the pig head terror incidents at several mosques in France through four framing elements: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and treatment recommendations. Subsequently, the

identified framing was further examined through Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model. The analysis was conducted at three levels: macrostructure, to identify the main themes of the news; superstructure, to analyze the organization of news presentation, including headlines, leads, situations, and comments; and microstructure, which examines how meaning is constructed within the text. The findings from both models were then integrated to explain how discourse structures contribute to the construction of framing in news coverage.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Research Finding

Framing is the process of selecting certain aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient in a communication text, thereby highlighting particular problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations, or recommended solutions regarding the described event. The framing highlights certain information about an item that becomes the subject of communication, thereby increasing its salience. Framing functions to make particular information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to readers. This increases the likelihood that recipients will understand the information, distinguish its meaning, process it, and subsequently store it in memory. Meanwhile, Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis examines the relationship between text, discourse, and power, including domination, abuse of power, and social inequality. Critical Discourse Analysis is a multidisciplinary research perspective that not only examines interactions within texts, ranging from the micro level to the macro level, but also primarily aims to reveal social inequalities and expose forms and modalities of power abuse.

Table 2. Entman's Framing Elements

No	Elements	Analysis
1.	Problem Definition	The seven Le Figaro articles consistently framed the pig head terror incidents in front of several mosques as acts that not only targeted Muslim places of worship but were also positioned as a national security issue due to their association with alleged foreign interference or <i>ingérence étrangère</i> .
2.	Diagnose Causes	The causes of the events were consistently attributed to the alleged involvement of foreign nationals based on the results of police investigations. The news reports included information regarding vehicles with Serbian license plates, the use of Croatian phone numbers, and the arrest of eleven suspects in Serbia.
3.	Moral Evaluation	Moral evaluations were constructed through quotations from government officials, state authorities, and politicians, who generally condemned the acts as despicable actions, Islamophobic acts, racist behavior, or potential threats to national unity.
4.	Treatment Recommendation	The most consistently presented solution was law enforcement through investigations, inter-institutional cooperation, cross-border tracking, the identification of suspects, and the arrest process.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Macrostructure is a theoretical concept used to describe the topic or theme expressed through a single sentence or clause (Van Dijk, 1988). Macrostructure focuses on the main subject or topic of a text, which is generally reflected in the headline.

Meanwhile, superstructure focuses on how a text is organized, starting from the introduction, development of the content, to the conclusion, including the logical progression of the narrative and the placement of arguments and authority voices. (Christina *et al.*, 2025). Furthermore, microstructure refers to the meaning constructed through the smallest elements of a text, such as word choices, sentences, propositions, paraphrases, and images (Salma & Chotimah, 2025).

Table 3. Analysis of Macrostructure

Code	Title	Theme	Main Focus
A1	<i>Têtes de cochons devant des mosquées : « L’islamophobie se déchaîne en France, chauffée à blanc par Retailleau », accuse Mélenchon</i>	Political responses to the discovery of pig heads placed at several mosques in France	The statement by politician Jean-Luc Mélenchon, who attributed the cause of the incident to the increasing Islamophobia resulting from the policies of Bruno Retailleau, the former French Minister of the Interior.
A2	<i>Têtes de cochons découvertes devant des mosquées à Paris : Laurent Nunez évoque l’hypothèse d’une ingérence étrangère</i>	The emergence of alleged foreign interference in the pig head placement incidents at several mosques in Paris.	The discovery of pig heads at several mosques and the initial allegation of foreign interference based on Laurent Nuñez’s statement.
A3	<i>Île-de-France : les images du suspect déposant une tête de cochon sur le pas de la mosquée de Montreuil</i>	The development of police investigations through the publication of CCTV evidence.	The publication of CCTV footage as evidence to identify the suspects and investigate the alleged foreign interference in the pig head incidents.
A4	<i>Les têtes de cochon ont été déposées devant des mosquées «par des personnes de nationalité étrangère» ayant «aussitôt quitté le territoire»</i>	The development of investigations linking the pig head placements in front of mosques to alleged foreign suspects and attempts to disrupt national order.	The allegation that foreign nationals were involved and left French territory shortly after carrying out the acts.
A5	<i>« Actes abjects » : neuf têtes de cochon découvertes devant des mosquées, à Paris et aux alentours</i>	Government, political figures, and public responses to the discovery of pig heads.	Details of the incident locations and condemnation of the acts.
A6	<i>Des mains rouges aux têtes de cochon : l’inquiétante ombre de l’ingérence étrangère qui plane sur la France</i>	Reports on various vandalism and provocation incidents in France linked to alleged foreign interference based on investigation findings.	The development of a narrative connecting the pig head placement incidents at several mosques in France with patterns of foreign influence operations or foreign interference in France.
A7	<i>Têtes de cochon devant des mosquées en région parisienne : onze personnes arrêtées en Serbie</i>	The development of investigations leading to the arrest of eleven suspects in Serbia.	Police investigation results involving the arrest of eleven suspects in Serbia.

