Same Old News?

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Migration News in British and German Broadsheet Journalism

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Abstract

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During political campaigns or in response to crises, the topic of migration has dominated headlines in Germany and the UK for decades. While negative attitudes towards migration are not a modern-day phenomenon, previous research suggests that both German and British media discourses are increasingly hostile towards migrants. This thesis examines the nexus between migration discourses in political broadsheet reporting and the development of these discourses over time in relation to political events, by analysing broadsheet articles published between the aftermath of the Fall of the Berlin Wall and concluding on the day of the UK European Union Membership Referendum on June 23rd 2016. In response to two distinct research questions, this thesis establishes how migration is represented by journalistic discourses in broadsheet newspapers over time and how these discourses relate to political developments. The first question asks how discourse is used to report migration in political news in broadsheet papers in Germany and the UK, while the second question asks whether and how the discourse changes over time. To answer these questions, the theoretical framework of this research centres around the notion of Wagner-Pacifici's (2010) “Restlessness of Events”, defining events as interrelated changes over time which are contextualised through media representation. This approach allows changes to be tracked over time and complements the methodological approach of a Critical Discourse Analysis of German and UK broadsheet newspaper articles. The thesis argues that the discourse of migration reporting is predominantly hostile, reproducing a social hierarchy biased against migrants. It concludes that there are no significant changes in the discourse over time, creating and recreating political events that favour demarcation.

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***

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For my beloved Opa. I miss you every day.

In memoriam Kurt Haub (10 January 1941 – 6 July 2015)

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List of Abbreviations

AfD: Alternative for Germany
CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
CDU: Christian Democratic Union of Germany
CSU: Christian Social Union in Bavaria
DA: Discourse Analysis
DS: Discourse Studies
EU: European Union
FAZ: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
IOM: International Organization for Migration
MP: Minister of Parliament
NA: Narrative Analysis
NPD: National Democratic Party of Germany
PM: Prime Minister
SPD: Social Democratic Party of Germany
SZ: Süddeutsche Zeitung
TA: Thematic Analysis
UKIP: United Kingdom Independence Party
UN: United Nations
UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1. Same Old News?

An Introduction to migration news in political broadsheet journalism

We didn't start the fire

It was always burning

Since the world's been turning

We didn't start the fire

No we didn't light it

But we tried to fight it

(Billy Joel, 1989)

American Rock musician Billy Joel refers to it in his 1989 No.1[1] hit single about world events: everything that happens in the world at any given time has the power to transform the future, and ultimately leaves a lasting imprint manifested as the history of this world. Some events bring about positive change, like the Fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989 (coincidentally six weeks after the release of Joel's single), which reunited a divided nation and brought peace and prosperity to a unified Germany. Some events have unpredictable consequences, like the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum held on June 23, 2016, which at the time of writing hangs over the political, economic and social fate of the United Kingdom like the sword of Damocles.

However, despite their obvious differences, there are two distinct links connecting these two events. On the one hand, each event is the result of the political history of the respective country they occurred in, and on the other hand each event has been contextualised in the national and international media discourse, manifesting their position

1 https://www.billboard.com/music/billy-joel/chart-history/hot-100/song/331129

in the development of historical events. It is at this very nexus that this thesis finds its starting point. Discussing the study of political journalism, Nevey and Kuhn (2002) argue that

> First, there is a lack of long-term historical analyses. While there are some remarkable studies on journalism in the 1900s or 1960s, there are few books which [...] provide a broad perspective on the development of political journalism over time. Second, there has been little research focusing on the particularities of political journalism in relation to other specialist output, such as sports, social or crime coverage. (Nevey & Kuhn, 2002: 32)

While there has been an increase on academic studies concerning political journalism since Nevey and Kuhn came to the above conclusion, there is a gap in the literature examining political journalism over time, especially in terms of studies that not only track changes over more than two decades, but also analyse it in relation to a specific 'output'. In addition, this research offers a two-country comparison of political journalism of migration by analysing discourse in German and UK broadsheet newspapers. The rationale for the selection of Germany and the United Kingdom as the countries for comparison is based, on the one hand, on the complete absence of a study that exclusively compares migration reporting of Germany and the UK over an extended period of time. On the other hand, as the subsequent chapters demonstrate, public attitudes towards migration, including arguments for and against the necessity of immigration, are strikingly similar between the German and British public despite distinct differences in the political history of migration between the two countries. By comparing the media discourses of migration over more than two decades, this research aims to establish the

commonalities and variations in the attitudes towards migration in these two European countries that have managed to establish themselves in the public sphere in spite of the historical and political differences in each country.

To achieve this, the thesis aims to contribute to filling this gap by analysing political journalism of migration across a time span of twenty-six years, beginning in January 1990, following the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany, and leading up to June 23, 2016, the date of the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum. It is argued that both events, while related to their respective national context, are part of a dynamic transformation across political history which Wagner-Pacifici (2010) refers to as 'The Restlessness of Events'. In this notion, which forms the theoretical framework for this thesis, events are understood as interrelated changes across time, which become conceptualised as 'events' because they are expressed in distinct ways which eventually lead to changes in the social, historical or political understanding of time. Analysing events according to Wagner-Pacific's theory allows for historical changes to be tracked over time, and thus provide a platform to examine whether migration discourse in political reporting has contributed to these political developments. Furthermore, this thesis not only compares the development of political reporting in Germany and the UK over the time span, but it also discusses whether or not the discourse of migration in political reporting shows similarities or differences in their individual national settings, making an original contribution to the field of political communication.

1.1 Media and Migration: A critical relationship?

Undoubtedly, the issue of migration is political. Before the 2015 European Refugee Crisis

national and international headlines in the news media were dominated by discourses speaking of an increase in migration and the perceived dangers of uncontrolled influxes of foreigners entering “our” countries. While Lawlor (2015) rightly points out “[i]mmigration, for example, can be framed as a threat to security or a mechanism for labour force growth [...] Extending citizenship to newcomers can equally be perceived as an economic necessity or a humanitarian act” (2015: 330), the overall discourse tends to paint a negative picture of migration. As this thesis seeks to exemplify, negative attitudes towards migration often stem from the connection made in the news discourse between the arrival of migrants and a perceived threatening impact on the welfare of the receiving country. Wood and King (2001) point out that “[m]igration tends to be objectified as a time–space event or process which is largely to be explained in economic, demographic or sociological terms and linked to issues of employment, development, population redistribution, class formation and the creation of ethnic communities” (2001: 3). As the critical discourse analysis in this thesis shows, there is clear hierarchy of political arguments against migration, with most of the articles collected for this research focusing on the potential impact of migration on the economy of the receiving country, followed closely by articles linking migration to a perceived threat to a nation’s security. Cultural concerns connected to migration, which represent the third largest number of articles in this research, deal mainly with the level of integration of migrants into their host society, while arguing that a lack of integration creates a sentiment of “them” against “us”. This sentiment points toward a critical relationship between the media and the issue of migration, as it appears to denigrate migrants. Esses, Medianu and Lawson (2013) claim that the degrading of migrants is connected to the political uncertainty created through decades of political paralysis in finding an effective solution for the process of migration.

> Indeed, we argue that what many negative media portrayals of immigrants and refugees have in common is their tendency to promote the dehumanization of these groups. Such dehumanization can serve to reduce uncertainty, providing definitive answers as to how immigrants and refugees should be viewed and how they should be treated. (Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013: 522)

As suggested in this claim, negative media discourse serves to hide the political uncertainty with which migration is dealt with on a policy level, a notion that can be traced throughout the different categories of discourse. The lowest number of articles dealt with the issue of forced migration, suggesting that once asylum-seekers have become accepted as refugees, and once refugees have entered the narrative of the host nation they are subsumed under the general category of [im]migrants and included in the discourse on migration in more general terms. This thesis argues that as a result of this negative discourse refugees and asylum-seekers in particular are portrayed less as humans or individuals with a plight forcing them to migrate, but rather as a collective that threatens the economic and social resources of their host nation. Some scholars argue that the media have the option to represent the "suffering of others" (Chouliaraki, 2008, 2013) which would elicit empathy from members of the public and potentially result in agency for social change. However, the reality differs considerably from this idea. Upon conducting several case studies on moral panics, Cohen finds that moral panics in relation to refugees and asylum-seekers are different because they always convey the same message. He claims that:

> First, although there have been intermittent panics about specific newsworthy episodes, the overall narrative is a single, virtually uninterrupted message of hostility

> and rejection. […] Second, these reactions are more overtly political than any others – not just because the problem is caused by global political changes, but because the reactions have a long history in British political culture. Moreover, successive British governments have not only led and legitimated public hostility but spoken with a voice indistinguishable from the tabloid press. (Cohen, 2011: xxiii)

Cohen's findings highlight that the political discourse is equally responsible for the portrayal of migrants as media discourse, which is partially due to the fact that the media reproduce political discourse. In her 2008 paper concerned with the 'media as moral education', Chouliaraki argues that “unless we turn to an analytical language that shows us just how these hierarchies are created in media representations, we will not be able to challenge these hierarchies and change the symbolic conditions for action towards distant others” (2008: 845). Championing the importance of an analytical approach to language, her argument highlights that by paying close attention to the discourse with which migration is reported in the news media, it is possible to examine the power relationships embedded within the media discourse and give a voice to those not being granted agency by those exerting power over them. It is precisely this nexus between discourse and political power, which makes political journalism a crucial, and very powerful part of modern-day societies. Analysing the perceived crisis of journalism, Alexander notes that

> Democratic societies depend on the interpretive independence of mass media. Situated between hierarchical powers and citizen-audiences, journalism can speak truth to power. Supplying cultural codes and narrative frameworks that make contingent events meaningful, news reports create a mediated distance that allows readers to engage society more critically. (Alexander, 2015: 11)

As the analysis of the empirical data in this thesis highlights, migration discourses in broadsheet news journalism focus predominantly on the negative impact that migration of foreigners can have on the economic and cultural sectors of the host nations, while often adding an element of fear to the news narrative by claiming that immigration poses a threat to the safety of a countries' citizens and the security of its borders. It can be argued that these findings of the thesis are not unusual, as they confirm what sociologists, political scientists and media and communication scholars have found in similar studies across disciplines over time. However, this thesis is novel in its approach to media discourses not only by analysing broadsheet articles over a relatively long timeline but also by comparing them between Germany and the UK. Furthermore, by conducting this research under the guidance of the notion of the “Restlessness of Events”, which has never been applied to a media-centric study before[2], the thesis approaches the study of migration discourses in the news media from an original angle. With regard to the findings that migration discourses in the media are predominantly negative, Cohen summarises these issues as follows

> Over the 1990s and throughout Europe a ‘hostile new agenda’ emerged. At one level, there is the repeated and ritualistic distinction between genuine refugees (still entitled to compassion) and bogus asylum seekers (no rights, no call on compassion). But this distinction hides the more profound sense in which the once ‘morally untouchable category of the political refugee’ has become deconstructed. (Cohen, 2011: xxii)

As this thesis follows a timeline that begins on January 1, 1990, it can add no claim to the way media reported migration prior to that date. However, Cohen's argument shows that the media's hostility towards migrants was well established over the course of the 1990's.

2 To the best of my knowledge at the time of writing this chapter in September 2019

Academic literature discussed in chapter 3 argues that this emergence of hostility is the result of a constant adverseness against immigrants, a term which subsumes under its title anyone who enters a country other than their country of origin to settle there permanently. However, one important distinction is drawn in the above argument by Cohen relating to the difference in terminology corresponding to the process of migration. He points out that the process of migration is multi-faceted, meaning that there are different categories and reasons for people to move to a country different to their place of origin.

1.2 Key terminology

The four most common terms with which news media refer to people who leave their homes to live in a different country are “migrant”, “immigrant”, “refugee” and “asylum-seeker”. In order to avoid confusion, this research defines these terms in line with the official terminology provided by the United Nations (UN), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Starting with the term “asylum-seeker”, the UNHCR defines these as “seeking international protection […] whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it” (UNHCR, 2006: 4).

Once an asylum claim has been accepted, asylum-seekers become “refugees”, which the UNHCR defines as “persons who are outside their country of origin for reasons of feared persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order and, as a result, require international protection” (UNHCR, 2016: https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/definitions). Both terms have in common that they refer to persons, who are fleeing their countries of origin, and in the context of this research thus

fall under the category of 'forced migration'.

The remaining two commonly used terms are “immigrant” and “migrant”. The latter is described by the IOM as “[a]n umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons” (IOM, 2019: https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms). “Migrant” is the term that is found in most news articles relating to migration and has also been found to be used interchangeably with the other terms.

The term “immigrant” includes all those who “[f]rom the perspective of the country of arrival […] move into a country other than that of his or her nationality or usual residence, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence” (IOM, 2019). As the term “migrant” is used as a term that subsumes under it all processes of migration, it is used to speak of migration in general terms throughout this thesis, unless where specific references are made, in which case the correct term in accordance with the definitions presented above are used.

1.3 Aims and objectives

This thesis aims to examine how migration is reported in the German and British broadsheet press and whether these discourses change over the course of the timeline. The first aim of this research is thus to analyse how discourse is used to cover the topic of migration in political reporting. To account for the comparative nature of this research, this thesis therefore offers a Critical Discourse Analysis of migration discourses from political

articles of four selected broadsheet newspapers, with two papers representing the case of Germany and the other two the case of the United Kingdom. In order to ensure that the discourse analysis is as balanced as possible, the four broadsheet papers were selected carefully to include one paper per country with a more liberal political leaning and one with a more conservative political alignment.

This was particularly important in consideration of the second research aim, which is to examine how the discourse changes over the course of the timeline in both Germany and the United Kingdom. In order to examine this aim, the second research question asks whether discourses have changed over the course of the timeline. To answer these questions and respond to the second research aim, the research aims to connect the findings of the Critical Discourse Analysis with the political changes in Germany and the UK by drawing on the notion of the "Restlessness of Events" (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010).

The research objectives of this thesis are thus clearly defined by the research questions and overall aims presented above. A brief overview of the migration history of Germany and the UK at the beginning of this thesis outlines how migration has influenced the two countries and how attitudes towards migration have formed respectively over time, while an extensive literature review will examine the existing scholarly debates informing this research. The theoretical framework of the "Restlessness of Events" and the methodological approach of the Critical Discourse Analysis further guide how the discourse is analysed over time.

The research questions to direct the analysis are as follows:

I. How is discourse used to cover the topic of migration in the political reporting of

broadsheet newspapers in Germany and the UK between January 1, 1990 and June 23, 2016?

II. Does the discourse change over time?

1.4 Introducing the thesis outline

Having now explored the key rationales behind this research project, this final section outlines the structure of this doctoral thesis and the chapters to follow. In order to establish a common ground for the researcher and the reader to be aware of and understand the historical changes in migration policy development, Chapter 2 offers a brief discussion of the key events in modern migration history in Germany and the UK. After a brief note on the generally perceived sentiment towards migration, the UK section begins by looking at the policy situation in the early twentieth century. It then explores the relation between subsequent immigration acts in the UK, as well as the political reasoning behind each of them, leading up to the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum held on June 23, 2016. Taking its starting point during the aftermath of the second World War, the German section explores the political changes that led to the introduction of the "Gastarbeiter" system and resulted in the reunification of East and West Berlin, before ultimately looking at the current state of migration politics under Chancellor Angela Merkel in response to the European Refugee Crisis and beyond.

Following the discussion of the modern migration history in Germany and the UK, Chapter 3 examines the academic literature on the media representation of migration, arguing that in a majority of cases the relationship between the media and the politics of migration is one of hostility and difficulty. Referring closely to academic debates about political

communication and the reporting of politics, Chapter 3 also explores how crisis and conflict reporting plays a role in the shaping of migration discourse in political reporting.

It sets the scene for Chapter 4, which establishes the theoretical framework to guide the analysis of the empirical data. Applying Robin Wagner-Pacifici's 2010 notion of 'The Restlessness of Events' to the study of media discourse, Chapter 4 argues that by understanding events as interrelated changes across time it is possible to track political transformations and link them to media discourse at specific moments in history.

Taking the establishment of the theoretical framework and the overall parameters of the research as set out in the first three chapters at its vantage point, Chapter 5 argues in favour of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the applicable approach to analyse the discourse of migration in the political reporting of the broadsheet newspapers subject to this research. Aligning this research with the conceptual arguments of Teun van Dijk (1993, 1995), Ruth Wodak (1997, 2009, 2011) and Norman Fairclough (1997, 1998, 2012, 2017), Chapter 5 stresses the importance of taking a critical stance in the analysis of the empirical discourse, while remaining vigilant to the power structures embedded within the discourse. Additionally, Chapter 5 explains all aspects of the research methodology and design. It defines the research questions and objectives, and elaborates on all aspects of the empirical data, including the data collection process, analytical model and process of analysis.

As the methodology chapter establishes, the analyses offer a critical examination of migration discourses in political broadsheet reporting and is presented in the Chapters 6 to 9. Divided into four Chapters according to the overarching theme of the respective news

items, the analyses discuss the perceived impact of migration on the economy in Chapter 6, security in Chapter 7 and culture in Chapter 8, with Chapter 9 examining the discourse of forced migration.

This leads to the discussion and conclusion of the research findings presented in the final Chapter of this thesis. It argues that the discourse of migration analysed during the research for this thesis confirms the findings brought forward by scholars in previous studies. The discourse displays a sense of hostility towards migration, and it often appears to strip individual migrants of their humanity by portraying them as a collective threat to the economic, social and cultural wellbeing of the receiving nation.

> Over the course of the past 10 to 15 years, portrayals of immigrants and refugees in many Western countries have become increasingly negative, with the media focusing on the threats that immigrants and refugees pose to members of host societies. (Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013: 520)

Agreeing with the claims of scholars like Esses, Medianu and Lawson, this research finds that the negative discourse on migration is directly linked to the political challenges of dealing with the complexity of migration on both a national and transnational level. Chapter 10 argues further that there are few differences *in* the political broadsheet reporting of migration between Germany and the UK, with neither national discourse being predominantly negative. It further shows that the similarities are even greater between the broadsheets which resemble each other in terms of political alignment, with the discourse being most alike between the *Guardian* and the *SZ* on the liberal side, and *The Times* and the *FAZ* on the conservative side. This thesis concludes in Chapter 10 by arguing that

political transformations can be traced and contextualised by tracking the formation of events over time, and that media discourse plays a crucial and inevitable part in the manifestation of events, and subsequently change.

2. Modern Migration History of the United Kingdom and Germany

This chapter explores the development of migration policies in Germany and the United Kingdom since the early 20th century leading up to the end of the timeline for this thesis in June 2016. Drawing on academic literature, section 2.1 examines the role of individual immigration acts in the UK, arguing that public attitudes towards migration impact and shape the development of immigration policies. Section 2.2. examines the migration history in Germany, particularly in the aftermath of the Second World War and the establishment of the "Gastarbeiter" scheme. It echoes the arguments brought forward in the discussion of UK policies, finding that the public's perception of migration influences the political decisions in policymaking. By examining the migration history of the UK and Germany leading up to the end date of the timeline for this research, this chapter establishes a foundation for the understanding of the migration context in the two countries subject to this thesis and sets the scene for the Critical Discourse Analysis of the reporting of migration.

2.1 Modern migration history of the United Kingdom

Not just since the establishment of the Schengen Agreement in 1995, have Germany and the UK been popular destinations for immigrants from all over Europe and beyond. Leading up to 2016, immigration to the UK had been steadily increasing, according to findings of the Office for National Statistics. However, in the second quarterly report of 2016, the Office for National Statistics found that 633,000 people had immigrated to the UK between March 2015 and March 2016 (Office for National Statistics, 2016: 2), which was a slight reduction compared to the figures of the previous year, with immigration having slightly reduced in the aftermath of the United Kingdom European Membership Referendum. In Germany, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees found that 1.87

million people immigrated to Germany in 2016 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2019: 12), which was a decrease of 12.7% compared to the year 2015. Despite the slight decline in immigration figures, Germany and the UK are amongst the largest host nations for migrants in Europe, which is most likely due to their similar economical standing. Furthermore, immigration historian Schain notes that not unlike France, Britain has a history of moderate immigration policies, however, the public opinion on growing immigration has always been rather negative.

> Indeed, since surveys have been taken, through good times and bad, even as public policies on immigration have varied considerably, only small percentages of publics in France, the United States, and Britain have favored increased immigration. Not surprisingly, when governments have promulgated restrictionist immigration policies, these policies have been widely supported in mass opinion. These attitudes are consistent with mass attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in other countries of Europe. As immigration and the number of immigrants increase, negative public opinion generally increases as well, but not uniformly, and not uniformly against all immigration and all immigrants. (Schain, 2008: 9)

These attitudes, however, are not a unique characteristic of the British public, but are rather what appears to be a shared European sentiment. As Betz claims "[a]mong the citizens of the EU, Belgians, Germans, French, and Danes were particularly sensitive about immigrants" (2006: 387), however, as recent studies and public debates have shown, the British public appears to be increasingly hostile towards migration as well. This section will elaborate that public perceptions of migration are often the result of political decisions on how to manage migration and border-policies.

Since 1905, the government of the United Kingdom has implemented several different laws regulating citizenship and immigration, and whilst some might argue that there have been laws in place prior to the Aliens Act of 1905, said Act was the first to structure the immigration of non-Commonwealth citizens, as it granted more power to immigration officers, who could deny entry to anyone deemed unfit to migrate. However, compared to the advanced immigration policies of the second half of the 20th Century, the 1905 Act lacked a clear and sophisticated model as to who was deemed 'fit' to migrate. As Fox, Moroşanu and Szilassy point out

> The British approach to immigration control has at times relied on identifying both racially desirable and undesirable migrants. Before the Second World War, East European Jews were excluded on racialized grounds (Kushner, 2005; Miles, 1993). Since the war, British immigration policy has favoured a number of groups deemed racially desirable (McDowell, 2009: 22–7; Miles, 1993: 140–3; Paul, 1997: 83–5, 134–5). In the late 1940s, displaced East Europeans were recruited through the European Volunteer Worker scheme because of their racial suitability (Kay and Miles, 1992: 166–76; McDowell, 2008: 57), although even here care was taken not to cast the net so widely as to include Jews (Kushner, 2005: 216–21). (Fox, Moroşanu, Szilassy, 2012: 682-3)

However, especially after the Second World War, politicians and policymakers were careful not to racially profile immigrants, and it was soon realised that immigration policies had to be based on factors such as economic need and labour market demands, as well as answer questions in regard to citizenship and belonging. Following the induction of two

further Acts aimed at restricting immigration by non-Commonwealth citizens, the 1948 British Nationality Act was the first law to create distinct citizenship categories. Citizenship was now granted immediately to all UK citizens, as well as citizens of all colonies and the Commonwealth, by granting all former colonies the freedom to regulate citizenship for their respective nations. In 1953, eight years after the end of the Second World War, more labour was urgently required, and similar to the German system for guest workers, permits were given to foreign workers for one year, which were tied directly to the demand for their skills. These permits could be extended for a further four years, after that all sanctions were lifted. Naturally, during these years, the United Kingdom saw a steady increase in immigration, which resulted in the establishment of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, which was also labour-market focused. However, of future political interest and huge significance were the results of the General Election of 1964, as Ian Spencer explains as follows:

> For the first time in a general election, immigration had been an issue in 1964. As was demonstrated by the defeat of Patrick Gordon Walker at the hands of Peter Griffiths in Smethwick, it was apparent that voter opposition to further Asian and black immigration could be exploited. By running an openly anti-Asian and black campaign Griffiths enjoyed a positive swing of 7.5 per cent compared to an average national drift of 3.2 per cent away from the Conservatives. (Spencer, 1997: 136)

Politicians had now noticed that the general public had a strong opinion about immigration and soon both sides of the political spectrum would use this debate in their political campaigns to advance their chances of gaining voter approval. Immigration as a topic had gained momentum in the political realm, and as Sarah Spencer claims “[t]he strength of

anti-immigrant feeling and overt racism in the 1964 general election led the incoming Labour government to impose further restrictions on entry, with all-party support. Setting a pattern to become familiar in subsequent years, rights of entry were often curtailed not through primary legislation but Immigration Rules" (2011: 25). Following years of steady flows of Commonwealth immigrants, and the 1968 Act, immigration moved more and more to the forefront of public concern. As Ian Spencer notes further

> In the election campaign of 1970 voters regarded immigration as the fourth most important issue, but most Conservative and almost all Labour candidates failed to refer to it directly in their election addresses. Clear Conservative promises to end future large-scale immigration almost certainly made a major contribution to the party's success [...]. (Spencer, 1997: 143).

These promises then resulted in the new Immigration Act of 1971, which ironically, meant that Britain was able to 'move towards Europe', which, as Spencer points out, should become a historical change in the political landscape of both the UK and Europe: "By a highly symbolic coincidence, on the same day that the Immigration Act of 1971 became law, 1 January 1973, Britain entered the European Economic Community. In doing so, Britain pledged itself to the principle of free movement of labour within the community" (1997: 144). Thus, this change marked a move, which, at the time of writing, both the public and Westminster are trying to steer in the exact opposite direction, in order to regain more control over immigration flows from the ECC into the United Kingdom. For as much as the Immigration Act of 1971 limited Asian and Black immigration, the movement of people did not stop, but was instead simply replaced by citizens of the member states of the European Economic Community. This shift in migration, however, did not lessen the

concerns of the public about the overall issue at hand, and when Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister in 1979, she promised to address the fear of the public over immigration. As Sarah Spencer explains

> The choice of Margaret Thatcher as leader of the Conservative Party in 1975 marked the shift to a more populist, less inclusive, form of conservatism. Immigration policy was no exception. The British people, Mrs Thatcher famously said before the election, fear 'being swamped' by people with 'alien cultures'. (Spencer, 2011: 28)

These initial remarks were only the beginning in Thatcher's long and unwavering campaign for tighter immigration rules and the next big shift in immigration policies was marked by the implementation of the 1981 British National Act. This act established three different forms of British citizenship, with only British citizens allowed to migrate to the UK and settle. Taking all immigration legislations up until then into account, Schain notes "[t]his substantial change in British nationality law, which stands in marked contrast with similar legislation in the United States, nevertheless left the United Kingdom with arguably the most liberal citizenship law in Europe" (208: 135). As Schain argues further

> The legislation that was passed after 1981 – aside from the incorporation of some provisions of free movement of Schengen in 1988, and the Hong Kong Act of 1990 – dealt with the tightening of rules that applied to asylum seekers. […] By 2005, with surveys indicating that voter concerns about illegal immigrants were on the rise, even more restrictive conditions were being considered by both the Labour government and the Conservative opposition. (Schain, 2008: 138)

This position explains, at least partially, the governments reaction to and handling of the most recent refugee crisis, as the UK immigration policies allow Westminster to control the national borders more strictly, particularly in relation to people seeking asylum. However, despite Thatcher's 'iron' handling of immigration and the implementation of the 1981 British National Act, she did not succeed in satisfying the public's demands in relation to immigration during her time as Prime Minister. In fact, “Immigration and asylum were salient if not definitive electoral issues in the 1990s and were used overtly in the 1992 general election and 1994 European election campaigns, a Conservative party official later reported to have observed that the issue had ‘played particularly well in the tabloids and has more potential to hurt” (Spencer, 2011: 28-29). It could thus be argued that the public, potentially impacted by both the negative media coverage of immigration and the persistent dissatisfaction with the government, continued to influence policymakers and general elections in the years to come. Furthermore, this suggests that the concerns of voters over migration have always been vital in shaping these policies, and they appear to inform the political agendas ever since.

Taking this argument further, in her study of the 2010 general election, Sarah Spencer noticed that

> Migration was a salient issue in the 2010 general election and the Conservative policy to set tighter limits was popular on the doorstep. Yet its manifesto anticipated the tensions it would face:
>
> > We want to attract the brightest and the best people who can make a real difference to our economic growth. But immigration is too high and needs to be reduced.... We want to encourage students to come to our universities and

> colleges, but our student visa system has become the biggest weakness in our border controls. (Conservative Party, 2010)

> No sooner had the Coalition government taken office than its policy faced opposition at home and abroad that it could not afford to ignore. (Spencer, 2011: 2)

This account highlights once again that politicians will ultimately base their decision making on public concerns and demands, as they seek to secure as many votes as possible. It is at this level of interaction between political elites and the public that media discourses play an important role. As Rovisco notes in her study of the cultural logics of European narratives

> Understanding the workings of narrative in public discourse, i.e. how and why some narratives and symbolic configurations of Europe become more plausible and convincing than others for particular audiences, enables a more nuanced understanding of the *cultural logic* underlying processes of Europeanization. (Rovisco, 2010: 244)

The importance of the connection between voter(s) and politician(s) must therefore be acknowledged in a study of migration discourse in news journalism, as the media coverage both informs and is informed by this relationship. Taking this further, this leads to a multi-facetted relationship involving the media, the public, policymakers and politicians, with each individual party relying on one or more of the other parties for information. Lisenkova, Mérette and Sanchez-Martinez argue that "[a]lthough most of the researchers do not find evidence that the expansion of immigration leads to negative labour market outcomes for native-born workers (Dustmann et al, 2008; Lemos and Portes, 2008), this

view is often popular among the press and the general public" (2013 :2). If this view is hence reproduced by the media, the public and subsequently policymakers and politicians will use it and reproduce it on their own terms, which in effect will influence the media coverage.

Following on from this long history of immigration-scepticism, during the 2015 general election campaign, Prime Minister David Cameron promised that if he won the election once more he would hold a referendum that would allow the British public to vote whether they want to remain a member of the European Union. One notion of this referendum was based on the wide-spread belief that the UK was tied to several specific rules and policies that prevented the full control of the borders and immigration laws. Utilizing, amongst other election campaign promises, the widely established anti-immigration sentiment to his advantage, David Cameron won the 2015 general election, and subsequently delivered on his promise and held the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum in June 2016.

During the EU referendum, a major promise made by the Leave campaign was that the UK would regain the control of their borders and subsequently be able to apply stricter regulations concerning the influx of migrants, however, this promise was made out of context of the political reality. As Hess and Green point out

> Furthermore, despite the growing influence of the institutions of the European Union (EU) in this domain, the EU's role varies significantly between the various constituent policy areas. Even in those areas where integration is most advanced, such as asylum policy, individual member-states remain centrally involved in the formulation

and implementation of policy. (Hess & Green, 2016: 316-7)

What seems to materialise from these observations is that a vast section of the British public was not properly informed about the actual working body of the EU and the UK's role within it. Sarah Spencer argues that "[n]evertheless, the optional 'opt-out' from EU provisions has allowed the UK to pick and choose those policies deemed in the national interest (albeit at some political cost), so that UK policy developments have often proceeded in parallel to those at EU level rather than dictated by them" (2011: 248). Despite these and other liberties granted to the UK by the EU, the EU referendum unearthed that a majority of those voting to leave the EU shared a vision of the UK being restricted by EU policies and laws, especially in relation to the control of the UK borders and immigration. Many were surprised by the outcome of the referendum, yet the result only mirrors what the study of the modern migration history of the UK has highlighted repeatedly. As the discussion of the academic literature in Chapter 3 will examine in more detail, public concerns about migration seem to dictate the contemporary political reality at any given moment

2.2 Modern migration history of Germany

Not unlike the UK, immigration has been a widely debated topic in Germany, especially since the end of the Second World War. Prior to that, Germany was still largely an ethnically homogenous country, which experienced emigration to a much larger extend than immigration. As Brubaker points out, until the late 19th century "[t]here was no German nation state, and thus no political frame for national citizenship, until 1871" (Brubaker, 1992: 50). Following the principle of *jus sanguinis*, citizenship was granted

usually to those born in Germany to parents of German heritage, or by another form of ascription. Following the end of the Second World War, Germany's ethnic composition, however, began to change. Referring to the “Stunde Null” (engl. “Hour Zero”) as the “obvious starting point” for Germany's changing migration history, Hess and Green (2016) observe that movement to, from and within Germany was changing rapidly.

> In the turbulent years up to the partition of Germany in 1949, an estimated 12 million expellees from Central and Eastern Europe arrived in both West and East Germany. Their integration not only posed a significant challenge in terms of integration, and thereby shaped West Germany’s citizenship law, but also created the legacy of providing a sanctuary for ethnic Germans from across countries which had never even been part of Germany, a legacy which was enshrined in the 1953 Expellees and Refugees Law (Bundesvertriebenen- und Flüchtlingsgesetz). In addition, West Germany received approximately 2.7 million Übersiedler from the Soviet zone of occupation and East Germany until the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. (Hess & Green, 2016: 317)

Concerned predominantly with rebuilding and subsequently growing the economic infrastructure, the West German government welcomed the many returning Germans and other refugees from the Soviet zone, as they were seen as valuable labour forces, although this was not always received with enthusiasm by the public. As a result, the economy of West Germany recovered quickly and flourished in the 1950's, requiring more labour forces to keep up with demand. This led to the introduction of the “Gastarbeiter” system, through which Germany would start to actively recruit foreign labour by means of establishing agreements with other nations, predominantly in the Southern Mediterranean.

Following the initial agreement with Italy, signed in Rome in 1955, Germany signed several individual agreements with countries like Greece (1960), Turkey (1961) and Portugal (1964) to name but a few. However, while the demand for labour was no doubt high, the government missed to provide substantial and factual information for its citizens as to how the scheme would work in practice and what the impact would be for society. As Steinert points out

> A characteristic of German migration policy at this time was a lack of information for the public. This was already noticeable in 1955 regarding the German-Italian agreement, as well as towards the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, since the drawing up of further agreements was marked by a change in the migration pattern which had operated up to then, namely from predominantly seasonal workers to permanent workers. Neither a public discussion nor an internal debate on the principles had taken places as to whether the employment of foreigner was short- or long-term or was even necessary on a permanent basis. (Steinert, 2014: 25)

The problem arising from this lack of information seems to be that the public's attitude towards migration could not be improved, and hence relations between natives and migrants began to sour, a phenomenon that has not ceased to exist ever since.

> As well as those who reject Germany's emerging cultural pluralism out of principle, there are persistent gaps between the population with and without *Migrationshintergrund* in areas such as employment, poverty and education. (Hess & Green, 2016: 322)

This suggests that oversupply of workers in the employment sectors played a significant part in the rejection of foreign workers by Germans at the time, a notion that seems to have widely spread to incorporate migrants in general this day. This thesis argues that both Germany and the UK share a general anti-immigrant sentiment, and as the analysis of the empirical data in Chapter 6-9 highlights, migration reporting between 1990 and June 2016 exhibits very similar examples of hostile migration discourses. However, Hammar (2006) notes that one of the main differences between British and German immigration history lies in this system of recruiting 'Gastarbeiter' (transl. 'guest worker'). He points out that in the countries subject to his research, which include the UK and Germany, immigration policy debates centred mainly around the tightening of the applications of said laws, as opposed to changing or implementing entirely new laws. He claims further that

> At the same time, however, immigration regulation was abandoned for certain groups of foreigners who were admitted without restrictions. Examples of this are, as already mentioned, the free circulation of labor in the EEC and the Nordic area and the acceptance on a permanent basis of political refugees. (Hammar, 2006: 240)

As the earlier discussion of British immigration history highlighted, this was certainly the case in the UK, and in Germany new legislations focused also mainly on settlement issues, such as when guest workers are given the right to bring over their families and be granted permanent residency. However, with the growth of the economy slowing down and more and more native Germans returning, West Germany became overwhelmed by the sudden oversupply of labour forces, and the previously actively recruited guest workers now appeared redundant in the eye of the government. Calling it the “first turning point” in Germany's modern migration history, Hess and Green argue that West Germany's

decision to stop the recruitment of foreign labour (Anwerbestopp) in 1973 was made based on the “oil shock and rising unemployment, as well as escalating social and welfare expenses” (2016: 318). Taking this argument further, according to Betz

> During the 1980s, the number of political refugees in Western Europe grew from some 75,000 in 1983 to almost 320,000 in 1989. […] In addition, Germany had to deal with a growing number of ethnic German re-settlers from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. (Betz, 2006: 387)

These large numbers of returning Germans increased the demand on the employment market and when the Berlin Wall fell in November of 1989, Germany was once again faced by a wave of returnees from the East, and work places that had until then been filled by foreign labour under the guest worker scheme were now suddenly in great demand by native Germans. In the early 1990s, immigration increased further, and peaked in 1992, two years after the first Federal Election in unified Germany with a total of 782,000 immigrants, according to a statistical study by Steinhardt (2014: 524). The German public and policymakers alike considered these years to be a real crisis of immigration and, as Hess and Green established, the second turning point in Germany's migration history.

> After several decades of travel restrictions, the breaking down of the iron curtain meant that more than 1.4 million ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union arrived in (West) Germany between 1989 and 1993. […] In an atmosphere of growing concern over violence against asylum seekers and migrants more generally, combined with a resurgence of extremist parties such as the Deutsche Volksunion (DVU), the mainstream parties agreed a far-reaching

compromise on 6 December 1992, which involved the restriction of Germany's constitutional right to asylum in return for the curtailment of ethnic German migration from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. (Hess & Green, 2016: 318)

Said compromise, which is known in Germany as the "Asylkompromiss" was passed by the Bundestag after much discussion and resulted in a much tighter asylum law. According to the German Federal Institute of Political Education (ger. Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung) "[i]n particular, the introduction of the concepts of "safe third countries" and "safe countries of origin" made it much more difficult to claim asylum in Germany."[3]

Following the passing of the asylum compromise in 1992, the final turning point identified by Hess and Green (2016) was the 1998 federal election, which resulted in a change of government from the former conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) to the more liberal coalition of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Green Party. As a result of this election, it became evident that Germany was in fact a 'country of immigration', something former governments had always tried to deny, and in the year after the election "[i]n a major development, a new Citizenship Law was passed in 1999, which, through its introduction of jus soli, has served gradually to redefine the basis on which citizenship can be acquired" (Hess & Green, 2016: 319). This meant, that everyone born on German soil was from here on forward automatically granted German citizenship, and thus new generations of children born to immigrants were now German citizens and subsequently inherited all the rights associated with said citizenship. It could be argued that one reason for the passing of this new citizenship law was the attempt to minimise the tension between native Germans and immigrants, and to create a more integrated and inclusive society. As Brubaker argues, German citizenship status had caused a conflict of interest

3 http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdossiers/207671/asylum-law-refugee-policy-humanitarian-migration?p=all

during the 1990s

> […] when debates about the privileged immigration and citizenship status of ethnic German migrants from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (the so-called *Aussiedler*) collided with debates about the ways in which German citizenship law excluded guest workers and their children from citizenship. (Brubaker, 2010: 67)

Furthermore, the passing of the new Citizenship Law could also be interpreted as a demonstrative act of the government to justify their stance on being more inclusive and pro-migration. As Elrick and Schwartzmann argue

> The rise of far-right political parties and racially motivated attacks in the 1990s forced Western European countries like France, Germany, the UK and the Netherlands to confront the prevalence of racism and discrimination against immigrant minority populations, many of whom arrived after the Second World War in the context of guest worker and postcolonial movements. (Elrick, Schwartzmann, 2015: 1539)

It appears as if the German government was slowly realising that former migration policies had nurtured an anti-migration sentiment, which it now tried to counteract. Furthermore, it is also likely that the government observed the changes of demographics within its society, which has slowly been shifting to a society with a decrease in birth rates and an increase in the ageing population, prompting the demand for the inclusion of younger people, which could be achieved by granting citizenship to children of migrants.

The most drastic change in Germany's migration policy, however, came in 2004, when the

government announced the new “Zuwanderungsgesetz” [Immigration law], which ultimately simplified the existing categories of migration into two: “Aufenthaltserlaubnis” [temporary residence permit] and “Niederlassungserlaubnis” [permit to permanently settle][4]. While the latter permit grants its holder to permanently settle in Germany, the temporary residence permit is only given to immigrants who want to attend educational courses, are sponsored by an employer temporarily and for a specific purpose or join their existing families. Those on the temporary residence permit have to be financially self-sufficient and cannot claim benefits or stay in the country once the permit expires. Immigrants who are allowed permanent settlement have to secure their financial funds themselves, be free of criminal convictions, have sufficient knowledge of the German language, and have held the temporary residence permit for a minimum of five years. This new immigration law came into effect in 2005, the same year in which the reign of the SPD-Green coalition ended, and Angela Merkel started her first term as Chancellor, marking the return of the more conservative CDU party into government. While many worried that this change in government would result in tighter immigration laws or new policies, Angela Merkel continued the path led out by the former SPD-Green government to champion integration as the key to a more unified and inclusive German society. And some argue that this path has been successful, at least to a certain extend. As Green notes

> By 2010, the average period of residence had risen to 18.9 years, a figure which has more than doubled since 1980; 39 per cent of all non-nationals in Germany in 2010 had at least 20 years’ residence, a figure which rose to 58 per cent and 68.6 per cent respectively for the two largest foreign nationalities, Turkey and Italy. Germany’s non-national population is therefore large, well-settled and diverse. (Green, 2013: 338)

4 http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration-ALT/56351/zuwanderungsgesetz-2005?p=all

However, responding to the more inclusive politics of Merkel and the increase in migration figures, former German politician and former member of the Executive Board of the German Federal Bank, Thilo Sarrazin published a book titled “Deutschland schafft sich ab!” [Germany abolishes itself], in which he strongly criticises the post-war immigration policies of Germany, arguing that the country is suffering from the effects of multiculturalism. The book further sparked wide-spread controversy about the influence of Islam on German values and beliefs, many of which are still strongly founded in its Christian heritage. The book, and Sarrazin by extension, achieved a huge following – the book broke the previous sales record of the publisher and the first edition sold out on the first day[5]. However, while many opposed Sarrazin's criticisms and claims, there have been calls for tighter immigration policies in the wake of the recent European refugee crisis, and as mentioned above, public attitudes towards immigration are not seldom negative or sceptical overall. As Hess and Green highlight “[t]he integration argument is flanked by ever-present concerns, especially after the terrorist attacks on the United Stated in September 2001, about security. Ultimately, as the Sarrazin debate showed, the question of migration and ‘belonging’, both legal and emotional, remains as contentious in Germany as it does elsewhere in Europe” (2016: 322).

By the mid 2010's, after a decade of falling numbers of asylum seekers, which has been attributed to the asylum compromise of 1992, the numbers started to increase once again, most likely as a result of the many violent conflicts and civil wars waging in the Middle East. While in 2013, the number of people seeking asylum in Germany exceeded 100,000, by 2015 more than 475,000 people came to Germany to seek refuge. This sudden

5 http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/helmut-schmidt-ueberholt-sarrazin-bricht-verkaufsrekord-a-726206.html

increase meant that "[a]t the end of 2014, there were 8.2 million non-nationals resident in Germany, and over 20 per cent of the population had a 'migration background' [Migrationshintergrund]. Most large cities, such as Frankfurt or Stuttgart, are now ethnically and culturally diverse urban centres. Germany has thus become one of the world's principal destinations for immigration as well as Europe's top destination for asylum seekers, especially in 2015" (Hess & Green, 2016: 315).

At the time of writing, the German government remains under a lot of pressure to handle the aftermath of the European refugee crisis, and Chancellor Merkel's often cited phrase "Wir schaffen das!" ["We will do this!"] in combination with her open border politics has been causing a growing wave of resentment of the public towards her and her political party, as well as migrants. The emergence and subsequent rise of right-wing parties like the AfD (Alternative for Germany) have further added to the debate about migration in Germany and moved the discussion into the public eye. However, it must be noted at this point, that, as with most controversies, attitudes towards immigration vary hugely and often respond to contemporary events, such as crises or political campaigns. As Sarah Spencer points out

> Dig beneath the headlines and we find that opposition to migration is not uniform or consistent. The government's own Citizenship Survey found young people less likely than their elders to be hostile to migration and no less than 84% of the public in England (2008–09) see their local area as a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together. (Spencer, 2011: 3-4)

With a shift in generations, growing multiculturalism across the world, and globalization

further bridging geographic differences, attitudes towards immigration, just as the very process of immigration, are bound to remain ever-changing and ever contested. The next chapter will argue that news media play an important role in the contextualisation of migration and that political reporting of migration can completely shape not just the public debate around the issue but also influence political engagement around migration.

3. Literature Review

The relationship between the media and the issue of migration is highly complex. As indicated in the introduction to this thesis, a lack of political certainty on how to address and manage migration on a national and international level has occupied policy makers for decades, and as a result has had a critical impact on how news media report and discuss migration. While there are numerous factors to consider in this context, this chapter examines the academic literature on four areas directly relating to this research. The first section of this chapter discusses the findings of academic studies of how the media report migration and cover migrants in various news outlets. Considering for example, the research of scholars like Philo (2013), Szczepanik (2016), Cohen (2011), Cottle (2008), Kuisma (2013) establishes that the media coverage of migration/migrants is predominantly hostile, and only on rare occasions advocates for change. This leads to the question of what role the reporting of politics plays in this relationship, and this chapter argues that media coverage of politics gives a considerable amount of voice and agency to government officials and individuals in power, recreating a power dynamic between politicians and migrants in favour of politicians. In the second section, the review draws on research by academics like Castells (2009), Curran (2002), Benson (2010), Robinson (1999), Novy (2013) and others to highlight that news media are not always 'agenda-setting', but are often bound by the political communication presented to them. Therefore, a closer look at how news media report the politics of migration shows that migration plays an important part in the political discourse. Discussing academic literature from key scholars such as Bauder (2008), Shaw (1996), Cottle (2009), Schain (2008), King and Wood (2001) the third section of this chapter further argues that the media has both the power to influence public debate on the issue, and the power to shape public opinion. Simultaneously, the media provide a platform for a discussion on migration, yet it is mostly

accessible to those in power, with little voice given to migrants. Exploring the relevance of conflicts and crises in relation to the media coverage of migration and politics, the final section of this chapter argues that forced migration is mostly the result of conflicts or crises. Violence, wars, persecution, poverty and oppression often force people to flee their home and country, leaving them little choice but to seek a better life elsewhere. This fourth section reviews the academic literature on crisis and conflict reporting, referring to studies by Volkmer (2011), Cottle (2009), Shaw (1996) and others, to examine how crisis and conflict reporting shapes the media coverage of migration and politics. In combination, the four sections of this chapter comprise a comprehensive and balanced picture of the many factors that shape and impact the reporting of the politics of migration. Due to the academic debates spanning a few decades, it further explains how the reporting of migration has changed over time, creating a connection to the theoretical framework established in chapter 4. Finally, it highlights that there is still a need for a CDA on the political reporting of migration, and particularly in print newspapers, as significant changes have occurred in the last two decades, differentiating this study from previous research and making an original contribution to the corpus of academic debate on the political reporting of migration.

3.1 Reporting Migration

As stipulated before, the relationship between the media and the topic of migration is a difficult and, at times, even problematic one. One of the main reasons for this phenomenon seems to lie in the representation of migrants. As Cohen points out

> In media, public and political discourse in Britain the distinctions between immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers have become hopelessly blurred. Refugee

> and asylum issues are subsumed under the immigration debate which in turn is framed by the general categories of race, race relations and ethnicity. (Cohen, 2011: xxii)

This lack of differentiation between the different categories of migrants is problematic, as it suggests that the categories are not unambiguously defined and adhered to in their usage by politicians and journalists alike. In turn, this leaves the public without a clear model of how the terms are used and what their official differences are. The blurring of these terms makes it even more difficult to distinguish between forced migrants, as in refugees and asylum-seekers, and migrants who wish to seek a better life in a foreign country for their personal gain or purely out of choice. As a result, the terms are used interchangeably, creating a huge amount of uncertainty, which would explain why both terms carry a rather negative connotation. Discussing this notion in the British context, Cohen notes that

> For two decades, the media and the political elites of all parties have focused attention on the notion of 'genuineness'. This *culture of disbelief* penetrates the whole system. So 'bogus' refugees and asylum seekers have not really been driven from their home countries because of persecution, but are merely 'economic' migrants, attracted to the 'Honey Pot' of 'Soft Touch Britain'. (Cohen, 2011: xxii)

The problem with this lack of clearly defined terms seems to mean that even refugees and asylum-seekers are treated with suspicion and hostility, provided that the terms even appear in the media discourse. However, as Philo, Briant and Donald (2013) found in their extensive study of the media representation of refugees the terms did not appear much in the national news media.

> Refugees and asylum seekers themselves made up just 3 per cent of the total number of included statements. […] There was common usage of the term 'illegal immigrant' across national news reports, along with the derivative 'illegals'. Asylum seekers are therefore considered with debates about 'illegal immigration'. (2013: 56-57)

Philo, Briant and Donald arrived at these findings by investigating British news coverage of migration in six major newspapers during the month of May 2006, a year after the 2005 general election in the UK. Departing from the underlying theoretical understanding that news media are complicit in shaping public attitudes towards specific issues by adopting a particular media narrative, Philo's, Briant's and Donald's study, which consisted of the combined effort of a thematic analysis and interviews with journalists, found that the terms 'refugee' and 'asylum-seeker' not only appeared sparsely in the news coverage of migration, but were also often subsumed under the term 'illegal immigrant'. This trend is problematic, because it diverges from the truth about forced migration and the plight of many refugees and asylum-seekers and stereotypes them as 'illegals', implying that they pose a threat to the receiving country. As Esses, Medianu and Lawson note “[m]edia depictions of asylum seekers often portray them as bogus queue-jumpers who are attempting to gain entry to western countries through illicit means” (2013: 527), potentially ingraining in the publics' perception the sentiment that asylum-seekers have no right to remain, let alone to become integrated with and an integral part of their communities. Another issue with this misuse of the term is that asylum-seekers are, by the definition of the UNHCR (2006), those who's claim have yet to be decided and that legally they become refugees if their claim is approved. Taking this argument further, once this legal transition has taken place, refugees not only have the right to remain and be integrated,

but they most likely endured a great deal of suffering and should not therefore be confronted with more hostility. However, changing this media representation and subsequent public perception would require change of policy-direction at the government level. As Cottle notes in relation to the reporting of forced migration in Australia, the “news media, […] generally adopted the negative terms of reference deployed by the Australian government, whether in respect of 'threat' through 'other', to 'illegality' and 'burden'” (2008: 96). Cottle's findings, which are the result of three case studies of migration to Australia between 1999 and 2008, reflect the perceived general discourse in UK news media in relation to migrants and refugees. Lawlor states that

> In Britain, a similar negative discourse has emerged in the political space and has been reproduced by the media in its coverage of immigration. Analyses that comment on the broader political discourse around immigration point to a securitization of immigration, particularly as it relates to refugee and asylum cases (Huysmans and Buonfino, 2008; Kaye, 2013). (Lawlor, 2015: 337)

Stemming from a framing analysis of immigration reporting in Canada and Britain, Lawlor's findings suggest a dismissive political attitude towards migration, indicating that politicians consider migration a potential threat to the nation’s welfare and stability. Linking forced migration to issues of security further increases the feeling that refugees and asylum-seekers pose a danger to the British public. This line of discourse creates and recreates a power dynamic with migrants on one side and the British public on the other. Considering the findings discussed above, the use of derogative terms such as 'illegal' in relation to migrants exacerbates the social distancing of migrants from the public of the receiving country. As noted by King and Wood in their overview of migration in the British media

> Often acting as the mouthpiece of political parties or other powerful groups, media discourses have been shown to be immensely influential in constructing migrants as 'others', and often too as 'criminals' or 'undesirables'. Such a focus on migrant criminality creates stereotypes which are very far from the truth and very hard to shake off. In Britain there are heavy hints and assumptions that all asylum- seekers are 'bogus' whilst the term 'economic migrant' has been invested with a new negative meaning. (2001: 2)

These observations highlight once more the danger of the media being a major factor for influencing public opinion on migration and that media discourse is dictated to a certain degree by government or political elites. As the critical discourse analysis in chapters 6 to 9 will exemplify in depth, the news reporting of migration in the political section of the four broadsheets subject to this study echoed these findings, not just in relation to the British sample, but also in the German sample. In their analysis of the categorization of migrants in Germany, Elrick and Schwartzman (2015) found that the way in which migrants or 'persons with a migration background' (PMB) are defined by the government impacts on their day to day life and can have problematic consequences for their future in Germany.

> From this point of view, the meaning of PMB as a social group that is excluded from the national community of citizens may be particularly detrimental. It may not be the act of migration alone that affects one's educational, employment, or personal trajectory, but one's classification as a PMB – with all of that term's contingent social and political meanings. (2015: 1552)

This line of argumentation highlights the power that governments and politics have over

the fate of migrants, and it indicates how crucial it is that the discourse with which they discuss migration or present debates to the media is accurate and factual. However, as the analysis of the empirical data will show, this is seldom the case, which begs to question, why the discourse is so overwhelming negative. Esses, Medianu and Lawson (2013) argue that migration reporting can be bound by a sense of political uncertainty and as such reflects the political inability to handle migration.

