The Day After. Considerations and Future Prospects for Studying the Phenomenon of Othering after Jihadist Terrorist Attacks

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Abstract

The paper defines the Othering phenomenon in a sociological perspective. This phenomenon can be contextualised starting from the concept of Orientalism and addressed with reference to sociological theories and concepts.

Aim of the article is to propose the concept of Othering and the analysis of the processes of Othering as a key to responding to the consequences of the jihadist terrorist strategy in the West. After September 11, 2001 and after the terrorist attacks in Europe, in fact, citizens of Middle Eastern and Arab origin have been victims of processes of Othering and social exclusion because of their ethnic origin.

This paper considers some empirical research on the processes of Othering. The main referenced sociological theories and concepts are highlighted for each empirical research taken into consideration, with attention given to the role of visual perception in favoring the processes of Othering. Media, television and films as well as online platforms, thanks to visual tools and contents, use stereotypes when portraying people of Middle Eastern and Arab origin. The article examines how the processes of Othering originate from the sensory path of sight.

Finally, it emerges that to date the theme of Othering has not yet been placed in a general field of theory in sociological literature. Each considered empirical research focuses on a particular concept or theory, thus reducing the complexity of the Othering phenomenon. The study of the processes of Othering to be set in a complex theory of otherness, takes shape as a sociological key to respond to important social challenges, such as terrorism.

Keywords: othering, orientalism, terrorism, social change, sociology.

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1.   The roots of the Othering concept

Othering is a process of identity formation that defines a social group in terms of radical otherness. The definition of the concept of Othering can be traced back to the field of post-colonial studies, which can be considered as a theoretical starting point (Saïd, 1978; Watt, 2012; Jensen, 2011). The cultural root of the studies on the process of Othering, in particular towards Asian and Middle Eastern ethnic groups, is so-called Orientalism (Saïd, 1978).

In the colonial vision, Eastern countries are placed in a distant symbolic space, unhealthy and pathological compared to the West, which is considered as the normative centre of the world. At the same time they are connoted in an exotic and mysterious way. A second theoretical origin of the sociological works on the process of Othering can be traced back to studies on the condition of women (De Beauvoir, 1949; Jensen, 2011; Lumsden, Morgan, 2017). In this perspective, women find themselves in a residual social identity with respect to men, who are considered the normative existential condition (De Beauvoir, 1949). Studies on the process of ethnic Othering focus on people belonging to non-Western ethnic groups, also highlighting the role of language in defining what is extra-Western in terms of negation and extraneousness.

By Othering we mean, with reference to an ethnic group, defining that ethnic group as radically different and apart from our own ethnic group. The concept of Orientalism understood as a world vision relegating the culture, values, ways of life, and institutions of some ethnic groups to a subordinate position with respect to western ethnic groups contextualizes the Othering phenomenon towards people of Middle Eastern origin and towards the Arabs in Europe (Saïd, 1978; Jensen, 2011).

In a critical perspective, the post-colonial reading of the process of Othering studies and highlights the condition of ethnic minorities on the one hand, but at the same time depicts the ethnic minorities as a passive subject and the autochthonous Western majority as an undifferentiated group endowed with the power to label and socially exclude minorities. In this perspective, post-colonial studies themselves end up contributing, at least in scientific language, to the definition of the members of ethnic minorities as victims and to a process of marginalization of ethnic diversity, from which the studies themselves originate.

If in the colonial case the ethnicity subjected to Othering is degraded, the core of the Othering social process is the inferior definition of the identity of another ethnic group with respect to one's own (Saïd, 1978; Spivak, 1985; Jensen, 2011). In this perspective, the Othering phenomenon is a symbolic degradation of a social group and at the same time also as a process, the

outcome of this degradation, of the stable identity formation of this group (Jensen, 2011).

In the case of ethnic minorities there has been talk of racialized ethnicity when the social difference between normal and deviant is attributed, without any scientific basis, to an element such as race (Canales, 2000). The element to be connoted as an identifying and erroneous boundary is the (presumed) presence of a biological character on the basis of which to distinguish different ethnic groups.

2.   Theoretical references and empirical researches

The term Othering, referring to people of Middle Eastern and Arab origin, began to be used in Anglo-Saxon literature especially after September 11, 2001, and became fully established after the main jihadist attacks in Europe (Lumsden, Morgan, 2017; Jensen, 2011).