Table 4: Analysis of Superstructure

Code	Headline	Lead	Situation	Comment
A1	Reaction of politician Jean-Luc Mélenchon toward the incident	Allegations that the pig head terror incident represents the rise of Islamophobia in France.	Explains the discovery of pig heads and Mélenchon's criticism of government policies.	Mélenchon accused Bruno Retailleau of being responsible for the escalation of Islamophobia in France
A2	The discovery of pig heads and the alleged foreign interference	Summarizes the discovery of pig heads at several mosques and Laurent Nuñez's statement.	Explains the chronology of events, locations, and the development of the police investigation.	Laurent Nuñez alleged the existence of foreign interference linked to previous vandalism.
A3	Visual evidence in the form of CCTV footage	Informs readers about the CCTV footage released by the police	Summarizes the chronology of the suspect placing the pig head fragments and the police identification process	Emphasizes Laurent Nuñez's statement alleging foreign interference linked to previous vandalism incidents.
A4	Highlights the alleged identity of the suspect as a foreign national	Presents the latest investigation findings regarding the suspect	Describes the suspect's movements and the results of the authorities' investigation.	The prosecutor's office explains the development of the investigation
A5	Highlights the number of pig head terror incidents and the condemnation of the acts	Summarizes the latest developments of the pig head incidents at several mosques in France.	Explains the locations of the incidents, government responses, and the development of the investigation	Laurent Nuñez denounces the perpetrators' actions.
A6	Highlights alleged foreign interference as the main issue	Provides an analysis of the pattern of alleged foreign interference	Connects the pig head incidents with other events suspected of having similar patterns	The prosecutor's office provides information regarding suspects who remain at large
A7	Highlights the final outcome of the investigation through the arrest of suspects	Reports the arrest of eleven individuals in Serbia	Explains the investigation process leading to the arrest of the suspects	Provides statements regarding suspects who remain at large and the alleged involvement of foreign interference

Table 5. Analysis of Microstructure

Code	Semantics	Syntax	Lexicon
A1	The discovery of pig head fragments and Mélenchon's accusation against Retailleau.	The active sentence structure presents Mélenchon as the actor who directly delivers the accusation against Bruno Retailleau.	<i>Islamophobie</i> (islamophobia), <i>se déchaîne</i> (escalating), <i>chauffée à blanc</i>