> […] uncertainty can be used to media and political advantage, allowing the transformation of relatively mundane episodes into newsworthy events that can be sold to the public and can serve as support for relatively extreme political platforms. The resultant dehumanization of immigrants and refugees may appeal to members of the public, serving to justify the status quo, strengthening ingroup–outgroup boundaries, and defending against threats to the ingroup's position in society […] (2013: 519)

Not only do these findings, which are the result of participant experiments conducted by Esses, Medianu and Lawson in Canada, hint at the dynamic transformation of events when they are being represented by the media, but they also show how political discourse influences publics opinion and reinforces the anti-immigrant sentiment seemingly consistently present in the public sphere. What is particularly important to note about the above observations is the notion of the 'dehumanization' of migrants. Stripping a group of people of their human characteristics both suggests that they are not considered worthy of the same rights as other members of society, and that they are seen and portrayed as something other than they are. In turn, this aids in the creation and recreation of a social and political hierarchy, in which migrants are considerably lower situated than those

executing power over them, reinforcing their position as a 'burden' (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013: 69) and lacking any form of agency. Esses, Medianu and Lawson found further that “this dehumanization may help to reduce uncertainty as to how to view and treat immigrants and refugees, particularly for individuals with little direct contact with members of these groups and justify their exclusion and mistreatment” (2013: 531). Yet, a lack of uncertainty as to how to treat migrants does not mean that it is ethically and morally right. Furthermore, this lack of uncertainty seems to stem from the media discourse with which migration is being reported, which in most cases appears to be a representation of the political stance on migration (King and Wood, 2001; Cottle, 2008; Lawlor, 2015). However, another argument for the mistrust of migrants and subsequent hostility towards them, could be that on one hand there is little interpersonal contact between migrants and the public of a receiving country, at least at the time of arrival. As Szczepanik found in her study on the distinction between what are considered to be “good” and “bad” migrants

> The majority of the recipients in Europe do not get a chance to engage in a conversation with the people arriving in thousands in several European countries over the past years. The attributes of ‘good refugees’ – female, poor, helpless and possessing a particular nationality are taken for granted and rarely accompanied with information on the context. (2016: 29)

While Szczepanik's findings are the result of a study of the visual representation of refugees in the media, her observations strengthen not only the claims of other scholars discussed in this thesis, but also mirror the arguments put forward in this research, that the context for the reasons of refugee movements is often missing from the media narratives. On the other hand, the hostile sentiment with which migration is often viewed, could

arguably be a result of the lack of voice and agency granted to migrants themselves in and by the media. As Szczepanik argues further

> While in principle it is possible for the media to provide information about refugees in a way that includes their own perspectives and explanation of their actions (for example, through registered interviews), it may not be common. The reason for that can be time constraints or lack of interest but it can also be caused by a much deeper problem of silencing the refugee voices who are seen as first and foremost the subjects of potential political action or intervention. (2016: 30)

This research confirms that very little voice is given to migrants in general, and that the majority of voices with which migration is being reported are of those with access to power, be it politicians, government officials or other members of the British of German public with some form of authority, including border control and customs officers and other public servants. Furthermore, the findings of this research seem to confirm what other studies have established previously, as Philo, Briant and Donald discovered in their study on the media representation of refugees that

> Statements and sources cited by the journalists in the articles were most commonly attributed to politicians (81 statements3 across the 34 articles in the sample of articles dealing with asylum or asylum and economic migration). Of these, 66 statements came from governmental politicians and authorities including civil servants, of which 24 were critical of provision of support. (2013: 55)

These arguments strengthen the claim that media discourse on migration is predominantly negative and hostile towards migrants and that little to no agency is awarded to them.

Although it must be noted that the “benefits of immigration were a marginal theme” (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013: 81), with the majority of the articles analysed focusing on the perceived negative impact of migration. One angle that was explored just as sparsely was the difficulties migrants might face after entering their country of destination. While it is a common point of view in the academic literature that the“[d]iscussion of the problems facing asylum seekers was usually a minor theme” (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013: 84), this research confirms that the lack of voice given to migrants is homogenous with the lack of focus on their fate and plight.

Despite the vast amount of evidence that shows that the relationship between the media and migration is predominantly hostile, there are expectations in which research has found a more positive and supportive discourse in migration reporting. It cannot be denied that while the media has the power to represent the political agenda on migration and spread the hostility often present in political discourse, news media simultaneously possess the authority to influence public debates in a more favourable light for migrants. As Cottle states

> Some sections and outlets of mainstream news media are, in fact, capable of producing representations that give voice to the voiceless and identity to image and these can perform an important role in the public rehabilitation of former ‘others’, accessing personal testimonies, visualizing past narratives and challenging dominant codes and discourses. By such means media audiences are encouraged to ‘bear witness’ to the difficult circumstances and hazardous journeys endured by asylum seekers, refugees and other forced migrants, and consider the politics of their collective plight. (2008: 98)

Taking this argument at its vantage point, it underlines that giving voice to migrants often co-occurs with a focus on their circumstances, including the reasons behind migration movements. By shifting the focus from the powerful elite or public opinion to the experiences of migrants, news media have the capacity to restore humanization in the reporting and thereby to challenge the negative portrayal of migrants and migration. In a case study of Finnish right-wing politics, Kuisma found that “the distinction between good and bad immigrants is an important one […] It is suggested by the party that most asylum seekers are simply fleeing poverty and have no grounds to begin with for their asylum cases” (2013: 98). This line of argumentation is a dominant one, and news media often repeat the same discourse, including derogative terms like 'frauds', 'bogus' or 'illegal' to refer to migrants, as well as making claims that they are seeking to “abuse the system” (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013: 61). In order to oppose this dominating discourse, Szczepanik (2016) notes that 'good' refugees and migrants are often discussed in accordance with their gender, with women and children generally receiving the most empathy. Men, on the other hand, are often “accused of cowardice, desertion and leaving their women and children behind” (2016: 25), and as this research finds, also often as a collective. She argues further that “individuals who do not possess the attributes of a 'good' or 'genuine' refugee are not only seen as underserving of protection but oftentimes it is also implied that they intend to abuse the system of social welfare” (Szczepanik, 2016: 26). Once again, this argument highlights the significance for refugees and asylum-seekers to be seen as worthy of the help provided by the governments of the receiving country, and any failure to make their plights visible may result in “legitimising the hostility toward and bullying of the new arrivals” (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013: 166).

One way to balance the otherwise negative discourse can be by contrasting it with a different focus, and as Lawlor (2015) claims “framing of the illegality aspects of immigration in British news are being challenged by economically and social services oriented frames, suggesting that immigration is increasingly considered by the media as a multi-faceted domestic policy issue: (2015: 330). Lawlor's findings, which are the result of an extensive framing analysis, strengthen the claim put forward in this thesis, that immigration discourses in the media almost always have a pro and contra argument to them. As she points out

> Frames are more than the positive or negative lenses through which we view an issue; they are the heuristics and thematic cues obtained (largely) through news media that help the public synthesize and integrate new information. Immigration, for example, can be framed as a threat to security or a mechanism for labour force growth. Extending citizenship to newcomers can equally be perceived as an economic necessity or a humanitarian act. (2015: 330)

These different points of view of an overarching topic highlight the complexity of the overall issue of immigration, while simultaneously suggesting that media narratives are usually subject of a wider political agenda. It is because of this wider agenda, that the qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis offered in this thesis is invaluable to increase our understanding of the many nuances of media discourses of migration in the UK and Germany. In this regard, very few differences were observed between the British and German samples, which suggests that the above claim applies similarly to the reporting of migration in both countries. Differences could, however, be observed over time, thus, this research argues that a change in media and political discourse on migration can often be

associated with the respective corresponding events taking place on both a national, as well as an international level. On the international level, differences in the discourse were particularly visible in the context of EU politics, due to each country having historically a different relationship with the EU. In her case study of the public perception of integration, Mahendran argues

> Though certain EU citizens can become the stigmatized focus of EU policy, for example, Roma people, generally EU citizens are increasingly sharply delineated from non-EU citizens, as not presenting integration concerns to member states, because they are protected by certain rights and are perceived, in social and cultural terms, as “also European.” This sharp distinction between the EU and non-EU citizen risks creating a discursive frame that ignores member states own unique histories of immigration flows that are not based on such a distinction. (2013: 119)

While Mahendran's findings are the result of a small case study conducted in two European cities, Edinburgh and Stockholm, this research echoes that there are certain differences between the discourses representing migrants from outside of the EU and from within the EU. EU migrants are almost exclusively portrayed as economic migrants, as chapter 6 will highlight, whereas migrants from outside the EU are often described as asylum-seekers, and as discussed above, often in connotation with derogative terms such as 'illegal'. However, as economic migration is commonly presented by politicians, and subsequently in the media, as something negative, this research argues that EU migrants are not presented with significantly more support. In fact, it supports the rather common assumption that due to a perceived threat posed by migrants, “higher social dominance-oriented individuals may dehumanize refugees in order to maintain group dominance and

protect resources" (Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013: 524). While this claim refers to refugees, the discussion so far has shown that the majority of migration reporting is characterised by a hostile discourse, which creates and recreates a social and political hierarchy in favour of those in power and at the expense of all categories of migrants. It is thus not surprising that

> The extent to which immigrants and their descendants are portrayed by broadcast and print media as part of – or apart from – the national community may significantly affect attitudes among the majority population towards minority groups. […] At the same time, it is reasonable to suppose that consistently negative media representations of asylum-seekers over a sustained period are liable to create or reinforce basically unsympathetic attitudes among the public. (Hargreaves, 2001: 23-25).

While it must be noted, that Hargreaves' media effect study, which resulted in these claims being put forward, was limited in scope and timeline – he looked at a small number of case studies in France and Britain in the late 1990's – they support the argument put forward by many scholars in the field of political communication, that news media have the power to represent minority groups in an unfavourable light. This hostility, which so often dominates the discourse on migration, is highly problematic, as it stigmatises an entire group of people without contextualising the complexity of migration in its historical and political setting. It could therefore be argued that the triangle relationship between the media, politics, and members of the public is constantly reinforcing and recreating a negative stereotype of migration, which subsequently worsens over time due to the fact that it becomes more and more justified and manifested in the public sphere through repetition. However, there are instances in which the discourse changes, transforming the media into

a powerful tool that can alter the way a topic or event is understood. As Eberl et al summarised in their comprehensive literature review of migration discourse in Europe

> The visibility of immigration issues and migrant groups, however, may vary across time, across media outlets or genres, and between countries. Differences are explained by the types of immigration, namely regular or irregular immigration, as well as the type of migrant group (e.g. culturally close vs. culturally remote). Additionally, real-world events shape the discourse over a short time-period, while shifts in the political landscape may lead to more long-term changes. Finally, media outlets' format and political leaning can strongly shape the immigration media discourses in Europe. (Eberl, Meltzer, Heidenreich, Herrero, Theorin, Lind, Berganza, Boomgaarden, Schemer & Strömbäck, 2018: 217)

This chapter focuses on a more generalised discussion of media representations of migration. However, it is important to note that there are differences across media outlets. While it can be argued that broadcast media have the advantage of using video and imagery at their disposal, broadsheet newspapers could be considered one of the most reputable and respected form of news media. Naturally, the content will vary. It is argued in this thesis that broadsheet newspapers have the ability to provide a more balanced account of events by having the space to go into more detail, whereas broadcast news often have only a very short time slot available, meaning the content has to be much more condensed. In addition, the political alignment of the news source will further impact the media discourse and angle with which a certain issue is addressed. It has been argued thus far, that migration has different facets and can be the result of many complex factors, and as such will also influence the way it is being reported. As this thesis focuses on the migration reporting in political sections of broadsheet newspapers, it predisposes that the

discourse will largely reflect the voices of those in power, which makes it imperative to also consider how politics are reported in the news media.

3.2 Reporting Politics

As early as the late 19th century "respectable newspapers increasingly voiced criticism of government" (Curran, 2002: 82), and upon closer analysis of contemporary broadsheet newspapers a vast amount of political reporting and commentary is immediately visible. Yet, despite the idea that the media serve as a "watchdog" to hold government officials accountable and responsible (Curran, 2005; Hallin, 2004; McNair, 1999), the relationship between news media and politics is, in fact, a lot more complex and multi-faceted. On the one hand it is important to note that

> A powerful trend is clearly underway in the direction of greater similarity in the way the public sphere is structured across the world. In their products, in their professional practices and cultures, in their systems of relationships with other political and social institutions, media systems across the world are becoming increasingly alike. (Castells, 2009: 249)

While this thesis does not investigate the full scope of the media landscapes of Germany or the UK, it is clear from the analysis of the four broadsheet newspapers in question that there are many similarities in the news reporting of politics and migration between the two countries. What seems impossible to determine by purely analysing media discourse of political reporting, however, is the relationship between journalist and politician, and subsequently who gained access to whom. At the same time, if research aims to be critical of the media discourse with which politics are being reported, it is indispensable to be

aware of and understand the way political journalism works, both from a government perspective as well as from a journalistic point of view. In his elaborate study of communication power, drawing on numerous case studies and psychological analysis of the power of communication, Castells argues that apart from the countries in which one form of media access is through paid political advertising (for example, USA), “political access to regular television and radio programming and the print press is the most important factor in the practice of media politics” (2009: 251). Taking this argument further, political access to the media is regulated by what is known as 'gatekeeping' (Curran, 2002; Bennett, 2007; Bosetti, 2007). It means that several factors play an influential role in the way political news will make headlines, from the alignment of the news outlet to the decisions made at the editorial level, from the type of media organisation (independent, corporate or government controlled) to the importance of attracting the largest possible audience. As Castells argues further, “the more independence the medium has from government control […] the more access will be influenced by commercial interests […] and/or by the professional corps” (2009: 251).

It is thus crucial to be critical of the media outlet that is being analysed in empirical studies, as their news coverage will be affected to some extend by their overarching financial and political interests. In the case of this research, the four broadsheets selected are not government-controlled or owned but align themselves politically to either side of the spectrum (for more on this, see Chapter 5). A certain amount of political bias can thus not be eliminated or ignored. Furthermore, as all broadsheets need to make a profit, they will need to secure advertising deals, and hence require ensuring a constant and stable readership. In order to do so, Castell argues

The *common ground* is that what is attractive to the public boosts audience, revenue,

> influence, and professional achievement for the journalists and show anchors. When we translate this into the realm of politics, it means that the most successful reporting is the one that maximizes the entertainment effects that correspond to the branded consumerist culture permeating our societies. […] It means that for these issues (for example, the economy, the war, the housing crisis) to be perceived by a broad audience, they have to be presented in the language of infotainment, in the broadest sense: not just laughing matters, but human drama as well. (Castell, 2009: 252)

As such, broadsheets need to ensure that they attract as many readers as possible by ensuring that their style of reporting is, at least to a certain degree, entertaining. At the same time, they need to maintain their reputation as the more "respectable" news media (Curran, 2002; Castells, 2009). Yet, newspapers are not the only medium vying for the favour of the public. Taking a similar stance as Castells, Curran claims that

> Media organizations have become more profit oriented. The sphere of government has been greatly enlarged, with the result that political decisions more often affect their profitability. Yet, governments need the media more than ever, because they now have to retain mass electoral support to stay in office. (2002: 220)

It could thus be argued that the relationship between news media and politics is extremely mutually beneficial, both because they provide each other with what they need to be successful. News journalists need access to politicians to report on current affairs in order to maintain, or ideally increase, readership, while politicians need the media to report on campaigns and policies and everyday political development. Garland, Tambini and Couldry define this relationship as an "interplay between political and media systems" which has been "described as 'a feedback loop in which media power and political power

rein- force each other' (Van Aelst et al., 2014)" (2017: 4). According to this notion of a mutually beneficial relationship, it makes the possibility of the media acting as a watchdog overseeing government less likely, at least as far as profit-oriented news media are concerned, which is the case for all four broadsheets subject to this research. It is in their best interest to maintain close access to government sources, as Castells points out "[a]ffecting the content of the news on a daily basis is one of the most important endeavours of political strategists" (2009: 248). What can be argued further, is that increased political reporting increases political engagement and public debate, which could potentially translate to either support or disapproval of a party, a politician or a policy issue. Preston and Metykova point out that

> […] despite the media's growing role in agenda-setting with respect to political communication, the relevant corpus of communication research also indicates that audiences are not 'passive' consumers of the media's definitions or representations of politics. In other words, the mediated communication of politics is becoming increasingly powerful, but as yet the media are not 'all-powerful' vis-à-vis the processes of politics embedded in civil society. (2009: 43)

Again, while arguments like these make the media seem more powerful, it must be remembered that they too have a financial interest to ensure their position as a key player in the media landscape and retain their position as influential and credible source of information. However, what Preston and Metykova highlight is that the seemingly most powerful player in this relationship is indeed the public, who can affect both the sale numbers of print newspapers (or viewing numbers of broadcast, listeners of radios), as well as give or deny their support to government officials. Novy argues further that "in modern societies, it is the mass media that, as central institutions of the public sphere,

provide information and orientation and create the necessary links between citizens and the political realm" (2013: 195). This seems to hold true especially in cases were journalists provide additional context to what they have been given from sources, for instance from politicians, thereby contextualising events and affairs for the public, and as the analysis will highlight in chapters 6 to 9, this is particularly the case in broadsheet reporting.

In his review of the possible impact of the CNN Effect on foreign policy, Robinson notes that "[i]f the Gulf War reminded observers of the enormous power that governments had when it came to shaping the media analysis, 6 events after the 1991 conflict appeared to confirm the opposite" (1999: 302), which highlights that the relationship between the media and politics changed. The notion of the CNN Effect "encapsulated the idea that real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to global events" (Robinson, 1999: 301). Taking this thought further, due to a new saturation in media coverage of events, as well as the emergence of social media, "[t]here is now a heightened awareness of the transnational political conflicts raging across the global arena" (Volkmer, 2011: 308). As this research covers more than two decades, it is important to be aware of the fact that the media landscape has changed, just as everything else in the world has undergone various changes and developments. It is important to be highly conscious of the fact the with an increase in 24hr live broadcasting of televised news (BBC, CNN, Deutsche Welle et al), print newspapers have been facing nothing short of an economic crisis, with many famous papers ceasing print publications, for instance the British *Independent*, which appeared in print until 2016 (https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-35561145), and is now only available online, making it the first national newspaper to embrace the shift to a digital media system. Further, ever since

the rise of social media, which has given birth to citizen journalism (Allen, 2009; Campbell, 2015; et al), professional journalism has to face the added difficulty of competing for its audience with various websites, social media accounts, and blogs. As a result, the relationship between the traditional media outlets and politics has become even more complicated. Garland, Tambini and Couldry point out that “in the struggle for public attention, governments see social media as a mechanism for producing their own news, bypassing the 'prism of the media' and going direct to citizens” (2017: 13).

However, at the time of writing, there are still numerous print newspapers in circulation, including the four broadsheets subject to this research, which begs to question how traditional news media maintain their readership and remain financially viable. One of the ways to ensure their content is interesting, and subsequently profitable, is identified by Castells as follows.

> The media make the leaders known, and dwell on their battles, victories, and defeats, because narrative needs heroes (the candidate), villains (the opponent), and victims to be rescued (citizens). But the would-be leaders have to position themselves as media-worthy, by using any available opening to display their tricks […]. They can do so by creating events that force the media to pay attention to them, as in the case of an underdog political candidate unexpectedly winning a primary election. (2009: 253)

This line of argumentation echoes the discussion above, which states that in order to sell newspapers, the content should be entertaining. One way to achieve this could be by adapting a dramatized or sensationalist discourse. As this chapter explored in relation to the media and migration above, despite their reputation to provide the most factual and

balanced account of news reporting, even broadsheet newspapers are found to adopt a style of reporting that is reinforcing stereotypes by using dehumanising discourse in order to portray certain marginalised groups or individuals in a negative light. An additional way to make political headlines more appealing to as large an audience as possible, is arguably by focusing on issues that could negatively impact the public. This is particularly evident in moments of conflict or crisis, especially when the threat comes from the outside of the national context. For instance, in response to international terrorism Castells argues that

> The security measures to counter the threat prolong fear and anxiety, eliciting citizens' uncritical support for their master and protectors. Violence, broadcast over the communication networks, becomes the medium for the culture of fear. Thus, violence and the threat of violence always combine, at least in the contemporary context, with the construction of meaning in the production and reproduction of power relationships in all domains of social life. (2009: 501)

Hence, how politicians react publicly to threats of violence against the very public they swore to serve, will have a massive impact on how they are perceived by their constituencies. Simultaneously, how the media report on the political decision-making in moments of conflict will not only influence how the government officials are being seen, but also to what extend the public gets actively engaged with the topic. It could be suggested, that the more the public is invested in an issue, the more likely they will be interested in the news coverage as well. As Castells states further “[p]ower is primarily exercised by the construction of meaning in the human mind through the processes of communication enacted in global/local multimedia networks of mass communication” (2009: 500). The

effect of this notion becomes visible if it is being considered in relation to the hidden power-relationships embedded in the media discourse with which migration is being reported by the news media. As the analysis in chapters 6 to 9 shows, and the above discussion of the reporting if migration has argued extensively, power is being exercised by those with access to it, such as government officials or journalists, over those with no agency, such as migrants or other minorities. Subsequently, in the majority of cases this portrays those marginalised groups as a threat or something to be feared, which, as has been argued above, forces the issue into the focus of the public sphere. Summing up this notion in relation to migration reporting, Eberl et al note that

> Salience of immigration issues in media coverage eventually influences audiences' political attitudes, as well as party preferences. This effect appears more pronounced when media coverage provides valenced news stories on immigration, and frames immigration as threatening for the host community. Threats concerning the economy, culture, or security are especially influential on attitudes toward migrant groups or immigration in general. Moreover, media representations of groups and issues can prime the interpretation of a media message. Finally, the mostly negative coverage of immigration can lead to activation of stereotypical cognitions of migrant groups. When the audience is repeatedly exposed to negative media messages over time, this effect might be reinforced and, in the long run, influence perceptions of political actors and even audiences' voting behaviour. (Eberl et al, 2018: 217)

As migration can be considered to play out predominately on a political level, it is subject to the same conditions as discussed here. Both politics and migration, and the politics of migration, have to be profitable news items to make headlines and receive media coverage, especially in broadsheet newspapers. By utilising discourse that is

sensationalist, news media may report migration or politics in a way that evokes fear, concern or mistrust, and thus maintain or gain the interest of the public.

3.3 Conflict and Crisis Reporting

While there seems to be little doubt that print media are hugely influential in the creation of migration narratives, in relation to crises and conflict reporting there is, of course, a natural difference between television and print news coverage. In his analysis of the media coverage of the 1991 Gulf War, Shaw claims that “[w]hile television played the main part in creating images of the war and disseminating basic information to the largest number of people, […] the press had a very significant role in informing attitudes and responses in British society” (1996: 97). Whilst this observation was made in context of the Iraqi wars, it would appear to hold true for most periods of conflict, and especially those that are influencing or impacted by political decision making. “The broadsheet (or 'quality') press provided substantially more varied information and comment on the Iraqi wars, not only than the more informative tabloids but also than television news” (Shaw, 1996: 109). With this observation in mind, the focus of this research project lies entirely on “quality” broadsheet papers, as the research question centre around elite narratives on immigration policy and the potential affect this narrative could have on voters. As Shaw argues further '[t]here is no doubt that readers of broadsheets could usually have obtained fuller information from these sources than from television […]' (1996: 119). Of course, it cannot be denied that the current migration crisis has also naturally elicited much television and tabloid news coverage. Famous graphic representation like the image of the little boy Alan Kurdi, who drowned in the Mediterranean Sea when he and his family were trying to flee from Islamic State by crossing by boat from Syria to Europe, captured the public’s attention and further ignited the debate around Europe's responsibility towards refugees,

asylum seekers and migrants. In her study analysing how refugees were reported during the European Refugee Crisis, Szczepanik found that there are key moments in many crises or conflict events that change the way the media report on them. Referring to the experiences of a journalist from UK broadsheet *The Independent*, she claims that

> [The journalist] refers to the photograph of a dead Syrian boy that made the headlines in early September 2015 as the 'the refugee photo' – one that changed the narrative of the crisis. Indeed, within 24 hours the photo was published in the media around the world causing a shock to the public, an increase in donations for humanitarian assistance to refugees and statements from politicians, for example from the British Prime Minister David Cameron who pledged to take in 20,000 refugees from Syria over the next five years […]. (Szczepanik, 2016: 25)

However, while there is a strong and convincing argument that images and live reporting of unfolding crises have a more engaging effect on media audiences compared to print coverage, this experience shows that newspapers and the printing press still have a significant role in shaping and redefining conflicts, a rationale which determines the choice for selecting broadsheets for this research project. And while it is debatable whether or not media impact is realistically measurable, it seems plausible 'that newspapers have a distinct role in media impact; their coverage and editorializing complements television's instant impact and often helps to convert it into political leverage' (Shaw, 1996: 179). Many historical events, and in particular situations of crises, have confirmed this line of argumentation to have a distinct degree of validity, yet media practices are also subject to their respective channel's economic profitability, and print newspapers particularly. Researching media practices across Europe, Tunstall found that commercial efficiency is

still a major factor influencing media practices.

> Germany has high advertising expenditure, still quite strong public broadcasting, Europe's highest circulation newspaper press and a big magazine sector. It also has Europe's strongest cable television and Europe's biggest collection of major commercial channels. […] Only Germany and the UK have big advertising spends and these are the only two Western European countries each to possess as many as five elite newspapers. Second, there are huge differences in the significance of the split between the national and regional levels. In Germany the regional level is important in politics and even more important in the media. However, in the UK […] the media, politics and political journalism are highly centralised. (2002: 231-232)

The factors identified here all contribute to the selective process that media coverage is subjected to on a constant basis, and it is especially important to bear in mind the differences between the more general media landscapes in Germany and the UK, which Tunstall outlined in his comparative study. Though, these factors are not the only determinants in the making of news media. Hakovirta argues that "[t]here seem to be three main criteria upon which both Eastern and Western media base their decisions to deal with refugee and migration situations: (a) their usefulness for East-West comparisons and propaganda purposes; (b) their scale and urgency; and (c) national involvement as a direct or indirect party to a refugee-related conflict or as a country of settlement or resettlement" (1993: 52). Hakovirta's point implies that migration reporting is subject to political reasoning, which more or less actively determines the fate of migrants and refugees, as it affects the potential for public engagement with the crisis situation. This argument is crucial, as it highlights the important role of media discourse in the role of political reporting on migration. The words and phrases with which the politics of migration are being

reported in the media, will ultimately affect how the public perceives an issue, which in all likelihood will impact their voting behaviour, their political alignment and their overall attitude towards migration. In a case study analysing the election reporting of Muslims in the UK, Richardson found

> The way that sameness/diversity is represented and understood has a crucial influence on social stability and social conflict. Journalism provides us with a window on the ways that social, ethnic and religious sameness/ diversity is viewed. Print journalism, in particular, ‘serves as a forum for communication between political and other elites in ways which potentially influence the political and policy agenda’. Hence, an examination of the ideas and arguments in the journalistic media provides us with insights into social ideas and attitudes, specifically into the understandings of who ‘we’ are and who ‘they’ are that are circulating at any one time. (2009: 357)

What Richardson's findings underline is how closely news media, political elites and the public are connected, whether that is consciously registered by either party or not. It further suggests how strongly the messages reported in the media can impact public opinion and contextualise political events and opinions in the public sphere. In his book *Global Crisis Reporting*, Cottle argues that 'Global crises require sponsors or 'claim makers' to conceptualize and articulate them in the media if they are to become legitimate public concerns and sites of wider political mobilization and action' (2008: 16), which appears to be precisely the issue with regard to refugee crises. Once the topic is picked up by national news media, it almost always means that these refugees already appear to seemingly pose a threat to social stability, or at least give reason for local concerns as to how to handle a wave of migrants. At this point, it would seem difficult to appeal for charity

amongst the public, as Schaffert highlights “[b]iased images and false perceptions can be created as simply as with a choice of words” (1992: 62). However, Cottle further points out that 'in exercising their symbolic and communicative power, the media today can variously exert pressure and influence on processes of public understanding and political response, or equally, serve to dissimulate and distance the nature of the threats that confront us and dampen down pressures for change' (2008: 2).

Taking this argument at its vantage point, what Cottle highlights here is the sheer power and ultimate responsibility which the media possess, making them crucial to both our awareness and understanding of humanitarian crises, their backgrounds and their wider implications for our social and economic stability. In a similar line of argumentation, Volkmer (2011) claims that as “reflectors”, news media “become the independent variable even in crisis situations, re-formatting political crises and shaping the rationale for subsequent political action” (in Zelizer and Allan, 2011: 310). Especially with regard to humanitarian crises, this claim points sharply to the need for an active media audience, who is emotionally invested in the news stories in order to protest for political intervention. However, it also highlights the effect of news media on political actors and indicates that politicians and policy makers will both impact and be impacted by the media coverage of a certain event or crisis situation.

3.4 Reporting the Politics of Migration

With the emergence of better communication infrastructures around the world, the media landscape is continuously changing and developing. However, traditional media outlets such as television and print newspapers are foundation pillars within our societies of

social, cultural, and political significance. Shaw argues that "[a]ll institutions of civil society involve ideological representation, while media cannot avoid political representation. Media should be seen as one component of civil society, specializing in ideological representation, both informing and informed by the function of political representation in civil society at large" (1996: 12). Therefore, the role of the media in politics appears to be not only central to the communication of campaigns and agendas from the power elite to their prospective voters, but it is in fact an interdependent relationship in which the media simultaneously serves as a platform for expression of opinion on political matters. In his topoi analysis of Canadian newspaper coverage of immigration, Bauder makes the claim that "[i]mmigration discourse in advanced capitalist countries typically addresses the question of how immigration can benefit the members of the receiving society" (2008: 291), which would suggest that media narratives around immigration in Canada will in particular make references to economic advantages, such as skilled labour to increase specific work forces and reduce the unemployment rate. These findings are particularly interesting in the context of this research, as they are the result of a qualitative discourse analysis of topoi in a corpus of 490 newspaper articles, a similar approach to the one taken for this thesis. While this research found some evidence that migration discourses in political news reporting in Germany and the UK – arguably capitalist countries – are sometimes centred around the benefits of migration, it argues that negative discourses prevail, which suggests, that the Canadian case studied by Bauder is different to that of Germany and the UK. Black and Hicks came to similar conclusions, stating that "[w]hile in many other western countries, anti-immigration rhetoric divides the electorate and provides opportunities for electoral gain, this is clearly not the case in Canada" (2008: 264). On the other side of the debate, Héricourt and Spielvogel offer a slightly different perspective:

A number of analytical studies have shown that the growing commercialization of the

> mass media networks has led them to adopt a routinely sensationalist approach to the issues, thereby reinforcing negative public perception (Benson, 2002; Benson and Saguy, 2005) […] The old and new media alike are therefore more inclined to focus on immigration if it can be linked to problems, such as crime, the economic crisis or violent political controversy. (2014: 226)

Certainly, as became evident most recently during the EU referendum in the United Kingdom in 2016, but also back in the early 1990's in Germany in the aftermath of the Reunification and the declining demand for labour migrants, media narratives about immigration focus predominantly on the concerns of the public over a constant flow of incoming migrants, and the political debate of the governing party and their opposition as to how to handle these concerns. In these public media debates, immigrants often appear to be labelled in a negative light, which many argue is a technique to uphold existing stereotypes. Cottle argues that "[m]edia representations of minorities including migrants, we know, have long involved demanding stereotypes, discourse of denigration and symbolic annihilation" (2009: 98), which can be linked closely to the notion that immigration seems to challenge the publics feelings of national identity (Schain, 2008: 10). If the public feels that their social, cultural, or economic status is in danger, their natural reaction will be to fear what they perceive to be the threat to said welfare, and subsequently revolt against it. If both the media and political leaders pick up on such attitudes, the public in turn is likely to feel justified in their opinion. As King and Wood claim

> [...] host-country media constructions of migrants will be critical in influencing the type of reception they are accorded, and hence will condition migrants' eventual experience of inclusion or exclusion. Often acting as the mouthpiece of political parties or other powerful groups, media discourses have been shown to be

> immensely influential in constructing migrants as 'others', and often too as 'criminals' or 'undesirables' (2001: 2)

This line of argumentation ties in with the point made above, namely that the media on the one hand serve as a platform for the public to source their information from, but also on the other hand to see said opinions reaffirmed. It further suggests that an increased political focus on immigration, be that during election campaigns, in response to specific events such as the 2015 European Refugee Crisis, or in relation to other migration concerns, leads to a wider media interest. As Black and Hicks note “a reasonable inference is that increased party competition [leads] to detailed platforms, which in turn encourage[s] media issue coverage” (2008: 259), suggesting that the relationship between news media and politics is mutually beneficial. More often than not, this can be witnessed during political campaigns or in the lead up to general elections, and it is not a new phenomenon of recent years but can be traced back several decades at least. Referring back to the election campaigns of Pete Wilson, Governor of California from 1991 to 1999, Diamond found that the “anti-immigrant theme was expedient in electoral campaigns […], and there was understandably a great deal of media attention accorded of the ways in which politicians sought to use the issue” (1996: 155). Findings like these add to the overall idea that anti-immigrant sentiments are often used by political elites to elicit votes and gain power, and crucially, the media play a part in this. In their study on electoral politics and how they relate to immigration, Black and Hicks found that the two are closely linked.

> A closer examination of specific news stories indicated that at least in 2006 immigration was important to the parties and was likely “in play” as an issue in key electoral districts such as the urban centres of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

> With immigration so central to the country's population and economic targets and with votes to be gained in the contested ridings of immigrant-rich urban Canada, it seemed doubtful that immigration would be ignored by the political parties; a closer assessment reveals that it was not, in fact, overlooked but rather involved specific targeting in both message and in location. (2008: 259)

While these observations again relate to the specific national context of Canada, it becomes clear that the politics of migration are an integral part of news reporting, and that the media content is in large parts directly influenced by the political message they are being offered. Following this line of argumentation, the more a topic becomes politicised the more it gains media attention. With regards to reporting on the anti-immigration stance of politicians, this explains why the public might regard immigration in all likelihood as a key factor in having a negative impact on their respective futures, which in turn influences their own personal political agendas. According to Vukov

> The ongoing and shifting articulation of desirable and undesirable markers can be traced through changing policies of immigration selection and exclusion. Public debate and media spectacles around immigration serve as key sites through which public imaginings of the future nation are shaped and struggled over. (2003: 337)

This notion of the public creating and shaping their future, is deeply linked to the idea that the political realm and all that it encompasses, including topics like immigration, are ever changing processes, or to paraphrase Wagner-Pacifici (2010), restless events. As with all political matters, immigration is shaped and reshaped over time, and whilst it might adopt different forms it never ceases to exist. King and Wood find that "[m]igration tends to be

objectified as a time-space event or process which is largely to be explained in economic, demographic or sociological terms and linked to issues of employment, development, population redistribution, class formation and the creation of ethnic communities" (2001: 3). Working under the assumption, that these factors, too, are constantly reformed and redefined, it becomes clear that all historical events are interconnected, and therefore restless. With regards to the power that the news media have in commemorating, shaping, and influencing both the public as well as politics, it seems that topics as highly debated as immigration are the nexus between public opinion and political decision making. Looking specifically at the UK context, King and Wood find that

> [...] what is clear is that migration continues to exercise the British print media on virtually a daily basis. It is equally clear that, on the migration issue, newspapers have the power both to reflect and to shape public opinion, and there are clear links to political parties and ideologies of various types. (2001: 10)

What King and Wood point toward in these findings is the nexus between the media, politics and the public. It highlights how the relationship between the public and political elites is shaped in part by the media, with the sentiment of the media discourse impacting the publics perceptions of events. As Richardson argues "[...]he qualitative analysis of the reporting, in particular, suggests that the rise of press interest in Islam and Muslims has been accompanied by the rise of a hostile and stereotyping discourse that emphasizes the putative threat that Muslims pose to 'our way of life'" (2009: 276). While his findings relate specifically to a case study of muslims in the UK media, it echoes the findings of this research, which argues that media discourse on migration is predominantly negative.

As discussed throughout the course of this chapter, the relationship between the media

and migration is complex and manifold. Scholars from a variety of disciplines, ranging from media studies, migration studies, sociology, politics, psychology, and others, have conducted extensive research into the role of the media in politics and the politics of migration, the representation of minorities and conflict, and other closely-related issues and topics. While there are exceptional cases and circumstances in which the news discourse with which the politics of migration are being reported will change, most research has found evidence for the claim that the majority of discourses create and reinforce a hierarchy, both social and political, in which migrants are treated as outsiders, who are posing a threat to the receiving country. This is particularly interesting, considering that the vast amount of research carried out on the subject stems from a variety of fields and different scholars, who have approached the topic with multiple methodological and conceptual frameworks. As discussed above, the approaches across the literature include established research methods, such as framing analysis (Lawlor, 2015), case studies (Castell, 2009; Cottle, 2008; Robinson, 1999; Mahendran, 2013), thematic analysis (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013), discourse analysis (Bauder, 2008), visual analysis (Szczepanik,) experiments and interviews (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013; Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013). While there is significant variety in terms of methods with which the reporting of migration and the politics of migration has been examined, only a small number of studies were found to compare the reporting of migration across different countries, and even fewer analysed the mediatisation of migration over a long timeline. This research seeks to fill this gap in the literature of the political communication of migration by offering a discourse analysis of media discourses of the politics of migration across two Western European political and economical “power houses”, Germany and the United Kingdom, as well as considering it over a long timeline of more than two decades. This research puts forward the argument, that despite this difference in approach,

however, the findings of the empirical analysis echo those of the literature discussed in this chapter, which suggests that a regardless of the methodological and conceptual frameworks informing the studies, similar themes and discourses emerge from the general study of the reporting of migration. As the discussion of the literature has shown, the four most dominating themes across a majority of the research corpus on the reporting of migration are those relating to economic and security-related issues, followed by cultural concerns, often incorporated in a discussion about integration, and forced migration. These four overarching themes, economy, security, culture & integration, and forced migration, therefore lend themselves to categorise the discourses of migration, which will guide the analysis of the empirical data in chapters 6 to 9. Focusing on these four dominating themes of discourse, this research is arguing that changes in news discourses can be tracked across a timeline, if they are being considered in relation to the historical development over time. The following chapter will explore this notion in relation to Wagner-Pacifici's “political semiosis” model and build the theoretical foundation for the methodological discussion and empirical analysis of this study.

4. “The Restlessness of Events” as a theoretical framework for a Critical Discourse Analysis

Conducting a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on empirical data from a time span of over 26 years requires a systematic and structured framework to guide the qualitative analysis. In the case of this project, an additional element needs to be considered, namely the politics of migration, which this research is trying to trace from the Fall of the Berlin Wall up to the date of the British Referendum. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the key objectives of this research are to analyse how broadsheet newspapers report migration between January 1st, 1990 and June 23rd, 2016, and whether the discourse has changed over the course of this timeline. This research argues that political development manifests itself in political events, which are always connected to one another and must be considered in their connectedness. It therefore seems invaluable to utilize a theoretical framework, which will allow the tracing of discourse over a long period of time, while simultaneously account for the development of political events and their contextualisation in their respective historical setting. Section 4.1 of this chapter will establish how an event is understood to be constituted and how it relates to the notion of “The Restlessness of Events” in general. Following on from this, section 4.2 will examine political change in the context of this notion, in order to discuss how “The Restlessness of Events” can be applied to the study of media discourses. This chapter will argue that political events cannot be understood as singular happenings with a clear start and end date, but rather that they are flows of developments, which occur in response to everything that has happened before and set the stage for everything that will happen afterwards. Furthermore, it will show that discourse plays a crucial part in constituting events, and that by tracking the flow of events it is also possible to track the change and continuity within discourse.

4.1 What constitutes an event?

In order to understand how events and discourse are connected, it must first be established what an event is, and how it is constituted. According to Wagner-Pacifici (2010), no event can ever be fully understood on its own but must rather be considered within a wider context of historical movements and social and political change. She argues that "events exist only by virtue of specific inhabitations or informings and that their existence if intrinsically restless […]. It is the very mobility of events, the handing-off from one inhabitation to the next, that brings them to life and keeps them alive" (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010: 1356-7). Events can therefore be understood as being bound by the historical, political and social context in which they occur, as well as the historical, political and social context of what occurred up to that specific date in time. In the academic literature concerned with the nature of events, this connectedness or interrelation is most commonly referred to as a "flow" of events. This conceptualization of the term "event" can be traced through numerous academic arguments across different disciplines. Historian Thompson, for instance, notes in one of his essays from 1978 that "any historical moment is both a result of prior process and an index towards the direction of its future flow" (Thompson, 1978: 47), pointing towards the very characteristic of events as flowing occurrences. Prior to Thompson's definition, philosopher Mink (1970) already argued that

> The date of an event is functionally an artificial mnemonic by which one can maintain the minimum sense of its possible relation to other events. The more one comes to understand the actual relations among a number of events, as expressed in the story or stories to which they all belong, the less one needs to remember dates. Before comprehension of events is achieved, one reasons from dates; having achieved

> comprehension, one understands, say, a certain action as a response to an event, and understands this directly. (Mink, 1970: 555)

Taking this statement at its vantage point, Mink notes that events are directly situated in relation to other events, implying the flowing nature of events from one to the next. His argument further stresses the importance of comprehending the relations between multiple events in order to fully understand each event in its singularity. And it is precisely this singularity of an event which needs to be understood in order to analyse how political development takes place over time. As sociologist Griffin (1992) states

> No two events, even those of the same theoretical class, have exactly the same sequence. They do not display the same contingencies, turning or branching points, or path dependencies or reversals. Nor do events take place in strictly the same context, if for no other reason than the prior occurrence of a certain type of event alters, however subtly, the context in which the same type of event is repeated, or the probability of its occurrence (Burawoy 1989). Alternative sequences may lead to the same outcome in some events and to significantly different outcomes in other events. […] It is in this special sense and not in the historical scope of the event that events are historically singular or "unique". (Griffin, 1992: 414)

Griffin's claim highlights that the individual nature of each event, while always connected to prior events, both results in change as well as being a product of change. Hence, events, whether in their singularity or in relation to prior events, provide an angle from which to discuss, explain and/or analyse social change.

4.2 Political change in the context of “The Restlessness of Events”

Especially with regards to politics and political change, preceding events play a significant role, as politics are the result of a long chain of developing factors that ultimately cumulate in the status quo. Wagner-Pacifici states that “[i]dentifying the relevant rhetorical “scene” for particular events or social movements is, according to Burke's famous pentad heuristic, tantamount to establishing the relevant political context and the legitimate domain of cognition and action” (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010: 1354). Thus, events are always directly linked to their historical but also their political context and cannot be considered without taking into account the political narrative by which they are shaped. However, Wagner-Pacifici claims that whilst Burke's notion plays an important role in making sense of the development of events, it fails to account for the development of events while they are occurring. She argues further that

> Events must force their way into historical subjects' fields of attention and action, and while violence is not an essential ingredient of all historic transformations, it is a condition of many of them. Great things are at stake, including the remaking of social and political identities and the redistribution of power and resources. (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010: 1358)

If one shares the sociological definition that events are only considered 'historic' if they “change the course of history” and redefine or transform pre-existing structures (Sewell, 1996: 842), it becomes apparent why political developments are repeatedly a key feature of historic events. Politics, by their very nature, are often the effect of social processes within society, and subsequently impact future societal developments and structural

changes. One thing to note is, however, that “the social process moves on many levels at once” (Abbott, 1991: 225), and politics alone do not necessarily account for every change within the course of history. As mentioned by Wagner-Pacifici, one attribute that is associated with the constitution of events is violence, which is here understood as any form of violent conflict, from terrorism to riots, from wars to the persecution of minorities. Any situation, in which a person's physical wellbeing is under threat counts as an act of violence in the context of this research. During the European Refugee crisis, violence has started to erupt in parts of Germany and other countries across Europe, with asylum seeker houses being burnt to the ground and refugees being physically and verbally attacked. While these incidents were fairly isolated cases in the early 2010’s, their occurrences have since been on the rise, with one example of such an attack having taken place in Germany in the summer of 2016. The German magazine *Die Zeit,* for instance, published on August 17, 2016, that two Syrian refugees were both verbally and physically assaulted as they walked down a street[6].

> According to the police, the two teenagers were walking on foot through the city, as a car stopped next to them. At first, the passenger verbally harrased and insulted the two 17-year olds, before he proceeded to beat them up. (translated, *Die Zeit,* online, August 17, 2016)

However, it is also reported that asylum seekers and immigrants are committing violent crimes against their host nations, as for instance during the sexual attacks on German women on New Year’s Eve 2015-2016 in Cologne and several rape cases across

6 http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2016-08/querfurt-angriff-syrische-fluechtlinge

European states, including Sweden[7], Austria[8] and Germany[9]. The European Refugee Crisis has, as a result, often been contextualised in response to these violent crimes, with many arguing that an increase in migration is to blame for the rise in violence. An author for the German news outlet *Deutsche Welle* wrote in May 2019

> The council, which made a noticeable effort to illustrate the complex nuances of migration, still found plenty to criticize in Germany in its 200-plus page report. The council noticed an increase in crime both by and directed at migrants. Hate crimes, for instance, more than doubled from 2014 to 2015, though they fell somewhat after 2017 when the refugee influx slowed. At the same time, migrants are disproportionately more likely to commit crimes, which the council said was partially, though not entirely, explainable to socio-demographic factors. (Deutsche Welle, online, May 8, 2019)

These clashes between host country citizens and migrants underline Wagner-Pacifici's claim that some events become 'historical' due to an increase in violence between the two (supposedly) opposing sides. Thus, it could be argued that events gain historical significance, because events such as said violent conflicts are picked up by the news media, and are therefore being recorded, published, circulated and forever remembered. Yet, going back to Wagner-Pacifici's concept of 'restlessness', events seem to become historical if they themselves have an impact on subsequent events or evoke changes. In the specific case of the European Refugee Crisis, any violence committed by migrants or refugees against their host nation is likely to result in tougher immigration laws and regulations, as well as a negative public response. The latter is most likely to be the most

7 https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2709224/two-afghan-migrants-revealed-as-those-arrested-over-horrific-three-hour-rape-streamed-on-facebook-live-in-sweden/
8 https://www.kleinezeitung.at/oesterreich/4975792/Wien_Fluechtling-vergewaltigte-Zehnjaehrigen_Vertagt
9 https://www.euronews.com/2019/06/26/germany-gang-rape-11-men-on-trial-over-attack-on-woman-18

important factor in the process of making cases like these historical, as the public's attitude towards migrants will in turn influence future political campaigns, and very likely even policy changes. At the same time, these violent incidents alone do not constitute an event, and the European Refugee Crisis is not a historical phenomenon simply because of the cultural, social and political conflicts arising from it.

With different events related or connected to the current mass immigration into Europe, the European Refugee Crisis, as it has been dubbed, is constantly developing, changing and evolving, and thus difficult to define in a specific timeline. Political scientist Hampshire noted that the "large increase in the number of migrants […] was largely due to the escalation of the civil war in Syria […] but also conflict, oppression, and poverty in other countries" and therefore "not only is the scale of the recent migration to Europe unprecedented, it is also enormously complex and rapidly changing" (Hampshire, 2015:9). In line with Wagner-Pacifici's argument that events are almost always impractical to define by one fixed start and end date, Hampshire's point highlights that it is virtually impossible to pinpoint a start date for this current crisis either. At the same time, it is equally difficult to narrow down precise moments in history which determine political change, due to constant flow of transformative events. As historian Oltmer argues in 2015 in the German broadsheet *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (*SZ)*, one of the newspapers subject to this study, describing the European Refugee Crisis with the term "Völkerwanderung", which can best be translated as "migration of folks", is misleading:

> That is why we currently observe an increase in migration. However, when considered long-term it becomes apparent that these are always wave-like movements. It goes up – as we have last experienced in the early 1990s, or prior to

that in the late 1960s -, and it goes down. (translated, Oltmer, SZ, September 30, 2015)

What Oltmer notes in relation to the flow of migration over time is equally applicable to the characteristic of political change. It does not happen suddenly without prior cause, but rather happens as a result of a constant flow of social, political and historical processes that manifest themselves as events due to their transformative nature.

4.3 “The Restlessness of Events” and its relevance for the study of media discourse

Late historical sociologist Abrams referred to events as “transformation device[s] between past and present” (Abrams, 1982: 191), arguing that events impact social structure and subsequent action by developing over time. Griffin elaborates on this definition by further noting that “an event […] is a historically singular happening that takes place in a particular time and place and sequentially unfolds or develops through time” (Griffin, 1992: 414). Wagner-Pacifici's notion of “The Restlessness of Events” tries to determine how these singular happenings can be contextualised historically in order to determine their transformative power. The model emerging from and defining her theory is called 'political semiosis' and is composed of three distinct features, which together account for the transformative nature of the respective event. She argues that in order for an event to be classified as a historical transformation it must have a performative, a demonstrative and a representational feature (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010: 1358-65). Using the European Refugee Crisis as an example to illustrate how these three features are to be understood, the first of the three features, the performative feature, is loosely described as an act of speech, or a public declaration within a political context. In the case of the European Refugee Crisis this

would be the political response by the individual Head of State of the European member states. As the first larger groups of migrants started to arrive on the borders of European states, predominantly Italy and Spain, as early as 2013, the claim making by European politicians moved the event into the public space and thus contextualised it. Appealing to the 2013 G20 summit, UK Primer Minister David Cameron, for instance, publicly pledged financial aid to demonstrate his “strong commitment to Syrian people” (*Guardian*, September 6, 2013), a move that can be considered a performative act according to Wagner-Pacifici’s model.

Following this initial public confirmation of the event that was to unfold, the second feature in the political semiosis model, the demonstrative act, is a more complex linguistic tool, which “builds from this original linguistic function to call attention to the situated nature of events” (Wagner-Pacific, 2010: 1360). It is the feature that further contextualises the event in question, even if the circumstances surrounding the event are still evolving, and hence potentially shifting and changing the context within which the event is happening. Using the example of the European Refugee Crisis, Angela Merkel's decision, and public declaration, to adopt an open border policy marked a demonstrative (speech) act, which resulted in a large number of migrants entering the country and subsequently challenging the social, cultural and political realm. On the opposing side of the spectrum, David Cameron's choice to opt out of a distribution quota to allocate refugees within the countries of the European Union marked another form of demonstrative act. Describing a phenomenon such as this, Wagner-Pacifici states that “demonstrative elements of eventful transactions also guide actors and witnesses to direct their attention inward toward central exchanges and interactions, as well as outward toward the relay of generated forms” (2010: 1362). Both Cameron's and Merkel's policies are prime examples as to how this

demonstrative feature can give new meaning and shape a pre-existing and co-occurring event, by locating the elements of the event in the respective time and space. The importance of this second, demonstrative feature becomes more evident when situated within the historical development of the event. Abbott argues that

> If there is any one idea central to historical ways of thinking, it is that the order of things makes a difference, that reality occurs not as time-bounded snap- shots within which "causes" affect one another [...] but as stories, cascades of events. And events, in this sense, are not single properties, or simple things, but complex conjunctures in which complex actors encounter complex structures. On this argument, there is never any level at which things are standing still. […] Furthermore, there are no independent causes. Since no cause ever acts except in complex conjuncture with others, it is chimerical to imagine the world in terms of independent casual properties acting in and through independent cases. (Abbott, 1991: 227)

In the context of the European Refugee Crisis, the demonstrative feature situated the phenomenon of large-scale migration in the contemporary historical context, which distinguishes it from previous such events, while simultaneously connecting it to all prior migration movements. As a result, the overall event that Europe has come to define as the Refugee Crisis, was further shaped and situated anew in the context of new political responses and subsequent policy making.