On May 24, 2014, attacks on the Jewish Museum in Brussels take place; between January 7 and 9, 2015, terrorist attacks occur in France (attacks for the Charlie Hebdo massacre claimed by Al-Qaeda); on November 13, 2015, once again France and its capital Paris are struck by terrorists; on December 2, 2015, the San Bernardino massacre in the United States takes place; on March 22, 2016 attackers strike Brussels; on July 14, 2016 France is struck again, this time in Nice; on December 19, 2016, a terrorist uses a truck to massacre people at a market in Berlin; on May 22, 2017 a suicide bomber blows himself up in Manchester at the Ariana Grande concert; on June 3, 2017 eleven people are killed in London; on August 17, 2017 Barcelona is attacked; on October 31, 2017, a man driving a van uses it to ram into people in New York. After the terrorist attacks in the United States and in Europe some concrete social situations present critical issues that can be studied, using the *Othering* perspective as a starting point.

From this point of view, the European Union has been committed for years to the promotion and financing of projects on the theme of Othering. For example, *Hate Speech and Populist Othering in Europe Through the Racism, Age, and Gender Looking Glass* (RAGE) was a project conducted between 2013 and 2016 by the University of Leicester, the University of Aalborg, the University of Helsinki, the University of Florence, the New Bulgarian University, the University of Paris 8, and the University of Vienna. The project evaluates public and political discourse on ethnic minorities, focusing attention on the Othering phenomenon and on hate speeches, without ignoring the online dimension of these dynamics. The prospect of a European project of inquiry

as well as the knowledge of the Othering phenomenon, aim to identify the best practices of integration and dialogue.

The definition of Other in ethnic terms (Spivak, 1985) is the basis of much of the empirical work conducted after the terrorist attacks in the United States and Europe. In general terms, empirical research on the Othering theme apply the perspectives of Saïd (1978) and Spivak (1985) on the processes of semantic definition of the geographical east and oriental people as a place and existential condition not normal to the social representation of the Arab people or people of Middle Eastern origin. In particular, every empirical research on Othering towards Arabs and Middle-Easterners are based on different sociological theories and concepts.

In the European context, in Germany, research on the processes of ethnic-religious Othering has been conducted. These processes are linked to the construction of a German national ethnic identity as opposed to foreign ethnic identities (Schneider, 2001).

One research has considered the discursive construction of Germanness and the idea of German national ethnicity built into everyday discursive practices (Schneider, 2001). This research is based on participant observation, interviews with political leaders and journalists and through the discursive analysis of political debates. The analysis of how foreigners are depicted, especially foreign residents in Germany (*Ausländer*), shows that in public discourse it is a stereotyped version of the non-German person being portrayed as the foreigner: Muslim Turks living in Germany. The stereotyped depiction of the Turkish is attributed to other Muslim ethnic groups living in Germany, albeit not Turkish, such as the Bosnians. They are portrayed as having dark skin, black hair, a beard, having an unusual name, dressing in a traditional way. These are all elements that respondents attribute to non-Germanness.

The idea of Germanness as a national ethnic identity confines social groups like the Muslim Germans, characterized by different cultural traits compared to the mainstream ones, in a radically different territory, thanks to the construction of an identity boundary (Schneider, 2001).

A research carried out in Finland shows that European Muslims are mentioned in the press and in television programs, especially news programs, in relation to events occurring in other parts of the world, not in Europe. Islam is considered as something remote and far away. This is how a collective categorization of a social subject is proposed as alien. The analysis of newspaper articles between 2005 and 2006 reveals that Islam is portrayed as being totally different from Europe, its European history is denied, it is represented in a simplified way exclusively in relation to religion, political violence and terrorism. Common perceptions emerge in media and at the

same time media representations influence the way in which perceptions are formed. Muslims are also portrayed as people incapable of autonomous conduct and thought. Islam is depicted as a cultural rearguard, compared to the secularized West. Research on the Finnish case links the categorization of Muslims to their medieval representation (Creutz-Kämppi, 2008).