Code	Semantics	Syntax	Lexicon
	Provides detailed information regarding the number of pig heads and their distribution across locations, specifically identifying four in Paris and five in suburban areas, along with details of Mélenchon's social media post	Dominated by causal cause and effect	(heated up), <i>la grossièreté imbécile</i> (mindless brutality), <i>débilité</i> (stupidity).
A2	Le Figaro connects the pig head incidents with vandalism against Jewish sites in the previous summer, which were allegedly carried out by foreigners.	Dominated by passive sentences that emphasize factual information and investigation results, while active sentences highlight the actions or statements of authority figure Laurent Nuñez.	<i>Ingérence étrangère</i> (foreign interference), <i>hypothèse</i> (hypothesis), <i>opération d'ingérence</i> (foreign interference operation), <i>provocation</i> (provocation)
	The details of the pig head incidents are elaborated by linking them to vandalism against Jewish sites. The report also emphasizes that the acts were carried out simultaneously by several suspects.	Dominated by comparative and chronological coherence.	
A3	The pig head incidents were allegedly coordinated across nine mosques, and the motive behind the acts remains unknown.	Dominated by active sentences because the report focuses on reconstructing the perpetrators' actions based on CCTV footage.	<i>Opération très coordonnée</i> (A highly coordinated operation),
	The details of the incident time, clothing, physical characteristics, and the suspect's actions are described in detail	Dominated by explanatory coherence.	<i>mission</i> (mission), <i>possible</i> (possible)
A4	Investigative information is used to support the alleged involvement of foreigners.	Passive sentence structures direct the reader's attention to the discovery of the pig heads.	<i>Ingérence étrangère</i> (foreign interference),
	Specific details regarding the vehicle's license plate number and the suspects' communication channels are provided.	Dominated by causal coherence (cause and effect).	<i>nationalité étrangère</i> (foreign nationality).
A5	The case was immediately followed up by the authorities. This information provides the background for the subsequent news coverage of the investigation process.	Passive sentence structures focus the reader's attention on the discovery of the pig heads and the investigative actions, while active sentences are used to present statements from government officials, religious leaders, local residents, and politicians.	<i>Actes abjects</i> (abhorrent acts)
	Detailed information is provided regarding the number	Dominated by chronological coherence.	

Code	Semantics	Syntax	Lexicon
	of pig heads and the word “Macron” written on one of them. The location of each mosque is also identified individually.		
A6	The pig head incidents are alleged to be connected to previous cases of antisemitism.	The report is dominated by passive sentence structures that focus on the sequence of events.	<i>l'inquiétante ombre</i> (unsettling shadow)
	The article outlines the chronology of various cases considered to share similarities with the pig head incidents from 2023 to 2025.	Dominated by explanatory coherence.	
A7	Focuses on the arrest of eleven individuals in Serbia as part of the investigation into the pig head incidents at mosques in France.	Combines passive sentence structures when reporting the arrests and shifts to active sentence structures when describing police actions and official statements.	<i>Déstabilisation</i> (destabilization), <i>conspiration</i> (conspiracy)
	details are provided regarding the number of suspects and the location of the arrests.	Dominated by causal coherence (cause-and-effect relationships).	

Discussion

The findings indicate that Le Figaro framed the pig head incidents at several mosques in France as an issue that evolved progressively over time. In the initial coverage, the incidents were framed as acts associated with Islamophobia by emphasizing the discovery of pig heads at mosques and the political response of Jean-Luc Mélenchon. As the investigation progressed, the focus of the coverage shifted toward allegations of foreign interference (*ingérence étrangère*), reflected in narratives suggesting a coordinated foreign operation similar to previous cases of antisemitism, culminating in the arrest of several suspects in Serbia. This shift in media coverage demonstrates that the news framing evolved in accordance with information released by law enforcement authorities. One quotation that explicitly illustrates this shift in the news narrative is the headline of the sixth article: “*Des mains rouges aux têtes de cochon : l'inquiétante ombre de l'ingérence étrangère qui plane sur la France*” (From Red Hands to Pig Heads: The Unsettling Shadow of Foreign Interference Hanging Over France). This headline indicates that Le Figaro framed the pig head placement incidents as following a pattern similar to previous cases of antisemitism reported in earlier years. It also reinforces the allegation of foreign interference as an underlying explanation for the attacks targeting mosques.

Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis reveals a shift in framing constructed through discourse structures at multiple levels. At the macrostructural level, the theme of the news coverage shifts from Islamophobia to national security and alleged foreign intelligence operations. At the superstructural level, the organization of the news consistently positions statements from state authorities, such as Laurent Nuñez and the prosecutor's office, as the primary sources guiding the flow of information. This is illustrated by a quotation from the second article “*On ne peut s'empêcher de penser à des actions précédentes*” (It is difficult not to think of a connection with previous cases). The

quotation taken from Laurent Nuñez's statement is believed to be the starting point of the shift in information toward the alleged involvement of foreign nationals, similar to previous cases of racism and terrorism targeting the Jewish community. The narrative suggests that the pig head placement incidents at several mosques in France were considered to follow the same pattern as those previous cases. In addition, one of the pig head fragments bore the words "*Bonne Appetit*" (Enjoy your meal) that misspelling was considered by the media as evidence suggesting that the suspect was likely a foreign national who was unfamiliar with French spelling, since differences in phonology, orthography, and morphology between a native language and a foreign language often lead speakers to make spelling errors (Qasem, 2020). Furthermore, at the microstructural level, the use of lexical choices such as *ingérence étrangère* (foreign interference), *opération très coordonnée* (highly coordinated operation), and *mission* reinforces the allegation that the acts constituted a planned operation involving a broader international network rather than merely an act of terror targeting mosques.