The third and final feature of Wagner-Pacifici's political semiosis model, the representative feature, serves to move the claims made and context demonstrated by means of the first two features into a wider field of awareness. According to Wagner-Pacifici “[e]very eventful

transformation involves representational features – copies of the event, or aspects of the event, need to be generated and sent outward into the wider world of audiences and witnesses at a distance" (2010: 1362). This line of argumentation highlights the crucial role of the media in shaping and situating elements of the present in order to create events. She further places a great significance on the role of the audience of the events that are unfolding, suggesting that it is through the act of witnessing that events elicit social, historical and political change. It is in this third, representative feature that the importance of the study of media discourse finds its justification, as Abbott claims that " focus on action and event therefore means thinking about the social world narratively and means generalizing not in terms of "causes" but in terms of narratives" (Abbott, 1991: 227). As this thesis prescribes to a constructivist approach, it defends the standpoint that discourse is a natural and important component of narrative, making the study of media discourse invaluable for the analysis of social, historical and political change over the course of a long timeline of events. Taking this argument further, Griffin states that

> To locate an action in the sequence of a narrative and to link that action to the narrative's previous actions, for example, is one way to understand what "caused" the action and thus to "explain" its occurrence […] Furthermore, when an action is linked to prior and subsequent actions in the narrative, one can comprehend its character and function in the entire temporal sequence; that is, how the action displays and furthers the unfolding of the event. (Griffin, 1993: 1098)

Referring back to the research objectives of this thesis, by focusing on the representative feature of the political semiosis model, the CDA of the media discourse on migration was able to add to the overall discussion of how political change has taken place over the

course of the timeline of this research by analysing changes and continuity within the broadsheet reporting of migration. Furthermore, with the help of Wagner-Pacifici's model, the analysis was able to trace specific moments in the debate on migration that constituted the events that ultimately had an impact in the political realm, further proving that the model is an applicable framework to track events and their transformative nature. Reviewing this model, German sociologist Tellmann states that

> It is politically and analytically refreshing to emphasize the processes of ‘in-formation’ and ‘trans-formation’ that constitute events – especially since such understanding makes it impossible to celebrate eventness per se. The political meaning of the event depends on the particular forms engaged and how they end up defining the space–time, identities and causalities of the event. (Tellmann, 2018: 95)

Tellmann rightly points out that events are partially constituted by the response they elicit and the transformation they cause, which is often political in nature. However, she also echoes Wagner-Pacifici in stating that events require a 'particular form' to determine their impact and situate them within their wider social, historical, and eventually political, context. This 'particular form', this thesis argues, can be taken on by news outlets, who have the agency to present to their audiences the inner unfolding of events as they take place, as well as after they happened. The following chapter will discuss the research methodology and research design and argues that a Critical Discourse Analysis of the migration discourse in political broadsheet reporting helps to contextualise political events by tracking migration discourses over time.

5. Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach for a historical comparison of migration discourse

Arguing in favour of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this chapter establishes why CDA is the most effective methodological approach to analyse the media discourse of migration reporting in political broadsheet journalism over the course of a long timeline in Germany and the UK. Drawing on academic theories by Fairclough (1989, 2012, 2017), Wodak (1997, 2009, 2011) Van Dijk (1993, 1995) and others, it discusses both the theories and benefits of CDA and qualitative research (5.2) in relation to the research question and objectives, which will be outlined in section 5.3. The chapter then explores the characteristics of the empirical data collected and analysed in this thesis (5.4), followed by an outline and rationale for the research design (5.5) and the data collection process (5.6). With the characteristics of the empirical data and the discussion of the CDA approaches established, the statistical observations of the initial steps of the data analysis are presented (5.7). Section 5.8 explores the analytical model and the process of the proposed CDA of news reports of migration. The chapter concludes in section 5.9 with an account of how this methodological approach links the empirical data analysis presented in chapters 6 to 9 with a critical social commentary in chapter 10. First and foremost, however, a brief definition of the term 'discourse' is needed.

5.1 What is 'discourse'?

Prior to discussing how discourse can be critically analysed, it should be established how this research understands the term “discourse”. One look in the Merriam-Webster dictionary[10] reveals that the noun “discourse” is defined here in three different ways: first as

10 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/discourse

a “verbal interchange of ideas”, meaning the pure form of communication from one (or multiple) person(s) to another. Secondly, it defines “discourse” as a “formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject”, “connected speech or writing”, and a “linguistic unit (such as a conversation or a story) larger than a sentence. Taking this definition at its vantage point, discourse can be an entire newspaper article, or in fact an academic 'thought' on a subject like migration, as long as it is expressed “orderly”. The third definition of the noun “discourse” refers to it as a “mode of organizing knowledge, ideas, or experience that is rooted in language and its concrete contexts (such as history or institutions)”, which suggests that meaning is derived from experience and the contextualisation of broader concepts.

Previous research concerned with discourse analysis has largely defined the term in similar ways. While Philo claims loosely that discourse “is used abstractly to mean statements in general or to refer to a particular group or type of statements” (2007: 176), for Foucault “discourse is a social force which has a central role in what is constructed as ‘real’ and therefore what is possible. It determines how the world can be seen and what can be known and done within it” (1994: 176). In this sense, discourse appears to be the medium through which people make meaning of their world around them and understand their own position within said world. Similarly, Fairclough agrees that “discourses are diverse representations of social life” (2012(2): 456), stressing the notion that discourses can in fact take on different forms, as indicated by his use of the plural form of the noun. Meaning-making can thus take place through a variety of impulses, all of which can be considered forms of discourse. In an earlier account, Fairclough states that he sees “discourses as ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so

forth" (2003: 176). Therefore, discourse is not only a crucial aspect of making sense of worldly developments, but it can be argued that without the ability to "read" and comprehend discourses it would be impossible to make meaning of anything. Arguing that discourse is directly related to power, van Dijk notes that "[d]iscursive (re)production of power results from social cognitions of the powerful, whereas the situated discourse structures result in social cognitions" (1993: 259). This interplay of discourses defining ones understanding which in turn defines discourses, highlights that discourses are intrinsically tied to meaning-making of the world and its historical developments. This research thus understands discourse as every form of meaning-making that can be expressed through language. That includes written and oral communication and text, sounds, visuals, thoughts or beliefs. However, as this research is focusing on the discourse of migration in political broadsheet reporting, the analysis centres solely around written discourse in print newspapers. In that context, though, every part of the written text is being considered relevant to the whole concept of discourse, from single words, phrases, grammar and punctuation, to the structure of an article and the exact place in the text where a word or phrase appears. This research aligns itself with Fairclough's conviction that the use of language always signifies meaning beyond what is being expressed, whether consciously or subconsciously. Hence, a critical analysis of the language of discourse can reveal both obvious and hidden meanings and aid in the comprehension of human structures, including political, historical, cultural and social ones.

5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis and Qualitative Research

As this chapter presents the research methodology for this thesis, it first and foremost needs to be clarified that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is not a method in its own right,

such as, for instance, Content Analysis, Interviews, or Focus Groups, which set out clearly how they should be conducted and allow for a structured, step-by-step process of both data collection as well as analysis of data. Rather, CDA is one approach within the wider field of Discourse Analysis (DA) or Discourse Studies (DS), which includes related approaches such as Thematic Analysis (TA), Semiotic Analysis, or Narrative Analysis (NA). Thematic Analysis, for instance, is often considered a combination of discourse analysis and content analysis, combining a more quantitative approach with elements of a qualitative method, a definition that is shared by psychologist Howitt, who claims that in "some ways, thematic analysis occupies the middle ground between quantitative and qualitative analysis" (2010: 166).

However, one limitation that comes naturally with a more quantitative approach to language is the lack of ability to go beyond the manifest level of language use. Semiotic Analysis, in comparison, is a methodological approach that offers the researcher a way to study discourse embedded within images, symbols, or other forms of discourse that are mainly implied visually. Another example of a slightly different, yet potentially complementary, approach to discourse analysis is Narrative Analysis, which according to Parker "aims to produce a form of account of individual life experience in which there is a linear sequence so that the reader can recognise the structuring of life events as being rather like that of a book" (2013: 227). While the study of narratives may also reveal social inequalities, the method does not require a critical stance of the researcher, mainly because narratives are often more personal, and thus can be subjective. As far as the demarcation of these other approaches from the field of discourse analysis are concerned, CDA proposes methodological perspectives for a critical and deeper analysis of written discourse. According to Wodak and Fairclough (1997), two of the founding scholars of the

approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, certain propositions are fundamental to the critical approach of discourse analysis. They note that the researcher should always consider the language within its social context, while they need to also be aware of the ideological role of the discourse. Other scholars of CDA agree with this notion, as Tenorio notes that “CDA aims at demystifying texts shaped ideologically by relations of power; it focuses on the opaque relationship between discourse and societal structure; and it does so through open interpretation and explanation” (2011: 188). At the same time, the researcher must be critical, due to the fact that the discourse is simultaneously socially constituted and constitutive. Thus, van Dijk (1995) argues that it is difficult to pin down the exact perimeters of CDA as a method, due to the facts that the method can be applied to any form of discourse, across a variety of disciplines, and in almost any context, but, as mentioned above, that certain characteristics are generally agreed upon amongst scholars. He states that research carried out with CDA is “problem- or issue-oriented, rather than paradigm-oriented”, with the aim to uncover “forms of social inequality” (1995: 17).

Van Dijk further points out that CDA is often carried out across disciplines, combining different fields of study, as long as the overall aim remains to be to establish how discourse relates to social, cultural and political phenomena. Furthermore, he notes that CDA can be used to study discourse in a variety of ways and forms, from grammar and sentence structure to spoken word or different genres of linguistic styles, such as rhetoric, humour, irony and more. Significant in this context, van Dijk points out, is that “CDA especially focuses on (group) relations of power, dominance and inequality and the ways these are reproduced or resisted by social group members through text and talk” (1995: 18). This is particularly relevant in the context of this research, which aims to demonstrate

how broadsheet journalism reproduces the power of politicians over minority groups such as migrants through the use of discourse. As van Dijk clarifies

> If social power is (roughly) defined as a form of control, of one group by another, if such control may extend to the actions and the minds of dominated group members, and if dominance or power abuse further implies that such control is in the interest of the dominant group, this means that dominant social group members may also exercise such control over text and talk. […] Politicians have control over, e.g., governmental and parliamentary discourse, and preferential access to the mass media. (1995: 20)

This power of one social (usually elite) group, in this case politicians, over another social (usually minority) group, here migrants, is the nexus of this research project. Furthermore, it is argued in this thesis that this power abuse of politicians over migrants is neither a phenomenon unique to the modern day nor is it new, which this study aims to prove by examining journalistic discourse in broadsheet newspaper articles over a long period of time. The result of this practice is the constant reinforcement of already established discourses, which in turn reproduce the social hierarchy in which the same social elitist group remains powerful, and the same social minority group remains powerless. In the reproduction of these social hierarchies through discourse, language is one of the most important ways with which the identities of the members of the respective social groups are constructed. Having researched extensively on the relationship between language and identity, Wodak notes that "identity construction always implies inclusionary and exclusionary processes, i.e. the definition of ONESELF and OTHERS […] Identities that are individual and collective, national and transnational are also re/produced and

manifested symbolically" (2011: 216). In the context of this research, it is evident that both social groups, elite and minority, are defined and re-defined by the discourse with which they either present themselves or are represented by others. In the case of these social actors presenting themselves, this takes place by speaking to reporters or journalists and having their speech or parts of it reproduced in the broadsheet newspapers subject to this research study. In the case of representation by others, journalists or reporters will either paraphrase or quote parts of the speech by these social actors, or they will present a commentary on their characters. They may also be represented through the voice of other social actors, either from within their own social group, or from members of other social groups. As Wodak summarises "[l]anguages and using language manifest 'who we are', and we define reality partly through our language and linguistic behaviour" (2011: 216). With regards to political discourse, which is one of the more prominent discourses analysed in this research, the use of language by politicians serves a multitude of reasons. There is the need for articulating their respective stance on current issues to their voters in a matter that elicits as much consensus as possible, which can either be done by means of persuasion and discrediting their opponents, or by sharing and reproducing already agreed-upon public consent. In comparison to minority groups such as migrants, politicians have easy access to mass media, and hence more power over what discourse they can share. According to Holzscheiter (2005: 57), if social actors have "power over discourse", they are more visible to the public, and in the case of politicians for instance, they have media access more or less readily available. This immediate advantage simultaneously reinforces their elitist power and stands in stark contrast to the lack of voice of minority groups such as immigrants.

Taking this argument further, migrants not only lack access to media outlets to share and

shape their own discourse, but in some cases, they also lack discursive abilities in the native language of the host nation, which disadvantages them even more. In her research on European language policies, Wodak noted that

> The gatekeepers demand the national language from those who wish to enter; and the language issue, as has been proved in multiple studies on migration in EU countries, is one of the most important factors for immigrants with respect to access to employment, housing and education. (2011: 223)

Apart from these natural disadvantages present in the lives of migrants, the very factor that they lack a voice in most public debates on migration adds to the reinforcement of their status as a minority group. As a result, this further strengthens the social position of the politicians in power, as their status is not actively challenged by migrants. A critical study of the discourse with which these hierarchies are reinforced is thus an important step in establishing how the language of broadsheet journalism relates to the (hidden) power relationship between an elite social group, in this case politicians, and a minority social group, here migrants. As Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton point out, "[f]or many, particularly linguists, "discourse" has generally been defined as anything "beyond the sentence" (2003:1), and CDA enables researchers to gain a deeper understanding of the language used in various forms of communication, be it in oral or written form, or as sounds or visual effects. Any form of communication from which meaning can be derived from can be understood as form of discourse. With regards to the benefits of qualitative research, Krippendorf notes that

> For analysts seeking specific political information, quantitative indicators are

> extremely insensitive and shallow. Even where large amounts of quantitative data are available, as required for statistical analyses, these tend not to lead to the “most obvious” conclusions that political experts would draw from qualitative interpretations of textual data. Qualitative analyses can be systematic, reliable, and valid as well. (2013: 17)

Critical discourse analysis enables the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the language used in written texts and to make subsequent claims about hidden power relationships between the narratives that are being studied and the underlying social order they refer to. This understanding of the definition of critical discourse analysis is aligned to that offered by Wodak and Meyer, who note that “CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power of abuse of one group over others” (2009:9). Throughout the timeframe subject to this study, migration discourses are mostly used to communicate concerns and issues with incoming migrants, which, as discussed above, reproduces the power structure of the political elite on the one side and the 'subjects' of migration on the other. Any choice of words or phrases, even if chosen subconsciously, carry a certain sense of meaning beyond the seemingly obvious structure of the sentence, and as Mogashoa noted in reference to McGregor's study on CDA “critical discourse analysis challenges us to move from seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having meaning in a particular historical, social and political condition” (2014:105). As referred to by this statement, of particular relevance in CDA is the relationship between the discourse that is being studied and the political nature of the experienced social context of the researcher. A question that is often raised in this regard, is how CDA becomes 'critical', and how it differs in this respect from other approaches to discourse analysis. Van Dijk discussed this potential criticism as follows

> Unlike other discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit sociopolitical stance: they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large. Although not in each stage of theory formation and analysis, their work is admittedly and ultimately political. (1993: 252)

The political nature of the research topic, as well as the political stance of the researcher, are hence crucial to the methodological approach of CDA, and unlike other research methods, the data analysis conducted under the premises of a CDA approach should be a critical study of the social and political status quo. Fairclough stresses the importance of understanding that CDA is a "form of critical social analysis" (2017: 35), and while he acknowledges that the need for CDA arises most naturally from the existence of a problem, he also points out that these problems can be solved, or their basis changed. CDA, according to Fairclough, finds its place in this problem-solving social agenda by placing its focus on discourse and its relation to social inequality. Speaking of his first and most radical approach to CDA, Fairclough states that he paid most attention to the relationship between power behind and in discourse, and how social actors can actively influence discourse and subsequently shape their access to power. He notes further that

> It views discourse as a stake in, as well as a site of, social struggle including class struggle. It aims to raise consciousness of how language contribute to the domination of some people by others, as a step towards social emancipation. (2017: 38).

However, Fairclough claims that this approach mainly pays attention to the critique of

ideology, and that the explanations offered in an analysis often seem to rationalise the debates it is meant to study, without being more critical of the basis of the explanations themselves. This may often lead to a discussion about ideology, without being critical enough, a potential problem within a critical approach to discourse. In his second approach to CDA, Fairclough focused on a “top-down social change” critique of discourse, in which (often institutionalised) concepts of discourse changed over time to adapt a specific narrative over time. However, this approach, whilst applicable to many forms of discourse analysis, requires the researcher to track discourse changes over time, and have a research question that looks at a field or topic of discourse that actively adapts new forms of narrative, meaning it cannot be applied to every form of analysis conducted under the CDA paradigm. His third approach to CDA draws on the “critique of political debates” (2017: 39), and adopts a more practical standpoint, as it aims to uncover what actions should be taken to overcome the social inequalities presented in and through discourses. Potentially aligning himself with earlier arguments made by Wodak and Reisigl (1999, 2001), Fairclough notes that this particular approach to CDA requires “an 'argumentative turn' that incorporates argumentation theory into CDA. Concerns in earlier versions (e.g., ideology) do not disappear; they are now addressed in terms of arguments and their elements (premises, conclusions)” (2017: 39). One of the most important parts of this approach is the focus on genre, and the portrayal of “representation and identity” (2017: 40) relate directly to the respective genres and may not be considered separately. The analysis of the empirical data in this research follows Fairclough's most recent approach to CDA, which he coins 'dialectical reasoning' and defines as follows

> CDA combines critique of discourse and explanation of how discourse figures in existing social reality as a basis for action to change reality. This in summary form is

> what I mean by 'dialectical reasoning': a way of reasoning from critique of discourse to what should be done to change existing reality, by way of explanation of relations between discourse and other components of reality. […] This relation between critique, explanation and (political) action is the essence of CDA. (2017: 35)

Taking this definition at its core, according to Fairclough, CDA should be seen as a "form of practical argumentation which gives prominence to the connection between critique, explanation and action" (2017: 40). It should be noted furthermore, that action in this context does not necessarily require or demand physical action, but rather calls for the researcher to utilise their research to champion for social change. According to Fairclough, as stated in most of his writings on the matter (1989, 2012, 2017), the most crucial part of any research conducted under the premises of CDA should be to challenge the status quo "for the better". As this thesis argues, media discourses play an important part in the creation and recreation of social and political hierarchies, therefore it is important to critically examine their structures and content in order to be able to critically challenge these media systems. For Fairclough notes that "the hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of powerful groups to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities" (1989: 54). Hence, this approach to CDA offers a great tool to research and analyse the use of discourse by those with access to authority, mainly politicians and the media, on an issue that regulates the lives of people who are not permitted the same level of power, in this case migrants. It is precisely this inequality in discourse which provides the nexus for this research, and special attention is also being paid to the imbalance in voice given to migrants or their advocates. As an analytical guide, this research thus utilizes Fairclough's understanding of discourse to analyse how the discourse represents migration and migrants in the political reporting, and

how the discourse refers to the phenomenon of migration, its political and historical context, as well as the events and developments in which it is situated.

5.3 Research Questions and Objectives

Introduced briefly in chapter 1, this research is subject to a clear set of research questions which address the problem this thesis is investigating. Keeping in mind the findings presented in the academic literature on the topic (see chapter 3), as well as the scope of the theoretical framework (see chapter 4), the questions are as follows:

I. How is discourse used to cover the topic of migration in the political reporting of broadsheet newspapers in Germany and the UK between January 1, 1990 and June 23, 2016?
II. Does the discourse change over time?

In order to address these research questions, this study was further conducted according to the following research objectives:

! To produce an overview of UK and German migration history, following a timeline from the early 20th century up to the date of the United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum, provides a comparison of migration history between the UK and Germany in order to situate this study in this migration-specific historical context;
! to offer an extensive literature review discusses the existing academic debates around media coverage of migration, political reporting, conflict and crisis reporting, as well as the politics of migration and relates it to the analytical aims of this

research;

- to develop the theoretical framework of 'The Restlessness of Events', which establishes how political events are linked over time and that they must be considered in this connectedness in order to make sense of them and further developments. It also examines the significance of discourse, both in a political context, as well as in the creation of events. It underlines the importance of relating migration to the discourse with which it is being represented and how it impacts events;
- to collect empirical data from two German and two UK broadsheet newspapers for the timeframe taking its starting point in 1990 with the Fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany and leading up to the EU referendum campaign in the UK in 2016;
- to carefully devise an analytical model that guides the structure of the data analysis by allowing a clear categorisation of the discourse into fields of political migration discourses;
- to employ Critical Discourse Analysis to provide an in-depth examination of the language and discourses of the newspapers during the political campaigns in question, focusing on the coverage of migration;
- to demonstrate how the accumulated research findings are analysed under the proposition of the theoretical framework, the analytical model and the literature review to answer the research questions posed above.

5.4 The Empirical Data

Due to the vast historical scope of this research, which spans the quarter of a century, a sample has been collected that is both large enough to ensure representativeness, as well

as manageable enough to allow for a thorough analysis of the intricacy of the media discourse on migration in political reporting over time. The empirical body of this research consists of newspaper articles taken from two national daily broadsheets per country subject to this study, with a total of four newspapers to be considered. The rationale behind this choice of empirical material is first and foremost, that broadsheet newspapers by their very definition are considered to offer the most balanced, respectable and accurate news reporting. This is particularly crucial for this study, as the purpose for this research is to analyse the most comprehensive representation of the discourse with which migration has been reported over the course of the timeline. Secondly, as the preceding chapters have discussed, this thesis is particularly interested in the political discourses of migration, which made it indispensable to look predominantly at political news media. Broadsheet newspapers have dedicated politics sections, which are not only clearly identifiable by the reader, but are almost always towards the front of the paper. This increases the visibility of the political news reporting, and by extension any migration-related news story the broadsheet might have been covering. A third and final reason for the choice of broadsheet newspapers for a CDA of the politics of migration in Germany and the UK was that broadsheet newspapers were accessible via archives, both physically in Germany and online for the UK. Due to the long time-line dating back to pre-internet times, it was invaluable for this research to have access to the same continuous news outlet. By choosing two of the most widely circulated broadsheets per country, this was ensured.

However, while broadsheet newspapers have a clear advantage for the analysis of political discourses of migration over time, it must be acknowledged at this point, that by looking exclusively at these papers, not all voices will be captured and represented in the analysis.

Omitting tabloid newspapers, broadcast news and other news media from this study, including visual and audio reporting, this research does not account for a more diverse range of voices and styles of reporting, nor does it attempt to track potentially conflicting news reports on the same issue across different media outlets. Furthermore, to ensure that the findings give a true account of the media discourse and are not potentially influenced by the political bias of the researcher, the papers were chosen in part for their political alignment. Hence, the UK sample consists of a sample collected on the one hand from the centre-left daily national *The Guardian* and on the other hand from the centre-right daily national *The Times*. The German sample continues this trend, with the liberal centre-left broadsheet *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)* as one example, and the centre-right liberal-conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* as another. In both countries, each paper has been published continuously, although the UK papers have been established far longer, with *The Times* having been in continuous publication since 1788[11] and *The Guardian* since 1821[12], although it is known by its current name since 1959. Both German papers were established shortly after the Second World War, with the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* having been the first paper to be granted a publication license in 1945 [13], and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in 1949[14].

The four papers have in common that they are amongst the largest print-publications in their respective countries and are all considered to be broadsheet papers, although for three of them their actual print-format has changed slightly in recent years. In order to account for changes in the consumer demands, *The Times* is now being published in a compact format, *The Guardian* in the Berliner format, and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in the

11 https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Times
12 https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Guardian-British-newspaper
13 http://www.sueddeutscher-verlag.de/info/facts/geschichte
14 http://www.zeitung.de/medien/faz/

Nordisch format. As this research is furthermore interested in tracking developments in discourse in relation to political and historical changes, broadsheet reporting is deemed to represent a more qualitative style of reporting, whereas tabloid newspapers are often employing a more sensationalized language and hence lack the level of credibility that is associated with broadsheets. Due to these qualities, these four papers produce a research body that is - as much as it is possible - a balanced, factual and comprehensive account of the media discourse on migration in political broadsheet reporting over 26 years.

5.5 Research Design

As mentioned previously, the aim of this thesis is to critically analyse the broadsheet journalistic discourse with which migration is reported between the aftermath of Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990 and the United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum on June 23rd, 2016. The purpose of this research is to determine further whether or not the discourse has changed over time in either or both of the countries, and if so, whether or not it is possible to establish why it has changed. In order to make a substantial claim about changes in discourse, this study needs a large enough sample to allow for comparison, both on a national level, as well as between the two countries subject to this study, Germany and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, in line with the assertions made in the theoretical framework that political events should always be considered in the context of their historical development, the sample needs to incorporate a historical timeline, that is long enough to allow for a closer examination of changes and developments over time. Considering the timeline spanning 26 years and the methodological approach of a Critical Discourse Analysis requiring an in-depth analysis of discourse, the sample for this study had to be both large enough to track developments over time, while also being small

enough to account for the demands of a qualitative approach.

5.6 Data Collection Process

The German sample was collected manually at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB) in Munich, Germany, in November 2016, which allows German citizens to use their OPAC data base to access the *SZ* and *FAZ* archives. This data base is not publicly accessible and only allows usage for approved researchers, who have to be physically present in Munich at the time. Complicating the research process was the fact that the *SZ* is not accessible in the OPAC data base prior to 1992. Older versions of the newspaper can only be accessed via a pay wall[15], and enquiries to be exempt from this charge due to being a doctoral researcher were refused by the archive. As the stay in Munich already presented a huge financial burden, the fee to access the *SZ* archive for the missing two years was not feasible in the context of this PhD. It must therefore be noted, that the sample for the *SZ* does not include the first two years of the timeline, which casts an unfortunate shadow over the completeness of the empirical data. The German data was collected via a keyword search on the noun 'Migration', and in the 'Politik' ('politics') section, which were chosen as they correspond directly to their English language counterparts. The exact number of articles collected in this collection process are listed in table 5.1.

German Data Collected		
Years	**FAZ**	**SZ**
1990 – 1999	261	127
2000 – 2009	500	466
2010 – 2016	1175	1333
Total:	**1936**	**1926**
Table 5.1		

15 https://www.sz-archiv.de/sz-archiv/sz-retro

The UK sample was collected through the Nexis data base in November 2016, online. *The Guardian* and *The Times (London)* were selected as sources for this search. The keyword search was conducted in the 'politics' section with the keyword 'migration', which, as stated above, can be translated to carry the same meaning in German, in order to ensure the same keyword was used in both country samples. The data collection process resulted in the number of articles presented in table 5.2 below.

UK Data Collected		
Years	**The Times**	**The Guardian**
1990 – 1999	1336	1021
2000 – 2010	3346	2619
2011 – 2016	7841	3636
Total:	**12523**	**7276**
Table 5.2		

As the numbers in table 5.1 and 5.2 indicate, the data collection process resulted in a sample that is much too large to include fully in the data analysis. The following section will thus explain the process of statistically managing the data in order to reduce the sample to a manageable size for a CDA.

5.7 Statistical Data Observations

The first task of the sampling process consisted of a manual sighting of all collected news articles. As discussed in Chapter 3, four key categories of migration discourses were established within the key literature on the subject, which aim to guide the empirical analysis and structure the discussion. These four categories are labelled “Economy”, “Security”, “Integration” and “Forced Migration”. All articles were categorised according to these four labels, which in some instances meant counting the same article for more than one category, if the context related to more than one of the key categories. Upon

completion of the manual task of sighting the total number of articles, several preliminary observations became evident. These initial descriptions of the data refer to the more quantitative observations about the “peak” occurrences of articles in each month and year. The term “peak” refers here to the month(s) in any given year in which the respective newspaper published the most articles which fulfilled the criteria for this research. Once these peaks were established, it was possible to look at the articles in more detail and determine, if the peaks related to specific historical or political events. Furthermore, departing from these peak observations, the four overarching categories of discourse established in the course of this research were confirmed that naturally lend themselves to guide and inform the categories of the discourses of migration underlying the CDA, which will be elaborated upon further in section 5.8. The following three sections will introduce the characteristics and statistical observations of the data and the peaks identified.

5.7.1 Comparison of the Data Peaks

Before the observations of peaks can be discussed in detail, a closer look at the data is invaluable to understand the nature of the peaks and their significance for the data analysis in the subsequent chapters. For instance, a closer look at table 5.3 below, which contain the details of the German data, highlights that for a number of months the peaks of articles overlap.

German Data Peaks per Month per Year – FAZ

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1990	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
1991	2	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	2
1992	0	2	2	1	1	0	1	2	2	3	0	3
1993	1	2	2	0	1	2	6	1	2	4	2	2
1994	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1995	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	2
1996	1	0	4	2	3	1	1	4	1	0	2	2
1997	0	0	0	0	1	1	12	6	6	3	1	3
1998	3	1	1	5	1	1	1	4	1	1	2	3
1999	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	0
2000	0	1	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	3	1	3
2001	2	0	3	2	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	2
2002	1	1	1	1	0	10	2	2	0	0	0	2
2003	1	1	3	0	1	1	3	2	2	2	0	1
2004	2	1	2	1	1	1	6	4	0	2	2	3
2005	2	0	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	3	5	1
2006	5	3	3	4	5	4	10	0	5	3	11	1
2007	3	1	3	4	4	3	4	1	3	3	0	0
2008	3	3	3	4	3	5	6	2	0	9	3	4
2009	1	2	2	4	2	4	3	5	3	5	2	1
2010	1	2	1	5	1	2	2	6	10	8	5	3
2011	6	5	5	1	13	3	1	3	1	3	7	4
2012	1	5	1	3	1	3	3	1	0	6	6	2
2013	0	3	3	3	3	5	7	4	4	7	4	8
2014	9	4	2	4	3	3	9	5	8	13	2	13
2015	7	19	6	15	19	11	**32**	**37**	**57**	**35**	**46**	**42**
2016	**38**	**36**	**29**	**33**	**27**	**19**						

German Data Peaks per Month per Year – SZ

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1990												
1991	no digital archives prior to 1992											
1992	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
1993	0	2	3	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	3
1994	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1995	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1996	0	4	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
1997	0	0	3	0	1	3	4	0	0	2	0	0
1998	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	1	0
1999	2	0	1	0	1	3	2	0	1	2	2	1
2000	0	0	2	3	2	0	1	0	0	2	1	4
2001	2	0	2	5	3	3	2	4	1	1	3	0
2002	1	1	0	0	3	2	2	0	2	0	2	1
2003	1	1	1	0	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	0
2004	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	5	1	3	1	3
2005	0	1	3	4	1	0	0	0	1	4	4	1
2006	4	0	4	2	2	3	10	4	11	6	4	4
2007	1	3	2	0	2	5	1	1	0	2	0	3
2008	8	1	2	0	1	8	8	3	3	7	3	5
2009	3	3	2	4	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	3
2010	3	4	2	5	3	1	5	3	8	7	2	3
2011	5	2	3	10	4	3	2	3	1	2	2	2
2012	4	2	2	2	2	5	2	6	4	5	2	2
2013	3	3	6	2	1	3	3	8	3	15	10	10
2014	11	4	8	6	11	7	4	4	17	24	9	17
2015	12	24	12	**35**	**29**	15	22	**50**	**58**	**27**	**44**	**31**
2016	**19**	**53**	**34**	**27**	**24**	**25**						

Table 5.3

The first peak occurring in the German sample stems from December 1992, which marks the month with the most articles published per paper in question. When looking at the context of the articles, however, the articles were generic news items about migration, unrelated to any specific event or case. The next peak that stands out is that of the month of July in 1997 as it is the month with the highest number or articles for the year of 1997 for both newspaper in question. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* published 12 articles and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)* published 4. While the total number of articles differs by two third, the peak is still relevant, as the previous years showed that the *SZ* generally published less articles on migration than the *FAZ* up until that point. Upon further exploration of the data in said month and year, it emerged that this specific peak is a direct result of an event that took place in Germany at the time – The Church's public letter about Migration in Germany and the situation of the Church Asylum. Since this event is specific to Germany, it is not surprising that the UK data does not show a corresponding peak at the same time, as is visible in table 5.4 below.

UK Data per Month per Year – The Times												
Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1990	1	2	2	0	0	2	1	1	5	1	1	2
1991	4	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	3	1
1992	0	2	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	1	4	4
1993	0	0	3	1	1	1	1	3	0	3	1	1
1994	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	1
1995	1	2	1	2	0	1	0	2	2	2	1	1
1996	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
1997	0	3	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	5	2	0
1998	2	0	2	2	3	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
1999	0	0	0	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
2000	2	2	1	4	0	3	1	2	5	2	1	1
2001	4	1	3	1	0	0	0	2	6	3	2	2
2002	2	1	0	2	6	8	4	7	3	6	7	6
2003	1	1	1	2	3	5	2	3	1	1	8	2
2004	2	9	4	7	1	2	0	4	1	3	3	0
2005	1	9	2	4	0	2	1	0	2	3	3	3
2006	2	1	2	1	3	3	2	6	3	9	5	7
2007	5	3	2	4	5	9	0	3	4	11	8	2
2008	2	4	1	14	2	5	3	2	4	2	3	0
2009	3	9	2	2	3	0	3	9	4	7	8	4
2010	4	6	0	8	4	3	1	7	4	9	12	5
2011	0	6	5	10	2	1	4	6	2	4	8	1
2012	3	4	3	3	4	11	5	1	2	2	3	6
2013	5	8	10	4	9	7	15	6	4	8	23	18
2014	17	12	17	12	18	9	4	5	12	25	23	5
2015	14	12	18	23	21	13	12	35	52	28	25	25
2016	34	27	29	29	42	35						

UK Data per Month per Year – The Guardian												
Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1990	3	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	3	1	1	3
1991	4	0	1	0	1	3	2	1	1	2	3	0
1992	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	1	2
1993	0	1	3	1	2	2	2	4	1	2	1	2
1994	4	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	1
1995	0	4	1	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	1
1996	1	0	2	2	1	0	2	2	1	2	2	0
1997	1	0	5	3	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	1
1998	4	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	1	4	1	0
1999	0	3	2	3	3	5	1	2	3	5	3	4
2000	1	3	5	4	2	6	6	3	4	10	1	0
2001	5	5	5	2	7	1	1	3	10	8	3	3
2002	3	2	3	3	8	12	2	6	2	3	2	4
2003	1	5	4	1	3	4	5	1	2	3	5	2
2004	1	17	6	17	5	3	3	3	4	3	5	0
2005	13	13	4	15	9	3	6	6	5	9	5	4
2006	3	3	7	2	8	6	11	21	17	10	14	4
2007	2	7	2	4	14	10	3	3	14	24	20	9
2008	6	8	3	23	2	5	2	3	14	5	10	3
2009	4	7	8	5	4	4	4	15	5	7	13	9
2010	10	7	8	14	7	8	8	9	7	6	16	7
2011	3	9	19	29	20	10	11	5	4	14	13	7
2012	10	10	8	7	6	11	7	6	8	4	11	13
2013	18	12	25	5	9	13	4	14	12	1	17	37
2014	33	18	22	14	5	12	8	16	9	18	35	15
2015	10	16	41	60	37	35	34	75	155	91	47	51
2016	55	76	80	59	148	69						

Table 5.4

Instead the first peak in the UK data occurred in the first year recorded, in September 1990, and in line with the overall news coverage from that year reported on the Gulf Crisis and Refugees from Jordan. This content is largely absent from the German news in that year, which shows that news reporting in the UK and Germany are not always superimposable. In fact, if one takes a closer look at the charts in table 5.4, it becomes evident that the UK data shows more peaks in comparison to the German data in the early years in question. In 1991, 1992 and 1993 both UK broadsheets, *The Guardian* and *The Times*, show overlapping data peaks with a similar number of articles published in each paper. However, further study of the context of the news coverage indicates that neither peak relates to a specific current or political event, as was the case in 1990, the articles covered general and various aspects of migration.

As mentioned above, the UK data does not share the 1997 peak found in the German data, and the German data does not share the frequent peaks in the early 1990's found in the UK data, which indicates once again that certain current and political events that elicit

migration news are only specific within their own national context, an observation that can be found repeatedly during the 26 years of data collected from the four broadsheet newspapers in question in this study. Taking this argument further, as can be seen in table 5.5 below, upon direct comparison the UK newspapers have a few data peaks more than their German counterparts.

Shared Peaks Germany:				
1992	Dec			
1997	Jul			
2003	Jul			
2004	Aug			
2005	Nov			
2006	Jul			
2008	Jul			
2010	Sep			
2012	Oct			
2013	Oct	Dec		
2014	Oct	Dec		
2015	Aug	Sep	Nov	Dec
2016	Jan	-	Jun	

Shared Peaks UK:			
1990	Sep		
1991	Jan		
1992	Dec		
1993	Aug		
2001	Sep		
2002	Jun		
2003	Nov		
2004	Feb		
2005	Feb		
2007	Oct		
2008	Apr		
2009	Aug		
2010	Nov		
2011	Apr		
2012	Jun		
2013	Dec		
2014	Nov		
2015	Sep		
2016	Jan	-	Jun

Table 5.5

To add to that, only four direct correlations were found between the peaks of the German and UK data. In 1992, both the German and the UK data had peaks in December, but strikingly, no specific event was taking place at the time. Each article in the peak deals with general matters of migration, such as fact-based reporting of statistics of migration at the end of the calendar year and the like. While each nation had their own respective peaks in between, the next shared peak does not occur until December 2013, the year in which the first Syrian refugees arrived in Europe. It must be noted though, that the German broadsheets reported mainly on economic migration from Eastern Europe, with a stronger

focus on Syrian refugees earlier in the year, whereas the December peak of the UK data mainly covers Syrian refugees. The next shared peak occurred in September 2015, and this time there is a strong consensus in the content of the coverage, with all four broadsheets reporting predominantly on the Syrian Refugee Crisis and its impact on Europe, as well as Germany and the UK specifically. Finally, this cumulated in several shared peaks for all four broadsheets in 2016, where all months leading up to June 23rd, have a higher than usual count of articles about migration.

In both nations, the coverage focused mainly on the effects of the European Refugee crisis, predominantly as a result of the Syrian Civil War, as well as the politics of migration in relation to the upcoming UK European Union Membership Referendum on June 23rd of 2016.

5.7.2 German Data Peaks

As highlighted in the charts in table 5.5, there are several peaks in the German data, with a total of 13 peaks overlapping between the two German broadsheets *FAZ* and *SZ*. While the peaks in 1992 covered no particular event but rather unrelated articles about migration more broadly, the 1997 peaks occurred in response to an official statement published by the churches in Germany on the subject of church asylum. While the peak occurred in the month of July, the topic was also covered in the months leading up to July, as well as the months afterwards. This event was of singular significance to the German context only, and no mention of it appeared in the UK counterparts of the broadsheet newspapers. The tone of the discourse in these peaks was largely positive, with a strong appeal to the German government and the public alike that church asylum is of great importance and a value the churches of Germany hold on to. Furthermore, the debate about asylum in

Germany was not exclusive to this event, the next peak in July 2003, while not covering a single event, extensively featured articles about Asylum Law. This peak was characterised by factual reporting, which reflected the changes and amendments in the German Asylum Laws. In addition, the peak in 2003 also covered refugees from Africa in relation to asylum in Germany, with the tone of the discourse once more being predominantly positive. The peaks in 2004 and 2005 did not stand out as being in response to specific events, instead they covered a wide range of articles on broad themes relating to migration. However, the July 2006 peak was interesting, as the *FAZ* published a seemingly unprompted special on the potential dangers of migration to their host nations. For one week in July, the *FAZ* published one article per day covering different aspects of migration, ranging from successful cases of integration of asylum seekers and refugees in Germany, to economic exploitation of the German social system by immigrants from Eastern Europe. This special is interesting, as it appeared without a specific event of migration prompting its response, and the tone of the discourse of the varying articles was fairly balanced and above-average positive. The *SZ* did not publish a similar special, and their coverage in July was not in response to a specific event either, but merely a range of articles addressing different migration-related contexts at the time. In July 2008, the peak in both the *FAZ* and *SZ* reported on migration to Europe, with a focus on the first Iraqi refugees arriving in Europe because of the Iraq War. The tone of the discourse at this point in the data was fairly sympathetic and in support of the refugees and their respective circumstances.

At roughly the same time, a slow but steady increase in articles per year can be noted for both broadsheets of the German data, which sets the scene for what is to come as the numbers of news items increase exponentially for both broadsheets in the following years of the collected data. The next shared peak in September 2010 stands out once again as a

direct result of a German-specific current event at the time, as the peak responds to the publication of a controversial book written by German Politician and former member of the Executive Board of the Deutsche Bundesbank, Thilo Sarrazin (2010). His book resulted in a lot of controversy and sparked a public debate about the potentially dangerous impact of Muslim migration to Germany, which he claimed undermined German values and traditions. The tone of the discourse of the articles in response to this book was on average very balanced, although a certain amount of disagreement with Sarrazin's could be detected upon a close reading, especially in connection with some of Sarrazin's claims, which, many argued, were strongly Islamophobic. Sarrazin's book was not solely discussed in the press during the month of September, but was also subject of many news items, on all channels from broadcast to social media and various press, before and after the peak month. While this event is specific to the German context, it did get brief mentions in a few articles in the UK Data in 2010, showing that the impact of the book and its reputation exceeded the confinements of the German border. With no significant peak in 2011, the next peak in October 2012 focusses mainly on reports about the incoming refugees from the former Balkan states. This peak is interesting for the tone of the discourse of the news coverage is predominantly sympathetic, which stands in contrast to the peaks that follow, both in the German data and the UK data.

From the October peak in 2013 onwards, which focuses on refugees from Africa and Syria, the tone of the discourse becomes increasingly more negative, with a steady grow in articles that focus on the potentially problematic effects of mass migration to their host nations. The peak in December 2013 is one such example, with the majority of the articles zeroing in on economic migration from Eastern Europe to Germany and its potential impact on Germany's economy and social welfare state, a theme that often reappears in

the data in both countries in question. The peaks in 2014, October and December, focus almost entirely on refugees from Syria, along with many articles discussing the wider Syrian civil war and its impact around the world. The tone of the discourse is predominantly factual, however, as the peaks are increasing in terms of numbers of articles, the discourse varies from time to time, with an increase in articles focusing on the presumed dangers and problems of mass migration to Western Europe. This trend cumulates in the years 2015 and 2016, with many more months presenting vast amount of articles on the subject – four months in 2015 and 6 in 2016 – and the majority of the news coverage reporting on the Refugee Crisis in Europe. At this point in the data, the reporting becomes increasingly international, often discussing the impact of the crisis on other nations apart from the country in question, and the tone of the discourse increases in negativity. For instance, many articles focus on a strain on social and economic resources caused by the refugees, others report on the rise of terror threats posed by uncontrolled migration, and only a small amount of the coverage reports on support for refugees, their successful integration into their host societies, or the conflicts and wars they flee from.

5.7.3 UK Data Peaks

The first peak in the UK data is visible in September 1990, with the majority of articles discussing the Gulf Crisis and the resulting refugees from Jordan, though similar to the tone of discourse in the German data, the reporting was sympathetic to the plight of the refugees, most of whom were far away from Europe at the time. Following from this, the second peak appeared shortly afterwards in January 1991, focussing on migration from the East to the West of Europe, which was largely discussing the economic implications of

this movement of people. The discourse in this case differed from the sympathetic tone of the prior peak and tried to present economic migration as a problem to the receiving nations. Again, the discourse predominantly represented migration as a drain on social welfare and economic resources.

The following three peaks, December 1992, August 1993, and September 2001 were significant in the way they did not report on a specific event relating to migration, even though September 2001 was the month of one of the worst terrorist attacks in Modern History, with the attacks on the USA on September 11th. It must be noted that the methodological approach for this research thesis excluded any news articles covering nations and countries other than the UK and Germany. However, it is surprising that none of the articles made a reference to how these attacks could impact migration to either of the countries in question, as has been the case with crises in other countries or regions, which were then related back to Germany or the UK. The tone of discourse in these peaks that dealt with no specific event as such is largely neutral and fact-based, as the articles focus on several different aspects of migration. The next peak in June 2002 once more focused on migration from Eastern Europe, and this time the tone of discourse was increasingly more negative, as the influx on migrants from Eastern European countries was connected to a drain on economic resources, as well as the proposed, and quite controversial possible introduction for ID cards for migrants. This debate dominated much of the news coverage of the months leading up to and following June 2002, and the peak of November 2003 did not focus on a specific event either, but rather offered a number of articles on a variety of issues centring around migration, including some on the ID card debate, a system that was ultimately dismissed. The 2004 peak in February also focussed strongly on economic migration, however, no particular event was responsible to elicit a

response. The peaks in 2005 and 2007 stand out slightly in comparison to all others, as the news articles focus almost entirely on the different stances on migration by the various political parties in the United Kingdom. The tone of discourse is fairly neutral, for the different reports mostly recount the various opinions, arguments and stand points of the respective parties on migration, thus keeping the news coverage balanced. The 2008 and 2009 peaks once more focus on economic migration, especially from Eastern Europe to the UK and the rest of Western Europe, however, there are also more generic articles on different aspects of migration, and no particular event proceeded either peak.

In comparison, the 2010 peak from November of said year, occurred due to Theresa May's proposed cap on migration and a stricter control of the number of foreign students and their whereabouts. This proposal elicited a lot of public and political debate at the time, which explains the peak in this case. The tone of discourse was factual for most parts, however, some sympathetic articles, especially in connection with the notion of a cap on foreign students was found, as were some example of a rather more negative stance on migration. In 2011, the peak was a result of reports on proposed curbs on visas from Non-European migrants, as well as a wave of Libyan refugees drowning in the Mediterranean. The articles were mostly factual, and with regards to the refugees from Libya sympathetic, however, some items were once more focussing on the potentially problematic impact of migration on the host nations. The peak of 2012 echoed the news coverage of the peaks of 2005 and 2007 with a strong focus on different political stand points on migration, especially from the major political parties. As is the case with the 2005 and 2007 peak, the coverage was mainly neutral and factual, and could best be described as a constant re-telling of the various political statements and manifesto. This trend of coverage continues until the peak of December 2013, which also consists of several articles on different

political opinions on migration, however, this peak is also characterised by a vast amount of news reports on the Syrian Refugee Crisis. This focus has appeared in the months prior to and following the peak of December 2013, with many articles written on the subject. The tone of discourse varies from strongly sympathetic to slightly more negative, especially in the light of terror attacks across Europe, which was often linked to the uncontrolled influx of refugees to Europe. Naturally, these developments led to both the strong rise in news coverage on migration, as well as a seemingly increased focus on the topic by politicians and political parties. The November 2014 peak highlights this argument, as the news coverage focuses predominantly on the migration politics of David Cameron, Prime Minister at the time, and Europe's response to his politics. Some articles also linked both Cameron's migration politics, as well as Europe's response to it, to the European Refugee Crisis at the time. The tone of discourse was mainly neutral and fact-based, with only a small percentage of articles displaying a more sympathetic or negative stance about migration. In contrast the following peak, September 2015, was rather different in terms of the tone of the discourse, as it revolved around the Syrian Refugee Crisis and its impact on Europe. The September peak is crucial for the data analysis of this research thesis, as it occurs around the tragic drowning of Alan Kurdi on September 2nd, which sparked a global outcry and would become one of the most significant symbols of the scope of the Refugee Crisis. This peak is therefore characterised by a much more sympathetic tone of discourse, with many articles discussing the need for more support for the refugees fleeing war-torn conflicts, as well as reporting on several voices, both from politicians and members of the public, appealing for more agency and intervention from the European Union. While this peak stands out for the year of 2015, most months prior to September focus on the Refugee Crisis, as do the months following September. The final peak of the data is considered similar to the final peak of the German data, which means for the year

of 2016 all months from January leading up to June 23rd are considered, due to their unusually high number of articles per month. This signifies the overall increase in the importance of the topic of migration, especially in the context of the political realm, as the first half of 2016 was leading up to the event of the UK European Union Membership Referendum on June 23rd. The peaks leading up to this date are characterised by a vast amount of news coverage on migration, specifically in connection with the Refugee Crisis, Islamist terror attacks on Europe, and PM David Cameron's politics and promise of a referendum. Coverage was vast and varied, with the tone of discourse ranging from sympathetic to neutral to negative.

5.8 Analytical Model and the Process of Analysis

Having explored the occurrences and nature of the data peaks in the empirical data, it was decided that the peaks are interesting, as they often relate to some key debates on migration at the time. It was decided that in order to reduce the sample for the qualitative analysis, which the CDA approach requires, the last article in every peak would be included in the final analysis. This was based on the idea that the last article would be likely to relate to the other articles in the peak in some way, either continuing the story of the previous articles or offering a new spin on it. As linguist Tenorio notes, there are many different ways to conduct a critical analysis of discourse using CDA.

> Analysis in CDA can be top-down, where analysts begin with their understanding of the content; or bottom-up, where the starting point is the linguistic detail. In practice, however, some combination of both is in play. The analyst looks for what is encoded in sentences (i.e. signification) and its interaction with context (i.e. significance). In this respect, the analyst is merely doing what an ordinary reader would normally do,

> but with more conscious attention to processes of comprehension, their possible effects, and their relationship to a wider background knowledge than the ordinary reader may assume to be relevant. (2011: 198)

Thus, the analytical model and the process of analysis for this research has been informed and shaped by three major contributing factors. As discussed above, the methodological approach to CDA is mainly guided by Fairclough's version of “dialectical reasoning” and the notion to explain and critique by employing reasoning how social realities are related to the discourse in question (2017: 35). Further, the empirical data itself influences the research objectives and aims, as explored in relation to the peaks. Finally, the established academic debates around the politics of migration (see Chapter 3) inform the social problem and inequality at the core of this research. As a result, the data has been organised into categories of discourses of migration that arise from the data itself and are supported by the studies mentioned before, which is being listed in table 5.6 below.

Categories of the Discourses of Migration			
Economy	**Security**	**Integration**	**Forced Migration**
- Skilled Labour	- Danger of Terrorism	- Diversity	- European Refugee Crisis
- Innovation	- Increase in Crime	- Cultural Enrichment	- Humanitarian Crises
- International Students	- Lack of Border Control	- Undermining of Heritage	- Wars and Conflicts
- Strain on Public Resources		- Segregation	
- Employment		- Means of Integration	
Table 5.6			

These categories have been named according to their overarching theme, which presents itself to the reader through the context of the newspaper article in question but have also been informed by the discussions and findings of the academic literature. For instance, an article that discusses the threat that incoming migrants could be undercover terrorists

would be classified under the 'Security' category, whereas an article that makes a claim for the importance of skilled manual labour from Eastern Europe and its contribution to the National Health Service (NHS) would be categorised under 'Economy'.

In all of these categories, the discourse can be further divided into pro-, anti-, or neutral-stances on migration, which arise from either the direct quoting of social actors (for instance politicians, migrants, government officials, law and order authorities, etcetera) by the journalist, paraphrasing of context from these same actors by the journalist, or through the journalists own stance on the topic, however, the latter is not found to be the case very often in the broadsheet news reporting analysed in chapters 6 to 9. An example of this could be found in an article that focuses on one single side of an argument, for instance a piece about the opening of a new community centre in a deprived area with a high number of migrants that is aimed to boost integration. This would be filed under the 'Integration' category with a pro-stance on the topic.

Often than not articles cover a more balanced or neutral account of the wider topic, for instance a political discussion that presents arguments from opposing parties on whether migration is a benefit to the respective nation or not. Taking the previous example for the 'Economy' category further, if the same article that discussed contributions by migrants to the NHS also presented a counterargument that skilled foreign labour is also taking job opportunities away from the British it would be classified as a neutral-stance article. This sub-classification into pro-, anti-, or neutral stance will be discussed during the analysis, as it adds to the overall critique of the migration discourse during political campaigns.

With regards to the data analysis, in the previous discussion about the qualities and

perimeters of Critical Discourse Analysis it has been noted that researchers have various options and methodological approaches at their disposal to conduct a CDA on their data and in accordance with their research questions. As mentioned above, this research is carried out on one hand in close alignment to Fairclough's (2017) notion of 'dialectical reasoning', and on the other hand it is also informed and guided by the theoretical framework of 'The Restlessness of Events' developed in chapter 4. However, apart from the methodological and theoretical frameworks, the nature and content of the empirical data, which is a corpus of print broadsheet newspaper articles, further dictates to a certain extend how the analysis is being performed. With a research nexus trying to establish and critically analyse the discourse of migration in political reporting over a timeline of 26 years, this qualitative analysis therefore requires an approach that is both deductive and inductive. Tenorio points out that "[n]otwithstanding obvious similarities, especially as regards agenda and scope, proponents of schools of CDA differ according to theoretical foundations or methodology. Some tend towards deduction and others proceed inductively" (2011: 189).