The main theoretical reference of the two researches considered above is the theory of the stereotype and the stereotyping processes. The stereotype is meant as a schematic and rigid cognitive representation referring to a social group, noticed in relation to some characterizing and distinctive traits. The stereotype is a way of judging the members of some social groups according to a simplified and commonly accepted social representation. The effect of this dynamic is to reduce people to the stereotype, seeing them simplistically according to the stereotypical characters instead of considering them as people with their own peculiar and distinctive characteristics. Studies on ethnic stereotypes have highlighted the visual essence of the stereotypical representation of foreign ethnic groups. Features such as the face, hairstyle, and clothing, are visual elements used as ingredients of stereotypical visions of some ethnic groups. The stereotype consists of visual elements (Augoustinos, Walker, Donaghue, 1995).

Some point out that stereotypes are legitimizations of existing social relations of power (Hall, 1997). A Danish study, for example, focuses on young males who are members of disadvantaged ethnic minorities, especially Muslim ones, but not exclusively. Young people who are visibly from ethnic minorities are often forbidden entry into discos and pubs (Jensen, 2011). According to this research, young members of disadvantaged ethnic minorities behave reactively and present themselves – by means of clothing, gestures, slang usage, way of walking, images of themselves on social networks – as thug-gangstas, members of the hip-hop subculture. The members of this subculture are self-defined in terms of marginality. This is also evident in web platforms and in social networks by observing their username, videos and photos. Membership in the subculture is a form of symbolic resistance to the hegemony of mainstream Western culture.

In this perspective, the research looks at the concept of a social group's hegemony over society and over other groups. In the Gramscian perspective, the cultural dominion exercised by a social group defines common sense (Gramsci, 1948 – 1951). The cultural production of capitalist society originates from the sharing of dominant social norms and tends to the diffusion of such dominant social norms. With reference to the subject of ethnicity, the Gramscian perspective on cultural hegemony was adopted by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham (Hall et al. 1978). Young members of disadvantaged ethnic minorities, especially the ones residing in

suburban areas, react by symbolically resisting hegemony. Around the sixties and seventies, young working-class children are part of a reactive generation towards parental and dominant culture. The reaction is expressed through the adherence of young people to urban bands such as the mods, punks, skinheads, or the so-called spectacular subcultures (Hebdige, 1979; Hall, Jefferson, 1976).

The term spectacular subculture emphasizes the role of exterior appearance, of clothing, hairstyle, makeup as signs of the resistance of working-class youth to mainstream social values and of adherence to the subcultural group (Hebdige, 1979; 1988; Hall, Jefferson, 1976). From the original Gramscian formulation, the concept of cultural hegemony has adapted to the complexity of the contemporary dynamics of cultural production, of reception contexts, of the aspects of computer mediated communication and of the network universe (Gournelos, 2009).

The study of urban subcultures is originally linked to the labeling theory, while the process of Othering takes form as an autonomous process of the dominant culture. There are therefore some differences between Othering and labeling. The process of labeling (Becker, 1963) has a negotiating and progressive nature. The term negotiation means that between the mainstream social group and the group subject to labeling there is a relationship made up of reciprocal attributions of meanings to one's own actions and to the actions of others. The mainstream social group considers some behaviors of another social group as being unusual or peripheral. The non-mainstream social group reacts to this process of attribution of meanings. The reaction can create greater distance between the two groups and open the way to phenomena of marginalization. The term progressive indicates that the process of labeling passes through successive phases whose outcome is unpredictable. In other words, each phase of attribution of meaning to certain behaviors and of reaction to this attribution does not have a definite a priori outcome. At each step it is possible to interrupt the process or go back to the previous phase. This is not a deterministic process. The outcome of the definition, of the labeling on some behaviors depends on how the meanings of the actions are defined. While in the process of labeling there is a negotiating and progressive definition of normal and deviant, in the process of Othering there is a radical definition of otherness. Ethnic Othering is a process of extreme exclusion, a social group is profoundly alien, different and marginal.

Many investigations on the ethnic process of Othering are qualitative research investigating the processes of exclusion in everyday life contexts. Qualitative research through tools such as semi-structured interviews and focus groups investigates the relationships between European Muslims and British airport authorities (Blackwood, Hopkins, Reicher, 2012).

This qualitative strategy aims to understand how members of minority ethnic groups experience encounters with security authorities in particular circumstances, such as in airports. It emerges that in airport situations, European Muslims feel they undergo a sense of humiliation and experience excessive distrust on the part of the authorities. Furthermore, following the directives of authorities with regard to security is perceived as a denial of their own ethnic and socio-cultural identity.