Although the allegation of foreign interference became one of the main narratives, *Le Figaro* did not present it as an established fact, as the newspaper consistently used expressions such as *hypothèse* (hypothesis) and *possible* (possible). These lexical choices indicate that the alleged foreign interference remained under investigation and was presented as uncertain information originating from law enforcement authorities. The newspaper gave considerable attention to this allegation without explicitly stating that the involvement of foreign actors was certain or had been established as fact.

Furthermore, this study shows that *Le Figaro* relied on quotations and information from authoritative sources. Most of the information was obtained from the Paris Police Prefect Laurent Nuñez, the prosecutor's office, the Minister of the Interior, and investigating authorities. In contrast, information concerning the Muslim community as the victims received only very limited coverage. As a result, the focus of the news gradually shifted from what was initially a report on the victims of the attacks on mosques to the investigation process, the responses of state institutions, and ultimately the issue of national security. This indicates that institutional actors occupied a dominant position in shaping the public representation of Islamophobia as an issue that extended into the realm of national security.

The quotation taken from the Minister of the Interior's statement "*agissant sous les instructions d'un service de renseignement étranger*" (acting under the instructions of a foreign intelligence service) the Ministry of the Interior's statement added, without specifying the nationality of the intelligence service, further reinforces the portrayal of the alleged foreign interference in the narrative presented by *Le Figaro*. This study is consistent with the findings of Saeed (2007) who demonstrated that the media frequently associate issues concerning Muslim communities with security and conflict. These findings are also consistent with the study by Ahmed & Matthes (2016) The study explains that representations of Islam in Western media are often associated with security threats. Nevertheless, this study demonstrates a different dynamic. In the case of *Le Figaro*, the framing did not stop at portraying Islamophobia alone but evolved into a narrative of foreign interference and alleged geopolitical destabilization through the possibility of similarities with previous cases of antisemitism involving foreign nationals. This study extends previous findings by showing that media framing can change in line with the development of the investigation and the sources of information used.

Based on the overall findings, this study shows that although the primary object of the incidents was the attacks on mosques, the focus of the news coverage gradually shifted toward issues of national security rather than the terrorist attacks experienced by the Muslim community as the victims. Narratives concerning alleged foreign operations, cross-border coordination, and threats to national stability received increasingly greater

attention as the coverage developed. These findings do not suggest that Le Figaro ignored the existence of Islamophobia; rather, they demonstrate that the issue was subsequently framed within a broader context of national security and geopolitics. Therefore, the combined use of Entman's Framing model and Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis enables this study not only to identify what was framed by the media but also to explain how discourse structures shaped that framing through the text, the selection of sources, and linguistic strategies.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study show that Le Figaro framed the pig head terror incidents at several mosques in France through a news construction that evolved progressively. In the initial coverage, the incidents were constructed as acts of intimidation against the Muslim community, prompting condemnation from various parties. As the investigation progressed, the focus of the coverage shifted to political responses and police authorities, and later developed into reports on the alleged foreign interference based on the investigation findings and statements from official sources. In conclusion, Le Figaro portrayed the pig head terror incidents at several mosques in France not only as acts of hatred against the Muslim community but also as issues related to national security and geopolitics.

This study contributes by demonstrating how media framing constructs the anti-Muslim movement through discourse structures that shape the development of news narratives. These findings extend the literature on media framing and Critical Discourse Analysis by illustrating how a local event can be constructed into a broader narrative through news reporting practices. However, this study is limited to seven articles published by Le Figaro during a single reporting period; therefore, the findings are not intended to be generalized to all French media. Future research may compare framing constructions across other media outlets or examine different anti-Muslim incidents to provide a more comprehensive understanding.

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