Thus, the analytical process of the empirical data was threefold: during the first stage of analysis every individual article was categorised according to the discourses of migration as outlined in the analytical model above. This stage involved one reading of each article and subsequently writing down the discourse(s) of migration present in the text. In this first deductive step of the analysis, the researcher also established whether a stance on migration can be identified, by noting whether a multitude of discourses are present or not, and if, which discourse(s) dominate the article. Once the categories of the discourse(s) of migration in the respective articles had been established, the second deductive stage of the analysis examined in a structured approach who the social actors in the text are and

what they say or what their message is. This was done by performing another close reading of the article in question and listing in chronological order each social actor appearing in the text. This step also involved summarising the main points of the discourse of these actors, whether they are being quoted, their speech paraphrased, or if they are being mentioned without clear reference to what their message or discourse is. Further, it was noted what their respective stance on migration is, if the discourse reveals as much. Finally, with the categories of migration discourse and the actors and their stances on the topic identified in the first two steps of the analysis, the final and third step of the analysis departed from the structured and deductive approach of the analysis to an inductive and interpretive approach, that was derived from the data itself. As Van Dijk notes

> Critical discourse analysis can only make a significant and specific contribution to critical social or political analyses if it is able to provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality. (1993: 279)

Therefore, the final step of the analysis offers a critical interpretation of the discourse of migration in relation to their social actors and their respective social positions. This inductive step of the analysis bridges the findings of the first two steps with a detailed analysis of the political context of the article. It further offers a critical study of the social inequalities embedded within the discourse, by establishing how the journalist or author, or the social actors in the text present or reproduce the different discourses of migration, how much (or how little) voice or agency is given to the subjects of migration, and how the discourses in each article relate to each other over the timeline of this research project. Of particular interest in this step is the attempt to discover how the use of language within the discourse reproduces existing power structures, and as a result, how these structures

reinforce experiences of social inequalities. In line with Fairclough's definition of the paradigm of 'dialectical reasoning', a critique of the discourse and explanation of its place within the social reality is given in this step, whereby, due to the long timeframe of this research, it is of crucial importance to consider this social reality within the political context of its time.

5.9 From Data Analysis to Critical Social Commentary

Once all articles of the empirical data were analysed in accordance with the three-step model developed in this methodological approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, an additional step compares and contrasts the findings from the analysis of each article subject to this study in chapter 10. It is in this comparison that the development of events over time is discussed in relation to migration discourses, arguing that political reporting plays an important role in the constitution and representation of events. The data analysis applies the theoretical framework of the notion of the “Restlessness of Events” to the data itself, highlighting that the politics of migration is a constantly moving, non-linear reactionary development of ideas and concepts, that is linked to and shaped by political events and public reactions alike. One the one hand, this comparison allows the researcher to make a claim about the changes of the discourse(s) of migration over the course of the timeline of this research, which is indispensable in the quest to answer research question 2, as to whether the discourse changes over time. On the other hand, by comparing the findings over time, a stronger critique can be made about the reinforced social inequalities as a product of discourses as social practice. The comparative nature of this research, not just over time, but across two European countries, further adds to the notion that social inequalities are not representative of one social system, but are deeply embedded in Western societies, which, in line with Fairclough's perimeters for a Critical

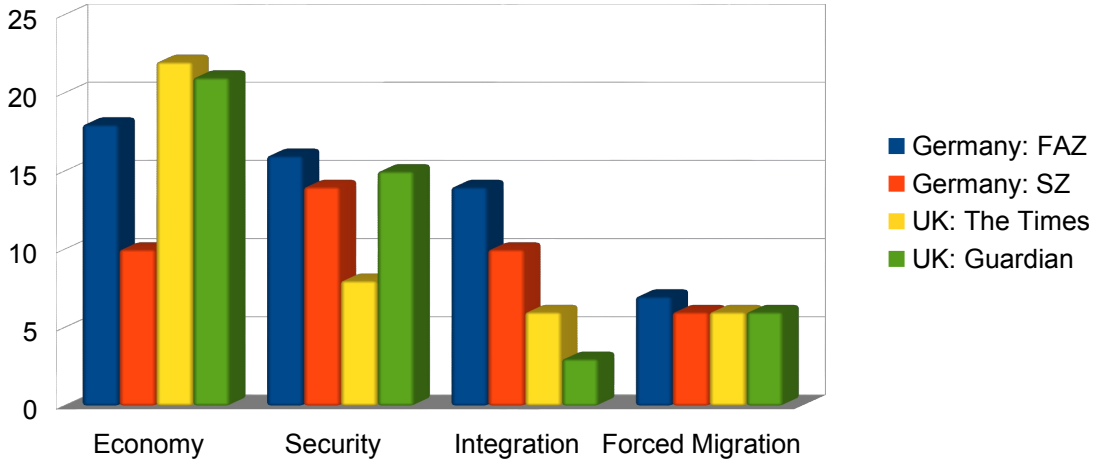
Discourse Analysis, enables the researcher to champion “for a better” status quo of the social reality.

6. Discourses of Migration and the Economy

This chapter presents the findings of the Critical Discourse Analysis of the broadsheet discourses of migration and the economy. As established in the previous chapter in section 5.8, there are four distinct categories of migration discourse which arise from the empirical data. These categories link the processes of migration to the areas in which they are expected to impact, either positively or negatively, the host nation, the migrant, the country of origin of the migrant, or, in some instances, a combination of all three. To recall, the first category in table 5.6 (see p. 113) was labelled 'Economy' and subsumes under its heading five specific topics of interest for the analysis of the potential impact of migration. These topics include mentions or discussions of “skilled labour”, “innovation”, “international students”, “strain on public resources” and “employment” in direct relation to the process of migration.

This chapter examines the representation of the category of 'Economy' in the broadsheet reporting of migration and highlights that the economic impact of migration is the most frequently discussed concern in the overall broadsheet reporting of migration in Germany and the UK between 1990 and June 2016. As discussed in chapter 5, the last article per peak was chosen to be analysed for this research, and out of 151 articles a total of 71 articles focused on the economic impact of migration. As Figure 6.1 below highlights, this total amount of articles in this sample makes the category of 'Economy' the largest one by numbers for the purpose of this research, followed – according to the total of peak articles in this sample – by 'Security', 'Integration' and 'Forced Migration' respectively.

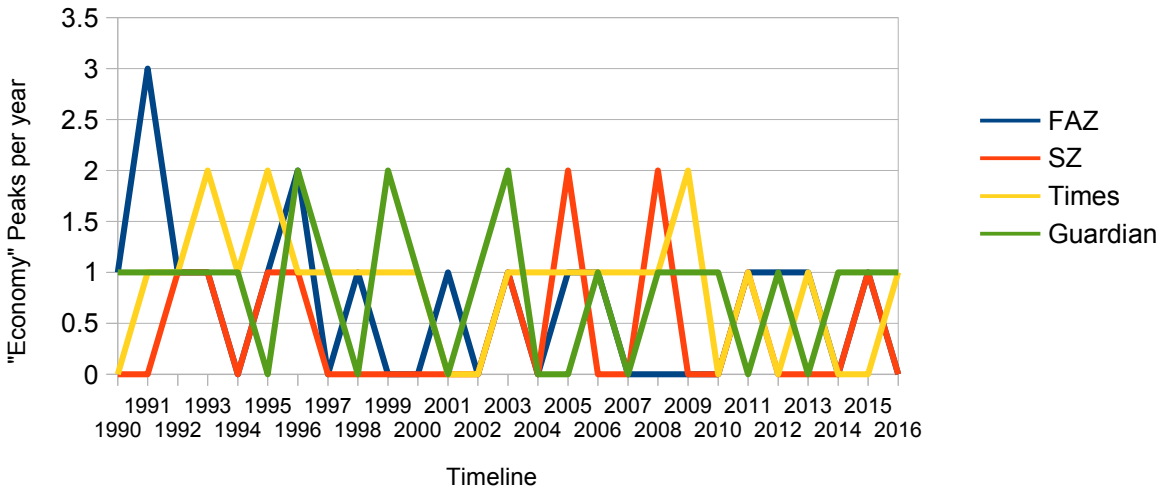
Figure 6.1 Distribution of Peak Articles in Sample per Discourse Category



This analysis hence argues that migration is a dynamic and ever-changing phenomenon which directly influences and shapes the political reality over the course of the timeline of this research. Interestingly, due to the selection process in which only every last article in the data peaks was selected for analysis, the articles for the category of 'Economy' slowly declined over the course of the timeline, as Figure 6.2 below indicates.

Discourse Category "Economy" across the sample

Fig 6.2



The sharpest decline in articles focusing on the economic impact on and of migration can be seen for the German *FAZ*, which is surprising given its conservative stance, and especially considering that its liberal German counterpart, the *SZ*, shows a small spike in the second half of the timeline. The British broadsheets on the other hand show a similar amount of articles across the data peaks of the timeline. This simply suggests that the economic impact of migration differs between the UK and Germany, both in terms of when it occurs and to what extend, hence resulting in news coverage at different points across the timeline. Finally, this chapter argues that the media representations of the economic impact of migration is predominantly negative, with an overall focus on migration as a burden to the economy of the receiving nation.

6.1 Migration – a strain on public resources?

An increase in population, whether through rising birth rates or through migration, requires more public resources, hence it is not surprising that one of the most common arguments against migration is the widely spread concern that migration puts a strain on public resources. Considered as public resources are usually services such as the health care and the education system, housing and other council services, and particularly welfare and benefits services. Across the 71 articles that mention migration in an economic context, 12 articles relate migration to having an impact on public resources. Of these 12 articles four articles were found in the German *FAZ*, while no articles appeared in the *SZ.* The UK sample comprises of three articles from the *Guardian* and five from *The Times*. This section will discuss the discourse with which these three broadsheets have handled this matter between 1990 and June 2016.

Starting with the first article of the sample that discussed this subject, on July 21, 1993, the German *FAZ* published an article that, despite being published like all the other articles in this sample in the political section, reads rather more like a commentary on global population. The author comments in this article on the global population growth, referring to research published in the 1993 report on population by the United Nations. He argues

> The greater the number of terrestrials, the greater the energy consumption, the greater the demand for food, the greater the need for drinking water, the greater the air pollution, the greater the environmental damage, and much more. Every additional terrestrial adds to the total account that everyone has to settle, and not just those in whose settlement area the most people are agglomerated. […]
>
> Migration is the means with which those affected seek to flee their misery. This subject is not without reason the nexus of this year's report on world population by the United Nations. To this date most migration still takes place within the same countries that struggle to manage their population problems. However, from there the stream of those, who we call economic-, environmental- or poverty refugees is set in motion in our direction. (*FAZ*, 21/7/1993)[16]

The focus of this article lies not predominantly on the topic of migration, but what is striking is the connection the author points out between the overall growing of the world population and the subsequent "stream" of migrants, who will be forced by circumstances beyond their control, such as a lack of natural resources, or natural disasters in their home countries, to seek a better and more sustaining life in countries where these natural

16 All translations in this thesis have been conducted by the researcher; the analysis is conducted exclusively on the original; for original please see Appendix A

resources and safety are provided. By referring to migration as a mean necessary to flee from poverty and misery, the author evokes sympathy for those effected by these dire circumstances. This is achieved particularly through the use of lexical choices, such as “to flee their misery” which refers to an unequal distribution of resources and makes a “credible” reason for migration visible. Especially in relation to the economic impact of migration, identifying appropriate reasons for immigration to the UK and Germany seems to be paramount in order to establish, which migrants are deemed worthy of access to our resources. As discussed in Chapter 3, there seems to be a commonly shared consensus as to who is regarded a valid migrant, and those who choose to migrate for economic reasons are often not considered to be one of them.

Taking this argument further, he points out that it is “us” (presumably Western societies) who label those migrants in certain ways (“economic-, environmental- or poverty refugees”), indicating that migrants are given a false reputation through no fault of their own, but western societies misinterpretation of their situation. This relates to similar findings by Elrick and Schwarztmann (2015) discussed in chapter 3, who point out that it is not the process of migration that defines how a migrant is viewed, but rather how politicians define migrants in the public eye. He further points out that with a growing population the demand for resources grows exponentially, and the damage to the environment will worsen, which relates the reasons for migration to an increase in world population which concerns all countries and societies alike. This is underlined in the final sentence of the first paragraph quoted from the article, in which the author claims that every “terrestrial” has to be taken into account in the total number of people who add to the overall burden on the resources of the planet, not just those who happen to live in the largest settlement areas. The choice of the word “terrestrial” implies that the author wanted

to ensure that his article is applicable to each and every individual, which highlights his cosmopolitan views about the worth of every individual being. By relating the points made in his article to a well-known factual report by a renowned institution such as the United Nations, he strengthens his argument and evades the criticism of trying to morally educate his readership. Hence, this article both serves as an example of pro-migration discourse, despite the fact that the author gives no voice to migrants directly, as well as a great case to illustrate the representative feature of the political semiosis model that guides this analysis. As Wagner-Pacifici puts forward in her paper on the Restlessness of Events (See Chapter 4), news media perform a vital role in situating and contextualising political events by allowing the public to bear witness to the events that are unfolding around them. As such, every news item that provides the reader or viewer or listener with further context on a situation or event can be understood as a representative feature in the semiosis model that aids in the creating and shaping of our political reality. And it is in this moment that political events become historical in nature.

By giving voice to an individual in a news article, the author often simultaneously provides them with the agency to have their opinions and concerns heard, which can help to elicit sympathy for their situation, a notion that is clearly visible in an article published by the *Guardian* on August 23, 1993. Following the introduction of the new asylum law in Germany earlier in 1993, Bosnians fleeing the war at home were left stranded in Slovakia as Germany was now no longer a viable destination. The journalist of this article reports from a refugee camp and interviews a Bosnian mother, Mrs Isakovic, who fled with their children in the hope of reaching safety. However, the experience of Mrs Isakovich highlights that even refugees are not always welcome and are indeed often considered economic migrants who are a danger to the welfare of other nations. The journalist refers

to Mrs Isakovic as “firmly realistic about world politics” before quoting “No one wants a poor person on their doorstep. People who have money don't care about others,” she says. “And governments are like people.” One of the first things that stands out is the journalists own sympathy and understanding for Mrs Isakovic and her situation, as she shares her viewpoint, by referring to Mrs Isakovic's statement as “firmly realistic”. As the discussion of the literature in chapter 3 has established, news media not often grant agency to vulnerable voices, however, when they do “media audiences are encouraged to 'bear witness' to the difficult circumstances and hazardous journeys” (Cottle, 2008: 98). By reporting on her plight, the journalist offers Mrs Isakovic a platform to share her opinions on the politics in Germany and Eastern Europe at the time, as she is clearly frustrated that they are being treated as economic migrants, despite the fact that they are fleeing from war in their own home country. Her statement suggests further that people in wealthier countries are unwilling to share their wealth, and rather turn a blind eye to the plight of others, which confirms what this analysis highlights throughout, namely that migration is often considered a threat to the economic stability and the welfare state of Western countries, such as Germany and the UK.

The problem with this line of argumentation is that it is often repeated in the public realm of the news media, and as such more credibility can be associated to it. An article published in *The Times* on May 26, 1998, once again reinforces this belief, by stating that “It takes very little to spur a westward migration of Gypsies. A Czech television documentary last autumn about Canada prompted more than 600 of them to set off for North America; several hundred made for Britain after a similar report suggesting that they could expect generous social assistance.” There are many highly concerning issues with this statement by the journalist. For once, the fact that they claim that it does not take much for Gypsies

to relocate is very demeaning and portrays them as a group with less values. Secondly, the claim that “several hundred” travelled to the UK because they wanted to take advantage of the benefit system reinforces the image the British public has of travellers and migrants in general, that they only migrate to the UK to abuse public resources. This echoes findings of similar studies (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013; Cohen 2011; Tyler, 2013) that “the deliberate conflation of migrants into a singular national abject – the bogus asylum seeker” (Tyler, 2013: 76) is dominating media discourses and creates and recreates hostility towards migrants. Finally, this statement was the final sentence in an article about Gypsies in the Czech Republic, which had nothing further to do with the UK and which provided no further evidence or source to substantiate this claim.

However, more specific examples relating directly to the UK only strengthen the point that migration is a strain on public resources, and despite the long timeline of this research, the discourse seems to remain almost identical across the years. Taking a closer look at the empirical examples taken from *The Times*, this research found that most articles reinforce the negative impact migration has on the state. Shortly before the EU enlargement of 2004, on February 27th, 2004, an article about feared migration from Eastern Europe talks about a “wave of immigrants”, suggesting a sudden and overwhelming flow of people that Europe potentially could struggle to cope with. This metaphor conveys image of mass migration and belongs to a group of metaphors repeatedly found in the discourse, alongside such terms as “flood” or “stream” of migrants. It's common use in the media makes it arguably problematic, as it illustrates migration as a mass phenomenon, thus evoking feelings of an overwhelming and unmanageable occurrence. Not surprisingly, as the rest of the analysis will highlight further, these articles are almost never followed by a coherent political response to the issue, further intensifying the sense that migration will

undoubtedly result in a strain on economic resources to the host nation. To provide an example of a lack of comprehensive political response, the author goes on to say that “David Blunkett, the Home Secretary, responded to fears over "benefit tourists"”, which implies, firstly, that there are widespread and well-known “fears” about economic migrants that are shared across the nation, but furthermore, the fact that a politician, a person of authority, makes this statement, means it crystallizes the concept of “benefit tourists”, and thus confirms it to the public. Interestingly, the author of the article attempts to balance the argument by offering the opinion of an additional source, Margot Wallström, who was at the time the acting Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs. They quote her saying that in fact her “study confirms the Commission's view that fears of a huge wave of migration from the new member states will be proven to be unfounded”, rendering the article balanced by opposing the voices of two individuals with an equal position of power. While it does not entirely discredit the negative notion that migration is a threat to the benefit system, it does at least offer the reader a second side to the argument.

This, however, is not always the case, as another article from *The Times* highlights. Published against the backdrop of austerity politics on April 29, 2011, the title *“End to welfare curb 'may prompt flood of benefit tourists'”* once more reinforces the negative image of migrants as welfare abusers. It links the idea that migrants are only motivated to move to Britain because they seek to claim benefits, leaving aside any other reason for why someone might choose to immigrate. It should be noted here that the discourse about migrants as abusers of the welfare system continues to be the same throughout the decades, as the examples from 1993, 2004 and now 2011 show. The opening paragraph of the same article is strengthening the negative feeling evoked by the title, claiming that “Britain has been warned to brace itself for a wave of "benefit tourists" from eastern

Europe as the Government prepares to lift restrictions on claimants from former Communist countries." Again, the wording "brace itself" evokes fear and implies a threat posed by those coming into the country, whilst also suggesting that the lift on benefit restrictions is the only valid reason for a possible migration from Easter Europe. The article continues to focus on that very fact, adding that "Rules that prevented unemployed Polish plumbers, for example, from claiming jobseeker's allowance, housing benefit or council tax benefit unless they had been working in Britain for at least a year are being scrapped", clearly singling out Polish manual labour workers and tying it to the potential abuse of the welfare system. This discourse is not unique, however, as polish labour forces have been very much seen as a threat to the welfare system since the EU enlargement to the East (Rovisco, 2010). What is problematic with this generalisation is that it once more reinforces a prejudice against Eastern European migrants, without fact-based evidence to support these claims. The author further quotes Sir Andrew Green, a member of the Migration Watch, who claims that "Someone from the EU will only have to prove they are habitually resident, which is likely to mean between one and three months' stay. There is no way of knowing when someone arrived as there is no check." This uncertainty about the numbers of incoming migrants that he mentions further adds to the public's fear of the foreign which is often mentioned in relation to migration and ties in with the discourse on "waves" of migration discussed above, which could be overwhelming and unpredictable. It also relates to academic arguments about uncertainty being utilized "to media and political advantage" (Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013: 519) to justify political decision-making in response to migration. Once again, this amounts to an article in which politicians and other figures of authority are given a platform to voice their thoughts and "fears", which one might say amount more to guess-work rather than fact-based statements. It could therefore be argued that these claims should not be addressed, let alone continuously

shared, across news media. Especially, if the same news articles then offer a concluding statement, in which it is clearly noted that these claims are unwarranted. The author of this *Times* article quotes Lady Neville-Jones, who was a Minister at the UK Home Office at the time of publication, and who said: "We do know that, as has been demonstrated by authorities such as the World Bank, on the whole migrants come here for employment, not for benefits." Relating her statement to a credible, global source, Lady Neville-Jones suggests that the majority of migrants enter the UK for valid reasons and with good intentions, and that there is in fact no evidence to suggest otherwise. Her statement implies further that migration adds to the economy of the UK, as it provides valuable workforce.

Despite this overwhelming evidence that a majority of news articles repeat the negative stereotypes about migration, this is not always the case. On April 24, 1999 a *Times* article managed to capture the facts about the benefits entitlement of refugees, even publishing the exact amount of benefits a refugee was entitled to at the time. The article states that

> “The refugees are to be given extended leave to remain in Britain for 12 months and will be allowed to apply for asylum. They will be allowed to work immediately and will be eligible for the full range of social benefits including income support, housing benefit and access to health service and schools. A single person aged 18-24 receives Pounds 40.70 a week income support.”

Upon first reading of this paragraph, it suggests a supportive stance towards migration, however, it must be noted that this article relates to refugees, and not migrants. The difference in this case can be found in the first sentence, namely that they are granted temporary residence (extended leave to remain […] for 12 months), and by definition that

they are classed as asylum seekers. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, asylum seekers and refugees are classified in most cases as vulnerable subjects of persecution or war in their home countries, who are deserving of help as stipulated by law. Yet, this article provides a very important factor for the successful case of migration, namely that the refugees are granted full rights to work immediately, as well as full access to education and healthcare. It could be argued that this provides these refugees with opportunities and hope, as well as care for their children in terms of school places, leaving them free to find employment and subsequently increase their chances of a successful integration into the host society. However, at the time of writing this has not been accomplished yet, and many advocacy groups are still fighting to realise these plans, which suggests that the plans do not have political or public support.

A further example of a rather unusual discourse in these news articles on migration in relation to economic factors, is a piece published by the *Guardian* on December 17, 2012. The article is titled *"Johnson attacks May for linking house prices to immigration"* and recounts Boris Johnson's criticism of Theresa May, who was the Home Secretary at the time, for "blaming an influx of immigrants for pushing up property prices and adding to Britain's housing crisis." One of the immediate observations one can make about the wording in this title is that the political decision-makers in the UK at the time are unable to agree on how to manage migration, which once again strengthens the arguments put forward in the literature that uncertainty in migration politics leads to a heightened feeling of unease about immigrants amongst the general public (King and Wood, 2001; Cottle, 2008; Lawlor, 2015). Proving that they have indeed been rivalling politicians for a while, the choice of the verb "attack" in the title implies a rather aggressive stance on behalf of Johnson, suggesting that May's claims are nothing short of ridiculous from his point of view. In fact, this is evident in a quote chosen by the author, who relates that

> Johnson said: "I don't think it is sensible to say to keep down property values we should keep people out, or investors out, in order to allow property values to decline. That would lead to a fall in the equity of everyone and, for the life of me, I cannot see the logic.

Johnson's response here is highly emotive, but it also conveys an unusually strong positive position on migration in this instance. Johnson, who would go on to be an outspoken advocate for the Leave campaign during the 2016 EU referendum, criticises May's speech against an influx of immigration, despite the fact that Johnson notably voted repeatedly against further EU expansions. However, while he says that he does not consider the housing crisis to be a reason to keep immigrants out of the UK, his criticism of May's speech highlights two things: on the one hand, he seems to suggest that by reducing immigration, investment would also be reduced, which would have a negative impact on the economy. At the time this article was written and published, Johnson was also the Mayor of London, Europe's largest and culturally most diverse city, which is home to many migrants, and most notably of course large investors. His criticism on May further cements his Eurosceptic political position as her rival and aids to discredit her statement, and by extension her as a political figure, publicly. The fact that he subsequently speaks out in favour of immigration, even if not directly, must be understood in this wider political context.

Despite this last example of a slightly less negative tone of discourse, the context of the matter remains largely the same throughout the years and across the broadsheet newspapers in question: the impact of migration on public resources is a highly contested topic of discussion. The final two articles on this subject matter are no exception to this

claim. Both published on May 31, 2016 by the *Guardian* and *The Times*, they were written at the height of the European Refugee Crisis and in the lead up to the United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum. What is striking about them is the different spin they take on the exact same topic matter, namely the direct reference to a study on refugees by the Migration Watch. *The Times* titled their article *"Fears that 500,000 refugees will end journeys in Britain"*, while the *Guardian*'s header reads *"Claims of mass refugee immigration to UK branded 'false and bogus'; Migration Watch report that free movement rules will allow up to 500,000 refugees into the UK from elsewhere in Europe is criticised by remain campaigner".* The title of the article of *The Times* immediately conveys a rather negative stance on migration, despite the fact that this specific case of migration relates to refugees. The use of the word "fear", which has been used in other examples discussed above, suggests once more that the arrival of a large number of refugees is a danger to Britain. Further, the use of the word "bogus" once more echoes the notion of the "bogus asylum-seeker", recreating the negative representation of migration. At the same time, this article, just like the examples discussed prior to this, serves as another illustration of the applicability of Wagner-Pacifici's (2010) political semiosis model. It highlights the effectiveness of the representative feature of the model, which enables the event – in this case the European Refugee Crisis – to become part of a historical transformation due to a series of claim makers in the media, who situate the single occurrences amongst a wider context, hence conceptualising and shaping the event as a whole.

The overarching negative stance on migration continues throughout the rest of the article, as the author quotes the chairman of the Migration Watch, Lord Green of Deddington, who said that "The UK could well face a significant secondary flow of refugees from Europe in

the coming years adding to the already huge strain being placed on housing and public services." With this direct quote of Lord Green, the author actively gives a voice to a figure of authority, who has been campaigning against migration in the past. Lord Green connects the "fear" of the public to the often mentioned, and here once again reinforced notion that migration adds a "strain" on public resources. The author elaborates on this point further, by writing that the report of the Migration Watch claims that "low-skilled work, the English language, existing migrant communities and Britain's reputation for tolerance and fairness could act as a draw for migrants living in other parts of EU." Considering that the topic of the article is concerned with the potential arrival of refugees from other parts of Europe, one problem with this elaboration by the author is that it uses the terms 'migrant' and refugee' in the same context interchangeably. Refugees, as mentioned before, naturally have other rights than migrants due to the fact that they are fleeing their home countries for reasons other than their own. By referring to them simply as migrants, their plight loses credibility and visibility, and by relating their potential arrival to negative economic impacts, they face losing even more sympathy with the reader and wider British public.

In contrast, the title of the article published by the *Guardian*, seems to discredit the claims of the report by the Migration Watch right away. While the author makes it clear that these are the claims of a 'remain campaigner', who is not named, the words 'false and bogus' clearly echo the negative discourse of migration that has been existing at least since the early 1990s. While 'false' is a factual response to the report, which suggests that it is based on further evidence to discredit the findings of the Migration Watch, the word 'bogus' is more emotive and conveys a strong personal response to something that is frustratingly incorrect or deceptive. Referring to the same report as the article in the *Times*, the author

of this piece uses a less definite language in their retelling of the report's findings. The opening of the article states that the report has found the up to half a million of refugees "could" relocate to the UK, indicating that these findings are simply assumptions and not finite. The author repeatedly sticks to this style of writing, further adding that "an analysis of EU figures showed that hundreds of thousands of people could take this route" which allows them to recount the facts published in the report, whilst remaining non-committal to the assumptions made. Taking this argument further, another interesting point for comparison between these two articles lies also in their ending. The following is the final paragraph of the article published by the *Guardian*

> While the out campaign has argued that the EU is only good for big corporations, Javid will claim that 1.2 million small and medium-sized businesses rely on trade with the EU. He will say that a quarter of them either export to Europe or supply firms that export to Europe, countering the common Vote Leave argument that only a very small number of British firms rely on trade with Europe. (*Guardian*, 31/5/2016)

Considering the context of the article and the fact that the *Guardian* explicitly supported the Remain campaign, this article ends on a pro-EU stance. They discredit the arguments put forward by the Leave campaign with regards to the economy, whilst offering a source for the counterargument of the Remain campaign, adding validity to their statement. In direct contrast, the article published by *The Times* concludes with a claim by Brexit advocate, Iain Duncan Smith, with the author paraphrasing Smith to have said that "the report highlighted how little control Britain has over is borders while it remains in the EU." What is important to note is that *The Times* were supporting the Leave campaign. These two contrasting articles fulfil two massively important roles for the sake of this analysis:

firstly, they prove that these broadsheet newspapers indeed follow their own political agenda. This is an important factor to bear in mind in any newspaper analysis, as it will impact the tone of the discourse and the illustration of arguments and context presented. Secondly, these articles highlight how the very same source material can be used in different ways and to different effects by their authors in order to appeal to their respective readership or target audience. It is thus always crucial to consider news reports on migration with caution due to the likelihood of counterarguments being omitted from the the narrative in order to fit the discourse and stance of the author and broadsheet in question. What these two contrasting articles indicate further is that the political semiosis model of Wagner-Pacifici can be applied to media discourses even if the approach to the same topic or event is conflicting. In these cases, the contrasting media reporting still aid in representing the issue in question and thus further its claims to become part of the historical transformation of the greater event it is part of.

With regards to the discussion of the treatment of the topic of migration in relation to its potential impact on public resources, these twelve articles suggest that despite the long timeline chosen for this research, the discourse remains more or less the same between 1990 and 2016. Furthermore, as the discussion about the article on Boris Johnson has shown, some responses by politicians must be considered in their wider political significance and cannot always be taken at face-value. Overall, there appears to be a widely accepted view that migration could negatively impact public resources, which is never discredited by the discourse of the news reporting, and instead is continuously reinforced over the years.

6.2 International students and their role within the economy of migration

In the UK, international students are currently defined as all students who are not British natives and who do not come from one of the member states of the European Union (this ruling is valid as of September 2019, prior to Brexit) (https://www.ukcisa.org.uk). Due to the fact that international students have to pay the higher non-native tuition fees, it is easy to comprehend why universities have an invested interest in securing a large number of international students, for they generate a higher income than native students. In the case of the UK, international students often pay double the amount of tuition fees per academic year than British students or students from the European Union[17]. In Germany, all 16 states abolished tuition fees for first degrees at public universities, meaning all students, regardless of where they come from, can attend university for free. This ruling includes international students.[18] In the German media, international students are rarely ever the subject of debate or discussion, and little interest is paid to their impact on the German economy, as it is rather insignificant in comparison to the UK where they generate income for the universities they attend. It is thus not surprising, that not a single article of the German empirical data collected for this research mentions international students in relation to the discourse on migration, or the state of the economy. Adding further to the argument that international students play only a minor part in the wider economy of the UK, only one article of the 78 peaks studied mentions international students in relation to the economy.

On November 26th, 2010, *The Guardian* published an article that focused on the wider debate about the tightening of immigration. The author paraphrases Damian Green, who had given a speech in his function as immigration minister at the time, to have claimed that

17 https://www.timeshighereducation.com/student/advice/cost-studying-university-uk#survey-answer
18 https://www.timeshighereducation.com/student/advice/cost-studying-university-germany

“the figures showed why it was necessary to tighten the immigration system further to reduce net migration to manageable levels”. While the reference to official immigration statistics adds credibility to Green's statement, by highlighting that his claim is based on facts, his choice of the words 'necessary' and 'manageable' convey that the government is struggling to cope with immigration as it was at the time. Furthermore, claiming that the tightening of the immigration system is a necessity for the government, Green seems to imply that the current levels of immigration are problematic. This echoes the hostile stance towards international students by Theresa May, then Home Secretary, who insisted on including the numbers of international students in the net migration figures. Green's bid to achieve “manageable levels” further suggests a system that is out of control, and by extension unsustainable. The author of the article elaborates Green's point by quoting the following directly from his speech

> The annual limit that we announced this week will ensure we continue to attract the brightest and the best while we reduce economic migration by more than a fifth compared with last year. We will shortly be launching a consultation on student visas, so as with economic migration we refocus on the areas which add the greatest value, protecting our world class universities. (*Guardian*, 26/11/2010)

In this quote, Green simultaneously underlines the points mentioned above, whilst connecting them to both international students, as well as the economic needs of the nation, a recurring line of argument in migration-related discourse in the news media. Similarly, to the points outlined in the discussion earlier in this chapter, Green states that only the “brightest and best” are welcome to immigrate to the UK, as their skills “add the greatest value”. This line of argumentation seems to reduce international students to a

commodity, that is only worth as much as the skillsets they provide. He is further talking about an “annual limit” to “reduce economic migration by more than a fifth”, which implies that the current level of immigration puts a strain on the economy of the UK, a hidden claim that has not been backed up by any further discussion of the matter. In fact, as the discussion of migrants as skilled labour above has shown, immigration can enrich the economy of the host nation and skilled immigrants are often directly sought-after by the nations in question, however, this fact is often either left out, or hidden in the sub-context of the discourse. Green's argument further suggests that international students are a strain on the UK's “world class universities”, which therefore require “protecting”. It is at this point that the discourse takes a rather dangerous turn, for the word “protecting” conveys that the very thing that needs protection is under threat. Taking this argument further, it was established earlier that international students in the UK contribute a lot of revenue for the universities through their higher tuition fees, yet this solid argument in favour of international students is left unmentioned, as they are being thrown into the same category as economic migrants. As discussed throughout this chapter, economic migration is mostly associated with negative connotations, which makes this statement by Damian Green very problematic, as it reinforces an already shared consensus that economic migration is a strain on public resources, and by doing so, continues to keep this negative discourse alive. One must of course acknowledge that this analysis is not representative of all media representations of international students, and due to the selective sampling process discussed in Chapter 5, a lot of arguments in favour of international students are being left out in this chapter. However, it is interesting that out of the very few peaks discussed in this analysis, the peaks that mention international students in relation to migration paint an image of political resentment and pessimistic reluctance to embrace them as an opportunity for economic growth.

6.3 Migration and innovation

Slightly overlooked in the overall discussion of the economic impact of migration on a nation, is the idea that migration can relate to economic innovation, which in terms would positively shape and further an economy. Defined as a new product or service that fulfils a need and adds value to customers[19], innovation is crucial to a thriving economy, and as Goldin points out in a recent article on immigration in the *Financial Times* "Migration is risky and self-elects entrepreneurial people. In the UK, immigrants are twice as likely as British-born individuals to start their own business" (Goldin, 2018). Similarly, research coming out of the University of California at San Diego found that "hiring more engineers and programmers from abroad, at perhaps a lower cost, allows firms to implement incremental innovations that may lead to newer products on the market, enhancing profitability and consumer welfare" (University of California – San Diego, 2018).

With regards to the empirical data collected for this research, little evidence has been found that economic innovation by migrants generates great interest with either the sources for the articles or the journalists themselves. Out of the total 71 articles which related to the economic impact of migration, only one article makes a link between migration and innovation. However, what makes this article particularly interesting, is that it was published in the UK by *The Guardian*, yet the topic of the article focused on the story of a migrant in Germany. The article tells the story of Vivek Bhardowaj, a 24-year-old Indian, who came to Germany in 2000 to work at an IT start-up, that had actively recruited in India in an attempt to fill a skills gap in Germany. The article links Vivek's employment in Berlin with the regional election campaign of Jürgen Rüttgers, who "attacked the centre-left German government's plan to import up to 20,000 computer experts from the developing

19 https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/innovation

world. Germany, he said, needed better education, not more immigrants. Someone with an ear for a rhyme summed up his approach as “Kinder statt Inder” (Children not Indians)” (*Guardian*, October 31, 2000).

One of the first things that this quote suggests, is how split German politicians were at the time this article was written, with Rüttgers being a place-mark for the opposition of the centre-left German government. This is made evident by describing his behaviour as an 'attack' on the government's plans, despite the fact that Rüttgers himself realises the lack of skilled IT experts in Germany at the time. However, the author does not continue to quote Mr Rüttgers on his campaign goals, and instead recounts that Rüttger's campaign has been referred to as “Kinder statt Inder”, which the author of the articles translates in brackets as 'Children not Indians'. Two things are particularly interesting in this context. Firstly, the author does not reveal a source for this statement, the reader does not learn who referred to Rüttgers campaign in such a manner. Secondly, the translation of the slogan which the author provides is not entirely correct, as the German word 'statt' translates more directly as 'instead of'. The correct translation would hence read “Children instead of Indians”, which immediately conveys a stronger anti-Indian sentiment. The author picks up on this implied racist tone further along in the article, when they note that the “arrival in Germany of Mr Bhardowaj and thousands like him has sparked an explosive debate that touches on labour needs, educational failure and race” (Guardian, ibid). Herein seems to lie the nexus for the political situation within Germany at the time: a shortage of skills within the labour force in Germany makes immigration necessary for the continued growth of the economy, yet after decades of “Gastarbeiter” the German public is resentful of migrant workers. The author picks up on this contemporary mood with their use of the adjective “explosive, with which they skilfully convey the danger of the situation for a

political campaign, as the debate could erupt further and potentially provoke a clash between the opposing sides of the debate.

The article continues in a factual manner, by diverting the attention away from the political campaign of Rüttger and focusing on a factual contextualisation of the scheme under which Mr Bhardowaj has found employment in Germany. By stating that “experts” such as Mr Bhardowaj could “live and work in Germany for up to five years provided they have either a university degree or the offer of a job paying more than DM100,000 (about pounds 30,000) a year” (*Guardian*, ibid), the author makes it clear that in this specific case migration is aimed to be temporary and entirely built around economic necessity. The fact that only “experts” are allowed to enter Germany under this new scheme, further highlights the strong demand for specific skill sets that have so far been underdeveloped in Germany. However, the realisation that these skills were desired in Germany, also had a positive knock-on effect on the education system, which Ruttger criticised in his campaign. The author quotes Microsoft Germany Executive Thomas Mickeleit: "The number of Germans applying for courses in engineering sciences and IT has doubled since it began. It has become obvious to the public that there is a gap in their economy" (*Guardian*, ibid). This statement also shows that the failure to match this skill gap is not to be blamed entirely on the Government or the education system, but the public as well needs to recognise which skills are in demand and take measures to ensure they are indeed employable. This links back to the more general argument made in the opening of this section, which claims that immigrants are often entrepreneurial in nature and provide skills that add to the growth of the economy. In this specific case, where an entire nation is lacking expertise in an area that is globally booming, the only way to be economically competitive is by recruiting workers from abroad who have developed the skills in

question, which is precisely what the article suggests the German government is prepared to do.

Departing from the case of Mr Bhardowaj, the article moves on to raise some rather controversial points, for instance whether Germany could “cope without an outburst of xenophobic resentment” in the face of possibly having “to import not thousands but millions of workers” (Guardian, ibid). While the author remarks that other European states might need to recruit foreign workers as well, they single out Germany by sarcastically wondering whether the German nation could ever welcome foreigners without being hostile. This overgeneralisation conveys a strong anti-German bias of the author, but it further undermines the points made earlier in the article, namely that the centre-left German government at the time was in fact actively supporting the recruitment of foreign workers, and that industry experts such as Mr Mickeleit spoke out in favour of foreign labour. It appears to zero in on the negative anti-immigrant sentiment expressed by voices such as Jürgen Rüttgers, as the article concludes with the following paragraph

> For decades the main parties insisted that Germany was "not a country of immigration". The foreigners who arrived as cheap labour were not immigrants but Gastarbeiter (guest workers). And, like guests, they were expected to leave when no longer welcome. (*Guardian*, ibid)

The article opens with the story of Mr Vivek Bhardowaj, an Indian immigrant, who came to Germany in 2000 to work as an IT expert in a start-up that had actively recruited foreigners in order to bridge a skill gap in the German economy. The German government supported this initiative with a new recruitment scheme at the time, however, the overall tone of the

article paints a rather negative image of Germany. On one hand it serves to exemplify that immigrants often provide skills that enrich an economy and can innovate its businesses, but on the other hand the author highlights that a strong anti-immigrant sentiment was present within Germany at the time. While the author quotes Jürgen Rüttgers, a politician of the opposition, and Mr Mickeleit, an IT industry expert, they do not provide a first-person account of Mr Bhardowaj, nor do they give voice to German citizens, leaving the debate rather unbalanced. Finally, the last sentence of the article, which is the last sentence in the quote above, makes the text appear much more like a commentary than a news article. The author provides no source for their claim that guest workers were expected to leave, let alone that they were no longer welcome in Germany, and they offer no factual ground on which to base this statement. Circling back to what was laid out at the beginning of this section, innovation and its positive impact on economies is seldom discussed in relation to migration in broadsheet journalism in Germany and the UK across this sample. Even when it is implied in the context of an article such as the one discussed here, the focus quickly shifts back to the question whether foreign workers pose a threat to native workers. Despite the rarity of the topic in the media coverage, this analysis found that even an issue such as innovation, which by its very definition is usually understood to carry positive connotations, can be used in news reporting of migration to have a negative impact on receiving nations.

6.4 Migration and the need for skilled labour

Both Germany and the UK have a history of recruiting foreign labour to meet economic demands. While the UK filled its workforce demands by seeking labour from the Commonwealth countries, Germany developed a guest worker scheme in the late 1950s

to actively hire people from countries including Turkey, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. As mentioned earlier, 71 articles out of 151 peaks discussed aspects of a potential economic impact on the UK or Germany due to migration, and of these 71 articles 14 discussed to some extend the need or supply of skilled labour as part of the wider process of migration and its impact on both the labour markets in each nation, as well as other areas of public life.

In the German sample, four articles published by the *FAZ* and two articles published by the *SZ* discussed the effect of skilled labour on the job market and society as a whole, and half of the articles were published in the early years of the timeline for this research, between 1991 and 1996. This coincides with the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of West and East Germany, as well as the Civil Wars in parts of Eastern Europe and the subsequent refugee movements. As discussed in Chapter 2, in the lead up to the beginning of the timeline for this research Germany actively recruited foreign guest labour in an effort to rebuilt the German economy. Following the reunification and the return of many Germans from the former Eastern blocs, the job market was suddenly saturated, which inevitably led to a lot of resentment towards the foreign guest workers. The articles in this section hence offer a great example of media discourses that shape and contextualise a wider issue within the current context at the time, and thus create an event within a bigger historical event as part of the representative feature according to Wagner-Pacifici's political semiosis model.

On June 20, 1991, an author for the *FAZ* wrote in an article about the current economic situation in Germany that

> The foreign workers claimed to see themselves confronted by a “growing defence” within the German general public, and even faced “violent attacks, without any political justification for their presence in Germany being given or their proven efforts being valued”.

Looking closely at the two quotes offered by the author in this sentence, one could assume that those were in fact experiences of foreign workers whilst living in Germany at the time, and whilst they do not disclose their sources directly in this case, they seem to give voice and grant agency to those effected by this mistreatment. Furthermore, what seems striking is the connection made in this statement, that the increasing resentment amongst the general public towards the foreign workers was partially caused because the government failed to publicly announce the need for the recruitment of the workers, as well as failing to note and acknowledge the value that they would add to the German economy. However, one needs to point out that the writing style of the author in this example is rather differentiated, meaning that while the author quotes extracts of a statement or speech by a foreign worker or representative of them, they phrase it in a non-committal way. By using the preterite subjunctive (German: “Konjunktiv II Präteritum”) of the verb 'sehen' (engl. 'to see'), the author implies that there is a degree of doubt with regards to the facts in this statement, as the preterite subjunctive is a form of conjugation that is used in the German language mostly in a written literary format to convey a state of doubt or something that is generally considered unreal. Therefore, the author of this articles does not in fact give voice to the migrant workers, but instead casts doubt on the validity of their claims.

On April 20, 2011, the *SZ* published an article in which the author also made use of the subjunctive, claiming that Germany “would need to enter the competition for foreign skilled labour”. However, in this case the author uses the present subjunctive, referring to a state

that is not yet reality, but should be aimed at. This is also evident in the title of said article, which simply reads “Wooing skilled personnel”, although it is of course non-specific as to where these skilled personnel should be coming from. This article is yet another example of the author mainly giving voice to elite figures of authority, as he paraphrases politician Peter Struck (Minister of Defence from 2001-2005 and Member of the centre-left Social Democratic Party SPD) that he was in favour of “significantly” lowering the income limit to enable the immigration of foreign skilled personnel. However, as opposed to some of the examples discussed in this chapter so far, by choosing to quote centre-left politician Peter Struck, the author and by extension the SZ, align themselves with a favourable position on economic migration.

In direct comparison, an example from the *FAZ* treats the subject with a more nuanced approach, as it is a guest commentary by academic Professor Albrecht Weber on the proposed new migration law at the time. Published on August 26, 1996, the title *“What an Immigration Act could achieve”* discusses the need for a balanced approach to immigration, that is focused entirely on the supply of skills only where needed. Weber argues for instance that

> Immigration for economic reasons (workers, gainful freelancers) must allow for the medium- and long-term situation of the labour market. In addition to a perennial plan with annual, yet modifiable quotas, a long-term projection of immigration must be conducted. […] The experiences of traditional countries of immigration (Canada, Australia) who employ a differentiated selection- and points-scoring procedure could be used.

His statement clearly argues in favour of a needs-based demand and supply procedure, in

which only those immigrants whose skill set matches the requirements for a specific job or field of employment should be considered. Taking this argument further, one could say that Weber is only interested in immigration that benefits the economy of the host nation, whereby, at least in this instance, he fails to consider other reasons for immigration and their potential benefits into consideration. The *FAZ*, in allowing him this platform, thus aids in the reproduction of the argument that immigration should be based on the needs of the host-nation, as to opposed to the needs of the immigrant, which reinforces a power dynamic of the elite on one hand, and migrants on the other. This is a crucial finding, as it confirms that elite groups have the power to utilise (media) discourses to exercise control over another group, thereby reproducing social hierarchies of inequality (van Dijk, 1995; Wodak, 2011; Wodak and Meye, 2009; Fairclough, 2017).

Seven years later in 2013, on December 30th, the *FAZ* published yet another article, in which this line of discourse was shared once again.

> "In Great Britain and the Netherlands, the hatred and fear towards Easter European Migrants can be grasped with one's hands. In reality, migration is problematic for both sides, but at the same time it is also useful. Vilified in the West are those 'immigrating into the social systems', who are in opposition to all the skilled workers from the East, without whom the German Economy, for instance, would face problems.

Interestingly, the author in this example focuses on the negative attitude towards immigrants in two different countries, thereby shifting the focus away from the situation in Germany. The author furthermore argues that migration is indeed 'problematic', and while

they claim it is also a problem for the migrants, they fail to elaborate why migration is considered a problem. The claim that migration is “also useful” echoes the argument brought forward in the previous example, namely that migration is considered positively when it benefits the host nation. This is taken further in the statement, that without skilled foreign personnel the German economy might run into problems, which underlines that economic benefits seem to outweigh any negative sentiment towards migrants.

The notion that migration should always be considered in relation to the economic benefits it can provide is also evident in the UK broadsheets subject to this research. On September 12, 2000, *The Times* published an article with the title *“Immigration 'should match skills gap'”*, which covers the political debate whether immigration controls should be relaxed to attract more skilled foreign labour between several politicians at the time. Arguing for a 'more market-led' immigration system, Barbara Roche, who was the Minister of State at the Home Office, wanted “further initiatives […] to put Britain at the front of the international scramble to attract “wealth creators””. According to this premise, she equates immigration with the creation of economic wealth, a claim that is in line with the arguments put forward in the examples above. It must be noted, that this took place at the height of the New Labour party ideology, and as a response, Mrs Roche was faced by a wave of opposition, with Ann Widdecombe, the Shadow Home Secretary at the time, arguing that "Britain wants the best skilled workforce in the world. Improving the skills of our own workforce is the best way of achieving this, but immigration has a role as well.” Mrs Widdecombe implies in her statement that too much immigration endangers the job prospects of the native workforce, which is an argument often put forward against immigration. However, she too seems to acknowledge that immigration is inevitable in securing the skills needed, highlighting once again that immigration is tolerated whenever it aids the economy. Hence, the shared consensus of all of these examples suggests that

the majority of politicians would like to control immigration flows, and only favour immigration if it is in the nation's interest, and if the immigrants are well skilled.

A rather more positive example of discourse on the subject can be found in an article, published by the *SZ* on March 15, 1995. Here the author explains that

> The predominant majority of Turks in Germany are a dynamic and stabilising force. The reason for them coming here was the search for employment. They and their children show the typical characteristics of immigrants, like flexibility and the will to succeed. Their energy is a benefit for the whole of society.

Whilst the author focuses in this example on the Turkish immigrant population of Germany, they highlight that the positive qualities of the majority of economic migrants are beneficial to the economy of the nation. Their statement is, however, contradictory in itself to some degree, as the author refers in the first sentence to a “predominant majority”, whilst claiming in the third sentence that they show the “typical characteristics of immigrants”, generalising that all immigrants share those qualities. Nevertheless, the discourse in this example is overwhelmingly positive and in favour of (economic) immigration and the Turkish population in Germany, without any mention of immigration needing to be controlled.

Similar enthusiasm for economic migration and in particular for skilled foreign workers was found in an article published by the *Guardian* a year later on July 24, 1996. The opening sentence puts forward the notion that “Immigrants coming into the European Union give economies a lift by boosting skills and providing additional labour when needed”, which is a summary of the overall context of a recent academic report the author bases this article

on. The language is clear and concise, written in the present tense, leaving no doubt that the intention of the sentence is to express the conviction of the author that the statement is credible. Further examples within the article, such as the phrase “The study, written by academics from across the EU, cites evidence [...]” seem to seek to strengthen the point of view of the author, as they indicate that there is no room for error within the report, as it is the summary of several studies conducted internationally, resulting in “evidence”. Referring further to the report, the author retells the idea that “an open-door policy to immigrants could help an integrated European economy adjust to economic shocks”, which seems to echo the ideals that lie behind the newly established Schengen Agreement, that had come into effect the previous year. And while it has been discussed before that many broadsheet news articles focused on the need for controlled immigration in order to stem potential negative impacts on the economy, articles in favour of EU immigration have been found across the timeline of this research. While this last example was published as early as 1996, another article from the *Guardian*, published on September 30, 2015, points out that

> The largest group of migrants coming from the EU at the moment are from Italy and Spain. "They are coming because their own economies are in a mess, and we are benefitting a lot because these are highly skilled workers," she said, adding that when you disaggregate migration figures you get a more nuanced picture.

This quote from Catherine Barnard, who is a professor for EU Law at the University of Cambridge, highlights that even after nine years, the discussion as to whether immigration from the EU is beneficial or not, has not been settled in one way or another and is not only still ongoing, but it is also still at the same stage, with the same arguments put forward, both in favour and against. At the same time, the reason for immigration has also

remained the same, with limited job prospects causing many skilled workers to seek employment in more prosperous countries.

As the previous examples have shown, the fact that highly skilled immigrants are vital for the economy has often been implied. However, two out of the 14 articles that discuss the impact of skilled labour on the economy stand out, as they are openly supporting the arrival of EU immigrants. Both articles were published in *The Times*, the first one on April 24, 2008, with the rather emotive title *'They are hard at work, putting money back into the community. Hats off to them'.* What is striking about this article is that it does not quote or refer to statements by politicians or other figures of authority, as opposed to all of the previous examples, and instead offers the point of views of residents of a town in Lincolnshire. The title quote was taken from a statement made by Len Evans, a market stall owner, who told of his experience with the arrival of “17,500 Eastern Europeans in one town”. The author quotes Mr Evans as follows

> "All of these new people coming in has made a huge change to Boston, but as far as I'm concerned it's been change for the better," he said. "You won't see many of them in the town centre right now and you know why? It's because 90 per cent of them are hard at work, earning money which they put back into the community. Everyone keeps moaning about migrant workers but they're doing jobs which many of our young people, unfortunately, don't seem willing to do." (*The Times*, 24/4/2008)

Giving Mr Evans a voice, the author manages to put forward a different point of view that only aids to confirm the same pro-immigration arguments made by politicians and other authority figures in the other examples of broadsheet reporting. To demonstrate, five years after this article was written, on November 30, 2013, *The Times* published an article which looked at the same debate once again, but through the lens of politicians. The author

paraphrases that “Britain benefits from young, hard-working immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, four foreign ministers said in an unprecedented rebuke to David Cameron yesterday.” On the one hand, the statement evokes certainty over the fact that Eastern European immigration benefits the UK economy, and on the other hand the statement also highlights the seemingly never-ending circle in which this topic is discussed to no concluding end. Interesting in this context is also the use of the adjective “unprecedented”, as it conveys the idea that disagreements with David Cameron in a public realm have never occurred before and are thus a novelty in the wider debate on migration. Finally, these examples differ especially in relation to the earlier examples of discourses in response to austerity politics or the enlargement of the EU in 2004, during which migrants from the EU were continuously rejected, which further points towards a change in migration politics between the late 2000s and 2013. This continuity in the discourse is a prime example for the validity of the political semiosis model (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010), as the repeated contextualisation of the migration debate in the media not only reshapes the issue at hand, but simultaneously positions it within the historical transformation of the event of migration to the UK.