The necessity of having to alter their outward appearance and clothing, being unable to cover their faces, are actions which are experienced and perceived as identity denial. But outward appearance, way of dressing and appearing only superficially are elements that merely concern outward appearance. The denial of identity values, which on some occasions members of ethnic minorities are or feel compelled to do, is a question that concerns both their visual aspect and their deep identity (Blackwood, Hopkins, Reicher, 2012).

A quantitative research strategy has been used to gain a better understanding of the percentage incidence of people of Middle Eastern and Arab origin out of the total number of people who are subjected to police checks. In this regard, data relating to people being stopped by police at United Kingdom airports in 2010 are available. It is not easy to establish whether the authorities pay disproportionate attention to Muslims, even if it seems to be confirmed that ethnicity, also with reference to that perceived by the authorities, is an element that acts on the time duration of the halt for security controls (Blackwood, Hopkins, Reicher, 2012).

The research described above adopts Goffman's (1963) theoretical interactionist perspective of stigmatization to frame the phenomenon of Othering. People characterized on the basis of perceived differences from a mainstream social norm are stigmatized. Members of ethnic minorities have discredited characters understood as visual or sensory elements that can be easily traced to ethnicity, such as accent, language, hair, skin, facial features, way of dressing, use of gestures, and physical characteristics.

The discredited stigma emerges from concrete visual characteristics and – or from visual characters that people think to present and that they think make them recognizable and identifiable as different. The characteristics which result from a stigmatization process are discredited and end up being able to trigger such a process. The stigmatized subjects in fact internalize the discrimination which they are subjected to. They are the ones to recognize themselves as different (Goffman, 1963).

In this perspective, Othering as a process of exclusion is articulated through the organization of frame dynamics. The term frame indicates the world commonly available to members of a culture and the amount of force

of elements such as normative expectations and conventions commonly available in acting on routine behaviors for members of a culture (Goffman, 1974). The frame structure remains relatively unaffected by daily events. It is people's perception of their power in defining the characters of interactions and social relations which is weakened by relational frames taking root in routine (Goffman, 1974).

Othering as a process of exclusion is articulated through the organization of social representation: people not already socially considered as belonging to a specific group, are symbolically placed in a space apart, characterized by significant cultural and religious peculiarities or by other defining elements (Canales, 2000).

After the attacks of September 11, 2001 and after the terrorist strategy in Europe, the theme of Middle Eastern and Arab minorities in Europe becomes the media issue of the day. In this regard, the process of Othering is considered through the analysis of the portrayal of Muslim women in the media. Muslim women immediately present the visual characteristic of keeping their head and face covered. They can be identified and stigmatized by a single element linked to outward appearance (Colella, 2017; Nurullah, 2010). The main element that leads to a process of Othering and social exclusion originates from visual perception. Media, television shows and films portray the negative characters of the Arabs and the process of Othering towards young people of Middle Eastern and Arab origin passes mainly through images (Colella, 2017; Nurullah, 2010).

An example of how the Arabs are portrayed in the Western media is the visual research documentary directed by Sut Jhally and written by Jack G. Shaheen *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (2003). Most of the Arab characters in 900 American films have stereotypical and offensive characteristics. Stereotypes are supported in verbal and visual form also by the media and uncritically shared by the majority of the population. Very few images circulate in the media about the daily lives of Arabs and ordinary Muslim citizens in their own countries. At the same time, the global media groups present in the Middle East encourage the imitation of Western lifestyles.

Photography, television and cinema per se tend to render Muslims exotic and very mysterious. These are connotations that contribute to processes of Othering (Parkin, Coomber, 2009). In fact, in order to be usable, films must necessarily represent foreign people in a simplified and stereotyped way, connoting him in a limited time with easily recognizable characteristics. Inquiry reports also tend to represent European Arabs and Middle Easterners in a simplified and emotionally engaging way. In a sense, movie and media portrayal of the non-Western people can only be stereotyped and simplified.

The portrayals tend to be exotic. In other words, the discursive frame emphasizes differences (Tomaselli, Shepperson, 1997).

Research on television programs and cinema make reference to the agenda setting theory and to the cultivation theory (Nurullah, 2010). Media programs and contents have the effect and the power to determine, especially through information programs, the importance of an *issue* and the social priorities which should be getting attention from the public. According to the cultivation theory, people who spend a relatively great deal of time exposed to television content end up mainly sharing the vision of the world and the ideas proposed on television. The characters in films who have ethnic, religious, physical, cultural, or socio-economic differences from the western mainstream norm tend to be stereotypically portrayed.