6.5 The impact of migration on employment

A major argument often made in relation to migration and its impact on host economies, is, as mentioned above, that immigrants limit the job opportunities for native workers, which is claimed to have a negative impact on the employment situation of a country. Of the 71 peaks focusing on the economic impact on migration, a total of 18 articles mentioned the potential or perceived effect of immigration on the economy of either Germany or the UK, making these the largest number of articles focusing on an aspect of economic impact for

the purpose of this analysis. Whether foreign workers are actively recruited by the national government, as previously discussed, whether immigrants come into a country legally and seek employment, or whether immigrants create job opportunities by investing or starting their own businesses, the following analysis will highlight that there seems to be a shared and unshakeable consensus that immigrants pose a threat to the availability of employment for citizens of the respective country.

The earliest article, across the timeline for this research, discussing the notion that foreign workers might impact on the UK employment market was published in the *Guardian* on January 25, 1991. In it, the author recounted the political events from a day prior, stating that “European countries were urged yesterday to adopt a new common charter on migration, to help to combat the threat of a flood of emigrants heading West to flee poverty and social upheaval in Eastern Europe.” As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the use of the noun 'threat' in relation to the process of migration, carries strong negative connotations of a situation that is dangerous, overwhelming and difficult to control or even manage. It further implies that it could negatively impact the current state of life for those perceiving the threat to exist, in this case the general public of the UK, which once more confirms the findings of similar studies discussed in Chapter 3 (Cohen, 2011; Szczepanik, 2016; Philo et al, 2013). Departing from this assumption could be the overall emotion that one would rather the process of migration was not happening. The author further informs the reader that

> A Council of Europe analysis submitted to the conference predicts a substantial increase in the number of economically-driven migrants from the East, at a time when Eastern Europe is opening up while the EC is closing down. […] It forecast 40 million

> unemployed in the Soviet Union alone, five million in Poland, and a jobless rate of 10 per cent across Eastern Europe, rising to 50 per cent among those under 25 years of age. (*Guardian*, ibid)

One of the important elements of this account of the author in their article lies in the stating of the source, an analysis conducted by the Council of Europe, which is a highly credible and reputable source, coneying to the reader that the findings of this study are plausible. Another crucial fact can be found in the stating of the numbers of potential unemployed people in Eastern Europe, which immediately implies that they could be immigrating to the UK or other countries in the West of Europe in the search for work. What is significant in these sentences though, are the words 'predict' and 'forecast' as they make it clear that none of these figures currently exist and are rather a worst-case scenario. Even if the figures come into effect, the analysis has no means of indicating that the same amount of people would automatically immigrate to the Western Europe to find employment. Yet, despite all this, the connection between these potential unemployment figures in the East, and the 'threat' of migrants coming to the West for work has been established and is therefore most likely to stick in the reader's memory.

A similar feeling of apprehension towards migrants can be found implied in an article of the German *FAZ*, which was published on March 13, 1996. It is a particularly interesting example of an article whose dominant premise lies in the reporting of political rumours of a party coalition and the current instability of Germany. Neither the title nor the first three quarters mention migration, let alone have any relevance to the topic. The article counts 1177 words and 11 paragraphs, but in the final two paragraphs and 212 words, it suddenly shifts focus, and in fact argues that

> In case the federal government continues with its current line of politics, unemployment in Germany will continue to rise and Germany's international ability to compete will change for the worse. […] The FDP (Free Democratic Party) has long suggested an immigration law. On February 5th, the National Executive Committee of the party signed off on the recommendations of the working group (referred from context of article: Migration working group), who has been asked to present the party with a concept for immigration and integration. It states, amongst other things, that a "immigration control law" would need to include the current irregular (and not referred so by name) immigration regulations, such as the subsequent migration of spouses and other family, or the quoted entry of late repatriates.

The first part of this reference is part of a paraphrased line of argumentation, which the author of the article relates to a speech by SPD politician Scharping, who comments in the first part of the article on the impact a party coalition would have and could have on the political reality of Germany. Scharping, however, continues to argue, as the reference indicates, that current politics would likely cause a negative impact on the economy, unless the government implements immediate changes. Linked with the notion that follows this point, that the FDP party has suggested to implement a new and improved law to control immigration, this seems to imply, even if rather vague, that there is a connection between unemployment and uncontrolled levels of migration. This line of discourse is a prime example for the creation and reinforcement of uncertainty about important political and social issues, in this case migration. As discussed in Chapter 3, Esses, Medianu and Lawson (2013) have argued that this sense of uncertainty may be temporarily reduced through negative representations of targeted groups, like migrants, for it allows the political authorities to display their power. The simple fact that the article concludes on these

paragraphs and does not circle back to its original argument around the potential party coalition further adds to the weight of this argument.

One argument that is frequently brought up against migration is that unemployment poses a great risk to the citizens of a country at any given time, and that migration only further increases the competition. On September 30th, 2015, at the height of the European Refugee Crisis, the German *SZ* published an article in which the author was trying to discuss to what level migration might be considered normal and which factors could influence said perception. The author's point is as follows

> Until what point is migration also perceived as normal – and where does that change?
>
> Several aspects come here to play. The economy is important, of course, and the question, whether refugees and immigrants are seen as useful, or as rivals for the already scarce asset of a workplace. (*SZ*, 30/9/2015)

Once again, immigrants and refugees are here portrayed as a threat to the economy and the employment of a countries' citizens. The use of the word 'rival' strengthens the emphasis of the migrant on one side and the citizen on the other, basically placing them at opposite ends, and further implying a 'fight' between them for the same commodity, in this case a place of work. Here, too, the analysis echoes the academic discussion in Chapter 3, and particularly the argument that “higher social dominance-oriented individuals may dehumanize” (Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013: 524) migrants in order to secure their own position of power. The lexical choice of the world “rival” signals the perceived competition migrants pose to their host nations, according to examples such as this.

Looking back over the empirical data collected for this research, it becomes evident that this 'fear' is not only expressed in response to the European Refugee crisis but is in fact part of the discourse across the timeline of this project. *The Times*, for instance, published an article on April 24th, 2008, which mentioned the fact that due to their work ethics, immigrant workers are willing to commit to longer hours than British workers, and so in fact, are sometimes referred by employers over British workers. This amounts to a certain feeling of frustration, resentment and upset amongst the public in the UK, which is expressed by two women in this article. The author notes that they 'were not so pleased by the arrivals' as after many years of working on the packaging industry they gave up 'because foreign workers were prepared to work longer hours for less money'. This relates to the notion that immigrant workers are cheaper to employ, whilst their willingness to work long hours adds further to the economic benefit of employers. The two ladies are quoted by the author to have said the following: "They work and work and work. Sometimes they start at 6am and they're still going at 7pm. Where does that leave us?" In this quote, the frustration is expressed in the question at the end, which indicates that British workers are unable to compete with foreign workers.

The fact that foreign labour is more cost-effective for businesses is another argument that is sometimes brought forward in the news articles on the subject. On October 31st, 2007, eight years prior to the refugee crisis, *The Times* published an article with the title *'More than half of new jobs go to migrants'*, which adds further proof to this point. The title in itself evokes a feeling of alarm and worry, as it suggests that migrants get more jobs than British citizens, as 'more than half' of new positions created are being offered to migrants. In the body of the article, the figures and stats behind the bold claim of the title are given further

elaboration, as the author notes that

> Ministers have been forced to concede that more than half of all new jobs created since Labour came to power have gone to foreign workers […]. The Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) said that 52 per cent of more than 2 million new jobs created since 1997 had gone to migrants.

The use of the word 'force' in relation to the ministers implies a vast amount of pressure, and whilst it is not clear where it came from, it suggests from either the political opposition or the general public. This puts the blame for the economic situation firmly on the Labour party, as they are linked to the developments addressed. However, it must be noted that the figures the title takes it claim from consider the ten-year span from 1997 to 2007, which saw an unprecedented rise in immigration, as compared to previous historic levels of immigration to the UK (Migration Watch, MW437). This historical fact seems to normalise the discourse to a certain extent, at least as far as the perceived hysteria is concerned that the title seems to try to evoke. Taking this argument further, the author offers several quotes from politicians in response to these claims. They quote Liam Byrne, who was Immigration Minister at the time, to have said that “While initial evidence shows that there is a clear positive contribution to the economy from migration, there are some reports of pressures in other areas, including public services. The prudent balance is therefore to maintain restrictions as we monitor the medium-to-long-term effects of accession migration." Byrne's statement offers a two-fold, and therefore confusing standpoint on migration, for his claim that migration puts a strain on public services is always considered negatively, as the earlier discussion on the subject showed. However, his initial claim that migration positively contributes to the economy seems to be lessened by the fact that he counters it with this criticism. The fact that this discourse, as well as similar news reports

on the same topic, has a strong effect on the opinions of the British public about migration is picked up by the author, who notes that “Polling for the two main political parties shows that migration is one of the top issues worrying the public.”

Yet, despite these examples of a rather negative discourse on immigration and employment, there is another side to the story, and there are indeed articles offer a more supportive and positive point of view. In fact, out of the 18 that discussed this matter, 7 articles offered examples in which immigration was considered a benefit to the economy in relation to employment. Looking across the timeline of the research, the earliest example of a rather positive discourse can be found in an article of *The Times* published on January 26, 1991, which notes that migration “could be the greatest boon to a halting European economy” , while the German *SZ* wrote five years later on February 29, 1996, that “trying to offset the number of unemployed Germans against employed migrants is a false equation, whose populistic usage in the discussion about foreigners in the 1980s had disastrous consequences”. Both articles highlight that immigration is also often considered an economic blessing, and that it leads to inaccurate findings if one tries equating migration and unemployment. Slightly later in the timeline for this research, an author for *The Times* wrote on November 28th, 2003, that “Allowing a significant number of economic migrants to work here legally is a sensible policy which David Blunkett, the Home Secretary, has been right to champion. There is no doubt that these migrants contribute economically, socially and culturally.” In this example, the author seems to go even further, and while it is often argued that personal bias should be omitted from broadsheet news journalism, it highlights that despite its centre-right alignment, *The Times* is not always consistent with the promotion of its political siding. Even further along the timeline, three examples of a more pro-immigration stance have been found in articles published by the *Guardian*. The first one was published on August 31st, 2009, and even the title *'Migrant*

cuts 'a threat to UK jobs" suggests that migration has a positive impact on the economy of the UK. The author further notes in relation to a recent political discussion that “Deep cuts in the numbers of migrant workers coming from outside Europe to Britain could lead to the loss of British jobs as companies relocate to more immigration-friendly countries, employers warned yesterday.” This argument is a particularly striking one, as it has not been found in any of the other peaks that discussed the impact of migration on the economy, however, it seems to be a strong argument in favour of migration, as well as in support of the employment and active recruitment of migration. Furthermore, it also offers a counterargument to the common notion of controlling or curbing migration, which has often been championed, for instance by Theresa May during her time as Home Secretary.

The most recent examples of a more positive stance on migration in relation to employment were found in articles from 2014 and 2015, the latter having been published at the height of the European Refugee Crisis. On November 30th, 2014, an author for the *Guardian* wrote that “Recent survey findings show that 54% consider it good for the economy compared with just 28% across the rest of the country. Londoners who are friends with migrants are likely to consider migration as having a good effect on Britain, both economically and culturally.” It must be noted that London with its strong multi-cultural communities has always stood out in elections as strongly pro-immigration, however, it is also the economic hub of the UK, which means that unemployment figures in the capital are usually lower than in the rest of the UK. Yet, this quote shows further that integration of immigrants into British culture and society will aid in the fostering of understanding amongst native citizens, which in turn eliminates or lessens the 'fear' of the foreigner. The last example of a positive discourse was found in an article published again by the Guardian, on September 30th, 2015. Here the author gives voice to Professor Curtice, a

politics professor, who argues that "The people who think that immigration is relatively high are the people who think that immigration is bad for Britain, economically or culturally." What Professor Curtice's statement implies, is that if immigration is considered to have a positive impact on the economy and other areas of public life, then the levels of immigration, or in other words the number of people migrating to Britain, are insignificant. The author further notes that Professor Curtice claims that only certain sections consider immigration levels to be too high, especially 'older' generations, who are less educated and have had less career opportunities in their life, and who have benefitted the least from the 'expansion of the EU'. However, this hints once more that negative opinions of migration are tied very closely to the perceived impact it has on the economy.

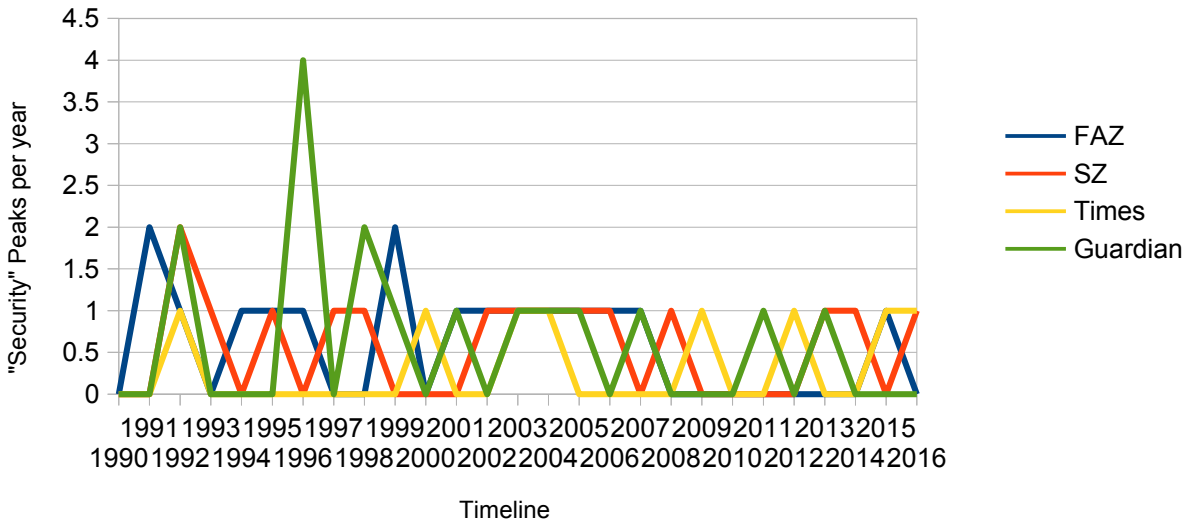
What this chapter demonstrates is that media discourses of migration and the economy represent migrants predominantly in a negative way, with few examples trying to offer a more balanced or factual account of the processes of migration. It echoes the findings of the discussion of the literature review in Chapter 3, that news media mainly produce and reproduce the discourses of powerful elites, especially politicians, and that migrants are given little room to make their voices heard. As a result, the Critical Discourse Analysis argues that the social inequality between migrants and citizens on one hand, as well as migrants and powerful elites on the other hand is repeatedly recreated through the access to and use of media platforms by elite groups. The following chapter will present the analysis of the discourses of migration and security, arguing that the hostility towards migrants is even more visible in the discussion of perceived security risks posed by migrants.

7. Discourses of Migration and Security

While the previous chapter analysed the broadsheet discourse of the economic impact of migration on Germany and the United Kingdom, this chapter examines the discourses with which migration is reported in relation to issues of security. “Security” is the second largest category of migration discourse by number of relevant articles identified in the research process and encompasses 53 articles split between the four broadsheets subject to this research. These 53 articles can be divided between the German and the UK broadsheet papers as follows: for the German newspapers subject to this research, the *FAZ* published the most relevant articles, totalling 16, followed closely by the *SZ* with 14. For the UK broadsheets, the *Guardian* leads with 15 relevant articles, while for *The Times* only 8 articles were found across the 151 peaks. As Figure 7.1 highlights below, the spread of articles discussion security concerns in relation to migration is fairly even across the sample and throughout the course of the timeline for this research, with only one noticeable spike in 1996 for the British Guardian.

Discourse Category "Security" across the sample

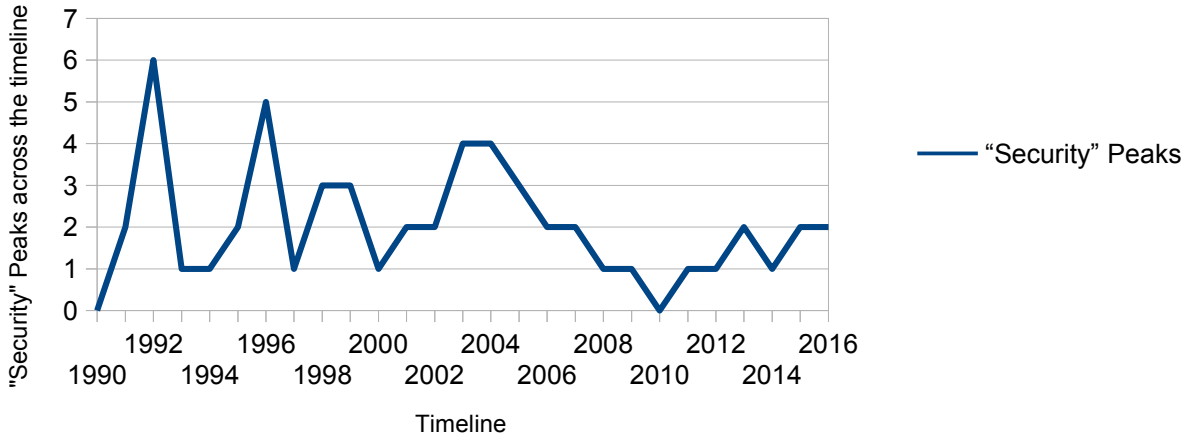
Fig 7.1



However, since 2000 there has been an average of 1 article per broadsheet every year, which means that the representation of broadsheets in the category of “Security” is fairly even for this analysis. Overall, the distribution of peaks that feature security concerns has slightly decreased along the timeline for this analysis. It declined towards 2010, with no article found in said peak that fell into the 'Security” category, before rising again to an average of 1-2 articles per peak, and steadying towards the end of the timeline as Figure 7.2 below suggests.

Discourse Category “Security” across the timeline

Fig 7.2



As discussed in chapter 5, three sub-categories were identified to be predominantly present in the overall discourse on security, which were given the headers of 'threat of terrorism', 'increase in crime', and 'lack of (border) controls'. While the first two sub-categories are straight-forward, the third needs to be understood to encompass two notions, on the one hand the often discussed issue around the need for physical borders, and on the other hand the general idea that migration needs to be controlled, which in turn often relates back to the need for borders and border controls. As the subsequent discussion will show, the need for borders is not always expressed clearly, but can be found as implicatures. Regarding the spread of articles across these three themes, the

majority of articles relating to the “security” paradigm focus on the demand and need for controlled migration and borders, as 40 out of 53 relevant articles relate to the third sub-category. The second sub-category, which focuses on the increase of crime related to migration, was represented by 11 articles, while only 6 out of 53 relevant articles refer to the potential link between migration and a heightened “threat of terrorism”. This chapter analyses the discourses of migration and security in order to show how they relate to political reporting overall, while noting that the hostility towards migration is particularly prevalent in this category. The discussion of the academic literature in Chapter 3 established that migration is often considered a “threat', a notion that is not seldom linked to feelings of fear and uncertainty. The analysis in this chapter shows that these observations can predominantly be found in news reports about security issues.

7.1 Migration and the “threat of terrorism”

As mentioned above, one of the sub-categories identified in the initial stages of this research focuses on the perceived threat of terrorism caused by immigration. Naturally, the word “terrorism” conveys a sense of great danger and threat to the safety and well-being of human societies, and as such it is inevitable that newspaper reporting on the issues of migration and terrorism will be characterised by an overwhelmingly negative discourse. Furthermore, links between immigration and terrorism seem to stem from a perceived prejudice that vast amounts of immigrants from different cultural and religious backgrounds might struggle to integrate in the host society, and that a lack of identification with the values of said society and country might lead to an increase in radicalisation and retaliation against Western values and ideals. As Philo, Briant and Donald argued “[i]n the wake of Sangatte, the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 led to the displacement of people fleeing war and drove up asylum numbers. This also drove concern about border

controls and calls for enhanced security measures and checks on those entering the country" (2013: 22). This research adds to these observations by arguing that broadsheet reporting shapes and reinforces such "concerns" about safety in the aftermath of terrorist attacks, and often relates it to migration. In recent years, especially during the so-called European Refugee Crisis and in its aftermath, a prominent line of argumentation often found in the media discourse commented on the potential threat that terrorists could come into Europe and other parts of the Western world under the disguise of refugees. While the selection criteria eliminated a large number of articles, 6 articles out of 53 articles relating to issues of security discussed links between migration and terrorism. Out of these 6 articles, two articles were published by UK broadsheets, one article by *The Guardian* and *The Times* each, whilst the German sample consists of 3 articles by the *FAZ* and one by the *SZ*.

Analysing the articles chronologically, the first relevant article mentioning terrorism in the context of migration appeared in *The Guardian* on April 30th, 2005. In the article, the author offers an analysis and commentary of the political manifesto of the Conservative party ahead of the 2005 general election. Titled *"Humanity's core principle is not safe in their hands: If elected, Michael Howard would tear up the refugee convention"*, the article presents the authors argument that Michael Howard, leader of the opposition to then PM Tony Blair and the Labour party, would 'denounce' the refugee convention in favour for a stricter immigration policy. The title portrays the Conservative party collectively as a danger by claiming that the refugee convention is "not safe in their hands", simultaneously implying that they should not be voted for in the upcoming election. This line of argumentation continues throughout the article, with the opening sentence of the article posing a question to the reader asking, "How could any responsible political party denounce that law?". While it might be difficult to measure the impact of a question on the

reader, questions may be used as a literary device to draw attention to a particular standpoint or opinion (Dupriez, 1991: 371). In this case, the author seems to tell the reader from the beginning that the Conservative party is irresponsible in their suggestion to denounce the refugee convention, which is further highlighted by the choice of the adjective 'responsible', which implies the exact opposite in this context. From the beginning of the article, the Conservative party is portrayed in a negative light, whilst leaving it open to interpretation as to who would be a better candidate for (re-)election. This finding is a crucial observation for the applicability of the representative feature of the theoretical model guiding this analysis, as well as the choice of methodological approach. As argued in Chapter 4 in relation to the political semiosis model, the media need to conceptualise and situate the issue of migration in the wider political debate in order to elicit potential support for the matter. Simultaneously, Fairclough (2017) has argued that by identifying social realities in connection with the discourse with which they are being created, it becomes possible to champion for change and to challenge the status quo of the social and political reality. Thus, the applicability of both the theoretical framework of the political semiosis model (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010) and the methodological approach of a Critical Discourse Analysis according to Fairclough (2017) becomes apparent in the analysis of examples such as this. As for this article, to strengthen their standpoint, the author elaborates that the convention “does not protect suspected criminals or terrorists” as they are not subject of the law, creating a link between migration and criminality and terrorism. To be more precise, since the link is made in connection with the Conservatives' wish to denounce the refugee convention, it suggests that it is a political argument that criminals and terrorists might be amongst refugees entering the UK, and thus by extension pose a danger to the UK.

However, this line of argumentation is not unique to the context of the UK. On November 19th, 2006, an author for the German *FAZ* wrote in an article about illegal immigrants that "Schäuble, politicians and the security services may long argue and point out the risk that terrorists could enter the country illegally"[20]. While the author links the entering of terrorists in this instance to the uncontrolled process of illegal immigration, they further indicate that the notion of terrorists entering a country disguised as immigrants is a common political argument against immigration. Interesting in this sentence is the use of the verb "could" (original: "könnten"), which suggests that it is not a proven fact that terrorists enter the country by means of immigration, despite this common line of argumentation. The author hence casts doubt on the political argument and questions its validity. As van Dijk argues "Politicians have control over, e.g., government and parliamentary discourse, and preferential access to the mass media" (1995: 20), which highlights that news articles with a critical view of politics is not only unusual, but also challenges political control and authority. Thus, by questioning the political claims, the author of this article takes on the position of a political critic, and simultaneously reveals the power politicians otherwise have over migrants.

However, while these two examples suggest a political bias of the author, or at least call into question the accuracy of the argument that terrorists are amongst immigrants, this is not the norm across the data. In an article from *The Times*, published on September 29th, 2015, the text leaves no room for doubts about the conviction of the source of the author. It states in the article that "Hans-Georg Maassen, the head of the office for the protection of the constitution, Germany's equivalent of MI5, added that there was evidence of Islamist extremists trying to find recruits among the Muslim asylum seekers pouring into Germany

20 All translations in this thesis have been conducted by the researcher; the analysis is conducted exclusively on the original; for original please see Appendix B

in record numbers." By pointing towards the professional credibility of Mr Maassen, the author establishes the authority of their source, which strengthens the claim that Maassen has found "evidence" of migrants being targeted as potential recruits by Islamist extremists. Furthermore, the statement that migrants are entering Germany "in record numbers" implies that the situation is difficult to monitor, which heightens the feeling of danger posed by the process of migration in this context. Interestingly, the same observation was made by Philo, Briant and Donald in relation to situation in the UK. In their study they found that the "issue of immigration control was often linked to a concern that 'Britain takes too many'" (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013: 80).

This notion of taking in too many migrants was also found in the discourse on migration and the economy in the previous chapter, which suggests that it is an overarching theme across the different issues relating to migration. Whether migration impacts the economy or poses a threat to the security of a nation, the news reporting hints at the idea that any perceived threat is in some way related to the numbers of migrants entering the country. Taking this argument further, this indicates that the larger the number of incoming migrants, the larger the threat they pose to their host country. Furthermore, in these three examples the sources of the authors are all persons of authority, as in each article the argument that terrorists could enter a country via the process of migration is presented by politicians or government security officers. This reinforces the common power dynamic of (political) authority on the one side, exercising power over the minority (migrants), with no agency offered to those being governed on the other side. It has been argued extensively in Chapter 5 and this analysis confirms the notion that figures of authority not only have more access to news media, but also exercise power through the media. This further agrees with Fairclough's (1989) claim that a fundamental and institutionalised system

exists in which elite groups dominate minority groups through the medium of text. As the analysis in this thesis suggests repeatedly, this systematic use of social and political power by one group over another seems unshakeable.

While the previous three examples offer a direct link between the process of migration and the potential danger that terrorists could enter a country posing as migrants, the remaining three articles are slightly different. Neither one of them states a link between migration and terrorism outright. Instead the fight against terrorism is mentioned alongside other aspects of migration and can be considered as an implicature. To illustrate, the German *FAZ* published two articles, one on June 8th, 2005, and one on May 19th, 2007, and neither linked terrorism to migration directly. The article from 2005 mainly discussed the integration of female migrants and will be analysed in more detail in the next chapter on 'Integration'. It had to be mentioned in this chapter, however, as it also fulfils the selection criteria of mentioning terrorism in an article on migration. The author does so in the context of elaborating on a recently implemented immigration law, by explaining that “In addition, it picks up security political aspects where the fight against international terrorism is meant to be fought with the weapons of foreign policies” (*FAZ* 8/6/2005).

Firstly, this is interesting, as it highlights on a manifest level that law and security are closely linked, and on an indirect level that in the context of migration law potential security risks are prioritised, even if that could lead to a stricter immigration law. Secondly, the discourse with which the law is discussed is striking. The metaphor of fighting terrorism by utilising foreign policies as a weapon shows just how politicised the entire issue of migration is, whilst the imagery of fighting terrorism with political weapons is suggestively emotive. As De Landtsheer notes “a driving concept underlying and causing both rhetorical and cognitive effects of metaphor is emotion. Politicians turn to metaphors because they

arouse emotions that guide what we think of and how we think of it" (2009: 63). Taking this argument further, the use of the above metaphor conveys the idea of a conflict being fought with non-violent, yet nevertheless lethal weapons, in which migrants are further dehumanized as the political elite exercises their power over them. It draws attention to the notion of controlling an entire group of people with the means of the law, which establishes once more the extreme privilege of one group over another.

Taking this argument further, on that level terrorism and migration are then directly linked, as the quote suggests that terrorism can be fought by implementing tighter migration laws. Similar to this example, the *FAZ* article from May 19th, 2007, which focuses on domestic European policies, mentions terrorism and migration in one article – in fact, one sentence – without making a direct link between the two. The author writes

> In the coming months, the working group, in which state secretary Altmaier (CDU) will participate for Germany, is to develop proposals for future structures of European domestic policies, as well as some areas of work, for instance the common fight against terrorism, European Asylum policies and the fight against illegal migration.

Again, this statement does not directly link terrorism and migration, yet by mentioning the two in the same sentence and context, a connection between the two seems to be implied. Especially as the author mentions illegal migration as well, which carries connotations of criminal activity and unlawful behaviour. As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 3, this is a recurring and powerful theme in the media representation of migration. Lawlor argues that "[…] there is reasonably clear consensus that British news media rely heavily on the rhetoric of illegality and security in discussions of immigration" (2015: 337), which underlines that the findings of this research add to the claim that

illegality is a dominating theme in the discourse of migration and security. As such, it recreates the imbalance of migrants as suspects of disorder on the one hand, and politicians with the power to decide their fate on the other. This very imbalance, which repeatedly appears in the broadsheet discourse and beyond, is particularly visible in the final article relevant for this section.

Published by the *SZ* under the sub-section “Refugees” (original: “Flüchtlinge”) within the politics section on February 29th, 2016, it appeared at the height of the European Refugee Crisis and in the direct aftermath of the 2015-2016 New Year's Eve mass sexual assaults in Cologne. It centres around new political developments in the international relations between Morocco and Germany, stating that interior minister Thomas de Maizière was successful in negotiating with Morocco to accept the return of rejected asylum seekers quicker by declaring the Maghreb states safe countries of origin of asylum seekers. Concluding their article, the author notes “Furthermore, Germany and Morocco want to work together more closely on questions of security, among other things on counter-terrorism” (*SZ* 29/2/2016). Two things stand out about this article: firstly, the migrants, or asylum seekers in this instance, are presented as a collective, reduced to the actions of a group, with no regard, at least seemingly, for the fate of individuals. As seen throughout the analysis so far, mentions of migrants as a collective are almost always accompanied by negative discourse, as for instance in relation to metaphors such as “waves” (see Chapter 6). Secondly, the concluding sentence, in which the author chose to mention the fight against terrorism, draws a connection between the tightening of security and migration, implying once again that migration presents a security risk for Germany. The discourse, however, is entirely factual, with no indication of a political alignment or bias of either the author or the broadsheet in any direction.

However, the lack of linguistic devices or emotive language does not mean that there is no implicature of a hidden power relationship. In fact, one could argue that the factual language actually suggests that the matter at hand is widely accepted to be the unchallenged reality of our time, and thus does not require to be presented in a more inflammatory narrative. Yet, as the analysis thus far has indicated, purely factual broadsheet journalism is rather rare, and most articles show some sign of emotive discourse, as the following section on migration and crime will continue to prove.

7.2 Migration and an "increase in crime"

With 11 articles out of 53 relevant for this chapter, this section will highlight that the connection that is being publicised between crime and migration, is far greater than the link between migration and terrorism. Additionally, the time span during which relevant articles were published covers almost the entire timeline of this research, with the earliest examples dating back to 1992 and the latest to 2016. These findings indicate that the recurrence of discourse on migration and crime is consistent over time and hence connect political developments across decades, shaping and recreating the discourse with which migration is being reported in broadsheet journalism. Furthermore, this continuous appearance of discourses on the same issue highlights the relevance of the theoretical framework supporting this analysis, as they illustrate the connectedness of events over time and the importance of the news media as claim makers to report their historical transformations. The earliest example of an article that connects criminality and migration appeared in the German *SZ* on February 26th, 1992 and focuses on the relationship between Austria and Germany. The author notes that

> Germany wishes to gain an enhancement of the mutual deportation agreement with Austria. During a short visit on Tuesday, which focused on the topics of migration and organised criminality, the interior minister from Bonn, Rudolf Seiters, handed a draft to his colleague from Vienna Franz Löschnak, which would make it easier for the German authorities to deport people who arrived 'unauthorised' over Austria into third countries.

The first and obvious point that needs to be made about this example, is the direct link that is being made between migration and organised criminality, which is strengthened by the mention of deporting 'unauthorised' people. As discussed, both in Chapter 3 as well as above, this is a prominent theme in the media reporting of migration in general. It implies that there is an inevitable criminal element to migration, which needs to be managed through strong international collaboration, which carries negative connotations of collective unlawfulness. In fact, this research discovered that this line of argumentation is indeed very frequent, considering that several articles were found across the 53 relevant items that showed the same line of discourse. A year after the previous example, a similar example was found, again in the *SZ*. On March 29th, 1993, an article was published discussing Germany's handling of deportations, in which the author referred to “refugees who came illegally via Poland”. As discussed before, the word “illegal” carries very strong negative connotations of unlawful behaviour, and one could even take it further to say it sparks fear and distrust. Worrying in this context is the use of the word “refugees”. On one hand because it refers to a collective and vast groups of people further contribute to feelings of fear, and on the other hand because refugees are usually people who are fleeing their homes for a reason, be it persecution, wars or humanitarian disasters, and they would usually be deserving of shelter and human aid. By turning them into “illegals”

through means of discourse, it creates even more barriers between 'them' and 'us' and increases the conflict that should not exist in the first place. As Philo, Briant and Donald found in their study of the representations of refugees in British news media “[t]here was common usage of the term ‘illegal immigrant’ across national news reports, along with the derivative ‘illegals’. Asylum seekers are therefore considered within debates about ‘illegal immigration'” (2013: 57). This once more adds to the debate that the interchangeable use of the terms with which different groups of migrants are referred to increases the risk that all terms carry negative connotations.

Yet, this kind of discourse seems to appear constantly in the broadsheet newspapers subject to this study. On December 16th, 1992, at a similar time as the previous two examples, the *SZ* published an article about various groups of African migrants in towns across the Alps region, including Italy, Switzerland and Germany, and their attempts to make a living as street vendors. In the opening line of paragraph three, the author refers to them collectively as “dark figures”, which carries two very negative connotations. On one hand, it implies that they are up to no good and potential taking part in illegal activities, as the image portrayed by the phrase evokes memories of criminals and masked individuals. On the other hand, the second connotation is equally worrisome, as it could be interpreted as a racist remark, if one reads it as the author referring to the skin colour of the African migrants. Both connotations combined then create an almost lethal form of discourse, in which the reader could find a justification and reassurance for xenophobia. Taking this argument even further, the author concludes this article by stating that “of those [migrants] roughly 1000 are illegal and keep themselves afloat through drug dealing, occasional jobs, helping with the harvest and as hawkers”. This concluding sentence carries the notion of a group of people that have to take desperate measures to make ends meet, which in turn suggests that some illegal activity could be part of that. The fact that the author refers to

these migrant groups as illegal and states that some of their earnings could come from drug business only furthers this idea and adds to the overall feeling of fear and dismissal. It echoes the arguments brought forward by scholars like Philo, Briant and Donald (2013) or Cohen (2011), who note that the blurring of terms with which migrants are referred to add to the growing sentiment of hostility towards all groups of migrants. Philo, Briant and Donald state that "[i]n the press sample, issues of asylum were usually discussed alongside economic migration issues, very often without specifying different groups and using language such as 'illegal immigrants' to talk about both economic migrants and asylum seekers who have had their claims rejected" (2013: 59). This observation clearly applies to the analysis in this chapter, as in many of these examples the terms are not only used interchangeably, but the term 'migrant' is also repeatedly found in connection with the adjective 'illegal'.

As stated above, this notion can be found in a large number of articles on the subject, with the *Guardian* speaking about a "concern over "criminal" refugee movements" (October 25th, 1999), which indicates that this is not simply a political issue, but rather a concern of the publics alike. Of course, as established previously in the literature review, the concerns of the public both inform the decisions and debates of the politicians and are informed by the decisions and debates of the politicians, however, the media discourse further aids in materialising these issues. Interestingly, another article by the *Guardian* picks up on this precise interaction. On July 30th, 2003, the author quotes the first study focusing on the dispersal policy in Britain, and notes in the title of their article

> "Asylum seeker dispersal 'a waste of money': Policy driven by moral panic and ineffective, says study, arguing that a considered approach would calm fears and build communities"

The very fact that the most crucial findings of the study in question was summarised and quoted in the title of the article, highlights that the author - and by extension the editor and the broadsheet itself – seeks to point out that media discourse on migration often adds fire to the already highly polarised debate on migration. The author strengthens this line of argumentation, by further stating that "[…] Professor Robinson argues that frequent use of negative and often misleading rhetoric by politicians and the media in discussing refugees has fuelled a growing "moral panic" among white Britons about the "threat" posed by asylum seekers." It must be noted that the author employs Robinson's use of quotation marks around the word "threat", which highlights that it is a false perception of the public to be worried about migration, and aids to discredit it in the process. Furthermore, what is very interesting is the author's notably unbiased summary of the study, in which they even go on to point out that the media, of which they themselves are an integral part, are partially to blame in the spreading of this fallacious discourse. By writing and publishing this statement in a respected media source, it gains even more momentum and strength.

However, this self-reflection by a media outlet is rather rare, and only this one example has been found in the 53 articles focusing on the connection between criminality and migration. A vast majority of news articles tend to zero in on the nexus of illegal migration and the need to prevent it from occurring in the first place. For instance, on April 28th, 1999, the *FAZ* published an article that discussed in lengths the difficulty faced by countries like Switzerland, which have no access to the security intelligence of the Schengen countries. The author claims that "this makes it harder to fight organised criminality and also to intercept illegal migration". While it cannot be claimed with certainty that any reader would understand this sentence to link organised crime and illegal migration together, the fact that it is mentioned in one sentence and not specifically

marked as two individual matters could suggest two things: firstly, that illegal migration might lead to, or be part of, organised crime, and secondly, that illegal migration must be fought with the same force of the law as organised crime, seemingly putting both issues on the same level of severity. The recurring focus on illegal migration is also evident in another *FAZ* article from June 13th, 2002, titled "Illegal Immigration: EU plans to sanction countries of origin". As the title suggests, the article focuses on plans by the European Union to sanction countries which do not help to prevent "illegal immigration". As the author further notes "the fight against illegal immigration, people smuggling, and human trafficking will become a top priority for the EU". This sentence once more suggests that the processes of migration need "fighting", a word that carries strong connotations of conflict and necessary measures of defence. Taking this argument further, the author refers to a statement made by the Federal Minister of the Interior, Otto Schily, who was renowned for his conservative view points, as they write "the EU states did not want that the majority of people come into the community illegally or under the false pretences of alleged reasons for asylum". This reference to Schily's claims once more portrays migrants collectively in a negative way, arguing that the majority would either be illegal or deceptive, which seems to be a glaring generalization.

Though it would appear that glaring generalizations are a recurrence in broadsheet newspapers. In 2006, the *FAZ* published another article, in which the then new Federal Minister of the Interior, Wolfgang Schäuble, is quoted to have said "If one does not send back the illegals, one only encourages the traffickers, who are often mixed up in racketeering: drug and weapon trafficking or forced prostitution" (*FAZ*, 19/11/2006). While this statement seems to be another rampant generalization, it does point to a different phenomenon associated with migration, and one that is often used by politicians, namely that migration regularly involves human traffickers, who make a fortune of the misfortune

of those seeking to migrate for whatever reason. This research does not aim to discredit the validity of this argument, nor does it seek to claim that this side effect of immigration does not exist or that the statement is misleading. However, by analysing the discourse of broadsheet news journalism on migration, one notices that a vast amount of the negativity with which migration is being reported stems, amongst many other examples, from articles that focus on the nexus of migration and the potential for lawlessness. In 2009, *The Times* reported a potential change in immigration law, and the connection between migration and criminality was once again highlighted. The author recounted that the "Government also plans to change the laws regarding the deportation of EU citizens convicted of sexual, violent and drugs crimes" (*The Times*, 23/2/2009), which highlights that there is a heightened awareness amongst politicians that any criminal activity caused by migrants must be addressed publicly to exhibit the strength of the government. Yet, at the same time, the mention of "plans" once more links to the often discussed problematic issue of political uncertainty, which hinders the ruling party to present a stronger and unchallenged display of power in front of their voters.

7.3 Migration and the "lack of (border) controls"

As far as any issues in relation to migration are concerned, the authority of the government seems to be one of the most important elements of the debate, as well as the element that is most challenged by the public. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the majority of news article relevant for the discussion of migration and security, 40 out of 53, fall within the sub-category focusing on the need for migration control and border security. Published at the peak of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the earliest article found to fit this category was published on January 26th, 1991 by the German *FAZ* and discusses in

lengths the fear of the Austrian population over mass refugee movements. This article is yet another great example of the importance of the representative feature of the political semiosis model (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010), as it situates the events relating to migration at the time in the wider contemporary context, linking events of the past with the events in the present and providing a new foundation for connected and developing events in the future. The title of the article "Concerned about flow of refugees" reflects a notion often mentioned in the course of this analysis, namely the fear of the public over large numbers of incoming refugees. This metaphor, which has also been found in the analysis of the discourses of migration and the economy in the previous chapter, points towards the public fears of mass refugee movements, which in turn could lead to a feeling of collective rejection towards refugees. The metaphor is also highly emotive, as it relates to a "natural disaster" (Philo, Briant, Donald 2013: 67). As discussed in Chapter 6, the metaphor of "streams" evokes images of uncontrollable flows of refugees, which seems to call into question the political ability to handle such movements effectively. Taking this argument further, the author concludes the article by noting that the "fear of hundreds of thousands, maybe millions of refugees, especially from the Soviet Union, dictate manifestly the effort to negotiate a consensus amongst Europeans". This underlines once more that the fear of mass immigration is recreated on multiple levels, through the constant moving and interactive cycle of politics, media and the public.

A year later, dealing with the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, an author for the FAZ noted

> The Government must be equipped with means that allows it to limit and control immigration. It must not close the gate entirely, but it must gain the regiment over the gate. If it does not succeed in this, it jeopardizes the social consensus and risks

democracy. (*FAZ,* 30/10/1992)

This statement is a close reflection of the intricate link between political decision making and remaining or winning over the grace of the public. The choice of words by the author, such as the words “gate” and “regiment”, further convey the image of Europe as a fortress, which requires almost military-like control and surveillance, a metaphor that has also been used a lot in recent years, following the European Refugee crisis in 2015. And it should be noted that “Fortress Europe” is not a new metaphor. What was once used as a military propaganda slogan in the Second World War, has long been used to refer to the fight against migration by European leaders (Carr, 2015). As Sajjad notes further “since the fall of the Berlin Wall, European countries have built or started to build 1,200 km of anti-immigrant fencing at a cost of at least 500 million euros” (2018: 42), highlighting that across Europe a strong shared consensus against migration prevails.

Relating to this notion of 'Fortress Europe', there are in fact many similarities in the broadsheet discourse following the refugee crisis after the collapse of the Soviet Union and during the aftermath of the recent European Refugee crisis. *The Times* published an article on May 31st, 2016 with the title “Fears that 500,000 refugees will end journeys in Britain”, which echoes the title of the earlier *FAZ* article, which mentioned the public concern over mass refugee movements. The author of this piece also makes frequent use of the word “flow”, mentioning it twice in the concluding sentence of their article, which claims “It [Migration Watch] estimates that between 240,000 and 480,000 may come as a result of the migrant crisis and while Germany, Greece and Italy have been hit hardest by the flow of people from Africa and the Middle East, the UK could face a secondary flow once they have settled in Europe.” What is evident from these examples is that the media often repeat and thereby reinforce the discourse of “fear” about migration.

On November 19, 1992, *The Times* reports that the German government is trying to agree to changes in the constitution relation to asylum and immigration. The author points out that “In the background is the fear of many Germans that neither this nor anything else will stop future waves of immigration from the former communist bloc”m which once again relates the issue of migration back to the fear of the public. And this discourse was not exclusively used in the past, far from it. On December 31st, 2013, a leading article appeared in the *Guardian* with the title “Migration: Politics of fear”, arguing that Nigel Farage had unleashed “an important debate” when he demanded that Britain should take in Syrian Christians. The author points out further that “popular anxiety has been ratcheted up unscrupulously” in response to this, which points to two important thoughts: firstly, the mention of popular anxiety suggests that public fear of mass immigration exists and might lead to collective anxiety, and secondly, that the public's reaction to and interaction with political decision making ultimately shapes the debate around migration. Articles such as these create and recreate the discourse of fear of mass migration, even though it is often hypothetical whether mass migration even takes place, let alone whether it will affect certain countries, as is the case in this last article.

Positive examples of discourses of migration and security are rare across this sample, but they exist, as an article published by the *FAZ* in 1994 proves. Reflecting on the discussion about a recent study by Harvard academic Samuel P. Huntington, the author notes that Huntington does not criticise migration, but that “he warns of the consequences of recognising migrants as a collective rather than individuals” (*FAZ*, 11/1/1994). This highlights that frequent mentions of mass migration by politicians or the media are incredibly impactful, and that said impact can massively influence the debate around migration. To demonstrate further, an article by *The Times*, published ten years later on

February 27th, 2004, points out that a study "aimed at calming immigration concerns" conducted on behalf of the European Commission has found concerns over mass migration to be unsubstantiated. The research findings are summarised in the title of the article "Survey of new EU states reject migrant fears", which seems to serve the purpose of immediately grabbing the reader's attention while simultaneously bringing the most important research findings across in a single sentence. Considering that titles are chosen with great care and consideration, it would indicate that the overall message of the article was considered to be of great significance in the overall debate on migration. Taking this argument further, the *Guardian* published an article discussing the same study on the same day as *The Times*, titled "Survey refutes claims of huge migrant influx" (*Guardian*, 27/2/2004), making an even stronger case for the validity of the study, as the verb "refute" carries more conviction than the verb "reject".

However, as many of the articles in this section highlight, the need for regulated migration in times of mass migration movements, as articulated by governments, the public and the media alike, is unprecedented. This issue was understood and discussed, for instance, in an article by *The Times*, in which the former Minister of the State at the Home Office, Mrs Roche argues that

> Asylum procedures are increasingly being misused by those who have no real fear of persecution […] This degrades the integrity of the asylum system and rewards the people traffickers who risk people's lives for a profit […] I fully understand public concern about the asylum system and about the wider threat to a properly regulated system of immigration control. (*The Times*, 12/9/2000)

Mrs Roche's claims suggest on one hand a link between crime (in this case human trafficking) and migration, as discussed above. On the other hand, it highlights that the concerns she addresses in this statement stem from fears of the public, making it crucial for political parties to react to the issue. By doing this, Mrs Roche seems to try and counteract the danger presented by the uncertainty with which politics appear to respond to matters of migration to increase the chances of success for her political party – and by extension her own position in power - in a future election. Simultaneously, Mrs Roche's personal response to these issues and her call for tighter immigration controls signal once again a display of power over migrants by the political authorities. Simply put, it indicates the strong call for regulated migration and border control. This is echoed in an earlier article by the *FAZ*, in which the author argues that controlled migration is one of the most important tasks of the government at the time. He states, “what is at stake now is to channel immigration into Germany, which has hitherto been largely uncontrolled, in a reasonably orderly manner” (*FAZ*, 12/12/2001). A much more emotive call for immigration control is visible in a political opinion article published in *The Times* on June 28th, 2012. Written in the first-person account, the author states “A week on, I am still digesting Ed Miliband's apology for his party's woeful underestimate of both the scale of immigration and public concern about it”. By publishing an opinion article in the politics section, *The Times* seems to add the representation of a public voice to their reporting of the issue, and by giving the author a platform it appears to be in support of their standpoint. The first-person account of the author, in combination with their choice of certain words makes this article stand out further. The adjective 'woeful' in connection with the performance of the Labour party on matters of migration is particularly emotive and calls into question, from the point of view of the author, the sincerity of Ed Miliband's apology. All in all, it further adds to the overall debate around the demand of the public for stricter migration policies

and border control.

An author of the *SZ* even goes as far as to claim that “it is critical for the social peace within the Federal Republic that the number of foreigners does not increase substantially” (*SZ*, 15/3/1995). This suggests that an increase in immigration could potentially endanger the peace within the German society, indicating why a public debate about immigration control is invaluable. The author concludes their article by further noting that “as far as the regulation of further influx is concerned, the interests of all people living in Germany must be taken into account”, which indicates the importance of acknowledging public opinion, particularly at times, when evidence suggests that this acknowledgement is lacking. A year after this last article, which clearly called for the public's concerns to be taken seriously, the *FAZ* published an article that discussed the criticism of a potential new immigration law. The author states that many argue that “no immigration law of the world could prevent illegal immigration”, which is based on “the relatively high number of asylum seekers rejected today and not deported” (*FAZ*, 26/8/1996). This suggests that even a year after a newspaper article called for acknowledgement of public concerns the debate was still ongoing and had not been sufficiently addressed, which could explain the steadily growing resentment towards immigration amongst the German public. In direct comparison, fast forward ten years to 2006, and an article in the *FAZ* paints a different picture. On November 19th, the author of the article writes that “security is the priority for a Federal Minister of the Interior”, before elaborating further

> 24.000 caught. In relation to the millions-strong army of shadows that is not much. The minister is aware that his police force, border control, illegal work inspectors are not able to decimate the army of shadows on their own. That is why Schäuble asks for the support of the citizens in Wiesbaden, appealing to their 'ability to know right

from wrong'. (*FAZ* 19/11/2006)

This extract of the article points to several crucial points of information at once. On one hand the author places a lot of focus on the work and performance of the office of the Federal Minister of the Interior at the time, underlining that he is responsible for all security forces in Germany, while also indicating that the forces might be understaffed and not in control of the situation in Germany in 2006, by suggesting that the number of illegal workers captured is far below the number of illegals in the country at the same time. On the other hand, the author simultaneously zeros in on the “millions” of illegal immigrants, who they refer to as “shadows”. This suggests two things, firstly, that there is an unaccountable number of unregistered people in the country, pointing once more to the lack of control of the security forces, and secondly, that there is a hidden implication that those vast numbers of uncontrolled people are probably carrying out illegal activities in one form or another. The latter is implied in the language employed by the author, who talks about “shadows” and an “army of shadows”, with both terms carrying the connotation of something sinister, uncontrollable, and in the context of the appeal to the public to support the security forces by “knowing right from wrong”, it further suggests that these “shadows” might be taking part in illegal activities, which is the reason they must be stopped or “caught”. Looking back to the articles from 1995 and 1996, this article seems to imply that politicians have come to the realisation that the public not only demands action and more control over migration from their political representatives, but more importantly that their concerns should be addressed and validated publicly in order to remain their favour.

Taking this argument further, many of the news articles covering migration and the various aspects of physical and juridical borders discuss in fact the impact of the issue on political

decision making. This coverage ranges from articles that mention political debates around potential measures, already implemented measures, as well as failed measures and the direct impact wrong decision-making can have on politics due to the public's resentment. It should be noted further, that examples of such articles were not just found in more recent peaks, but in fact have been visible throughout the data over the entire timeline, which appears to highlight that the debates and concerns around migration have been indeed ongoing long before the starting date (01/01/1990) of this research. Taking this idea at its vantage point, it highlights the effectiveness of the theoretical political semiosis model (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010) in relation to this study of migration discourses over a long period of time. It points towards the continuous transformation of migration over time, and illustrates how the media act as the representative feature that constantly situates and shapes the debate within the wider context of historical developments of migration. By doing so, the media address the concerns of the general public, provide a platform for political discussions and thus linking migration to the past, present and future of human history as it develops.

To demonstrate, the earliest articles found on this subject were both published by the *Guardian* in 1992, one in June and one in December. On June 11th, 1992, the *Guardian* article in question discussed a proposal by the Swiss government to fingerprint refugees in order to "prevent asylum seekers applying to more than one European Community country". While the focus of this article lies on said idea, the author elaborates further that "Swiss officials will join EC ministers in Lisbon tomorrow for a meeting of the Trevi group, which deals with co-operation between member states on migration, border control and combating international crime and terrorism." Notable in this sentence, which is also the concluding sentence of the article, is the very direct link that is being made between

migration and terrorism and crime. As the author focused on refugees initially, this suggests a link between refugees in particular and terrorism and crime, which is problematic, as previously mentioned, due to the fact that refugees should be deserving of empathy rather than prejudice and over-generalization. Interestingly, the second *Guardian* article from December 8th, 1992, makes a mention that picks up on said issue. While the overall article focuses on Germany's proposal to limit numbers of refugees for the following year, the author states that “critics said the measures would undermine democracy while doing little to stop racism.” This implies that official measures to restrict migration from refugees could potentially harm the relationship between refugees and the public. Furthermore, the explicit mention of “racism” indicates that racial tension could soar because of a political decision, as the public might see their own prejudice validated in a decision made by official authorities.

However, this prejudice does not appear out of nowhere and is deeply rooted in negative experiences of the public and politicians alike. One example of this complex of problems was found in an article published by the *FAZ* on September 21st, 1995, in which the author elaborated on a very specific case of seven Sudanese asylum-seekers, who had applied for asylum in Germany under false pretences. Interestingly, the author chose to quote El Hussein Ahmed, a politician from the opposition in Sudan, who sides with the German politicians, as he claims “It is a shame. These young men have tried to abuse our emergency situation” (*FAZ* 21/9/1995). Notably absent in this article is the voice of the seven asylum-seekers. Yet, by quoting a Sudanese politician in support of the German government, the asylum-seekers are here portrayed to act in a morally despicable way, whilst it might even be argued that this reporting suggests a dimension of criminality. The verb “abuse” conveys both an illegal or unlawful action, as well as an action to be

condemned, which in connection with the process of migration suggests an abuse of the system of the host nation. Again, this is a notion that is found repeatedly in studies of media and migration. In their study of the representation of refugees in British media, Philo, Briant and Donald found that

> The sense that asylum seekers were fraudulent was supported by language such as 'asylum cheats', 'frauds', 'bogus' asylum seekers and 'scamming' in twelve out of the 34 articles discussing asylum. For example, one article in the *Telegraph* argued that 'the surge in what became known as "bogus" asylum seeking and illegal immigration' began when travel became easier after the fall of the Berlin Wall (*Telegraph* 1,18 May 2006). The system was described as being 'abused' or 'exploited' five times in our sample. (2013: 61)

Taking this argument further, one can find another example of this notion, for instance, in an article published by the *Guardian* on March 5th, 1996, which is titled "Hong Kong visa-free plan 'open to abuse'". While the title itself already hints at a political conflict in relation to migration processes, the author further states that the proposal to grant Hong Kong citizens visa-free entry to the UK could "lead to more illegal immigration and further pressure on Britain's pounds 90 billion social security budget". Once again, the discourse suggests a link between a lack of border control and illegal immigration, with the author quoting former immigration minister Charles Wardle, who claimed that the proposal is "a gesture that will run the risk of immigration abuse. […] Anyone who says that it will not increase the risk of immigration control abuse is talking through his head." Both, through the use of direct quotes and their own journalistic story-telling, the author uses the verb "abuse" three times throughout the article, while relating it directly to the danger of illegal

immigration, which adds to the overall argument that it is being used deliberately to convey the feeling of danger and to strengthen the call for immigration and border control.

One observation that is standing out from all of these examples, is that almost every article calls for a solution to control immigration one way or another, and either directly or indirectly refers back to border control. It once again echoes the claim by Esses, Medianu and Lawson (2013) that a lack of political certainty is often disguised in a seemingly strong display of military-style force with which to control migrants. Furthermore, it should become clear at this point in the analysis that migration seems to be a matter that confronts political authorities with challenges that can seemingly only be solved by exercising force and limiting the possibilities of migrants to enter our Western countries in the first place. For instance, in an article published by the SZ on September 17th, 1998, in which the author noted that "the Schengen-Signatories want to secure their shared external frontiers stronger against illegal immigrants". Justifying these measures in light of the developments in the former Kosovo-region, the author states that the politicians want to secure further rights to deal with immigration. It is noted further that

> Among the measures will be more intense controls at the borders, in particular at the southern European harbours. Persons, who arrive illegally ought to be finger-printed, afterwards they ought to be deported "immediately and forceful. (*SZ* 19/9/1998)

This example highlights the sheer resentment against even potential immigration, even though it is always linked to those entering illegally. However, despite the political situation in the light of the Kosovo-Conflict, it is not made clear that those who would potentially arrive in an illegal manner would most likely be refugees with a right to seek asylum,

rendering these proposed measures both unnecessary and useless. At least one would assume that. Yet, as an article from *The Times* on November 28th, 2003, shows, the implementation of physical border controls can result in a reduction of asylum-seekers. Here the author notes that a decrease in numbers

> [...] has been achieved partly by the introduction of tough physical barriers to entry into Britain. The closure of the Sangatte camp, the introduction of visa regimes and better security at Calais are among the policies which have reduced asylum claims. The Government believes that the number of people coming across the Channel illegally is now relatively small.

What this assessment of the situation by the UK government suggests is that immigration, including claims for asylum, seems to be regarded as an unwelcome process, which requires a strict policy that allows the authorities to exercise control. While it is commonly accepted that the Sangatte camp was controversial and attracted a large number of illegal immigrants, articles such as these only focus on removing the symptoms of a much wider problem, without elaborating on the causes, for instance, why are these large amounts of immigrants there in the first place? By doing so, it would seem that general anti-immigration feelings, both among the public and politicians alike, are once more justified and validated, enabling the recreation of the same media discourse over and over again. This would explain why situations like the following are even able to occur: on May 24th, 2002, the *SZ* reports from Turkey, that the "Coast Guard shoots Turkish Refugee dead", noting further that the refugee was a Turkish citizen from the southern part of the country where the majority is Kurdish. While the author also writes that "there have been no deadly shots against refugees out on sea until now", the very fact that the coast guard shot a

refugee in the first place, let alone one of their own citizens, highlights the sheer force and violence with which some officials attempt to regain control and hinder immigration. Furthermore, it points to the fundamental establishment of a social and political hierarchy in which migrants and refugees are powerless and subject to whatever treatment government officials see fit. In the course of the article, the author further elaborates that "Turkey is one of the main transition hubs for illegal migrants. Due to the Economic Crisis, the number of Turkish citizens seeking a way westward has risen" (*SZ* 24/5/2002). What this demonstrates clearly is that reasons for migration are always directly linked with the process of migration, but it also suggests that a solution is difficult to determine, let alone implement. This challenges the political ability to tackle migration and suggests that their violent tactics are merely an expression of helplessness. Crucially, this suggests that the government tries to hide their political incompetence, by framing the refugees as "illegal migrants". As argued throughout this thesis, refugees and asylum seekers are often subsumed under the umbrella term "illegal migrant" (Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013; Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013; Cottle, 2008) in order to justify the political and public hostility with which they are treated.

This would explain further, why certain proposals are considered controversial or difficult from the outset. On July 28th, 2004, an article in the *FAZ* focused on a suggestion made by former Federal Minister of the Interior, Otto Schily, who wanted to install places to check asylum claims in Africa, to restrict the number of asylum-seekers even attempting the journey towards Europe. While Schily argued that his proposal would see the number of human traffickers reduce, it was received with a huge backlash by the German Caritas, a church-run refugee charity. The head of the Caritas claimed it is "absurd to believe that we can solve the refugee problem long-term by erecting a constantly rising ridge around Africa

and by barricading the ways leading to the Fortress Europe" (*FAZ* 28/7/2004). This statement carries several important implications, for instance, the recurring metaphor of "Fortress Europe" to create an impenetrable stronghold in and of Europe, as well as the idea of erecting a wall to keep immigrants at bay. These modes of compartmentalisation convey further the notion of segregation between "us" and "them", with the nexus being the strong wish to keep "them" out, which is what the Caritas are criticising with regards to Schily's suggestion. Though the criticism not only came from pro-immigration charities, as another article from the *SZ*, published on August 4th, 2004, proves. The author points out that "[e]ven the Eu Commission distances itself from the plans of the Federal Minister of the Interior to install external camps for refugees", which demonstrates first and foremost that the handling of matters of immigration are incredibly difficult and complex, and suggests further that a "right" or "wrong" solution might not exist. As an author for the *SZ* points out in an article published a year later on October 13th, 2005,

> In this mixed mood, politics struggle to develop a coherent strategy to tackle the problem of migration from South to North. […] At the core, the point for Europe is to protect national interests – the safeguarding of its borders and the preservation of its affluent societies.

Here, the conflict of interests becomes explicit, on one hand the EU commission does not want to simply keep asylum-seekers at a distance, and rejects Schily's proposal, but on the other hand, the main focus of the efforts of the European Commission also has to lie on its responsibility to protect and preserve the wealth and safety of the European citizens. This article seems to capture the nexus of the complexity of migration fairly well, as it furthermore points towards one of the main underlying issues: the mixed mood amongst

the European community on the matter. It highlights once again that political decision-making is strongly influenced as well as guided by the general emotional atmosphere amongst the public.

This constantly changing mood is visible throughout most of the articles presented in the analysis of this research, and it could be argued that it feeds strongly into the numerous solutions proposed by the politicians with regard to matters of security. In an article from 2008, published by the *SZ* on June 30th, the author notes for instance that the Government of France plans to "direct immigration according to the demands of the economy", while former UK Migration Minister Liam Byrne suggested in 2007 that the UK should implement "one, identity cards for foreign nationals […] and two, new systems to count people in and out" (*Guardian*, 31/10/2007). As of today, neither one of Byrne's suggestion came into effect, and France's seemingly idealistic plans are arguably impossible to implement, as immigration is not a one-way process which the rich nations can simply "direct" in their interest but is subject to many different and very complex factors. On April 27th, 2011, the *Guardian* published an article titled "Fortress Europe? There is a better way", which argues that "[a]ttempts at fortifying southern Europe against migrants from north Africa fail repeatedly", implying that political proposals of compartmentalisation are ineffective and the wrong approach. However, the author makes a crucial point by highlighting that these measures of migration control failed due to the fact that migration is a process that cannot be controlled by one party alone:

> The hypocrisy of all this might be summed up in that, for them, freedom of movement is only desirable when it's enjoyed exclusively by white Europeans. But in a globalised culture the people of Tunisia, Iraq and Libya will simply not stay put

> regardless of the pronouncements of Europe's political leaders. If you bomb people, for example, they will run and seek refuge elsewhere - it really is as simple as that. (*Guardian*, 27/4/2011)

As the example of France's failed plans demonstrated, immigration cannot be controlled and directed to suit a nations interest. War and conflict, in which Western nations are often directly or indirectly involved, play a further, unpredictable role in this scenario, and desperation to survive will always lead people to seek out ways to reach safety. Despite these numerous failed attempts and much debate on the subject, a solution for the 'right' or correct way of immigration control is nevertheless out of sight and out of reach. In this sense, this thesis echoes the findings and arguments put forward in the academic studies discussed in Chapter 3. A lack of political certainty as to how to address migration on a national and international level coupled with a rise in migration and refugee movements across the globe appears to lead to an ever-increasing and repeated cycle of anti-migration discourses in the majority of news reports. Once again, it must be noted that this analysis only offers a very limited glimpse into the broadsheet journalism of the UK and Germany, and that a lot of news coverage was omitted from this research by means of a very strict sampling process. Yet, the examples put forward for analysis so far are supportive of the arguments discussed in the literature and produced no striking new observations, which strengthens the claim that media coverage of migration is predominantly hostile.

In an article published by the *SZ* on October 25th, 2013, focusing on the aftermath and consequences of the army mutiny in Eritrea, the author reports that the “EU does not want to open up the “Fortress Europe”, despite massive criticism of its asylum policies”. Once

again, the metaphor of an impenetrable Europe is being used by the author to convey the feeling of compartmentalisation between Europe and Africa, but it further highlights that despite an urgent crisis, refugees and asylum-seekers are not considered to be in need of help and assistance. This line of discourse seems to imply an unwelcoming Europe, which rejects calls for help by those in need, as the author elaborates that an EU summit in Brussels will only discuss "to improve the conditions in the countries of origin" (*SZ,* 15/10/2013), although it remains unclear from the article, but also from a general point of discussion, how the EU summit would plan to improve the situation in a country that has just been turned into a military dictatorship. What this article conveys is once again a feeling of helplessness and perplexity, with no feasible solution in sight, neither where the question of improvements in countries of origin is regarded, nor in regard to controlling immigration in Europe. And according to the title of an article in the *SZ* on October 31st, 2014, "The Mediterranean Sea is becoming unsafe again", indicating that after many decades of migration debates (more than two decades discussed in this research alone) no solution has been identified and most measures implemented have failed to make immigration safer. Considering the vast amount of debate on the subject over the course of this timeline alone, it would suggest that while politicians take matters of security incredibly serious and much discussion is concerned with the safeguarding of borders, the implementation of border control policies has not contributed to either controlling migration or to reducing the reasons for migration in the first place. This implies that migration could only be reduced by addressing the root of the "problem" in the countries of origin, at least in cases of violent conflicts, or climate-, humanitarian- or economic crises.

This chapter has argued that media discourses of security in response and relation to migration are predominantly focusing on notions of threat and illegality. Philo, Briant and

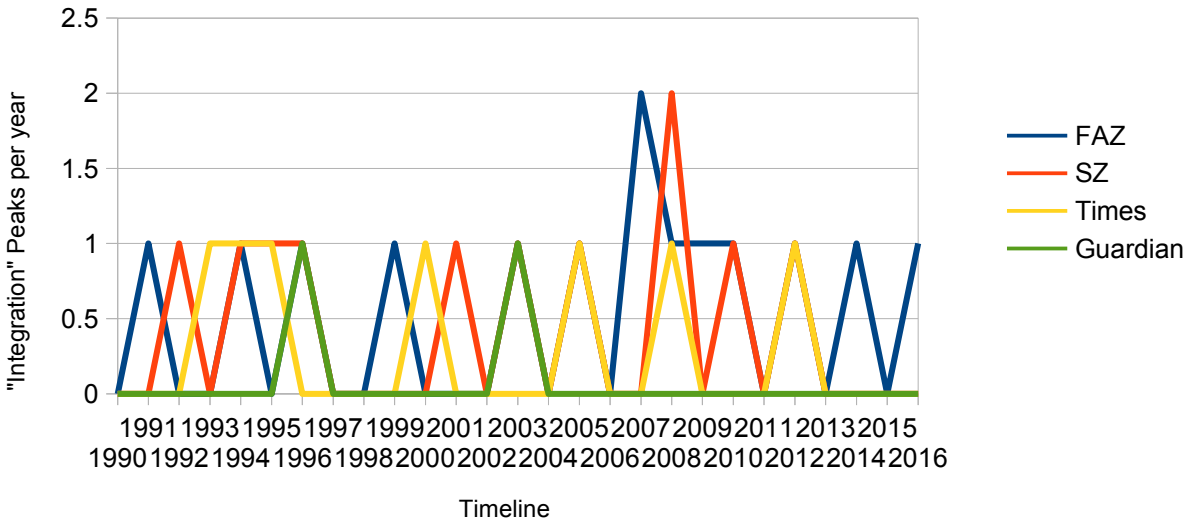
Donald found in their study of news representations of refugees that “[b]eyond terrorism, fears of increased criminality were also contributing to a wider sense of concern” (2013: 23), a sentiment that this research echoes. As the analysis of discourses of migration and security has shown, a large number of articles referred to migrants and asylum-seekers as “illegal”, presenting them as a threat. Furthermore, as argued above, the terms 'asylum-seeker' and 'migrant' were often used interchangeably. As found in similar studies, it is unclear whether this is due to “the confusion in the news accounts between refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants” (Philo, Briant, Donald, 2013: 165). However, confirming the discussion of the literature review, the blurring of these terms and the interchangeable use with which they appear in the articles results in them both carrying the same negative implications, which increases the hostility towards the entire issue of migration. Finally, this chapter has argued that migration control is an often-cited political issue, both in Germany and the UK, however, that across the timeline no clear solutions have been offered, let alone implemented as to how to control migration in a practical sense. This indicates a lack of political, and subsequently public, consensus on the topic of migration. The following chapter explores the discourses of migration and integration and argues that ethnicity and fears of multiculturalism dominate the news reporting.

8. Discourses of Migration and Integration

The previous two chapters have examined how broadsheet newspaper in Germany and the UK report migration in relation to economical and security aspects and argued that the general discourse shows great levels of hostility towards migration. This chapter looks at the impact of migration on integration, and while the concept of integration is usually regarded to have positive connotations, this chapter notes that the discourses analysed in the following sections are equally negative than the discourses discussed in the previous two chapters. The data selection process identified 33 articles to be relevant out of the 151 peaks. Out of these 33 articles, 14 articles were published by the *FAZ* and 10 articles by the *SZ,* while 6 articles were found in *The Times* and 3 articles in the *Guardian*. As Figure 8.1 below shows, the spread of peaks that centre around the topic of integration in relation to migration are fairly even across the broadsheets, with only two spikes in the data.

Discourse Category "Integration" across the sample

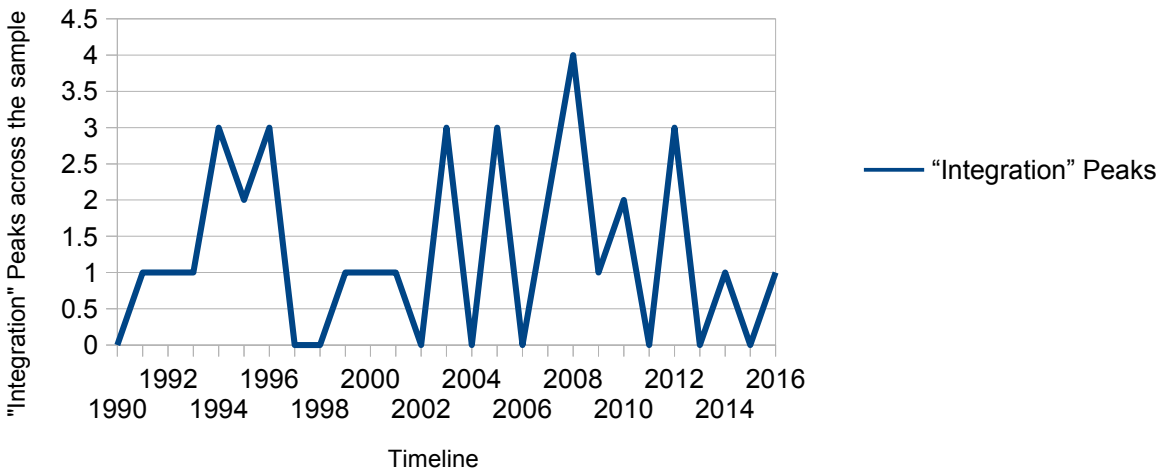
Fig 8.1



Found in 2006 and 2008 respectively, both spikes were found in the German sample, with two articles found in the *FAZ* in 2006 and two articles in the *S Z* in 2008. Unlike the distribution of topical peaks in the previous two chapters on economy and security, the peaks discussing integration seem to be a lot more irregular across the timeline of this research as can be seen in Figure 8.2 below. The number of articles found vary from 0 to 4 across the broadsheets, and no clear trend can be made out from the distribution in the graph below. This suggests, that the debate about integration and migration is as ever-changing and inconsistent in the national news in Germany and the UK as the general political reality of migration.

Discourse Category “Integration” across the timeline

Fig 8.2



This chapter explores the reporting of integration by looking at the articles in relation to the five sub-categories outlined in Table 5.6 in chapter 5. The first sub-category labelled “means of integration” centres around different measures of integration or integration policies and includes both successes and failures of integration. The second sub-category includes all articles that related to issues of “diversity”, while the third sub-category labelled the “undermining of heritage”, groups together all articles that mention the potential harm

caused by migration to the values of the national heritage, as well as the heritage of the migrants. The fourth sub-category subsumes under the heading “cultural enrichment” all articles that mention migration as a positive influence on the cultural realm of the host nation, while the fifth and final sub-category includes all articles that relate migration to “segregation”. This chapter argues that integration is a complex topic of political discussion that centres more than the previous two chapters on stories of migrants, however, this category also shows that the majority of the reporting is dominated by negativity and examples of failed integration.

8.1 Means of integration

The largest number of articles discussing aspects of integration fall within the sub-category of 'means of integration', with a total of 18 articles out of 33 in total. This is partially due to the fact that this sub-category includes all mentions of integration laws and policies, as well as different measures of integration. Where they are directly linked to both policies and measures, this section will also include articles that mention successful or failed examples of integration. With only one article out of the 18 relevant for this section published by a UK broadsheet, this section will offer a strong insight into the discourse on integration measures in Germany in particular.

The first relevant article in this context was published by the German *FAZ* on June 20th, 1991 and presents a good example for the type of article included in the definition of 'means of integration'. The author reports that Liselotte Funcke, a Member of the Government responsible for the integration of foreign workers and their families, has announced that she is leaving her post due to her “disappointment over a lack of

opportunity to work and have an impact"[21]. This seems to suggest that the government has made it impossible for Ms Funcke to actively shape the very area she is responsible for, namely integration of immigrant workers and their families. Taking this sentiment further, it indicates at the same time that integration was not a political priority in 1991, which is not surprising given the historical context of Germany at the time. This article was written in June of 1991, in the direct aftermath of the reunification and at a time in which many native Germans either relocated within Germany or returned to Germany. Due to this, the need for "Gastarbeiter" decreased, and with it the focus on integration of said group. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 2 on the history of migration in Germany, guest workers were mostly considered to be temporary German residents, which could account for an additional reason as to why integration appeared less important in the early 1990's.

That being said, 18 months later the *SZ* published an article in which the author reported quite the opposite. On December 16th, 1992, they reported

> The German Trade Union Confederation gives itself credit for having gone to town on the occupational integration of the roughly 1.7 million guest workers in Germany. Evidence: With the revision of the industrial relations law in 1971/72, the trade unions have asserted that foreign workers can also participate both passively and actively in the works council elections. Today, 4,6 per cent of all work councils in Germany are foreigners.

However, what this statement actually suggests is that the most recent integration measures were implemented twenty years prior to the publication of this article.

21 All translations in this thesis have been conducted by the researcher; the analysis is conducted exclusively on the original; for original please see Appendix C

Furthermore, the discourse in this paragraph conveys a sense of irony on part of the author. Phrases such as “gives itself credit” and “having gone to town” are considered rather colloquial, while they also seem to portray the German Trade Union Confederation as boastful. Taking this argument further, this suggests an attempt to discredit their claim, or at least cast a doubt on its accuracy, and in light of the very small number of 4,6 per cent of foreign work councils it calls into question how successful integration matters really have been. As discussed in Chapter 3, the questioning of authority unearths social and political inequality and calls into question the authority usually attributed to federal institutions or the government.

Another suggestion repeatedly being made in relation to integration, is the need for improved language services for immigrants. For instance, on January 14th, 1999, the *FAZ* reports that the German Civil Servant for the Integration of Foreigners proposed that immigrants should “be able to express themselves in the German language both in their daily life and with public authorities”, which highlights the importance of language in the process of integration, as it enables immigrants to conduct their daily business without a language barrier. Taking this argument further, another example was found in an article published by the *FAZ*, only six years later on June 8th, 2005. It focused on a new measure of integration, a revised system of compulsory language courses that was specifically targeted at wives of men who would normally forbid their wives to attend language courses. This is an interesting and unusual focal point of reporting, as migrants are not usually separated in the news reporting by gender. However, this results in a slightly more sympathetic coverage, as Szczepanik (2016: 25) argues that women and children are covered with more empathy, while men are more commonly viewed in a negative way, and ties in with the narrative on “good” migrant versus “bad” migrant (Philo, Briant, Donald,

2013; Szczepanik, 2016). In this article, however, the focus remained on the new system of integration, which was part of a new immigration law that would soon come into effect, and as the author notes the “much praised alteration of the law is meant to be the begin of an integration policy for immigrants, but also for foreigners, who have been living here for a long time” (*FAZ*, 8/6/2005). What this statement indicates is that the new immigration law was deemed necessary to increase the chances of a successful integration, but also that integration has failed in some areas in the past, especially with regard to foreigners who have long been living in Germany. As the author notes further this “catch-up integration” is one the most difficult undertakings of German politics” (*FAZ*, 8/6/2005), which highlights that the German government has failed to implement successful measures of integration, and that they have realised the urgency to address the situation. Yet, the new law was also met with criticism, “because foreigners who have been living in Germany for years could be legally obligated to attend, and they face cuts to their social benefits, if they fail to appear” (*FAZ*, 8/6/2005).

These drastic measures to enforce the new law convey the sense of a penalty system, in which the foreigner, or the migrant, are treated like criminals. This image once again reinforces the hidden power dynamic of an elite group on the one hand, and a minority on the other. Furthermore, it implies that foreigners will always be considered foreigners, regardless of how long they have been residents in Germany. As Richardson claims “[t]hose defined as ‘foreign’ are therefore always on their toes, never quite sure when some group, party or individual will feel that the line has been crossed and will once again shout ‘that’s enough’” (2009: 370). This article underlines the vulnerability of migrants in relation to political power, and echoes Fairclough's calls for “social change” (1989, 2012, 2017), which illustrates the importance of a CDA for the purpose of identifying hostile discourses of migration. Furthermore, the notion of forceful oppression of migrants and

foreigners by political authorities in Germany once again reflect the idea that migration can only be dealt with in a controlling, military-style fashion, while other circumstances of migration and successful integration are disregarded. According to the president of the Federal Institute of Migration, Albert Schmid, however, a system in which language courses are compulsory encourages integration. As the author states

> The compulsory character fosters, said Schmid, the attendance of women and girls in the language classes. By pointing out the legal obligation, they could sidestep the prohibitions that had been imposed by the men of the families. (*FAZ*, 8/6/2005)

While Schmid's point of argumentation appears logical and useful to some extent, it indicates a conflict with the acceptance of cultural differences. Whether Western politics or societies agree with it or not, by passing over the beliefs and rules of the culture of a migrant it could be argued that, at least to some extent, the state enacts a form of oppression. Certainly, language skills might increase the chances of integration, but they would appear to be useless, if the women or girls, who were forbidden to attend courses in the first place, were not allowed to use them afterwards. One could argue that integration works two ways, measures must be in place to facilitate it, however, there must also be a willingness to utilize them.

Yet, an article from the *FAZ* published on April 27th, 2007, suggests that the focus on the language skills of women is indeed a strong focus of the government to increase integration. At least, this is suggested in the title, which states “Mother as integration helpers – Federal Government wants to involve parents of foreign children”. What is visible in this example is the focus on the important connection between language and education,

as the author reports that the government argues that language skills should be the "priority" (original: "Vorrang") of any integration plan. Only with the ability to speak the German language could families be integrated fully into German society, the school system and the workplace. The author reports

> It depends on the mothers. Like here in the adult education centre in Offenbach, mothers of immigrant children should henceforth acquire good German skills, to further the education and employment chances of their offspring. For the integration of foreign pupils, the federal government relies on the insights of education and language researchers, that the support of parents plays a particularly important role in the acquirement of the German language. (*FAZ*, 27/4/2007)

Striking about this paragraph is the strong focus on the role of mothers. The verb "depends" strongly suggests that the responsibility for the successful integration of their children lies predominantly with the mothers, and one might even argue that it conveys a certain degree of laying blame on them for a supposedly lack of support in the past. This line of argumentation contrasts dominant claims that women are represented more favourably by the media (Szczepanik, 2016) and instead suggests that they too become the focus of politics when integration measures are criticised and blame needs to be diverted from those in power. Taking this argument further, it indicates that the relationship between the media and the powerful political elite is one of favouritism, with migrants always taking the blame. It is interesting that at no point in the article the role of the father was called into question, the only words used are "mother" and "parents", which suggests a traditional role of the family, where the mother is responsible for house and children, while the father earns a living, presumably absolving him of any responsibility for his

offspring. Furthermore, it should be noted that the only sources for this article seem to stem from government officials, which is suggested by the fact that the article reports the point of view of the government, with no insight into the perceptions of those affected by these measures. This indicates that a lot of the debate on integration happens at the government level with little or no consultation of migrants or people with a migration background.

This notion is further visible in the following article, which was published on July 13th, 2007, again by the *FAZ*. It suggests that the new immigration law, which was implemented two years prior in 2005, was received with strong criticism, particularly from Turkish unions. The title reports "Merkel rejects "ultimatums" by Turkish Unions – The Chancellor: National Integration plan unique / Further dispute over boycott" (*FAZ*, 13/7/2007). This suggests that previous measures of the new immigration law have been received unfavourably, and that Turkish unions had issued ultimatums to the government to change it. The author reports that in 2007, the federal government, federal states, individual communes, and unions had worked together on a new integration plan, which would "contribute to enhance integration, educational opportunities and job perspectives of roughly 15 million immigrants in Germany" (*FAZ*, 13/7/2007). However, they point out further that Turkish unions "had boycotted the meeting", as all of their ultimatums had been ignored. The verb "boycott" in this instance is a strong implicature for the heightened tension between the German government and the Turkish unions at the time. Furthermore, it implies that previous integration measures, such as the compulsory language courses, might not have been received with the desired enthusiasm. Despite this, the author of this article implies that the government focuses their main effort on further developing this scheme. They claim

> According to information from Chancellor Merkel, the federal government alone wants to invest 750 million euros in efforts of integration in the future. This will include in particular an intensification of the language education of new residents, but also of foreigners, who have been living in Germany for a while. (*FAZ*, 13/7/2007)

However, this report does suggest that despite the criticism of the scheme announced in 2005, and the recent tensions with the Turkish unions, the German government is holding on to their planned efforts to increase language education. What is notably absent from any of the articles in this section thus far, are any other concrete plans for integration measures, besides the focus on language skills. While the author states that a very large financial amount will be allocated to integration measures, only language classes are specifically stated as one of these measures. If one takes into consideration only the last three examples of broadsheet discourse from the German *FAZ*, it seems to convey a sense of cluelessness of the German government on how to effectively and actively increase chances of integration. These echoes findings of similar studies (Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013) about the impact a sense of political uncertainty can have on the public's perception of migration. Taking this argument further, not only does the German government seem to be overwhelmed in their finding of the right and most effective way of integration at times, an article in the *SZ* from September 29th, 2010, indicates that the measures it agrees on are not always successfully implemented. In this example, the author reports that "roughly 9000 immigrants are currently waiting that they can attend an integration course", which suggests that despite the large 750 million budget the government pledged to invest in integration measures in 2007, not enough resources have been established to guarantee that immigrants can attend the language courses.

Going slightly back in time and looking at a different aspect of integration, the following article reports on the commonly discussed angle that “immigration 'should match skills gap'”, a theme that was often found or implied in the articles that looked at the economic impact of migration. This particular piece was published in *The Times* on September 12th, 2000, and focused on the notion that immigration should be controlled and managed in accordance with economical needs and demographic changes. Having been discussed in the previous analysis chapters discussing migration in relation to economy and security, this article does not offer an insight into integration measures as such, however, the author reports that Mrs Roche, former Minister of State for Asylum and Immigration, “insisted that the integration of migrants into British life had been remarkably successful.” It could be argued that this statement, which is also the concluding sentence of the article, appears to be taken out of context, however, having discussed the article in detail in the chapters mentioned above, no further mention of the issue of integration was made in the article. The author discusses Mrs Roche's points that immigration should be handled according to missing skills in the economic sector, and should also respond to the needs of an ever-ageing population, yet, her claim that integration had been “remarkably successful” seems to only serve the function to soften her calls for a controlled migration. It is without a doubt an example of a mention of successful integration, however, considered in its context, it must be noted that it was issued by a politician, and without any further elaboration as to how she arrived at this conclusion. From a political standpoint it is obviously important to portray the efforts of the political elites in a favourable light, especially in an attempt to balance the political responses to migration and the overarching hostility. This point is strengthened by the virtual absence of the voice of migrants themselves, thereby reproducing the power structure with Mrs Roche representing the political elite, who makes claims that are not supported or backed up by those experiencing integration measures.

As the following examples will highlight further, no example of a successful integration has been reported in the media from the point of view from migrants or people with a migration background. The remaining articles will demonstrate that there appears to be an ongoing debate on the measures of integration needed, yet the voice of migrants and people with a migration background is never heard in the broadsheet discourse.

Published in the *FAZ* on March 27th, 2003, the next article centres around a political debate within the Green Party in Germany to renew the negotiations about the new immigration law. Referring to a statement made by Mrs Beck, Green Party Member and the Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration at the time, the author states that it is "absurd and anti-integration to deny [rejected but tolerated asylum-seekers] access to the job market, and their children, who have mostly grown up in Germany, access to education" (*FAZ*, 27/3/2003). While this statement could be interpreted to be in support of the difficult situation of tolerated, but rejected asylum-seekers, it shows that the discussion about integration takes place mainly on a political level of authority. Furthermore, as Richardson (2009) notes, tolerance towards asylum seekers and migrants is a fragile construct and does not indicate that the public of the host country is supportive of migration. The implication that these asylum-seekers have children who have grown up in Germany further indicates that while they might have been in the country for a long time, integration has not taken place as they are considered to be in Germany temporarily. Despite this perceived lack of political ability to tackle migration and integration, it must be noted that the majority of sources quoted in the articles analysed so far were members of the political elite or experts with a level of authority. This reiterates the findings of Philo, Briant and Donald, who claim that "[s]tatements and sources cited by the journalists in the articles were most commonly attributed to politicians" (2013: 55).

As the title “Treat immigrants fair” suggests, an article of the *SZ* from November 24th, 2005, mentions immigration and integration in a supportive way. Reporting of the UN commission's demand to grant more rights to immigrants seeking employment, the author notes that the commissioner argues “they not just need residence permits, but also chances to integrate” (*SZ*, 24/11/2005). This line of discourse not only implies that the UN commission considers fairness in the job market a crucial element of integration, but further that it is concerned with the support of immigrants. The adjective “fair” further points towards the notion of equality, which is a strong contrast to the dominating discourse of hostility most commonly found in the broadsheet reporting of migration. However, while this last article displays a rather positive example of discourse on immigration and the importance of integration, the following article of the *FAZ* from July 24th, 2008, indicates that the German government does not want to make integration an easy choice. The author reports

> From September onwards, foreigners who want to become German citizens can be questioned with the so-called naturalization test. […] The test requires “a minimum of knowledge about Germany”, it is “appropriate and does not ask too much of anybody”, says Interior minister Mr Schäuble (CDU). Mrs Böhmer (CDU), the State Minister in the chancellery who is responsible for integration, referred to American experiences which showed that such tests could be applied successfully. (*FAZ*, 24/7/2008)

This statement highlights once more the strong sense of authority of the government, and subsequently power of action over the fate of immigrants and foreigners in Germany. This

ties in with previous arguments, in the academic literature as well as in the preceding analysis chapters, stating that one of the main interests of political elites is to eradicate the publics uncertainty in their ability to manage migration in the national interest and to display strength and conviction. Interesting is also the reference made to similar tests in America, which Mrs Böhmer claims to have been “applied successfully”. While the (unofficial) status of the USA as the ultimate political and economical powerhouse of the world has dwindled away in recent decades, it seems their handling of immigration is still often looked upon with a sense of approval. She also does not define what she understands to be a 'successful' test of integration, nor does she, or in fact the author of the article, elaborate on the exact purpose of the test. As the quotes of Mr Schäuble imply, the test only asks very basic questions about Germany, making it doubtful that a passing of it signifies a successful case of integration, let alone that it helps immigrants feel integrated.

It does not seem surprising that a year following this article, the *FAZ* reports of renewed criticism of the government's handling of integration. In an article from October 27th, 2009, with the concise, yet explicit title “Criticism of integration politics” the author notes that the Expert Council of German Foundations for Integration and Migration criticised that the government had failed in its revaluation (original: “Aufwertung”) of the institutions dealing with integration and migration. While the title is brief, it conveys that politics have dissatisfied the expectations of the expert council, calling into question its effectiveness in handling integration, and by extension immigration. However, the author balances the negative sentiment of the title by pointing out that the expert council also expressed commendations with regard to new integration measures. They state “Amongst the positives of the coalition contract are the recommendations to introduce the measuring of

language levels at pre-school age, to support day care centres, to introduce integration contracts for new immigrants, and to expand integration courses to be more job market specific" (FAZ, 27/10/2009). This discourse suggests a very structured and controlled approach to immigration and integration. While it is not made clear as to how 'integration contracts' would work, what they would entail and how they would be enforced, the mention of it as part of the new coalition contract indicates that the government was attempting to further its control over the process of migration. The focus on developing clear skill sets, such as competent language use and workplace specific knowledge, further implies that migrants and foreigners residing in Germany are required to fit within the economic demands of the country. Yet, it should be noted that, as in previous examples, integration measures are only listed as concepts, their actual function and feasibility is not further discussed or explained.

It is this very image of a government stuck in its own perplexity and inaction, that one can see repeated over and over again in the broadsheet discourse on migration and integration. And while this section looks predominantly on the case of Germany, it must be noted, as previous analysis chapters and the literature review have indicated, that this lack of certainty with which to handle migration is strongly visible in the broadsheet discourse of the UK, too. On September 27th, 2010, the *FAZ* published an article with the predicative title "Those who come to us, have to make a contribution to integration", which indicates on one hand that integration should be a two-way street as earlier argued. On the other hand, it suggests that politicians appear to try to shift the focus from their own incapability to solve the integration question to those subject to integration. Recalling the earlier example in which the blame was shifted to female migrants, this line of reporting indicates that this is a recurring theme in the discourse. It underlines the difficulty of undermining the

authority of politicians, and once more points towards the notion that the media reinforce the existing power dynamics in which migrants are dehumanized and treated as “victims at best” (Sajjad, 2018: 1). Reporting from the party congress of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the author states further

> In an unanimously passed resolution on Sunday, the delegates demanded bigger efforts, both from the Federal government and migrants. “Those who come to us permanently also have the duty to make their own contribution to integrate into society, for example through the attendance of integration courses,” the resolution stated. (*FAZ*, 27/10/2010)

Having discussed several articles above that mention integration courses as a means to increase integration into German society, it seems to become evident that they were the main focus of the government in terms of integration measures at the beginning of the 21st century. Now, if one recalls the *SZ* article from September 29th, 2010, it reported that more than 9000 immigrants were waiting to attend an integration course. Yet, this *FAZ* article reports that politicians demand a bigger effort on the part of immigrants to integrate. This line of discourse points at a conflict of perception, on one hand politicians demand that migrants integrate themselves more, yet on the other hand the government's supply of integration courses is insufficient, meaning that many immigrants are unable to attend the courses, despite their willingness to do so. The line of discourse in this article seems therefore slightly misleading, as it implies that migrants are not doing enough to integrate, when to some extend the state's integration measures are inadequate.

Considering the discourse thus far, in the case of Germany it seems to be evident that

migration and integration control is one of the main aims of immigration politics. Similar to the discourse found in the article by *The Times*, which argued that immigration "should match the skills gap", the articles in this section have mostly centred around the notion that integration should be workplace related and migrants should be competent users of the German language. The final article in this section on integration further implies the sentiment that migration should be a controlled process in all aspects. Published by the *FAZ* on January 30th, 2016, this article centres around government debates about a potential new asylum law. The author notes "the integration of refugees, the restriction of migration, and the containment of reasons for fleeing are tasks of enormous dimension". If considered in the context of this research and the discussion in this chapter so far, this statement seems to suggest that at a political level migration is predominantly a task that requires controlling and solving. The author clearly refers to the "restriction of migration", indicating that not everyone is welcome, which underlines what the analysis of the discourse in this chapter implied: that integration measures focus particularly on equipping migrants with a skill set that will make them valuable to the work force and as a member of society.

8.2 Migration and diversity

Having examined the discourse of means of integration, this section is concerned with the broadsheet discourse on migration and diversity. During the data selection process, 4 articles were identified to be relevant for this discussion, making this one of the smaller sections of all analysis chapters by numbers of articles. Of interest in this context is the fact that the first three of these articles were published in the same broadsheet, *The*

Times, in the subsequent years of 1993, 1994 and 1995. Only one example was found in the German *SZ,* and it was published thirteen years later in 2008. The spread of articles in this section thus derives from two broadsheet newspapers with opposing political alignments, regardless one must bear in mind the methodological restrictions, which are due to the sampling process, meaning that the articles in this section can only present a small idea in the reporting of migration and diversity over the course of the timeline.

Starting with the earliest article published in *The Times* on October 8th, 1993, this example is rather different compared to most of the articles that are being discussed in this analysis. Due to the very strict selection criteria outlined in Chapter 5, all articles had to be published in the 'politics' section of the newspapers, eliminating, in all but this one case, letters written by members of the public. However, this specific letter was written by Professor David Coleman, a demographic expert and scholar at the University of Oxford and former Special Adviser to the Home Office, which suggests that his letter might have been published in this section due to his expert opinion on this political topic. This is a striking finding, not only because it is the only piece that is not a journalistic article of expert feature, but also because it is an implicature of the fact that only members of the public that are considered of importance would be given a voice in *The Times.* In this letter, Professor Coleman responds to a previous article in *The Times*, which discussed the criticism of a recent proposal to assist migrants in their wish to return to their home countries. Professor Coleman argues that “clearly some [immigrants] will have had unsatisfactory experiences of life here. It is not reasonable to expect all immigrants to have an unqualified commitment to the country they have chosen to move to.” This points to the idea that experiences of immigrants differ greatly, and that many chose to return home because they are not satisfied with their lives in the UK. While there are undoubtedly many

reasons for why a migration experience might be unsatisfactory, a lack of integration or strong feeling of being a minority could result in the desire of migrants to return to their home countries. As Coleman notes further “if handled sensitively such programmes are surely an aid to better race relations, not the reverse, and in no way need they compromise continued efforts to secure equality of opportunity.” This strengthens the previous argument that many migrants might feel like they are always a foreigner and never accepted as a citizen of their chosen country of migration, thus wanting to return home, where they feel a sense of belonging. It further relates to an argument brought forward by Philo, Briant and Donald, who state that “[d]iscussion of the problems facing asylum seekers was usually a minor theme” (2013: 84), which explains why there is such little news reporting of migrants having a negative experience of migration.

The second article in this sub-category focuses on the same notion. Published by *The Times* on June 27th, 1994, the article is titled “I'd be better off in Antigua”, and tells the story of British-born West Indians who despite having been born in Britain feel like they do not belong here. As the author notes in their opening sentence “seven years ago Derek Marshall came to the conclusion that he could no longer endure feeling like a foreigner in his own country.” This statement suggests that there were strong racial tensions present in Britain in 1994, which resulted in people with a different ethnic origin or skin colour to feel excluded and unwelcome. It further echoes claims made by Richardson (2009), that tolerance towards migrants can shift after a while and change the way migrants feel about their host country. Giving voice to Derek, the author quotes

> As a member of a minority living in Britain I had all these extra worries hanging over me. I was one of only a handful of black students at university. I always felt I had to

> work harder than the white students to prove my abilities. On several occasions I was questioned by police on my way home about various robberies which I knew nothing about. I felt totally frustrated and alienated. (*The Times*, 27/6/1994)

This experience, which one knows was and is still shared by many other migrants or people with a migration background, highlights that diversity is still not the celebrated side-effect of migration as often argued, but rather a problem for those who are part of the minority. With this article, the author gives Derek (and by extension others who share his experience) a very important platform to make his voice heard, which, as the rest of the analysis chapters have shown, is not very common in broadsheet reporting of migration. As the first-person discourse of Derek's statement is naturally a lot more personal and emotive, it conveys a very strong feeling of both sympathy for his situation and understanding for his frustration. In line with De Landtsheer, who refers to emotion as an "important persuasive tool" (2009: 64), this emotive account of failed integration by an individual migrant adds to their credibility and offers a contrasting discourse to the otherwise dominating negative portrayal of migrants as subject. Furthermore, Derek's story highlights the vast problems migrants like him face when they arrive at their destination, and counteracts the political narrative of integration that is commonly shared by those in power. And even then, Derek's account of his experience in this article is still standing opposed to the numerous articles that negatively portray collective migration.

Highlighting further the negative impact migration supposedly can have on immigrants and their host nations, the third article in this section focuses on a medical report from the University of Nottingham, claiming in its title: "Migration linked to mental illness". Without looking at the rest of the article, this title is highly problematic. Mental illness is often

stigmatised, and while public awareness and acceptance of it has increased slowly but steadily over the past years, in 1995 the stigma was certainly more firmly attached than it is today. Taking this argument further, by linking mental illness, which carries some very negative connotations, with migration in general, it could be argued that it appears to try to evoke a feeling of fear of migration, and by extension of migrants, which is very concerning. Published by *The Times* on September 20th, 1995, the author claims that according to new medical research "immigrants and their children with Afro-Caribbean backgrounds are five times more likely to develop schizophrenia than other population groups". Not only does this statement single out migrants in relation to mental illness, an issue that still carries rather negative connotations, but it centres on migrants with Afro-Caribbean backgrounds, which is highly concerning. Due to the fact that the author bases their article on an academic study it adds to the credibility of the claims, which makes the discourse even more problematic. According to the NHS, "doctors often describe schizophrenia as a type of psychosis. This means the person may not always be able to distinguish their own thoughts and ideas from reality"[22], which highlights why schizophrenia might be considered a dangerous and worrying disease. Taking this definition into consideration, the link between this psychosis and migration seems to convey an image which portrays immigrants with Afro-Caribbean background as a potential danger to society, which is again in accordance with the tone of the title. This article is therefore an example in which the opposite of diversity is discussed. By singling out one ethnic group, it seems to imply that diversity is not always welcomed.

Published thirteen years after the previous three examples, the fourth and final article for this sub-category appeared in the German *SZ* on January 28th, 2008. It focuses on a

22 https://www.nhs.uk/conditions/schizophrenia/

completely different aspect of diversity compared to the previous three examples, as it looks more closely on the relationship between the German government and the Turkish population in Germany in the aftermath of the 2008 state elections. The Christian Democratic Union (CDU) led a campaign with one of their foci being that of youth criminality amongst teenagers with migrant background. The author notes that “following the setback in Hesse, the German-Turkish Forum demands that in the future migrants are not to be affronted through polarising election campaigns” (*SZ*, 28/1/2008). Referring with the word 'setback' to the loss of votes for the CDU, this statement suggests that the election campaign of the party was in fact very critical of foreigners, sparking a feeling of resentment amongst the Turkish population. It further suggests that by negatively portraying members of a minority group, the CDU was effectively campaigning against them, which is evident in the response of the German-Turkish Forum, who wrote in a public letter “We need to decide: Do we want to be a party, which in the future appeals only to ethnic Germans, or do we consciously include the group of voters with a migration background?” (*SZ*, 28/1/2008). Posing this question from the point of view of the CDU leadership, the German-Turkish Forum highlights that the party would be much more likely to win their votes would they instead campaign for more diversity in the future, both amongst their voters and their members. It indicates further that by singling out a minority, a sense of distrust between migrants as well as people with a migration background and native citizens is likely to be ever-present, a notion that is visible across the media discourse on migration.

As this analysis does not offer an example of British discourse on integration and diversity after 1995, it is important to note that academic studies echo the findings of the German example discussed above. Lawlor argues

> Diversity framing takes a particularly negative turn after 2003. This change may be on account of its connection with illegality and refugee framing (recall diversity's strong correlation with these frames), or it could equally be a reflection of media perceptions of the impact of increased ethno-racial diversity on British society. Similarly, 2003 also marks the beginning of an era wherein the number of British immigrants surges above 500,000 per year, suggesting that a heightened rate of immigration may have prompted concern over the amount of diversity in Britain. (2015: 348)

It thus suggests that discourse of diversity is often linked to questions of ethnicity and belonging, while surprisingly little voice is given to migrants, who are the ones directly affected by it.

8.3 Cultural enrichment through migration

In this section, the research focus shifts specifically to the positive impact of migration on culture through integration, both for the host nations as well as for migrant communities. Out of the 33 relevant articles discussing aspects of integration, only 3 articles were found to focus on cultural enrichment, making this the seconds smallest section of this chapter by numbers of articles. Surprisingly, while one might assume that cultural enrichment could be entirely understood as a positive notion, this section will discuss articles, which showcase negative references to migration in this context, as well, highlighting once more that the broadsheet discourse of migration is overwhelmingly negative as a whole. Furthermore, all three articles were found in German broadsheets, making this sub-category the only one across all four chapters of analysis which only contains data from one country. Of course, this does not mean that there were no mentions of cultural

enrichment in the British broadsheets subject to this research, however, it does mean that there were none across the 151 peaks identified during the data selection process. Furthermore, it should be noted that the three relevant articles were published in the first half of the timeline, between 1994 and 2003, meaning no articles were found amongst the data peaks in the last 13 years of the research timeline.

The first and earliest article found, was published by the *FAZ* on January 11th, 1994, and was titled “Under the spell of multiculturalism”. While the focus of the article lies predominantly on the importance of the individual within a democracy, the title could be interpreted both to be in favour of, as well as against multiculturalism. This is due to the use of the word “spell” which carries both negative and positive connotations. On one hand it can be understood in the sense of something 'enchanting' or 'magical', yet on the other hand it could also be read as something 'bad' or 'uncontrollable', leaving the meaning of the title ambivalent. Nevertheless, what it does suggest though, is that multiculturalism brings with it a certain sense of fascination that is hard to resist, which would make the article appear more intriguing. In its opening paragraph the author explored the proposed change to German immigration policy which states “The state respects the identity of the ethnic, cultural and linguistic minorities” (*FAZ*, 11/1/1994). This proposal is striking for two reasons: firstly, because it indicates that it has been missing from immigration policies thus far, and secondly, due to the more pressing concern of the need to state it outright, when on the surface it appears as a basic human right to respect everyone and anyone regardless of their ethnic, cultural or linguistic background. Taking this argument further, it implies what the majority of the analysis in this thesis proclaims, namely that the media discourse as a representative of the political authority recreates and thereby reinforces the subjectification of migrants and minorities. As Esses, Medianu and Lawson state “one possibility is that some people dehumanize other groups because they want to protect

their privileged positions and keep other groups, such as refugees, in their place" (2013: 523). By employing the topos of authority (Wodak, 2009: 44), this articles once more adds to the dominating discourse of hostility towards migrants. Taking this argument further, it suggests that this basic form of respect cannot be understood as a common good, which makes it necessary to manifest it by law in order to hold both state and individuals accountable. However, while this opening appears surprising, it sets the tone for the rest of the article, which discusses the importance of valuing and recognising the individual, rather than the collective. As the author argues further

> In a European style democracy, humans act as citizens in a community, thus as individuals, not as members of a collective. Political approximation according to Max Weber requires to face up to the danger of the emergence of ghettos. (*FAZ*, 11/1/1994)

This claim implies that the individual is equally important, if not more important, than the collective, and that democracy requires individual action within a community, as opposed to one collective following the same ideals. Taking this argument at its vantage point, multiculturalism seems to be at the core of this notion, as individuality would most likely entail different ethnic, cultural and linguistic qualities.

Yet, as the second article for this section suggests, many consider multiculturalism a threat to their national identity and live in the hope that it is a passing notion, that will eventually disappear. Published also in the *FAZ* on March 15th, 1995, the article focuses on the perceived national identity crisis in the (fairly) newly unified Germany. It notes

> The handwriting of different cultures shapes the German present. Many Germans

> ignore this fact with the expectation that it is temporary. For these Germans this leads to their own maps becoming illegible and a putative loss of their sense of belonging. Yet, it must be thought about how a collective future can be developed from different background.

While this opening paragraph of the article immediately suggests that the author is not German themselves, it manages to capture the seemingly fragile national identity of the German society in the aftermath of the reunification perfectly. Though it should be noted that the felt lack of national identity is not a new sentiment or phenomenon. Two of the most famous Germans, the writers Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller wrote in their collection of distiches in 1797 “Germany? But where lies it? I know not how to find that land / Where the taught begins, the political ends” (2014: 44). It seems both striking and logical that the same lack of national identity is still being found in Germany in 1995, almost two-hundred years after Goethe and Schiller observed it in their political poetry. For the state of Germany as it is today has only been in existence since the reunification in 1990, prior to that it was divided for decades following the two world wars, and prior to the first world war, Germany's borders were always changing due to the expansion politics of Reich Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (Klussmann & Mohr, 2014: 58). It is thus not a surprise that in comparison with nations such as the UK or France, Germany lacks a strong national identity. However, as the author of this article in question points out in the opening statement, different cultures have always shaped the cultural reality of Germany, which implies that the German national character is in fact strongly linked to a variety of cultural influences and cannot be understood as a single culture on its own. As the author notes further

> Why does the German state struggle so hard to recognise this reality and integrate

> the people that were brought in the country, their children and grandchildren, fast and unbureaucratic? […] One of the important reasons for this inflexible attitude towards citizenship lies in the deep-rooted crisis of trust between Germans and foreigners. (*FAZ*, 15/3/1995)

This statement seems to echo what the 1994 *FAZ* article reported on, namely that the German state, and by extension the German public, struggles to come to terms with their own national identity and hence considers immigrants to be the cause of their identity crisis. This in turn results in what the author refers to as a “deep-rooted crisis of trust”, which makes integration and mutual cultural acceptance more difficult. The wording of this phrase further hints at the severity of the situation, as the word 'crisis' in direct connection with the adjective 'deep-rooted' highlights that the problem is neither new nor will it be fixed with a quick solution. By definition, a 'crisis' is a 'time of intense difficulty or danger'[23], and if such crisis is also deeply rooted in a shared sense of mistrust, as it indicates that the situation is potentially futile. In the context of this article and the situation in Germany at the time (although it is still applicable to the present day), this highlights further that the government and policy makers are indeed required to address the complexity of the issue at the policy-level, as the earlier article indicated.