In this perspective, the process of Othering is triggered and influenced by the visibility – visuality of the ethnic group (Canales, 2000). In this regard, Mitchell's disciplinary proposal (2002), taken from Watt (2012), is particularly useful: if the term vision refers to what the eye is physiologically capable of seeing, the term visuality refers to how vision is constructed to the extent that it is a learned and mediated practice, never purely natural and immediate (Watt, 2012). Seeing the world and in particular other people is above all a visual activity, not just the mere process of seeing.

In European cities, people of Middle Eastern and Arab origin are visibly and visually recognizable by the way they dress, their physical appearance, their religious and eating habits, their participation in religious and socio-cultural initiatives. The meaning of an image, or the meaning evoked by the vision of someone, is not a character ascribable to the image or to the person himself. The meaning originates from a negotiation process of exchange and semantic dialogue between the one who sees, whose preconceptions and ideas and convictions contribute to shape the meaning, and the image or the person seen.

3. Future perspective of the Othering phenomenon

The paper has highlighted the relevance of Othering processes. The theoretical roots of the concept of Othering lie in the studies on Orientalism, in the colonialist subordination of Middle Eastern or Asian ethnic groups to the Western one. The processes of Othering particularly involve social groups in disadvantaged socio-economic conditions, groups that live in suburban areas or that are characterized by ethnic-religious peculiarities.

The process of Othering takes the form of attitudes and behaviours that keep a social group confined to a separate social dimension. People of Arab

and Middle Eastern origin in Europe are considered as physically present, but connoted as alien others, not belonging to the European socio-cultural context. Young Europeans, particularly the ones who come from families which are of extra-European, Middle Eastern and Arab origin, live an existential condition in which they belong to dual socio-cultural realities: their family of origin and social groups of reference which are part of the European and Western mainstream cultures.

In this perspective, there is a risk of a double process of Othering. On the one hand, in fact, young people, in particular young adolescent women of foreign origin who choose to live according to a western lifestyle, are subject to exclusion processes by family members, especially by male adult figures such as, for example, the father and uncle. Such processes often degenerate into episodes of violence, sometimes denounced but often hidden. On the other hand, young people of Middle Eastern origin come up against processes of Othering on the part of native Europeans in the contexts of daily life (such as at school, at work, in fun recreational occasions, which can end up in processes of social exclusion. After the terrorist attacks in the United States and Europe, Arab or Middle-Eastern people in the West have been victims of the process of Othering and social exclusion. This process also involves the way in which the members of these groups are represented in the media, in films, on television, in information programs, in print, through characters and visual aspects (Gournelos, 2009).

The definition of identity of ethnic groups different from one's own takes on a radical, racist, highly discriminatory or even violent connotation. This process is articulated through a visual dimension. Visibly and visually emerging features such as having a beard, wearing a veil, praying in public, and dressing in black stimulate reactions in the observer.

The Othering phenomenon is based not only on media representations, but also on situational elements linked to the contingent social situation.

In social situations characterized by face-to-face co-presence, and when photographic images or video mediate social relationships, the Othering phenomenon moves on visual notes. In face-to-face interactions, the reaction to what we see (a woman who covers her face, for example) derives from an immediate contingent contextual dimension and a dimension mediated by social representations. Social representations are present in people's minds in the form of images (Secondulfo, 2015). The character of media use contributes to an important extent to the form of such representations. As far as the media is concerned, if on the one hand, European citizens of foreign parental origin can be victims of Othering online, on the other, the online milieu is where the condition of social exclusion is accentuated and radicalized (Lombardi, 2015).

The prospects for an investigation into Othering are reflected in the use of the concept of Othering*,* in relation to the process of terrorist radicalization, for example, involving the second and third generations of immigrants in Europe. The phenomenon of jihadist radicalization can be framed in relation to the Othering phenomenon (Jensen, 2011; Spivak, 1985; Watt, 2012; Canales, 2000; Lumsden, Morgan, 2017).