The third and final article was published by the *SZ* several years later on July 18th, 2003 and was rather short in comparison to the previous two examples. It also is the article that focuses less on the aspect of cultural enrichment, and the reference that made it relevant for this section was found predominantly in its title, which reads “Immigration to Germany in the year 2002 – foreigners prevent the decline of population”. What this highlights is a slightly different aspect of migration, namely that emigration from Germany, as well as a

23 https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/crisis

decrease in birth rates, results in a declining German population, which could have a negative long-term impact on the economy and other areas of public life, such as skill shortage and brain-drain. Thus, it highlights the importance of immigration, as an increase in foreign population can rejuvenate the economy, and subsequently public life. However, it could also be argued that it justifies cultural enrichment only if it aids the economic welfare of Germany, which points towards it being a tool that can be used politically to warrant the need for migration. As discussed in Chapter 3, Philo, Briant and Donald found in their study of media representations of refugees that "the benefits of immigration were a marginal theme" (2013: 81). This focus on cultural enrichment as a benefit to Germany seems to echo this notion, as it was not only discussed in very few articles, but also questioned whether it should be considered a positive or negative effect of migration.

8.4 Migration and the undermining of heritage

Focusing on the negative impact of migration, this section examines how media discourses of migration represent the theme of 'undermining of heritage'. It should be noted that this can include both, the heritage of the host nation but also the heritage of a migrant, and this section argues that it is portrayed predominantly as a negative effect of migration. Out of the 33 articles focusing on the topic of integration, 3 articles were found that made a reference to the aspect that the process of migration can result in the loss of certain values or national identities, which subsequently might determine the extent or even possibility of successful integration.

Published by the *SZ* on April 27th, 1994, the earliest article for this section focuses on the case study of Siberian migrants in Germany, who return home because their expectations of a life in the West clashed with the reality they encountered. In contrast to earlier

examples in this chapter, this article recounts several case studies of Siberian migrants, instead of focusing on one individual, granting more credibility to the experiences of the Siberians by demonstrating that their shared migration failed due to a lack of cultural integration, as opposed to an individuals inability to integrate into German society and culture. Titled “The myth of a life in wealth and fortune”, this article offers a prime example for a case of unsuccessful integration of migrants, which eventually lead to them returning home and abandoning their dream of immigrating to Germany. The wording of the title indicates as well that it is a misconception to assume that migration will immediately and inevitably lead to prosperity, and thus implies that migration depends on various factors which need to be considered, if a successful process of integration is to take place. As one of the few articles giving voice and agency to a migrant, the author quotes Andrej, one of the Siberian migrants, who states “The homesickness was too much. We hardly understood any German and did not feel comfortable” (*SZ*, 27/4/1994). What Andrej refers to in this statement, is that language plays a crucial part in the integration process, and that the feeling of homesickness can be hugely influenced by the hostility of the host nation. As the author notes further, “in the face of the dull reality in the cramped residential home and the sparse contact to the local population, the dream image of Germany quickly shatters” (*SZ*, 27/4/1994). Evident from this sentence is the conflict that arises between a migrant's expectation of what their new life in a new country will be life, and the reality of their situation once they arrived at their destination. Especially with regards to contact to the local population or neighbours, the experience of a migrant might be drastically different to what they envisioned. As discussed in Chapter 3, most people in Germany and the UK have little or no contact with new migrants (Szczepanik, 2016; Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013), which increases the feelings of migrants as ‘others’ or ‘outsiders’. Telling the story of Sina, a young woman who followed her parents and siblings to Germany in

1993, the author states that Sina

> […] felt unhappy in her chosen home Göppingen: a small, loud room in a residential home directly at the main road, no heartily contact with neighbours, her children did not make any friends – and on top of all that the terrible longing for the homely town in the Siberian steppe. (*SZ*, 27/4/1994)

Again, this experience of Sina highlights that migration can be rather a negative experience, if there is a lack of integration and appreciation of the cultural heritage of a migrant. For migrants like Andrej or Sina, the cultural shock was too big and the homesickness too much, that in the end they returned to Siberia, according to the article. This shows that many migrants are unwilling to undermine their ethnic or national heritage, and that the clash of heritages can be too much to bear. Naturally, if this is the case no political measures could ever pretend migrants from feeling homesick, and it would beg to question whether there are any integration measures that could overcome this. In this sense, this article does not negatively portray political integration measures. However, it suggests further that heritage is closely linked to the personal identity of an individual, which points toward the idea of having to abandon one's identity in order to not just migrate but integrate. At this level, it once more raises the opposite question, whether something could be done on a policy or societal level to ease integration and to provide an environment where everyone feels integrated, regardless of their cultural, political, economical or ethnic background.

However, while the experience of the Siberian migrants might be similar to that of many migrants across the world, the second article of this section conveys a strikingly different

image of migration. Published by the *Guardian* on April 13th, 1996 and titled "Citizens of the world", the focus of this article lies on the experiences of several different migrants, who all came to Britain in the hope of a better, more prosperous life. As the title suggests, these migrants do not consider themselves as belonging to one national identity, but rather as international citizens, who move to wherever they can have a good life. Goran, one of the migrants interviewed for this article argues that

> You can say that you are a woman or a man but not imaginary things like British, American, Japanese or something […] It's all nonsense. It makes trouble between us all the time. (*Guardian,* 13/4/1996)

What Goran's argument points toward is that some migrants feel the need to abandon their national identity in order to live peacefully amongst their new community of both other migrants and local citizens. Another migrant, Nabil, confirms this, when he states "Yes, it is possible to have no allegiance to any country. Nobody has a country now." This strengthens the notion that cultural or national heritage might stand in the way of some migrants to integrate into their new communities and while some chose to return, others chose to abandon theirs in order to fit in. While this article appears as a more positive example of integration, it highlights that some migrants feel forced to undermine their own national heritage in order to integrate, which echoes the experience of the Siberian migrants discussed in the previous example.

The third and final article in this section on the impact of migration on the cultural heritage of both migrants and host nations was published by *The Times* on April 24th, 2008, and centres around the experiences of migration of locals in Boston, a small town in

Lincolnshire. As most of the article focuses on the economic benefit of the migrants in this town it has been discussed in detail in the analysis chapter on economy. However, one reference was made to the perceived impact of the migrant community on the cultural and social heritage of Boston. As the author notes, “there are some problems, undoubtedly. More than 40 per cent of the pupils at one local primary school speak English as a second language” (*The Times*, 24/4/2008). Since it can be argued that language is a cultural signifier, the notion that almost half of the young pupils in town have a different first language than English carries a sense of loss of cultural identity with it. However, it implies also that it is a town in which migrants feel welcome and comfortable, otherwise they would be less likely to choose to settle there, which suggests that there is a good level of integration. What this specific article suggests, though, is that positive economic impact of migration is always considered favourably by the local public, and as a result a bigger effort to integrate migrants is being made.

8.5 Segregation - as a result of migration?

The final theme relating to the topic of integration and migration, subsumes under the heading of “segregation” all articles that deal with demarcation as a result of migration. Though it could be argued that migration does not directly cause segregation, but that it is rather a side-effect of prejudice, which is created, re-created and reinforced by politics, the media and subsequently, society. Thus, anti-migration discourse appears to be partially responsible for the creation of the sentiment of segregation. While only 5 articles out of 151 peaks have mentioned segregation in connection with migration, the following analysis highlights that segregation is frequently mentioned in relation to migrants lacking relevant skills for a successful integration into the host society, such as language skills, which results in an overall sense of strangeness and ultimately can lead to social exclusion.

The first article out of the 5 relevant ones, was published by the German *SZ* on February 29th, 1996, and centres around new debates around migration politics in response to recent discussions about the return of resettlers in Germany. The author points out that "resettlers are immigrants – not in the legal, but in the social, cultural and spiritual sense", and hence immigration policies are needed that nurture the integration of these returning citizens. What is interesting about this specific statement is the differentiation the author draws between the various elements of migration, implying that the social, cultural and spiritual elements of migration are significantly relevant in the policy development. It is interesting, as it could be argued that resettlers are Germans and as such should be able to integrate at ease. However, despite this article having been published six years after the reunification, it highlights that the merging of East and West Germany was still ongoing and politically complex. As discussed in Chapter 2, due to the fact that Germany had actively recruited guest workers from abroad, there was now a surplus of labour, which could have added to the difficulty in integration the returning ethnic Germans.

The author elaborates further that "with the advancement of resettlement into a mass movement, the integration of resettlers turned into a societal challenge" (*SZ*, 29/2/1996). This suggests that despite the different legal standing of resettlers, the integration into society of the host nation becomes increasingly more difficult the more resttlers return home. The image of the mass movement, which has previously been discussed to be often perceived as a threat, once again seems to indicate that it bears problems for the successful integration and acceptance of new migrants. As Philo, Briant and Donald argue

> [I]n a society which is already heavily stratified between rich and poor, the arrival of new groups whether they are poor economic migrants or destitute refugees can put pressure on the poorest areas of that society as they struggle for already scarce

resources in health, housing and education. (2013: 165)

As the author suggests “high resettler immigration in combination with constant cuts to integration aids is eminently sociopolitically dangerous” (*SZ*, 29/2/1996), which highlights the failure of politics and the government to recognise the crucial importance of integration. The particular wording of 'eminently dangerous' further suggests that it is the author's conviction that the combination of mass immigration and budget cuts to integration aids is at least partially responsible for the anti-immigration sentiment within society. This conviction becomes even more visible, when the author notes that it is “virtually hair-raising” (original: “Geradezu haarsträubend “) to shorten language courses for resettlers to six months. It indicates that language and integration are strongly linked, and further suggests that the author considers this political decision ludicrous and irresponsible. The wording conveys a feeling of disbelief, but it could also be considered slightly colloquial, which would imply that the author is trying more actively to reach the readership by engaging it in a more conversational style of writing. Taking this argument further, the article could be considered to support a pro-immigration sentiment, as it suggests a certain bias of the author, which in turn gives a form of agency to the immigrants, or resettlers in this instance. Simultaneously, it acts as a means to criticise government performance, undermining their credibility in the process, which as Fairclough (1989, 2012, 2017) argues “challenges the status quo”.

Yet, this article is not the only exhibit of pro-immigration discourse. An article published by the *Guardian* on August 28th, 1996, discusses immigration policies in France at the time, with the author arguing that “France has passed from a debate on integration to a state of tension on immigration through being incapable of redefining and assuming a French model of integration.” The mention of 'tension' is very relevant with regard to immigration,

as it once more points towards an underlying anti-immigration sentiment and suggests a power struggle between political elites and migrants. However, it also suggests that integration could overcome this tension, implying that anti-immigration sentiments are caused by a lack of successful integration of migrants into society. As the author points out further

> All the researchers on migration tell us that the flux has slowed; that alongside those French said to be "of old origins" in a comparable social situation immigrants are no more likely to be delinquents; that the true problems are those of urban structure and social exclusion. (*Guardian*, 28/08/1996)

This statement is interesting, as the author addresses several very important factors at once: firstly, they refer to “all the researchers” which seems to imply that they refer to academic research, and subsequently that all of the studies confirm the same conclusions. By referring to academic sources, the author's statement appears to gain credibility and become more substantial, aiding their overall argumentation. Yet, by generalizing “all” researchers, the author simultaneously calls into question the likelihood of having consulted all research, which challenges the validity of the claim. Secondly, the author notes that immigrants of a social standing similar to that of their native French counterparts also are as equally likely to commit criminal acts, which highlights another crucial point, namely that citizen status is not necessarily the key driver in determining ones likeliness to be a criminal, but rather that social and economic security are important parameters that could cause someone to turn to crime. The connection between immigration and criminality has been discussed extensively in Chapter 7, however, as the discussion of the academic literature has put forward, the mention of criminality links to notions of illegality and threat, which segregates migrants from the public further. Finally, the author notes that

according to these studies “urban structure and social exclusion” are predominantly to blame for failures of integration and the subsequent anti-immigration sentiments. This underlines that the social set-up provided to immigrants, including housing and access to work, is highly important to foster integration, which as a result would help ease said 'tension' towards immigration. Once again, this shifts the discourse to focus on the institutionalised set-up of migration politics, in which policymakers possess all the power, while migrants are subject to policies and laws. The media representation of migration in this context thus reinforces this power dynamic at the disadvantage of migrants.

Published by the *Guardian* as well, an article from July 30th, 2003, further strengthens this line of argumentation. In its title

> “Asylum seeker dispersal 'a waste of money': Policy driven by moral panic and ineffective, says study, arguing that a considered approach would calm fears and build communities”

the author immediately points towards a study as their primary source; however, it should be noted that the last part of the title is the voice of the author. Especially the choice of phrase “calm fears and build communities” points towards a pro-immigration stance of the author, as it evokes a feeling of peace and harmony through integration. The focus of the article lies predominantly on the 2003 debate about the proposed policy to disperse asylum seekers across the country, which was heavily discussed amongst politicians and policy makers at the time. Quoting some of the findings of the study further, the author notes that “it is this moral panic that is driving dispersal policy”, a finding that seems to confirm what a lot of academic studies have argued (Cohen, 2011; Hier, 2011; Hauptmann, 2013, Drislane & Parkinson, 2016). The notion of moral panics refers to the

exclusion of a social group, based on their perceived or assumed collective behaviour, which is 'feared' by those who are not part of the same group or collective. To recall, a recent definition states, moral panic "[s]uggests a panic or overreaction to forms of deviance or wrongdoing believed to be threats to the moral order. Moral panics are usually framed by the media and led by community leaders or groups intent on changing laws or practices" (Drislane & Parkinson, 2016). What this implies in relation to this article, is that the policymakers respond to perceived fears of the public in response to reports of incoming asylum-seekers and immigrants, which leads to proposed policies that are in fact harmful to an already tense situation. The author argues further, that "too often local authorities do not get adequate information about people being moved to their area, leading to poor matching of services to need, and to the growth of misunderstanding among local communities." This statement points towards a problem at the policy-level, but it also highlights the need for local services for a successful integration of immigrants into the host communities. It implies that if these needs are not matched, integration becomes difficult, which might lead to tension between the two social groups, and subsequently to segregation.

The fourth article in this section focuses on a similar angle as the previous ones, namely the problem posed by an imbalance of chances for immigrants, which makes integration more difficult. Published on October 30th, 2014, by the *FAZ*, this article discusses the inequality between migrants and citizens with no migration background in relation to both the education system and poverty. Connecting these factors, the author notes "the danger of living in poverty exists for almost a quarter of immigrants, yet only for slightly more than twelve percent of non-immigrants". This underlines that there is a strong imbalance of chances for immigrants in comparison to non-immigrants, which may lead to social and economic exclusion or segregation. It is further suggested, that this is caused at least

partially, according to the author, by inferior academic performances of immigrants compared to their non-immigrant counterparts: “The academic achievements of children with immigration background are still worse than those of children, who are not from immigrant families” (*FAZ,* 30/10/2014). What this indicates is that, as of 2014, policymakers have yet to successfully address the issue of economic inequality between immigrants and non-immigrants, particularly at the suggested root of the problem, namely the education system. It implies that the problem of integration and immigration is institutionalised, and that segregation is almost inevitable as a result, making it a fault of the political elites. Additionally and as presented numerous times in the analysis thus far, this example highlights once again the validity and applicability of the political semiosis model (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010). The media discourses on integration and migration examined for the purpose of this chapter are a continuous thread of broadsheet reporting that highlights the ongoing nature of the issue, as well as weaving it into the development of the migration debates in Germany and the UK over time. As outlined in Chapter 4, the third feature of the model, the representative feature, puts forward the idea that the media move specific individual events into a wider field of public acknowledgement through means of representation and contextualisation. It is argued in this analysis, that all media articles on matters of migration act as representative features that aid in creating the restless and ongoing development of historical events of migration.

The final article in this section was published by the German *SZ* on August 30th, 2012 and focuses on a different factor of segregation. It centres around a highly debated marketing campaign of the Federal Ministry against Extremism at the time, which caused a rift between the ministry and four Muslim associations. The author elaborates that part of the campaign included the distribution of posters which mimicked missing persons adverts and were aimed to raise awareness of people who “disappear” from their normal life due to

them becoming radicalised Islamists. However, four Muslim associations argued that this campaign damages the image of Muslims, rather than help to nurture integration.

> However, the design of the adverts put all Muslims under general suspicion, criticise the associations. […] It "evokes a social paranoia" and sows deep mistrust, according to a joint-statement of the Turkish-Islamic Union Ditib, the Association of the Islamic Cultural Centres, the Central Council of Muslims in Germany, and the Islamic Alliance of Bosniacs. (*SZ*, 30/8/2012)

The discourse in this excerpt points towards the sensitive nature of the relationship between Muslims in Germany and the wider public, as the voiced concern over a "social paranoia" and "deep mistrust" highlights. The large number of different Muslim associations, as well as the perceived need for a campaign against Islamic radicalisation further suggests the existence of an ever-present segregation in Germany between Germans and Muslims in Germany. By comparison, this also echoes what Richardson (2009) found in his study of the representation of Muslims and Islam in the British press. He notes that

> The examination of these newspaper reports indicates the extent to which Muslims and Islam have become significant issues in party politics and general elections and, arguably, British political discourse as a whole. It should be stressed that, while my findings are derived from comparatively small periods of time prior to successive election days, they nevertheless reflect wider changes in the ways that Islam and Muslims are represented in journalistic discourse since 1997. (Richardson, 2009: 376)

As Richardson states, his findings stem from a short timeframe and supposedly much smaller sample, while this research considers samples from a long timeline of over two decades. It can therefore be argued that the general observation that Muslim migrants are portrayed predominantly negative by the news media holds true for both Germany and the UK. This points towards “the rise of a hostile and stereotyping discourse that emphasizes the putative threat that Muslims pose to 'our way of life'” (Richardson, 2009: 376).

What this chapter has argued, is that media representations of migration and integration are one of the more complex topics of migration discourse, with some aspects representing migrants in a more favourable way than the discourses of economy and security. It has further proclaimed that integration is an important policy issue, that can either increase segregation, or decrease the gap between migrants and host societies. As this analysis has shown, throughout the timeline of this research, integration measures have often been announced and politically framed as tools to manage migration, however, many have been found to never have been implemented. Thus, this thesis argues that integration is a difficult concept to manage on a political level, which subsequently seems to result in the reinforcement of the marginalisation of migrants. The following chapter explores the final category of migration discourses and argues that forced migration is the least discussed topic of migration in the broadsheet newspapers in Germany and the UK over the course of the timeline.

9. Discourses of Forced Migration

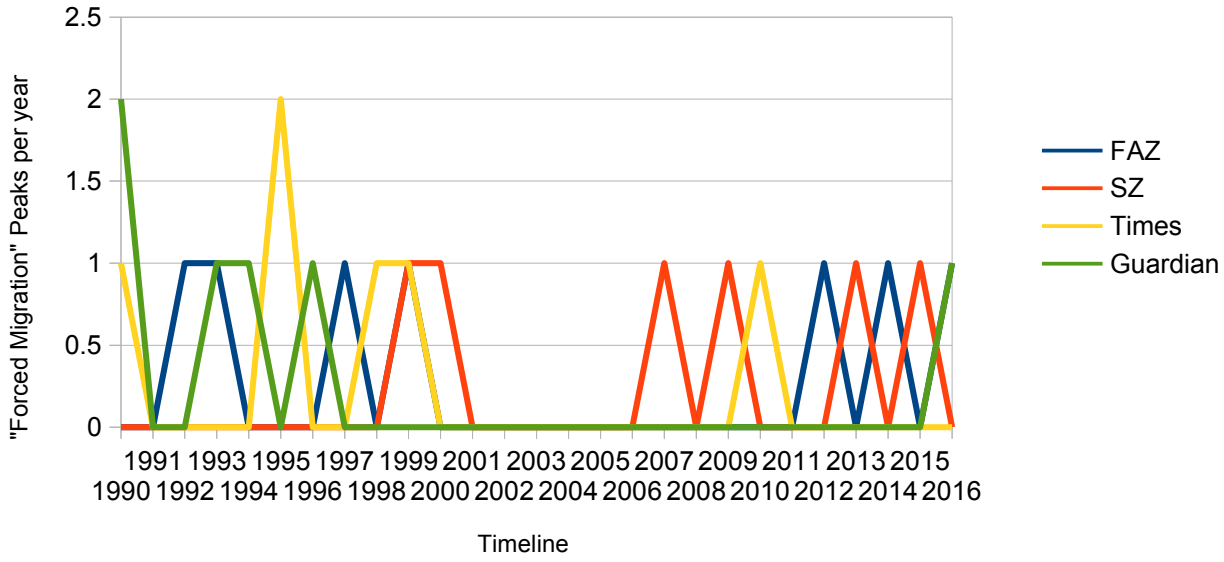
The previous three chapters have argued that the discourse with which migration has been reported in relation to the economy, security and integration in the years between 1990 and 2016, has been both predominantly hostile towards migrants, as well as in favour of the political elites. It has been highlighted repeatedly, that discourse on migration has the power to convey feelings of compartmentalisation between “us” and “them”, and that a hidden power dynamic between authorities on the one side, and migrants on the other side is almost always evident in the reporting. This chapter will focus on the issue of forced migration, where migrants leave their homes due to reasons beyond their control. This can include conflicts and wars, climate change and disasters, and other instances in which their safety and well-being would be at risk.

Out of the 151 peaks identified during the research process, 25 articles were recognized to be relevant in this context, making it the lowest number of articles across the four categories of migration discourse. While the spread of articles across the four broadsheets is very even, with 7 articles found in the *FAZ*, and 6 in the *SZ*, totalling 13 articles accounting for the German sample, as well as an even split of 6 articles each in the *Guardian* and *The Times* for the UK sample, the distribution of peaks across the sample is not as even. As Figure 9.1 below highlights, there was a slight spike in relevant peaks at the beginning of the timeline in 1990 found in the UK's *Guardian*, with a second spike in 1995 in the UK's *The Times*, however, after that the distribution of peaks never reached above 1 for any of the broadsheets in the sample. Interestingly, no relevant article was found in any of the four broadsheets between the years of 2001 and 2006, which suggests that the issue of “forced migration” was not a dominant topic of public or political debate at

the time.

Discourse Category "Forced Migration" across the sample

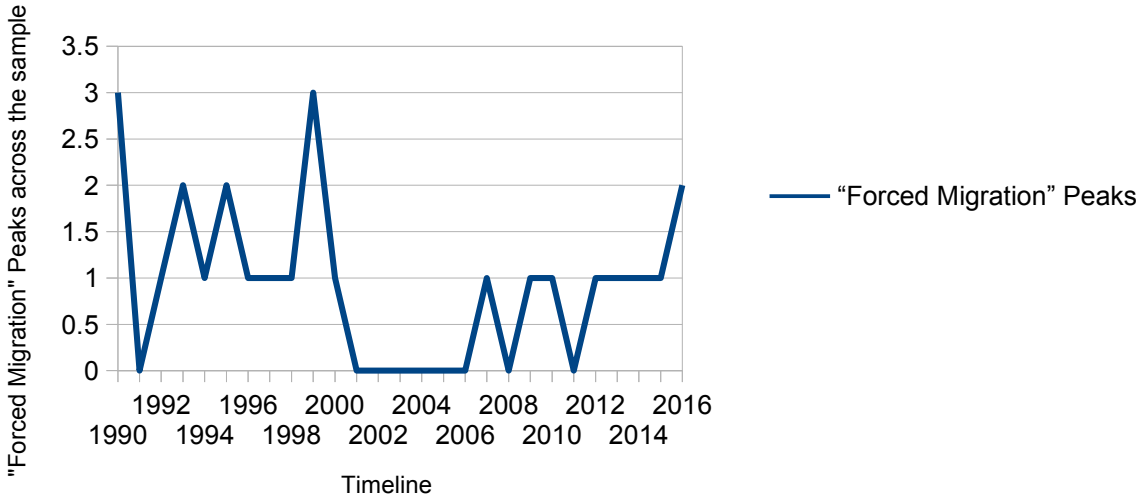
Fig 9.1



Unlike the data shown in Figure 8.2 in relation to the category of integration, the graph in Figure 9.2 below shows that the peaks relating to forced migration suggest a trend in prominence within the broadsheet reporting of migration in Germany and the UK. Since 2012 there has consistently been at least 1 article per peak relevant to this category, with the graph highlighting that 2 articles were found in the peak in 2016. These observations are not surprising, considering that they coincide with the European Refugee Crisis, however, it must be noted that due to the strict selection process, the data does not reflect the full amount of reporting conducted on these issues. The statistics presented in these chapters can be at most considered indicative of general trends within the broadsheet reporting of migration in relation to these four discourse categories.

Discourse Category “Forced Migration” across the timeline

Fig 9.2



Of the 25 articles relevant in this category, the largest number falls into the sub-category of 'wars and conflicts', with 15 articles reporting on violent crises. In 8 articles, references to humanitarian crises have been found, while only 2 articles out of the 25 discuss the case of the 'European Refugee Crisis'. However, as this project only analyses data that leads up to June 2016, and the European Refugee Crisis was still ongoing at the time, the availability of articles was limited by these factors. The nexus of this chapter will be the numerous reasons that could result in processes of forced migration and the discourse with which these events are reported in the broadsheet press.

9.1 Forced migration in the case of the European Refugee Crisis

With only 2 articles discussing aspects of the European Refugee Crisis, this section will be the shortest section across all analysis chapters. However, as mentioned above, this is

partially due to the fact that it occurred at a very late stage of the timeline for this research and was still ongoing when the data selection concluded. Both articles identified to be relevant for this section were published in the final year of the data selection in 2016. Appearing first in the timeline, chronologically, the first article was published by the German *FAZ* on January 30th, 2016. It discusses the struggle of the German politicians to identify the right course to handle the European refugee crisis and relevant politics, and is a prime example of how the media act as the representative feature within the context of Wagner-Pacifici's political semiosis model (2010: 1362). The author states that these political struggles are partially due to the fact that the public has an invested interest in the subject matter, but points out further

> As indispensable as the controversy is for democracy, one circumstance is concerning: This debate continuously calls into question the legitimacy and legality of decisions at the level of federal politics. […] Such accusations are not only false, they also cause great harm to the political culture and legislation. (*FAZ*, 30/1/2016)[24]

This statement calls into question the public debate about policy issues, which is concerning, as it implies that the political management of the refugee crisis is untouchable. It further indicates the favouritism of politicians, which previous chapters have discussed is a dominating feature of the broadsheet reporting of migration. Public debate should take place at any given time, especially about an issue that directly concerns and impacts society, and disagreement with policy decisions are a natural part of that, thus it seems questionable to call such a process 'concerning'. What is concerning, however, is the fact, as the author continues to write, that “[s]ince the end of 2013, the Bundestag has debated

24 All translations in this thesis have been conducted by the researcher; the analysis is conducted exclusively on the original; for original please see Appendix D

43 times over refugee politics" (*FAZ*, 30/1/2016), which highlights how ever-present the debate is.

Taking this argument further, the amount of debate over the subject and the subsequent attention it receives from the media and by extension the public, makes it appear even more as a "problem" that needs to be solved. What this research shows is that the discourse on migration is not changing per se but is constantly being re-shared and recreated in response to the political reality at a given moment in time. This thesis argues that this increases the resentment towards migrants, as they are continuously seen as the problem, but it further highlights how the discourses are part of the historical development of migration narratives and debates. In this context, it does not seem to matter whether a migrant is a refugee fleeing from war or an economic migrant from a different part of Europe, who is seeking a better life. This relates to the blurring of terms with which different categories of migrants are referred to in the media, and as Philo, Briant and Donald argue

> In the press sample, issues of asylum were usually discussed alongside economic migration issues, very often without specifying different groups and using language such as 'illegal immigrants' to talk about both economic migrants and asylum seekers who have had their claims rejected. (2013: 59)

This thesis puts forward that the broadsheet discourse uses these terms frequently interchangeably, thereby blurring the difference between economic migrants and "genuine" refugees (Szczepanik, 2016; Cohen, 2011). It has been argued in the previous chapters that the discourse often portrays migrants in a negative light regardless of their situation,

although some examples have been found in which the discourse offers a more balanced point of view. One such example was found in an article published by the *Guardian* on May 31st, 2016, with the title

> "Claims of mass refugee immigration to UK branded 'false and bogus'; Migration Watch report that free movement rules will allow up to 500,000 refugees into the UK from elsewhere in Europe is criticised by remain campaigner"

Striking about this title is the quote in the first line, labelling the "claims of mass refugee immigration" 'false and bogus'. As established in the literature review and noted in previous analysis chapters, the adjectives 'false and bogus' imply that something is fraudulent, which calls into question that it is "genuine". As a result, this title, in combination with the rest of the article, discredits previous mentions of mass refugee immigration, whilst offering an alternative point of view in support of the remain campaign. Written a month prior to the United Kingdom European Union Membership referendum and during the height of the European Refugee Crisis, the author notes in the opening paragraph of the article that the study by the Migration Watch relies on official statistic from Eurostat, which states that roughly "1 million migrants will have been granted asylum or humanitarian protection for 2015 and the first quarter of 2016." Yet, this statement is misleading, as the author refers to those receiving protection or asylum simply as 'migrants', when their obvious need for help and shelter should immediately classify them as 'refugees'. This adds to the claim made in relation to the recurring observation that broadsheet reporting of migration frequently uses terms interchangeably.

According to the definition provided in the introduction to this thesis, the term 'refugee' conveys the image of someone in dire straits, whereas the term 'migrant' is often used

interchangeably and is often associated with someone migrating out of choice. Should it have been the author's aim to evoke sympathy for refugees amongst their readership, the use of the correct term would have helped to achieve that. Indeed, the remaining article shifts its focus from the 'false and bogus' claims of the Migration Watch report, to point out that the study also claimed that "leaked documents from Germany suggested each person was likely to be followed by at least four family members", hinting at a potential increase in the number of refugees entering the UK. Referring to this possibility in relation to the UK's EU membership, the author notes further that the report "estimated that 480,000 could come to the UK after 2020 if one in 10 decided to move to Britain after gaining EU citizenship." This statement evokes the idea of mass migration, and as previously noted in chapters 6 to 8, this is often met with hostility (Castells, 2009; King & Wood, 2001; Philo, Briant, Donal, 2013).

At this point it seems evident that the article is in fact biased against refugees, as the author does not offer further quotes or evidence to discredit the Migration Watch report, but instead quotes more extracts from the report which support the claims made by the Leave campaign, who utilized migration as an issue to further their success. This is obvious from the link made between EU citizenship and the increase in immigration figures, despite it being a forecast at best. Furthermore, what both the report and the author of this article omit from their analyses, is the fact that refugees who have been granted asylum in other EU member-states do not necessarily become citizens of the country they seek refuge in. Becoming a citizen in either Germany or the UK is a lengthy and complex process, and only once citizenship has been granted, can one apply for a passport move freely between EU member-states. The claims made by the Migration Watch report, and by extension by the author, therefore seems rather simplified and overestimated. Furthermore, what is missing from these two examples of discourse on the

European Refugee Crisis is the possibility that many refugees would like to return to their home country once the conflict has been resolved. As discussed in Chapter 8, for instance, for some migrants the experience is so volatile, that they willingly return home. This points towards a highly problematic approach to migration and integration policies on a national level in the UK in this case. On the other hand, some might argue that if the conflict continues for several years there is a heightened possibility that refugees have made their host country their new home, in which case they might have successfully integrated and contribute to society. To what extend this integration is a result of forced circumstances is another debate altogether. Of course, it is not the aim of this research to say whether the claims made in these news articles are right or wrong, and simultaneously there is a chance these predictions become reality. However, this research argues that the discourse with which forced migration is being reported is negatively biased towards refugees, recreating once more a social and political hierarchy in which refugees are subjected to dehumanization. Taking the length of the timeline of this research into consideration, it highlights further that events are constructed and re-constructed time and time again in a mediated fashion. This reflects their function as the representative feature of the political semiosis model (Wagner-Pacifici, 2010) and further supports the need for a CDA in line with Fairclough's notion of dialectical reasoning in order “combine[s] critique of discourse and explanation of how discourse figures in existing social reality as a basis for action to change reality” (2017: 35).

9.2 Forced migration due to humanitarian crises

According to World Vision International “a humanitarian disaster occurs when the human, physical, economic or environmental damage from an event, or series of events,

overwhelms a community's capacity to cope”[25], whereby it makes a distinction between 'naturally' occurring disasters, such as earthquakes or floods, and 'man-made hazards', such as conflicts or climate change due to human action. For this analysis, however, violent conflicts and wars are considered as an individual category, due to the sheer volume of news on the subject and will be discussed on their own in the final section of this chapter. 8 articles out of the 25 focusing on issues of forced migration were identified as relevant for this section.

The earliest example was found in an article published by the *Guardian* on January 23rd, 1990, focusing on the plight of refugees who escaped the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, due to terrible living conditions and oppression by the Socialist regime. The title “The waiting is finally over for refugees from Haiphong” indicates that the journey these refugees have been on, as well as that the migration process in general, was long and difficult, conveying a sense of hope as it is now coming to an end. However, the author also points out that the fate of these arriving refugees is not the same for all Vietnamese refugees, noting that

> The official distinction between yesterday's 45 political refugees arriving at Terminal Four and the 51 economic migrants who were returned against their wishes to Vietnam on December 15 is twofold, refugee agencies in Britain said. First, it is up to a refugee to prove that he or she is fleeing persecution. Second, the refugee's arrival in Hong Kong must have predated June 1988. The process has been criticised because some successful applicants have admitted that they were leaving Vietnam in search of better economic conditions. (*Guardian*, 23/01/1990)

This “official” distinction between these two “kinds” of refugees is highly interesting in the

25 https://www.wvi.org/disaster-management/what-humanitarian-disaster

context of the situation in Vietnam at the time. While the living conditions were reportedly dire, persecution is difficult to prove, and implies a loophole for the government to potentially reject those who cannot provide the required evidence. The claim that some economic migrants were successful while others were returned further points towards an uneven system, suggesting that the selection process might have been biased and unfair. Furthermore, this article was written and published in January of 1990, a year prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union and during a time when the Socialist Regime, which had strong ties with it, was still in power in Vietnam. Hence, the conditions in Vietnam were still problematic and many people had valid reasons to seek a better life free from oppression elsewhere. The humanitarian conflict was still impacting the lives of many, and to apply this "official" distinction, as reported in this article, to the same group of people seems highly selective and prejudiced.

The second example, published on July 21st, 1993, by the German *FAZ*, focused on general questions about population. The author, who titled their article "Population concerns everyone", argues that population growth is inevitable, yet that there are specific reasons for the uneven spread of people across the globe.

> However, what is correct is the assessment that excessive growth of the population has much to do with the uneven living conditions in the world, and that humanity as a whole could hardly survive for long if the living standards were as high everywhere as they are in the western industrial states. Therefore, the adjustment of living conditions will not take place without a trade-off with the wealthy. (*FAZ*, 21/07/1993)

While this statement does not refer directly to the process of migration, it offers an insight into the potential reasons for present and future migration. The author points out that living

conditions and standards are not even across the globe, which indicates that one reason for migration could be found in the desire by those less well-off to move to a different part of the world in the hope to find a better life. This is a striking finding, as most news reports found in this analysis do not offer such an insightful and balanced account of migration reasons. The dominating discourse focuses on migration as a problem, rather than highlighting its causes. Furthermore, the link between uneven living conditions and population growth also suggests that those with a lower standard of living might see their lives threatened even more if population increases and puts a further strain on already limited resources. As previously argued in Chapter 3, as well as in the analysis of discourses of migration and the economy, the protection of resources usually results in the demarcation of migrants by the host society (Esses, Medianu, Lawson, 2013), which points towards a potential conflict in this statement. Uneven living standards and population growth are, in the majority of cases, man-made hazards that increase the likelihood of migration, yet their roots can be found in the inequality of a distribution of natural resources and hostile living environments. Yet, one of the important factors of such processes of migration is that it is unlikely to take place purely out of choice. Migrants might choose to move to a country with higher living standards, but if the conditions in their home country would be better, their need would not exist. As the author of an article in the *Guardian* points out

> [...] there are the exiles, the refugees and the asylum-seekers. They leave their countries not because they want to but because they must. Their dreams are of return, and if, like the economic migrants of the Caribbean, they grow old abroad and their children see no point in going back, their lives have been thwarted. (*Guardian*, 13/04/1996)

This is a prime example for a clear and rather sympathetic discourse on migration, which highlights that the many claims that migrants are a strain on resources and seek to abuse the wealth of their host nation are often prejudice and overgeneralisation. Taking this argument further, the author's choice to make a distinction between these three different groups of migrants who are all deserving of aid, as well as the explicit use of the verb "must" further evokes empathy for the plights of these migrants.

This chapter argues that several examples focusing on humanitarian crises as the cause of migration are rather sympathetic to the situations of those affected by it. As the literature in Chapter 3 has discussed, scholars like Cottle (2008) or Volkmer (2011) argue that the media have the power to reframe debates in crisis situations, which suggests that discourses on migration might differ in response to humanitarian crises. While an overwhelming account of hostile migration discourses have been found in the course of this analysis, these claims are not only valid, but have been found to be supported by some of the examples in these analysis chapters. It has been pointed out previously that this analysis was subject to a rather strict sampling process resulting in a vast amount of empirical data being omitted from the analysis and these methodological restrictions must be acknowledged at this point. The seemingly few examples of pro-migration discourses could therefore be viewed statistically favourable and support the claims of the literature that the media can act as an advocate for positive change, enabling the audience to become active participants in the debates and possibly the subsequent calls for action to challenge the status quo (Fairclough, 2017). The *SZ* published an article on June 29th, 2006, which draws a direct connection between climate disasters and migration. The article is titled "With the desert comes the war – Across the globe, drought causes people to flee and sparks fights of distribution", which is a very powerful metaphor. As De Landtsheer notes "metaphors can […] potentially change thinking" (2009: 63), which

indicates the power the emotive use of this metaphor might have. What is particularly noticeable, is the very emotive language with which the author is seeking to convey the dangers of climate change. The link between the nouns ‘desert' and 'drought' is logical, yet in this context it conveys the image of large geographical areas being turned into deserts as the result of droughts, which subsequently causes people to flee their homes and fight for their share of resources. It also removes the blame from the migrants, as this natural disaster is beyond the control of the individual. The thought that people will be forced to migrate to other regions due to the climate making their home inhabitable is also carrying connotations of fear and danger, which, as previously established, evokes sympathy. The article itself focuses on people in North Nigeria, where the Sahara Desert is growing larger, threatening the livelihood of the people in the region. Again, the language of the author is highly emotive, as they refer to the sand of the desert as the 'enemy' (original: 'Feind'), which is a threat to those living in her direct vicinity. By employing this military metaphor, the notion of fighting an undefeatable enemy further adds to the favourable representation of migration. Referring to a recent study, the author notes that “mass emigration has long been happening”, because “millions of people are fleeing from their own environment” (*SZ*, 29/06/2006). This statement highlights the dangerous implications of climate change and indicates that the number of climate refugees is likely to rise in the future.

Apart from climate change, uneven living conditions, and overpopulation, several other factors could also result in forced migration. In the aftermath of the army mutiny in Eritrea in 2013, the *SZ* published an analysis of the situation in the country on October 25th, 2013, which highlights that several man-made hazards can contribute to mass movements of forced migration. The author lists 6 distinct factors, which all played a role in people feeling forced to flee Eritrea in 2013. The first factor concerns politics of the interior, as the author

states that in the aftermath of the independence fights the former rebel leader turned into a 'paranoid dictator' (original: 'paranoider Diktator'), who would punish any criticism of his regime harshly, causing waves of refugees. This metaphor of mental health is striking, as it serves as an implicature of an unstable and failing politician, who utilizes his position of power to abuse those he is meant to govern. The second factor refers to foreign policies and deals especially with Eritrea's many violent conflicts at the borders, again displacing many people. The third factor, militarisation, points out that military service in the country is compulsory and often even includes forced labour, with the “Human Rights Watch reporting in addition of soldiers who sexually abuse the female recruits” (*SZ*, 25/10/2013). This system is also very likely responsible for many Eritreans fleeing their country. Economy is the fourth factor, with the author pointing out that “Eritrea is one of three countries worldwide where the hunger-crisis is 'grave', according to the German agency “Welthungerhilfe”” (*SZ*, 25/10/2013). Similar to the discussion above about uneven living conditions, hunger and starvation is one of the main causes of forced migration, as desperation forces people to leave their homes. The fifth factor the author lists, is the lack of both an education and health system. Quoting Nicole Hirt, an expert on Eritrea, the author writes “[n]ow there are only a few colleges and secondary schools. The last year of school takes place in a military camp, and from there most have to enter the military service” (*SZ*, 25/10/2013). This refers back to the third factor and highlights the oppression faced by the people of Eritrea at the time, which explains forced migration. The final factor listed by the author as a reason for forced migration is, in fact, flight and migration. They argue that the totalitarian system and military oppression “is bleeding Eritrea dry” (*SZ*, 25/10/2013), forcing many young people to flee, which causes even more people to follow suit. While these factors were analysed by the author in response to the case of Eritrea at the time, they are universally applicable and highlight that forced migration is often the

result of man-made crises. What the discourse in this article further shows, is the empathy with which the people of Eritrea are being considered. The author firmly places the blame for the situation on the totalitarian regime in the country, and by extension evokes understanding for the plight of Eritreans by means of this analysis. This is a striking finding, as it shifts the reasons for migration onto a political regime, rather than blaming it on migrants which has most commonly been the case in the analysis thus far.

9.3 Forced migration as a result of wars and conflicts

As mentioned in the previous section on humanitarian crises, war and conflicts are often considered within the definition of humanitarian crises, however, due to the fact that there seems to be a never-ending stream of violent conflicts going on in the world at any given time, they receive a substantial amount of news coverage and are thus presented as a section of their own. Out of 25 articles discussing forced migration, 15 articles mention wars or violent conflicts in relation with migration. The first example was found in an article published by *The Times* on September 11th, 1990, which centres around the situation of Asian refugees in the aftermath of the Gulf War. The focus of the author is on the financial support of the UK government, as it is stated that "the government has given Pounds 2 million towards the requested $50 million (Pounds 27 million) for the repatriation programme and British aid agencies are launching an appeal to improve camp conditions and to pay for the evacuation" (*The Times*, 11/9/1990). This statement evokes support for the UK government, while the lack of focus on the condition or well-being of the refugees further strengthens the focus on the political measures. This stresses what has been found repeatedly in the analysis of migration discourses, namely that political power dominates the reporting, while little focus is given to the experiences of migrants. Philo, Briant and

Donald argue that one of the issues they found relates to “the relative absence of the voices of refugees to those who represent them, as any form of balance to the inaccurate and partial reporting” (2013: 165). This claim echoes the style of this article, which offers praise for the government but fails to report on the state of the refugees.

In direct comparison, however, the *Guardian* published an article on the exact same issue on the exact same day (September 11, 1990) with a very different focus and implied message. The opening sentence of the article states “[i]t was high noon and very hot outside the makeshift tent camp in the Amman International Fairground, and Bangladeshi names were booming out over a megaphone as a huge circle of ragged men squatted on the dusty plaza and waited patiently for their turn.” The very emotive and visual language in this quote illustrates the situation in the camp, and as a result evokes sympathy for those affected by it. The references to heat and dust convey that life in those surroundings is difficult at best, which evokes even more sympathy for the Bangladeshi men, who are waiting “patiently” in those conditions. This style of discourse continues throughout the article, and the author strengthens the emphasis on the fate of the refugees by giving voice to one of the men, Mohammed in the third paragraph: “Of course I am happy to be going home,' he grinned wearily, 'but I have lost too much. I worked in Kuwait for four years, and I have left everything behind. I had Dollars 15,000 (Pounds 7,900) in the bank there. Now I have nothing.” (*Guardian*, 11/09/1990) This quote not only gives voice to Mohammed, but grants agency to other refugees in similar circumstances, and subsequently evokes sympathy and pity for their plight. The reference to the specific monetary figure that Mohammed lost, indicates the toll his flight from the conflict has taken, and stresses the calamity he endured.

Another example was published two years later on December 16th, 1992 in the German

FAZ and centres around the global refugee "problem". The title "When home becomes dangerous to life" points towards the core of the article; the many refugees who are forced to flee their homes due to their lives being in danger. The author explains that the numbers of refugees on the move worldwide is hard to pinpoint and can at best be estimated, due to the constant increase in people who are forced to leave their homes as a result of natural and man-made hazards. The author notes

> One knows at most about those people, who are fleeing, both within their home countries and abroad, because of wars and civil conflicts or violations against minorities of human rights. Because every year, the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations, as well as Human Rights Organisations, file reports and statistics about them. According to them, there are between 30 to 40 Million – to be rounded upwards. (*FAZ*, 16/12/1992)

By elaborating on these numbers and pointing out that they refer only to refugees who are fleeing violent conflicts and wars, the author manages to convey the scale of the problem, without laying the burden on the refugees. This is particularly obvious by the addition to the end of the quote "to be rounded upwards", as it could be argued that this is a piece of information the author did not have to add to improve the context of the article. This is because, as the author notes in a sub-heading of the article, people are fleeing their homes because of "[p]olitical, economic, religious reasons [...]" (*FAZ*, 16/12/1992), indicating that they are not necessarily migrating out of choice. This shifting of the rationale for migration from refugees to external factors aids in a more sympathetic, and therefore less hostile, representation of migration. As argued earlier in this thesis (see Introduction and previous analysis chapters), the broadsheet discourse on migration tends to become

more positive when the distinction between refugees and migrants is made clear by the author or the context of the article. Taking this argument further, it makes it clear that the news media should adopt a clearer approach to terminology when referring to different types of migration.

The *Guardian* reports on January 27th, 1994 about another case of refugees, who fled persecution and violence in Vietnam and Cambodia, and who had sought refuge in Australia. As the author points out most of them "have been in custody for four years" in a refugee camp, which conveys the image of being treated like criminals. As established in Chapter 3 and Chapter 7, the discourse of criminality adds to the dehumanisation of migrants and refugees, and by extension can further increase the social and power hierarchy to the disadvantage of migrants. The article centres around a letter by a young student, who had written to the Prince of Wales in order to raise awareness of the situation in the refugee camp, calling it "a modern-day concentration camp" (*Guardian*, 21/1/1994). This military metaphor, which evokes memories of Nazi Germany, should appeal morally and ethically to the readership due to its highly emotive connotation with the terrible events surrounding the holocaust. Furthermore, this public call for help highlights the need for public support in order to put pressure on officials to change the conditions of the refugees. Without having to necessarily employ a close reading of the sub-context of the discourse, it could be argued that this article provides a clear and obvious example for what Fairlclough refers to as a call for "social change" (1989, 2012, 2017). What is striking in this case, is the public address of a member of the Royal Family, something that was not found anywhere else in the data. It implicates that members of the social elite are more powerful than others and possess the agency to champion change.

Emotive discourse could also be found in an article published by *The Times* on April 24,

1999, which centred around two sisters and their mother, who were fleeing the war in Kosovo. The opening sentence introduces their plight, as the author writes “two teenage girls and their sick mother hope to arrive in Britain tomorrow aboard the first flight of Kosovan refugees to find sanctuary in the UK.” It could be argued that the mention of the sickness of the mother evokes sympathy, while the mention of female teenagers further conveys harmlessness. This confirms what has been argued in the literature review, as well as in previous analysis chapters, that the media representation of women and children is more favourable and emotive (Szczepanik, 2016). The author further states that the three women “fled their home by escaping through a first-floor window to avoid Serbian police”, which hints at the violent nature of the conflict and demonstrates their desperation and fear after almost 10 months of war at that point. Taking this argument further, the author quotes the chief executive for Leeds council, where the refugees were due to arrive, who “appealed for the refugees' need for quiet to be respected. […] These refugees have faced a great trauma”. The acknowledgment of the trauma, which refugees fleeing war zones and violent conflicts have endured, is an emotive statement, which is not mentioned often in broadsheet news reporting. In this instance, it carries a lot of weight, especially as it is the concluding sentence of the article, and it could thus be suggested that the author was trying to highlight the need for help for the Kosovo refugees.

On the other side of the conflict, the German *SZ* reports two months later, on June 15th, 1999, that “15 000 Serbs have fled Kosovo”, highlighting that the conflict forced thousands of people from their homes. According to a quote of a spokeswoman of the International Red Cross “many have stated that they are fearful” (*SZ*, 15/6/1999), which further highlights the violent nature of the conflict, and simultaneously explains to the reader why these people are fleeing. This focus of the fear experienced by the Serbian refugees is an

emotive notion and evokes empathy, as it seems to confirm their “genuine” plight for aid. Considering that the war in Kosovo was rather short in comparison to other conflicts in recent decades, it appears both logical and particularly necessary to provide the reader with these details, in order to limit resentment towards the sudden wave of refugees.

Although the following article was written at the height of the immediate aftermath of the Kosovo War, the following example, which was published by the *FAZ* on August 14th, 1999, focuses on a different debate around forced migration. It discusses the official request by both churches in Germany for a uniform policy on Church-Asylum. This is an interesting finding, as it highlights the political power of the Churches in Germany to influence public debates. Referring to the official request submitted by the church, the author quotes “such an asylum-law should be orientated on the dignity of those in danger, not on the principle of deterrence” (*FAZ*, 14/08/1999). This line of discourse implies two things: firstly, that asylum should always be granted to people in danger, and secondly, that policies in effect at the time were selective and inefficient. It also suggests, that the churches in Germany considered the political measures implemented to handle asylum to be focused on deterring people from coming to Germany, even in a time of need, which would be inhumane and therefore against Christian values. The use of the word “dignity” further suggests a focus on human rights, which adds to the credibility of the claim made by the Churches.

This debate seems to be continuing in the next example, which is an article published by the *SZ* on December 30th, 2000, in which the author wonders in the title whether the new president of the Federal Institute for Migration and Refugees will bring about “A milder climate for asylum-seekers in Germany?”. The choice of language in this title is suggestive of Germany applying rather restrictive and selective policies to asylum cases, which

furthermore conveys a rather hostile image of the political landscape in Germany at the time. Elaborating on the character of Dr Albert Schmid, the new president of the Federal Institute for Migration and Refugees, the author notes that he seems to try to avoid political language categorically. He quotes Schmid

> "We do not use the terms asylum-abuser and economic migrant. We say someone invokes asylum either well-founded or unfounded – for other reasons. Those other reasons, economic or social, are not illegitimate, they are just not considered under asylum-law." (*SZ*, 30/12/2000)

This statement could imply that Schmid considers the terms 'asylum-abuser' and 'economic migrant' to have negative connotations, or to be inadequate, which would be in agreement with the argument brought forward during the course of this analysis. Furthermore, the notion mentioned by Schmid that economic or social migrants are not considered in accordance with asylum laws is supported by the notion that asylum should be granted to people in danger of violent conflicts, whereas economic or social migration should be regarded in the context of individual situations. What this statement suggests, however, is that under Schmid's new leadership, all asylum claims are considered if they are well-founded, or, according to his definition, are for reasons other than economic or social, which would be highly supportive of refugees fleeing from wars and violent conflicts. Considering the preceding analysis, this is a rather unusual claim by a figure of authority. As previously argued, the discourse in the broadsheets has been predominantly hostile towards migrants and asylum seekers, with most examples indicating that those in power are trying to maintain the social and political hierarchy in which migrants are disadvantaged

Continuing to consider the unusual finding in terms of Schmid's statement above, the following example seems to suggest that Schmid's new approach has been fruitful and implemented. On November 26th, 2012, the *FAZ* published an article, which argued that restrictions for refugees have relaxed in recent years, but that refugees still face a lot of hurdles if they want to make a life for themselves in Germany. The author refers to the case of a refugee who has had his asylum-claim rejected but cannot be deported because he does not possess a passport. The author notes that

> ”Exceptional leave to remain” equals the liability to leave – those affected have no right to remain. They are tolerated, because they cannot depart for logistical reasons, for instance, because the situation in their home country prohibits a departure for humanitarian reasons, or because they have no papers with which they could enter their home countries. (*FAZ,* 26/11/2012)

Slightly misleading is the claim that some rejected asylum-seekers cannot be deported, as the situation in their home country is not deemed safe. Under the previous definitions of asylum, those in danger of violence or persecution should be granted asylum, which stands in contrast with the claim brought forward here. What this seems to indicate, is that asylum law and the decision-making on the matter is indeed a lot more complex, than previously suggested in other examples, as for instance in the quote by Dr Schmid, former chief executive of the Federal Institute for Migration and Refugees. Interestingly, two years after this example, the *FAZ* published another article, which seems to confirm this. On December 23rd, 2014, in an article focusing on the performance of the Federal Institute for Migration and Refugee, the author notes that

> The refugee organisation “Pro Asyl” accused the Federal Government of increasing their efforts to “seal itself off” towards refugees. The chief executive of the initiative, Günter Burkhardt, said that his organisation was worried that Germany “would enforce the Dublin Regulation even stricter in the future.” It states that refugees have to claim asylum in the EU member-state which they entered first on their flight route. (*FAZ*, 23/12/2014)

While this article does not discuss the reasons for asylum or discusses violent conflicts or wars in relation to migration, it is being considered under the premise that most asylum-claims would be filed by refugees fleeing dangerous conditions, hence fulfilling the criteria for forced migration. With regard to the discourse in this example, it is interesting that the author chose to put the term 'to seal itself off' in quotation marks, which seemingly calls into question the remark made by “Pro Asyl”. However, it alludes to the tension between the German government and refugee organisations, implying on one side that the government does not provide adequate support for refugees in Germany, and on the other side that, as a nation, it tries to appear unwelcoming to refugees in an attempt to limit migration from asylum-seekers. The earlier sentiment, which was discussed in the *SZ* article from the year 2000, does not seem to be noticeable twelve years on. This is a striking finding, as it proves that migration sentiments shift according to the political reality in which they occur, meaning that a supportive stance on migration can alter if migration movements are framed to cause a threat or are uncontrollable on a political level. Furthermore, this example highlights the applicability of the political semiosis model once more, as it not only demonstrates how political events change and develop over time, but also how mediated constructions actively shape and influence the debates over a long time and contextualise them according to their historical development.

The final article considered in this chapter was published by the German *SZ* on September 30th, 2015, at the height of the European Refugee Crisis. Under the brief and ineloquent title “Term Migration”, the author published an interview with migration expert Jochen Oltmer, an academic from the University in Osnabrück, making this article the only interview included in this research analysis. The author introduces the subject matter by pointing out that many politicians speak of a 'great migration' to refer to the refugee movements, and that many media outlets speak of “migration as the new normality” (*SZ*, 30/9/2015). This leads to the question, whether the current refugee movements are in fact as 'great' as they are made out to be. Jochen Oltmer argues in response that the migration movements following the two World Wars were much greater, whereas “what we experience now is laughable in comparison” (*SZ*, 30/09/2015). Oltmer's observation is crucial, both in the context of the history of migration, as well as in relation to this research. It highlights that the perception of contemporary events is often contrary to the factual reality, most likely as a result of previous coverage of the same or similar issues. It furthermore suggests, that the heightened media attention has led to an increase in engagement with the topic of migration, which might lead to symptoms of compassion fatigue (Moeller, 1999). The use of the word 'laughable' further tries to render the many anti-migration arguments circulating at the time of the interview invalid, by pointing out that they are based on false claims. The author wonders as well whether the number of refugees in Germany in 2015 sticks out in comparison to previous figures in modern migration history, which Oltmer tries to explain as follows

> At the moment we have a specific constellation in Europe. On one hand, we have asylum-seekers who are from Europe itself, from the Balkans. On the other hand, there are wars and crises in multiple states, which are as it were at the front door of

> Europe, in Syria, Afghanistan or Iraq. In addition, the system of “protection” from refugees has collapsed as a result of the financial crisis in Europe. States at the outer borders are no longer either willing or able to carry the burden. […] This is why we currently observe an increase in migration. However, considered over a longer period of time it becomes clear that it always moves in waves. Sometimes it goes up – as we experienced last at the beginning of the 1990s or before that at the end of the 1960s –, sometimes it goes down. (*SZ,* 30/09/2015)

What Oltmer summarises in this quote is essentially the nexus of this research. He points out that the situation at the height of the European Refugee Crisis was neither the 'greatest' migration that it was often made out to be, and further, that migration movements occur in wave-like motions, responding to events and previous movements. He further argues that the most recent migration history is the result of a complex political development, noting that man-made crises such as the financial crisis or wars in the Middle East feature heavily in the making of a migration crisis. The European Refugee Crisis can thus not be understood without situating it in its historical context first, and neither can any other political event or development. As discussed in detail in chapter 4 on the Theoretical Framework, every event is the result of a previous event, which means by extension every political decision is thus based on something that was decided before, creating a wave-like chain of events and developments. The following chapter discusses how the analysis of the empirical data highlights this undulation of events. It argues that the analysis of the discourses of migration have not changed significantly over the course of the timeframe and that the majority of reporting is hostile towards migrants.

10. Same Old News? Same Old News!

Discussion and Conclusion

It has been argued in this research that examining broadsheet discourses of migration increases the understanding of the changes and transformations within the politics of migration. Furthermore, and contributing to our empirical knowledge of the representation of migration, this thesis has proclaimed that political developments can be understand as "restless" events, which have to be considered in relation to preceding events and historical developments. This chapter offers a summary of the findings of this research and their respective implications and contributions to the academic study of the discourses of migration in a political context over time.

The first section discusses how the comparative critical discourse analysis of the political reporting of migration in Germany and the UK adds to the existing corpus of knowledge of mediatized migration. It argues that broadsheet discourses of migration have not changed significantly between 1990 and 2016 in Germany and the UK, and that the discourses are predominantly negative towards migrants. The second section examines how the "Restlessness of Events" framework can be applied to the field of political journalism and add to the understanding of political changes manifested in media discourses. It argues that political events can be tracked over time by examining relevant media discourses and relating them to the political changes. The third section explains the limitations of this research and puts forward proposals for future research and expansions on the different aspects explored in this thesis, before offering concluding remarks in the final section.

10.1 Same Old News! Contributing to knowledge by confirming existing debates by means of comparison

As discussed in chapter 3, a large body of scholarly work examining the relationship between the media and migration already exists. Some studies focused on comparisons between different countries (see Berry, Garcia-Blanco, Moore, 2015 for instance), yet no study[26] was found that focused solely on an in-depth comparison of the political reporting of migration in Germany and the UK, let alone over a long period of time. This research addresses this gap in the literature by offering an in-depth qualitative study of the discourses of migration over a long period of time in Germany and the UK. It argues that by comparing the media discourses of migration in Germany and the UK one can get a clearer understanding of the political developments in either country over time, particularly in relation to migration.

One of the original contributions of this thesis can thus be found by comparing the findings of the CDA. To recall, the research questions guiding the empirical analysis are concerned with the use of discourse to cover migration in political reporting in broadsheet newspapers between 1990 and June 23, 2016 in Germany and the UK, and whether the discourse changes over the course of this timeframe. In response to these questions, the analysis found that the majority of the discourse with which migration has been reported in the political sections of the four broadsheet newspapers subject to this research is used to maintain the status quo of the political reality, in which migration is seen as problematic. Throughout the analysis, as seen in chapter 6-9, the articles were dominated by negative

26 At the time of writing and to the best of my knowledge in September 2019

and, at times, hostile discourses, presenting migration and migrants as a concern of political discussion that demands a solution. This became especially apparent in articles which focused on migration as a mass movement. Phrases such as " flow of refugees" (*FAZ*, 26/01/1991), "wave of immigrants" (*The Times*, 27/02/2004), "stream of […] refugees" (*FAZ,* 21/07/1993), "flood of benefit tourists" (*The Times*, 29/04/2011), conveyed and underlined the idea that migration is an unpredictable and unmanageable process, over which politicians have little control. While these findings, which echo many of the arguments put forward in the academic literature, are in the majority, it must be noted that the CDA was subject to a strict sampling process and subsequently resulted in inevitable restrictions. As the analysis has shown in a few examples, broadsheet newspapers have the ability to offer positive and balanced accounts of political migration reporting and indeed do so from time to time, which supports what scholars like Cottle (2008) Chouliaraki (2008) and Volkmer (2011) have argued in their respective studies on media coverage of suffering. The media, and in this particular case broadsheet newspapers, have the agency to report on injustice and the suffering of others by either directly granting voices to those experiencing hardship and oppression, or by offering a neutral and balanced account of migration events through the lens of journalism and limiting the access to the platform of media to those in power.

However, an interesting observation about the findings in this research is that no significant difference between the broadsheet reporting in Germany and the equivalents in the UK could be found. In either sample, the discourses were repeatedly and predominantly making us of the same phrases and terms, referring to migration as a mass process that evokes feelings of threat or unease at the least due to the political paralysis to address the issue in an efficient way. Echoing what Esses, Medianu and Lawson (2013)

argued in a previous study, this feeling of political uncertainty was greatly visible throughout the analysis of the data. Out of the 151 articles analysed in this thesis, no article reported about a clear political solution to the handling of migration, which further points to the idea that governments have no real sense of what the best or most effective approach to migration could be. The frequent use of headlines or phrases along the lines of "Fears that 500,000 refugees will end journeys in Britain" (*The Times*, 31/05/2016) further added to the overall impression that migration is received with negative and dismissive attitudes, with the discourse in this case directly picking up on the perceived notion of fear. This idea that migration is something to be afraid of was further visible in the analysis of the discourses of migration and security. In this context, the notion of fear was often diametrically opposed to the notion of defence. Articles reporting of the "fight against illegal immigration" (*FAZ*, 13/06/2002), and the idea that governments "must gain the regiment over the gate" (*FAZ*, 30/10/1992) suggest that migration should be met with military-like force, further strengthening the claim that migration presents a problem to authorities. These discourses thus reproduce the social and political hierarchies already in place and confirm what has been argued strongly in the academic literature on the topic before. Furthermore, Philo, Briant and Donald (2013) found in their extensive study of the representations of refugees in UK news media that the term "illegal immigrant" appeared numerous times in the news discourse they examined. This research came to a similar conclusion in its analysis of the UK sample, especially in the analysis of the discourses of security, where the articles often related a lack of control over migration to the potential for "more illegal immigration" (*Guardian,* 05/03/1996). Surprisingly, there was very little use of the term "illegal" found in *The Times*, and on the one occasion that the word was used, the article related it to a decrease in illegal activity, stating that "[…] the number of people coming across the Channel illegally is now relatively small" (*The Times*, 28/11/2003).

This is a striking finding for two reasons, for one the academic literature states that the media reporting of migration in the UK is predominantly hostile (see chapter 3.1), and secondly *The Times* has been found to be a paper with more negative representations of migration in comparison to the *Guardian* in the discussion of the other three categories, which makes this finding stand out as unusual. In comparison, in the German articles the term "illegal" was used with high frequency, from referring to a "fight against illegal migration" (*FAZ,* 19/05/2007) or talking about "refugees who came illegally via Poland" (*SZ*, 29/03/1993), echoing the findings of the academic literature on the subject. The discourses analysed in this research thus conform with the findings of other academic studies that argue that media reporting of migration in politics is highly negative.

Continuing with this line of comparison between the findings of the German and UK samples, this research found very little evidence of articles awarding agency to migrants. As Szczepanik (2016), Philo, Briant and Donald (2013) and Cottle (2008) argued in their respective research, media outlets have the power to give voice to the voiceless, but it does not happen often. Chapter 8, which analysed discourses of migration and integration, shows that in many cases articles were reporting of different aspects of integration, yet failed to include experiences and opinions of migrants, who are the very subject of integration. What is evident from the analysis, is that the focus of reporting lies instead mainly on the political measures, once more putting the focus on persons of authority. Furthermore, what the analysis indicates is that the reporting favours the representation of political measures that could be regarded as successful. Examples included citations of political statements such as "integration of migrants […] remarkably successful" (*The Times*, 12/09/2000) and paraphrases like "According to information from Chancellor Merkel, the federal government alone wants to invest 750 million euros in efforts of

integration[…]" (*FAZ*, 13/07/2007), which not only gives voice to politicians and subsequently offers them a platform to praise their own work, but it also situates the process of migration firmly within the confines of political decision-making and way from the context of the individual reasons for migration. As the literature on this topic states, giving voice to migrants would enable the public to "bear witness" (Cottle, 2008: 98) to their plight and it can be argued that this would in turn evoke sympathy towards them and lessen the negativity with which migration is often viewed. As King and Wood (2001: 2) pointed out in their discussion of migration in UK media, migrants are more often than not displayed as "others" or even "criminals", and this research found this to be true, both for the German as well as for the UK sample.

One particularly striking example for this claim was found in an article by the *Guardian* (23/08/1993), in which the evidence was given in the form of a quote of a migrant, who states that "People who have money don't care about others." Not only does this example feature a quote by a migrant, which is a rare occurrence as it is, but here the migrant refers to their own experience of migrating in a negative way. Despite the fact that in this example a migrant is granted a voice, it still confirms the dominating discourses in which migrants and migration are portrayed in a negative way. As Cottle has argued, this line of reporting allows the reader to feel sympathy for the migrant and aids "in the public rehabilitation of former 'others'" (2008: 98), and while examples such as this underline the validity of this claim, it must also be noted that this research argues strongly that examples such as this are sparse, a claim that is supported by the analysis in the previous four chapters. Keeping in mind the former argument brought forward in response to the first research question, it is argued in this thesis that discourses are used to represent migration in political reporting as a means to support and reproduce existing social,

cultural and political structures. As the CDA has tried to show in the discussion of the four categories of migration discourse, migrants and the processes of migration are portrayed as a political problem, which extends into the public sphere by means of media coverage.

Providing an answer to the second research question of this research, it is argued in this thesis that there are little changes in the discourses of migration over the course of the timeline. Corresponding with the findings of Hargreaves that "negative media representations" (2001: 25) over a long period of time has a strong negative impact on the public's perceptions of migration, this thesis puts forward the claim that the lack of changes in the discourses over the course of the timeline are an indication for the current negative attitudes towards migration in both Germany and the UK. Looking back over the four chapters of analysis, it becomes clear that discourses representing migration differ rarely between the early years of the timeline compared to the later years.

Taking an article from the beginning of the timeline where the author refers to migration as potentially the "greatest threat to European stability" (*The Times*, 26/01/1991) and comparing it to an example roughly halfway through the timeline, where the phrase "Concern about a wave of immigrants" (*The Times*, 27/02/2004) echoes the notion that migration is a problem, already implies that the discourse of migration hardly changed over the years. Taking into account another example from the same broadsheet at the end of the timeline, where the article focuses on the potentially negative impact of a "secondary flow of refugees" who could add to "already huge strain" (*The Times*, 31/05/2016) on the UK's economy, it becomes evident that certain discourses of migration are still reproducing the same issues at the end of the timeline as they did at the beginning. While these examples were all taken from the same broadsheet for the category of the discourse of

migration and the economy, the analysis in chapter 6 has presented many examples from all four broadsheets subject to this study which confirm the claim that the discourses do not change over time. And as argued above, the claim holds true for both the German and the UK data.

Looking at an early example from the German sample taken from the category of migration and security, an article focusing on refugees entering Austria and Germany was titled "Concerned about streams of refugees" (*FAZ,* 26/01/1991). Not only was this article published on the same day as the example from the UK data referred to above, but it focuses on the same negative attitude towards and migration, proving once again that the discourse of migration in the UK and Germany are significantly similar. Taking this argument further, the title of this *FAZ* article was almost identical to the phrase used by the second example of *The Times* quoted above, which strengthens the claims put forward in this thesis that the discourses of migration not only remain the same over time, but also are the same in both Germany and the UK. As the first example was taken from a UK article of the category of migration and economy and this example was found in the German *FAZ* in the category of security, it suggests that the discourses of migration are represented by certain phrases and terms regardless of context. Continuing to argue in support of the claim that the discourses of migration do not change over the course of the timeline in the German sample as well, a later article from the same broadsheet focuses on the plan of the EU to make the "fight against illegal immigration" (*FAZ*, 13/06/2002) a top priority. It reinforces the dominant and recurring anti-migration discourse found in the majority of the data, which is also the case in an example towards the end of the timeline, in which the article focuses on the need for new migration laws to manage the arrival of asylum-seekers "who come to Germany, even though it is obvious that they have no

prospects of being recognised as asylum-seekers or refugees" (*FAZ*, 30/09/2015). Considering that this article was published at the height of the European Refugee crisis, it highlights that the ongoing debates about the genuineness of refugees dominated the discourse of migration towards the end of the timeline. As Cohen argues, both "media and political elites" (2011: xxii) have spent decades reproducing discourses which portrayed migrants as "bogus" or "illegal", fostering a system in which migrants are perceived in a negative way. This finding therefore corroborates the claim put forward in response to the second research question that discourses of migration do not change across the timeframe of this research in neither the German nor the UK data.

10.2 Restless Events in the media: A new approach to tracking political developments over time

This research argues that discourses of migration in broadsheet reporting have not changed significantly between 1990 and 2016 in Germany and the UK, and that the tone of discourses is predominantly negative towards migrants across the four broadsheets in question. Looking at the contributions of this thesis in response to the research questions and the subsequent analysis, it becomes apparent that the theoretical framework provided by Wagner-Pacifici's political semiosis model is an effective tool to highlight the development of media discourses over time. It has been argued throughout the course of this study that news reporting of specific events or situations can be understood to make up the third component of the political semiosis model, the representative feature. By contextualising events and situating them in the wider historical context, news media shift the power over to their respective audiences and thus create an environment that opens up possibilities for change and calls to action. Furthermore, the theoretical framework

based on Wagner-Pacifici's notion of the "Restlessness of Events" (2010) argues that political developments are dynamic transformations over time, which cannot be understood as singular events, but must be considered in relation to previous events and developments. Therefore, by analysing the political discourses of migration over an expanded period of time, as has been done in this thesis, the political semiosis model enables media researchers to establish the effect of certain media discourses on the development of particular events, as well as track their impact and development over time. As a result, the analysis suggests that broadsheet reporting can act as the representative act put forward in Wagner-Pacifici's political semiosis model, if media coverage of the politics of migration is understood as an integral part of the political reality.

As stated in the discussion above, the discourses of migration have not changed significantly over the course of the timeframe of this research, yet, a lot of changes have happened within the politics of migration at the same time. Considering the example of the economic impact of migration in relation to skilled labour, the guest worker scheme in Germany actively recruited foreign labour forces between the late 1950's and 1970's to boost the ailing economy. At the beginning of the timeframe for this research, the reunification of Germany had resulted in a wave of returning immigrants rendering the need for foreign guest workers obsolete. Noted in an article by the *FAZ* early on in the timeline of this research, "the foreign workers claimed they saw themselves confronted by a "growing defence"" (*FAZ*, 20/06/1991), which suggests a shift of attitude within the German public towards these immigrants. Furthermore, the reporting of this phenomenon could be interpreted as an attempt to situate the growing resentment of the German public towards immigrants within the public sphere to justify and explain the political response which would surely have to follow. And while the data analysis does not offer an example

of an article responding to these changes (likely due to the selective sampling process), historically it is known that the guest worker scheme was stopped and the early 1990's were considered by both the German public and politicians an immigration crisis (see chapter 2.2). The broadsheet discourse moved swiftly to report on potential changes in immigration law (*FAZ*, 26/08/1996), arguing that immigration laws should be restructured to allow for needs-based economic migration instead.

The political changes occurring at the time were thus both contextualised and represented by the news media, making it possible for these political changes to be traced through the news reporting. Simultaneously, these political shifts seemed to justify and be justified by the public's increasingly hostile attitude towards migration, which would exist for the remaining years of the timeframe. In 2005, the *S Z* published an article in which the discussion focused on the need for Europe to ensure the "security of the borders and the maintaining of its welfare societies" (*SZ*, 13/10/2005), which highlights that the political changes in Germany had extended by now to include EU policies in the national discourse on migration. Strikingly, another six years along the timeline of this research, and the discourse of migration and the economy has changed again. Carrying the title "Competing for skilled personnel", an article of the *SZ* (20/04/2011) now claims that Germany needs to start competing in the international bid to attract skilled and specialist foreign workforces again. Echoing the guest worker scheme from the mid-20th century, this discourse situates the economic and political reality of Germany anew in a completely different context. Fast forward another four years towards the end of the timeline for this research, and the news discourse has once again changed. Asking in its title "up to which point is migration considered normal – and when does that change" (*SZ*, 30/09/2015), the last article of the *SZ* that was considered in the German sample for the category of the discourses of

migration and the economy, shows that migration has yet again resurfaced as a topic of great concern among the German public and politics alike.

What this brief account of the German data in relation to one of the categories of migration discourse has tried to demonstrate, is that media discourses on migration are responsive and as transformative as the political developments to which they relate. However, as noted before, the discourses analysed in this research show that the general tone of reporting does not change significantly over the course of the timeline, the discourses of migration across the categories examined are predominantly hostile. Concurrently, it is argued though that the political reality does change and that political events transform between 1990 and 2016. Considering that this research claims that media discourses of migration relate to political change over time, this observation suggests that the political events remain the same at their core. What this implies is that the context in which political events are situated changes according to contemporary developments, for instance election campaigns or humanitarian crises. However, the inherent attitudes towards migration remain the same across time. As such it can be argued that the media coverage of these issues can be linked directly to political events, and together they contextualise and represent the transformative character of events as proposed by Wagner-Pacifici (2010). Therefore, this thesis proposes that Wagner-Pacifici's (2010) political semiosis model provides not only a useful framework to research and analyse mediated events over time, but that it can be applied to contextualise and situate individual moments of change that directly impact the further development of events within their historical setting. This approach could provide a useful tool to researchers interested in understanding media impact, or those conducting long-term studies on specific mediated events or issues. Particularly researchers interested in historical political communication could utilise

Wagner-Pacifici's model to track events over time and pin point moments of change that resulted in historical transformations of discourses, narratives, debates or arguments and ultimately changed the course of events as they were unfolding.

10.3 Limitations and future ideas

Having established the original contributions of this research to the study of migration in broadsheet journalism, this thesis also points to areas it could not fully explore. One of these limitations stems from the fact that this research has been conducted using a qualitative research approach. While the limitations of CDA and qualitative methods have already been discussed in chapter 5, it could be suggested that a more quantitative approach to the research questions would have yielded some very interesting results as well. A content analysis of the empirical data could have immensely strengthened the arguments put forward in this thesis and complemented the findings. For instance, counting the frequency with which migrants are referred to by the newspapers as “illegal” would add further credit to the claim that the reporting is predominantly hostile. Furthermore, the qualitative approach required that the number of articles that could be analysed for the purpose of this research had to be narrowed down, which ultimately and unfortunately means that a lot of the empirical data collected was not in fact analysed in the process. Hence it cannot be argued that the findings represent the entire migration discourse in broadsheet journalism. What can be stated is that the findings in this research confirm the academic debates discussed in chapter 3, and that they conform with the overall notion that media representation of migration is predominantly negative. However, the selective approach to only consider the last article in any given data peak, as discussed in chapter 5.7, eliminated vast amounts of data, making it impossible to make

an irrevocable claim.

A second area warranting further discussion concerns exploring in more detail the framework of the “Restlessness of Events” in a media studies context. The analysis in chapters 6-9 was guided by the idea of discussing news articles over a long period of time and analysing whether and how media discourses of migration change. Furthermore, the above discussion of its applicability to media studies tried to argue in favour of its benefits, by noting that acts of representation can be tracked in discourses across time. However, more research fully devoted to applying Wagner-Pacifici’s political semiosis model to a study of media content would enhance the visibility of its effectiveness and provide a valuable contribution by adding to the corpus of research methods suitable for media and communication studies. As mentioned above, this would be particularly interesting for studies concerned with historical changes in media studies and could be well suited to analyse thematic changes related to political journalism. In addition, it would have been extremely interesting to continue this research further to include the aftermath of the United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum and track the media reporting to pin-point the very media reports that framed the Brexit debates and subsequent political changes and events, such as Boris Johnson’s race for the office of Prime Minister and his subsequent decision to prorogue Parliament.

One element this research does not address in depth is the increase in right-wing and nationalist discourse in the empirical data. It can be argued that the current political climate sees an alarming rise in far-right parties gaining more and more momentum. In Germany, the far-right party Alternative for Germany (AfD) continues to win seats at local, state and federal level at a concerning rate, while a member of the ultranationalist, far-right NPD was voted into the office of the local executive body of the Hessian town Altenstadt in

September 2019. In the UK, UKIP have moved from focusing mainly on Eurosceptic politics to far-right sentiments, causing former leader Nigel Farage to leave the party after more than twenty years of membership and active service, while figures like Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (more commonly known as Tommy Robinson) dominate news headlines for their right-wing activism. While these four cases might be considered not much more than snapshots in the grand scheme of things, they are snapshots of the political reality in Germany and the UK in 2019. Research focusing on the rise of right-wing and nationalist discourses in the media would be incredibly contemporary, however, for the purpose of this thesis it was decided against, as it would not have added to the answering of the research questions.

A final criticism that could be brought forward against this thesis is that it is unbalanced in its selection of newspapers. As argued throughout this thesis, broadsheet newspapers were selected for the purpose of analysing media content that is supposedly the most balanced. Yet, as the analysis has shown that is neither always the case, nor does it depict the full scope of discourses of migration across the news media. Extending this research by including tabloid newspapers or looking at broadcast news would address this limitation and provide a fuller, more balanced representation of migration discourses in the media.

10.4 Concluding remarks

Following the discussion of contributions and limitations of this research alike, it is clear that this research does not deal in absolutes. As the analysis has proven, media discourses of migration come in a variety of forms and contexts, and while hostility and

negativity dominate the reporting, some examples have shown that the media indeed have the power and agency to give voice and a platform to migrants and refugees alike. This research argues further that political events can be traced by close examination of the media discourses, and that the political responses to migration occurs in accordance with political campaigns and events, which the media have the power to communicate and facilitate. While this thesis has its shortcomings and room for improvement, it does conform with the findings of fellow academics that migration is a problematised topic of media reporting. As such, this research appeals to media institutions to be highly aware of the power they behold in relation to the subjects of their media coverage and consider their role in reproducing stereotypes by repeatedly publishing the same old news.

Appendix

Appendix A: Original Text for Chapter 6

6.1 Migration – a strain on public resources?

FAZ, 21/07/1993

> Je größer die Zahl der Erdbewohner, desto mehr Energieverbrauch, desto mehr Nahrungsmittelbedarf, desto mehr Trinkwassernot, desto mehr Luftverschmutzung, desto größere Umweltschäden und vieles andere mehr. Jeder zusätzliche Erdenbürger geht ein in die große Gesamtrechnung, die alle bezahlen müssen und nicht nur jene, in deren Siedlungsgebieten sich die Menschen am dichtesten ballen. […]
> Mit Migration versuchen die Betroffenen ihrem Elend zu entkommen. Das Thema steht nicht von ungefähr im Mittelpunkt des diesjährigen Weltbevölkerungsberichts der Vereinten Nationen. Noch spielen sich die Wanderbewegungen meist in den Ländern ab, die mit ihren Bevölkerungsproblemen nicht mehr fertig werden. Doch von dort setzt sich der Strom jener, die wir Wirtschafts-, Umwelt- oder Elendsflüchtlinge nennen, auch zu uns in Bewegung.

6.4 Migration and the need for skilled labour

FAZ, 20/06/1991

> Die ausländischen Arbeitnehmer sähen sich einer "wachsenden Abwehr" in der deutschen Bevölkerung und auch "tätlichen Angriffen ausgesetzt, ohne daß von politischer Seite ihre Anwesenheit begründet und ihre erwiesenen Leistungen gewertet werden".

SZ, 20/04/2011

“Deutschland müsse einsteigen in den Wettbewerb um ausländische Fachkräfte”

“Werben um Fachkräfte”

“Struck sprach sich dafür aus, die Einkommensgrenze für die Zuwanderung ausländischer Spezialisten von 66 000 Euro im Jahr „deutlich“ zu senken.”

FAZ, 26/08/1996

“Was ein Einwanderungsgesetz leisten könnte”

Die Einwanderung aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen (Arbeitskräfte, selbständige Erwerbstätige) muß der arbeitsmarktpolitischen Situation mittel- und langfristig Rechnung tragen. Neben einer mehrjährigen Gesamtplanung mit jährlich vorzusehenden, aber modifizierbaren Quoten muß eine langfristige Einwanderungsprojektion vorgenommen werden. [...] Bei der Auswahl der Bewerber können die Erfahrungen klassischer Einwanderungsländer mit einem differenzierten Selektions- und Punktebewertungsverfahren genutzt werden (Kanada, Australien).

FAZ 30/12/2013

"Der Hass auf osteuropäische Migranten und die Angst vor ihnen ist in Großbritannien und den Niederlanden mit Händen zu greifen. In Wirklichkeit ist die Migration für beide Seiten problematisch, zugleich aber auch von Nutzen. Den im Westen verunglimpften ‚Einwanderern in die Sozialsysteme' stehen all die Fachkräfte aus dem Osten gegenüber, ohne die etwa die deutsche Wirtschaft Probleme bekäme."

SZ 15/03/1995

Dabei sind die Türken in Deutschland in ihrer überwiegenden Mehrheit eine dynamische und stabilisierende Kraft. Der Grund für ihr Kommen war die Suche nach Arbeit. Sie und ihre Kinder zeigen die für Einwanderer typischen Eigenschaften wie Flexibilität und Aufstiegswillen. Ihre Energie kommt der gesamten Gesellschaft zugute.

6.5 The impact of migration on employment

*FAZ*13/03/1996

Falls die Bundesregierung ihre jetzige Politik fortsetze, werde sich die Arbeitslosigkeit in Deutschland weiter erhöhen und die internationale Wettbewerbsfähigkeit Deutschlands sich verschlechtern. […] Seit langem schlägt die FDP ein Einwanderungsgesetz vor. Der Bundesvorstand der Partei hatte am 5. Februar die Empfehlungen der Arbeitsgruppe verabschiedet, die der Partei ein Konzept zu Einwanderung und Eingliederung geben sollen. Darin heißt es unter anderem, in ein "Zuwanderungskontrollgesetz" müßten "die bisherigen uneinheitlichen (und nicht namentlich so genannten) Zuwanderungsbestimmungen wie der Ehegatten- und Familiennachzug oder die quotierte Einreise von Spätaussiedlern" eingearbeitet werden.

SZ 30/09/2015

Bis zu welchem Punkt wird Migration auch als normal empfunden - und wo schlägt das um?

Da spielen verschiedene Aspekte zusammen. Die Wirtschaft ist natürlich wichtig, die Frage, werden Flüchtlinge oder Einwanderer als nützlich angesehen oder als Konkurrenten um das knappe Gut Arbeitsplatz.

SZ 29/02/1996

“Auch das schlichte Gegeneinanderrechnen von deutschen Arbeitslosen und zugewanderten Beschäftigten ist eine falsche Gleichung, deren populistischer Einsatz in der Ausländerdiskussion der 1980er Jahre verheerende Folgen hatte”

Appendix B: Original Text for Chapter 7

7.1 Migration and the "threat of terrorism"

FAZ 19/11/2006
"Da mögen Schäuble, die Politik und die Sicherheitsbehörden lange appellieren und auf die Risiken hinweisen. Terroristen könnten illegal ins Land gelangen"

*FAZ 0*8/06/2005

"Zudem nimmt es sicherheitspolitische Aspekte dort auf, wo der Kampf gegen den internationalen Terrorismus auch mit den Waffen des Ausländerrechts geführt werden soll"

FAZ 19/05/2007

> Die Arbeitsgruppe, an der für Deutschland dann Staatssekretär Altmaier (CDU) teilnimmt, soll in den kommenden Monaten zu künftigen Strukturen europäischer Innenpolitik, aber auch zu einigen Arbeitsgebieten Vorschläge erarbeiten, etwa zur gemeinsamen Terrorismusbekämpfung, der europäischen Asylpolitik und der Abwehr illegaler Migration.

SZ 29/02/2016
"Deutschland und Marokko wollen außerdem in Sicherheitsfragen enger zusammenarbeiten, unter anderem bei der Terrorismusbekämpfung."

7.2 Migration and an "increase in crime"

SZ 26/02/1992

> Deutschland wünscht sich von Österreich eine Erweiterung des gegenseitigen Abschiebe-Abkommens. Bei einer Kurzvisite zu den Themen Migration und organisierte Kriminalität übergab der Bonner Innenminister Rudolf Seiters am Dienstag seinem Wiener Kollegen Franz Löschnak einen Entwurf, der es den deutschen Behörden erleichtern soll, 'unbefugt' über Österreich eingereiste Personen aus Drittstaaten abzuschieben.

SZ 29/03/1993

"illegal über Polen gekommene Flüchtlinge"

SZ 16/10/1992

“dunklen Gestalten”

“Von ihnen sind etwa 1000 illegal und halten sich mit Drogen-Handel, Gelegenheitsarbeiten, Hilfe bei der Ernte und als fliegende Händler über Wasser”

FAZ 28/04/1999

“was die Bekämpfung organisierter Kriminalität und auch die Abwehr illegaler Migration erschwert”

FAZ 13/06/2002

“Illegale Einwanderung: EU plant Sanktionen gegen Herkunftsländer”

“Der Kampf gegen illegale Einwanderung, Menschenschmuggel und Menschenhandel werde zu einer Top-Priorität für die EU”

“Die EU-Staaten wollten nicht, dass die Mehrzahl der Menschen illegal oder unter Vorspiegelung vermeintlicher Asylgründe in die Gemeinschaft kämen”

FAZ 19/11/2006

“Wenn man die Illegalen nicht zurückschicke, ermutige man nur die Schleuser, die häufig noch in andere kriminelle Geschäfte verwickelt sind: Rauschgift- und Waffenhandel etwa oder Zwangsprostitution."

7.3 Migration and the “lack of (border) controls”

FAZ 26/01/1991

“Besorgt über Flüchtlingsströme”

“Die Furcht vor Hunderttausenden, ja Millionen Flüchtlingen, besonders aus der Sowjetunion, bestimmen offenkundig das Bestreben, einen Konsens der Europäer auszuhandeln”

FAZ 30/10/1992

> Der Staat muß Mittel in die Hand bekommen, die es ihm erlauben, die Zuwanderung zu begrenzen und zu steuern. Er muß das Tor nicht gänzlich schließen, aber er muß

das Regiment über dieses Tor erlangen. Gelingt ihm das nicht, setzt er den sozialen Konsens aufs Spiel und gefährdet die Demokratie.

FAZ 11/01/1994

“Er warnt nur vor den Folgen der Anerkennung der Einwanderer als Kollektive und nicht als Individuen”

FAZ 12/12/2001

“Worum es jetzt in erster Linie geht, ist, die bisher weitgehend ungesteuert stattfindende Zuwanderung nach Deutschland in einigermaßen geordnete Bahnen zu lenken”

SZ 15/03/1995

“Für den sozialen Frieden in der Bundesrepublik ist es entscheidend, daß die Zahl der Ausländer nicht wesentlich zunimmt”

“Was die Regelung des weiteren Zuzugs angeht, so müssen die Interessen aller Menschen, die in Deutschland leben, berücksichtigt werden”

FAZ 26/08/1996

“dass kein Einwanderungsgesetz der Welt illegale Einwanderung verhindern könne”

“Die relativ hohe Zahl der heute abgelehnten, nicht abgeschobenen Asylbewerber”

FAZ 19/11/2006

“Für einen Innenminister hat die Sicherheit Vorrang”

24 000 Aufgegriffene. Im Verhältnis zur Millionenarmee der Schatten sind das nicht viele. Der Minister ist sich darüber im klaren, daß seine Polizisten, Grenzschützer, Schwarzarbeitskontrolleure die Schattenarmee allein nicht entscheidend dezimieren können. Deshalb fordert Schäuble in Wiesbaden die Unterstützung der Bürger, appelliert an ihr "Rechtsbewußtsein".

FAZ 21/09/1995

"Es ist eine Schande. Diese jungen Männer haben versucht, unsere Notsituation auszunützen"

SZ 17/09/1998

“Die Schengen-Vertragsstaaten wollen ihre gemeinsame Außengrenze stärker gegen illegale Zuwanderer sichern”

“Zu den Maßnahmen gehören intensivere Kontrollen an den Grenzen, vor allem in den südeuropäischen Häfen. Von illegal eingereisten Personen sollen Fingerabdrücke genommen, anschließend sollen sie „unverzüglich und konsequent” abgeschoben werden”

SZ 24/05/2002

“Küstenwache erschießt türkischen Flüchtling”

“Tödliche Schüsse gegen Flüchtlinge auf See habe es bisher nicht gegeben”

“Die Türkei ist eines der Hauptdurchgangsländer für die illegale Migration. Wegen der Wirtschaftskrise hat auch die Zahl der türkischen Staatsbürger zugenommen, die einen Weg in den Westen suchen”

FAZ 28/07/2004

"unsinnig zu glauben, daß wir das Flüchtlingsproblem langfristig lösen werden, indem wir einen immer höheren Wall um Afrika errichten und die Wege in die Festung Europa verbarrikadieren"

SZ 04/08/2004

“Auch die EU-Kommission distanziert sich von Plänen des Innenministers, Außenlager für Flüchtlinge einzurichten”

SZ 13/10/2005

> Der Politik fällt es in dieser gemischten Stimmungslage schwer, eine schlüssige Strategie zu entwickeln, um die Probleme der Migration von Süd nach Nord zu bewältigen. […] Für Europa geht es im Kern darum, nationale Interessen – die Sicherung der Grenzen und den Erhalt seiner Wohlstandsgesellschaften – zu wahren.

SZ 30/06/2008

“Zuwanderung wird nach Bedürfnissen der Wirtschaft gelenkt”

SZ 25/10/2013

“Die EU will die "Festung Europa" nicht öffnen, obwohl es massive Kritik an ihrer Asylpolitik gibt”

Die Bedingungen in den Herkunftsländern zu verbessern”

SZ 31/10/2014

“Das Mittelmeer wird wieder unsicherer”

Appendix C: Original Text for Chapter 8

8.1 Means of integration

FAZ 20/06/1991

“Enttäuschung über mangelnde Arbeits- und Einflußmöglichkeiten”

SZ 16/12/1992

> Beim DGB wiederum hält man sich zugute, sich bei der beruflichen Integration der rund 1,7 Millionen Gastarbeiter in Deutschland mächtig ins Zeug gelegt zu haben. Beleg: Mit der Novellierung des Betriebsverfassungsgesetzes haben die Gewerkschaften 1971/72 durchgesetzt, daß auch ausländische Arbeitnehmer sowohl aktiv als auch passiv an den Betriebsratswahlen teilnehmen können. Heute sind 4,6 Prozent aller Betriebsräte in Deutschland Ausländer.

FAZ 14/01/1999

“sich im täglichen Leben und bei Behörden in deutscher Sprache ausdrücken können”

FAZ 08/06/2005

“Vielgelobte Neuerung des Gesetzes soll der Beginn einer Integrationspolitik für Einwanderer sein, aber auch für Ausländer, die bereits seit langem hier leben”

“"nachholende Integration" gehört zu den schwierigsten Vorhaben der deutschen Politik”

“weil seit Jahren in Deutschland lebende Ausländer zur Teilnahme verpflichtet werden können und ihnen Kürzungen ihrer Sozialleistungen drohen, wenn sie fernbleiben”

> Der Verpflichtungscharakter fördere zudem, sagte Schmid, die Teilnahme von Frauen und Mädchen an den Sprachkursen. Sie könnten unter Hinweis auf die Verpflichtungen die Verbote umgehen, die von den Männern der Familie ausgesprochen würden.

FAZ 27/04/2007

“Mütter als Integrationshelfer - Bundesregierung will Eltern ausländischer Kinder einbeziehen”

> Auf die Mütter kommt es an. Wie hier an der Volkshochschule Offenbach sollen künftig verstärkt die Mütter von Einwandererkindern gute Deutschkenntnisse erwerben, um die Bildungs- und Berufschancen ihres Nachwuchses zu verbessern.

Die Bundesregierung setzt bei der Integration ausländischer Schüler auf die Erkenntnis von Lern- und Sprachforschern, dass vor allem die Unterstützung der Eltern eine wichtige Rolle beim Erwerb der deutschen Sprache spielt.

FAZ 13/07/2007

“Merkel weist "Ultimaten" türkischer Verbände zurück Die Kanzlerin: Nationaler Integrationsplan einzigartig / Weiter Streit über den Boykott”

“dazu beitragen, Eingliederung, Bildungschancen und Berufsperspektiven von etwa 15 Millionen Einwanderern in Deutschland zu verbessern”

“hatten das Treffen boykottiert”

Nach Auskunft von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel will alleine der Bund künftig 750 Millionen Euro mehr in Integrationsbemühungen investieren als bisher. Dazu gehört vor allem eine Intensivierung der Sprachausbildung von Neubürgern, aber auch von Ausländern, die schon lange in Deutschland leben.

SZ 29/09/2010

“Etwa 9000 Zuwanderer warten derzeit darauf, dass sie an einem Integrationskurs teilnehmen können”

FAZ 27/03/2003

“sei es unsinnig und integrationsfeindlich, ihnen den Arbeitsmarktzugang und ihren oftmals in Deutschland aufgewachsenen Kindern den Ausbildungsgang zu verwehren”

SZ 24/11/2005

“Zuwanderer fair behandeln”

“Sie bräuchten nicht nur eine Aufenthaltserlaubnis, sondern auch Chancen zur Integration”

FAZ 24/07/2008

Von September an können Ausländer, die deutsche Staatsangehörige werden wollen, mit dem sogenannten Einbürgerungstest befragt werden. […] Der Test setze "ein Minimum an Wissen über Deutschland voraus", er sei "angemessen und überfordert niemanden", sagte Innenminister Schäuble (CDU). Die für Integration zuständige Staatsministerin im Kanzleramt, Böhmer (CDU), verwies auf amerikanische Erfahrungen, die zeigten, dass solche Tests erfolgreich angewandt würden.

FAZ 27/10/2009

“Kritik an Integrationspolitik”

“zu den Pluspunkten des Koalitionsvertrags gehöre die Empfehlung, Sprachstandsmessungen im Vorschulalter einzuführen, Kindertagesstätten zu fördern, Integrationsverträge für neue Einwanderer einzuführen und Integrationskurse arbeitsmarktbezogen auszubauen”

FAZ 27/10/2010

“Wer zu uns kommt, muss einen Beitrag zur Integration leisten”

> In einer einhellig verabschiedeten Resolution forderten die Delegierten am Sonntag größere Anstrengungen sowohl vom Staat als auch von den Migranten. "Wer dauerhaft zu uns kommt, hat auch die Pflicht, einen eigenen Beitrag zur Integration in die Gesellschaft zu leisten, zum Beispiel durch Teilnahme an Integrationskursen", heißt es in dem Beschluss.

FAZ 30/01/2016

“Die Integration der Flüchtlinge, die Begrenzung der Migration und die Eindämmung der Fluchtursachen sind Aufgaben von enormer Größe”

8.2 Migration and diversity

SZ 28/01/2008

“Nach der Schlappe in Hessen fordert das Deutsch-Türkische Forum, künftig Migranten nicht mehr durch polarisierende Wahlkämpfe vor den Kopf zu stoßen”

"Wir müssen uns festlegen: Wollen wir in Zukunft eine Partei sein, die nur die Deutschstämmigen anspricht, oder binden wir die Wählergruppe der Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund bewusst mit ein?"

8.3 Cultural enrichment through migration

FAZ 11/01/1994

“Im Banne des Multikulturalismus”

“Der Staat achtet die Identität der ethnischen, kulturellen und sprachlichen Minderheiten”

“In einer Demokratie europäischen Stils wirken die Menschen als Bürger in einem Gemeinwesen, also als Individuen, nicht als Angehörige eines Kollektivs. Politisches Augenmaß nach Max Weber erfordert, der Gefahr der Entstehung von Ghettos ins Auge zu sehen”

FAZ 15/03/1995

> Die Handschrift unterschiedlicher Kulturen prägt die deutsche Gegenwart. Viele Deutsche ignorieren dieses Faktum in der Erwartung, es sei vorübergehend. So führt es für diese Deutsche zur Unlesbarkeit der eigenen Landkarte und einem vermeintlichen Verlust des Heimatgefühls. Es muß aber darüber nachgedacht werden, wie aus unterschiedlicher Herkunft eine gemeinsame Zukunft entwickelt werden kann.
>
> Warum tut sich der deutsche Staat so schwer, diese Realität anzuerkennen und die ins Land geholten Menschen, ihre Kinder und Enkel, schnell und unbürokratisch zu integrieren? […] Einer der wichtigen Gründe für die starre Haltung in Sachen Staatsbürgerschaft liegt in einer tiefsitzenden Vertrauenskrise zwischen Deutschen und Ausländern.

SZ 18/07/2003

"Zuwanderung nach Deutschland im Jahr 2002 - Ausländer verhindern Rückgang der Bevölkerung"

Original of Goethe and Schiller (2014:44)

"Deutschland? Aber wo liegt es? Ich weiß das Land nicht zu finden / Wo das gelehrte beginnt, hört das politische auf

8.4 Migration and the undermining of heritage

SZ 27/04/1994

"Mythos vom Leben in Wohlstand und Glück"

"Angesichts der tristen Realität im engen Wohnheim und dem geringen Anschluß an die einheimische Bevölkerung zerbricht das Traumbild Deutschland schnell"

> […] doch sie fühlte sich unglücklich in ihrer Wahlheimat Göppingen: ein enges, lautes Zimmer im Wohnheim direkt an der Hauptstraße, kein herzlicher Kontakt zu Nachbarn, ihre Kinder fanden keine Freunde - und dazu kam die schreckliche Sehnsucht nach dem heimischen Dorf in der sibirischen Steppe.

8.5 Segregation – as a result of migration?

SZ 29/02/1996

"Aussiedler sind Einwanderer - nicht im rechtlichen, aber im sozialen, kulturellen und mentalen Sinne"

“Mit dem Aufstieg der Aussiedlerzuwanderung zur Massenbewegung wurde die Aussiedler-Integration zu einer gesellschaftlichen Herausforderung”

“Hohe Aussiedlerzuwanderung bei fortschreitender Kürzung der Eingliederungshilfen aber ist gesellschaftspolitisch eminent gefährlich”

FAZ 30/10/2014

(original: “Die Gefahr, in Armut zu leben, besteht bei gut einem Viertel der Einwanderer, jedoch nur bei etwas mehr als zwölf Prozent der Nichteinwanderer”).

original: “Die schulischen Leistungen von Einwandererkindern sind nach wie vor schlechter als die von Kindern, die nicht aus Einwandererfamilien stammen”).

SZ 30/08/2012

> Doch die Gestaltung der Anzeigen stelle alle Muslime unter Generalverdacht, kritisieren die Verbände. […] Es werde „eine gesellschaftliche Paranoia heraufbeschworen“ und tiefes Misstrauen gesät, heißt es in der gemeinsamen Erklärung der Türkisch-Islamischen Union Ditib, des Verbands der Islamischen Kulturzentren, des Zentralrats der Muslime in Deutschland und der Islamischen Gemeinschaft der Bosniaken.

Appendix D: Original Text for Chapter 9

9.1 Forced migration in the case of the European Refugee Crisis

FAZ 30/01/2016

> So unverzichtbar der Meinungsstreit für die Demokratie ist, ein Umstand ist besorgniserregend: In dieser Debatte werden immer häufiger Legitimität und Legalität bundespolitischer Entscheidungen in Frage gestellt. […] Solche Vorwürfe sind ja nicht nur falsch, sie fügen auch der politischen Kultur und dem Recht schweren Schaden zu.

"Seit Ende 2013 hat der Bundestag 43 Mal über die Flüchtlingspolitik debattiert"

9.2 Forced migration due to humanitarian crises

FAZ 21/07/1993

"Bevölkerung geht alle an"

> Richtig ist dagegen die Feststellung, daß übermäßiges Bevölkerungswachstum viel mit den ungleichen Lebensverhältnissen auf der Welt zu tun hat und daß die Menschheit als Ganzes wohl kaum lange überleben könnte, wenn der Lebensstandard überall so hoch wäre wie in den westlichen Industriestaaten. Die Angleichung der Lebensverhältnisse wird daher sicher nicht ohne Abstriche bei den Wohlhabenden abgehen.

SZ 29/06/2006

"Mit der Wüste kommt der Krieg – Dürre treibt weltweit Menschen in die Flucht und lösy Verteilungskämpfe aus"

"Massenemigration sei längst im Gange"

"Millionen Menschen sind schon vor ihrer eigenen Umwelt auf der Flucht"

SZ 25/10/2013

"Human Rights Watch berichtet außerdem über Soldaten, die die weiblichen Rekruten sexuell missbrauchen"

"Eritrea gehört zu den drei Ländern auf der Welt, in denen die Hungersituation laut Welthungerhilfe "gravierend" ist"

"Jetzt gibt es nur noch ein paar Colleges und die Sekundarschulen. Das letzte Schuljahr findet in einem Militärcamp statt, und von dort geht es für die meisten direkt in den Militärdienst."

"lassen Eritrea ausbluten"

9.3 Forced migration as a result of wars and conflicts

FAZ 16/12/1992

“Wenn es in der Heimat lebensgefährlich wird”

> Am besten noch weiß man Bescheid über jene Menschen, die wegen Kriegen und Bürgerkriegen oder Verletzungen von Minderheiten- und Menschenrechten auf der Flucht sind - innerhalb oder außerhalb der Grenzen ihrer Heimatländer. Denn über sie legen Jahr für Jahr der Hohe Flüchtlingskommissar der Vereinten Nationen und Menschenrechtsorganisationen Berichte und Statistiken vor. Danach sind es zwischen 30 und 40 Millionen - nach oben aufzurunden.

“Politische, wirtschaftliche, religiöse Fluchtgründe”

SZ 15/06/1999

“15 000 Serben aus dem Kosovo geflohen”

“viele hätten angegeben, Angst zu haben”

*FAZ 1*4/08/1999

(original: “Ein solches Asylrecht müsse sich an der Würde der bedrohten Menschen orientieren und nicht am Prinzip der Abschreckung”)

SZ 30/12/2000

“Ein milderes Klima für Asylbewerber in Deutschland?”

> “Wir verwenden die Begriffe Asylmissbraucher und Wirtschaftsflüchtling nicht. Wir sagen, es beruft sich jemand begründet oder unbegründet – aus anderen Gründen – auf Asyl. Diese anderen Gründe, wirtschaftliche oder soziale, sind nicht illegitim, sie werden nur vom Asylrecht nicht erfasst.”

FAZ 26/11/2012

> "Geduldet" heißt ausreisepflichtig - die Betroffenen haben kein Aufenthaltsrecht. Sie werden geduldet, weil sie aus praktischen Gründen nicht ausreisen können, etwa, weil die Situation in ihrem Heimatland eine Rückkehr aus humanitären Gründen verbietet oder weil sie keine Papiere haben, mit denen sie in ihr Heimatland einreisen könnten.

FAZ 23/12/2014

> Die Flüchtlingsorganisation "Pro Asyl" warf der Bundesregierung vor, sie steigere

ihre Versuche, sich gegenüber Flüchtlingen "abzuschotten". Der Geschäftsführer der Initiative, Günter Burkhardt, sagte, seine Organisation befürchte, dass Deutschland "in Zukunft die Dublin-Verordnung noch stärker durchsetzen wird". Darin ist festgelegt, dass die Flüchtlinge in dem EU-Mitgliedstaat ihren Asylantrag stellen müssen, das sie als erstes Land auf ihrem Fluchtweg betreten haben.

SZ 30/09/2015

“Begriff Völkerwanderung”

“Völkerwanderung als Normalzustand”

“Dagegen ist das, was wir jetzt erleben, lächerlich”

Wir haben derzeit eine spezifische Konstellation in Europa. Es gibt einerseits Asylsuchende, die aus Europa selbst kommen, aus den Balkanstaaten. Andererseits gibt es Kriege und Krisen in mehreren Staaten, die quasi vor der Haustür Europas liegen, in Syrien, Afghanistan oder dem Irak. Hinzu kommt, dass das System des "Schutzes" vor Flüchtlingen als Folge der Finanzkrise in Europa zusammengebrochen ist. Staaten an den Außengrenzen sind nicht mehr bereit, die Lasten zu tragen oder können es auch nicht. […] Daher verzeichnen wir derzeit eine verstärkte Zuwanderung. Doch langfristig betrachtet, wird deutlich, dass es immer Wellenbewegungen sind. Das geht mal auf - wie wir es zuletzt Anfang der 1990er Jahre oder davor Ende der 1960er Jahre erlebt haben -, mal ab.

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