In the European context, it is mainly the second and third generation young people of Middle Eastern origin who are involved in Othering phenomena. The process of Othering, social exclusion and the induced condition of marginality can encourage feelings of shame and isolation among citizens of Middle Eastern and Arab background. The condition of isolation thus becomes self-induced. Discrimination can lead to further phenomena of marginalization. Being isolated from the mainstream socio-cultural context or the multiple western socio-cultural contexts leads people to radically withdraw into their own identities and to tolerate marginal and dangerous social situations. This condition may favour more tolerant attitudes towards actual criminal behaviour and towards those who are actually involved in the phenomenon of terrorist radicalization, as advocates or as victims of radicalization (Blackwood, Hopkins, Reicher, 2012).

Some critical aspects of the concept and its heuristic scope emerge from this vision of the phenomenon in question. During the course of the twentieth century, the radical characteristics of an economic and political nature of some extra-European social groups were highlighted, and the radical difference was to be found in the sphere of the economy and politics. Today, the radical difference is semantically placed in the religious sphere. This religious radicalization is thus understood as the sign of a symbolic border between east and west and the religious connotation of otherness is configured as an element connected to terrorist strategy.

Recently, however, religion presented in radical terms is what connotes ethnic minorities. The religious difference does yes exist but it is not in itself characterized and exclusively inherent to the social groups involved in the Othering phenomenon (Silva, 2017). Furthermore, the term other used for a non-mainstream social group is a very general term. It defines in a summary way people coming from foreign countries and from very differentiated socio-cultural contexts. The node related to term other can be considered critically. Other in itself already defines a boundary between social groups. A priori, the meaning of this term relegates a person or group into a defined and confined semantic territory. This does not mean that concretely there are no material factors of social exclusion, and that the prevailing dimension of exclusion is relative only to social representations. It does however mean that only using terms of otherness and difference for a group or a social process exposes

scholars to the risk of neglecting to take into consideration further dimensions of civil coexistence. In other words, we risk reducing social relations between different ethnic groups to a conflictual dimension. This dimension, if we consider the studies presented, is real, but coexists with other relatively less conflicting dimensions that are moving in the direction of social integration (Cesareo, 2015).

Each research cited in the paper refers to a different theoretical approach. Each research privileges a precise perspective: the concepts of Orientalism, stereotype, hegemony, labelling, stigma, are from time to time taken as a theoretical reference. Studies on the *Othering* phenomenon, empirical research and conceptual reflections do not frame the problem within a general sociological theory. Already in the early twentieth century, faced with changes in the European demographic structure and in the face of the increased mobility of people, Simmel (1908) meant by the sociological form of the stranger (Park, Burgess, 1921) a person with a mobile biographical path, a person coming from a distant place stops to live in a place (Park, Burgess, 1921).

The social group which is considered different from an ethnic point of view is physically located in a European country, but at the same time it stands out as a social figure that doesn't belong. It is absent in social and cultural identity, but it is bodily present. From the Simmelian reflections, a sociology of social change and otherness – framed as formal sociology – originates (Simmel, 1903, 1908; Picchio, 2012). Intense contacts with strangers contribute to the elaboration of a sociological perspective which during the 21st century in Europe and United States generate a micro perspective of methodology and social research.

The Parsonsian idea on the systemic process or evolutionary change of social inclusion is a reference not taken into consideration in studies on the Othering phenomenon. Parsons (1951), in a sociological perspective, frames the migratory phenomenon as an example of the progressive social inclusion of groups present in the United States. The change represented by the progressive inclusion of social groups is evidence of the fact that the social system, in the Parsonsian perspective, is not an architecture paralyzed to equilibrium by tension, but is plastic in its evolution. In the inter-relationship between social subsystems, the areas of integration and latency constitute the conceptual frames within which to insert the socio-cultural journey and progression of values of the dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion.

The systemic and holistic perspective of Parsons it is an element that should kept into adequate consideration, studying characteristics and consequences of the presence of citizens of Middle Eastern and Arab origins in Europe.

The different theoretical perspectives and concepts used in the research that was cited should be kept together in their complexity, to allow a complex perspective on the Othering phenomenon and on the social change taking place. The process of Othering is multidimensional. The recovery of a theoretical vision of the Othering phenomenon is an important element because this phenomenon is framed in sociology to respond to unprecedented social challenges. Reducing and limiting the Othering phenomenon solely to a conceptual dimension limited to empirical use, as is the case in much of the Anglo-Saxon literature on the subject, limits the heuristic view of sociology in the face of challenges such as terrorism, which are not just contingent social problems, but also elements of deep social change to be set in a framework of sociological theory.

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