The Construction of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in German Print Media

A critical discourse analysis of the “refugee crisis” in Germany from 2015-2017

PhD Proposal

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Abstract

In September 2015, the Federal Republic of Germany had to deal with an unexpected number of refugees crossing the German border. Global conflicts inter alia the civil war in Syria caused a global movement of refugees, leading to 13,000 people crossing the German border every day. This development presented an enormous challenge for German society and in particular for politics and media. Journalists faced, among other things, the question, of how to describe this mass of people, using phrases like “flood of refugees” or “wave of refugees”, that compared people to a natural disaster rather than humans. This research proposal asks in which way the German print media discursively constructed refugees and asylum seekers during the refugee crisis in Germany between 2015 and 2017. By proposing the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis the impact of linguistic patterns and the use of language in general on the portrayal of refugees shall be demonstrated.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, refugees, asylum seekers, media discourse, newspapers, national identity, corpus linguistics
Table of Content

1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH ................................................................. 1
   1.1 Problem statement .................................................................................. 3
   1.2 Research questions ............................................................................. 4

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ........................................................................ 5
   2.1 The impact of immigration on nations as collectives .............................. 5
       2.1.1 Social and collective identity.......................................................... 5
       2.1.2 Cultural identity as a special form of collective identity .................. 6
       2.1.3 National identity and nations as constructed communities ............. 7
       2.1.4 Nations as imagined communities ................................................. 8
       2.1.5 The construction of national identity in discourse .......................... 9
   2.2 The media and minorities ....................................................................... 11
   2.3 Racism and prejudice in discourse ...................................................... 13
   2.4 The history of immigration in Germany after 1950 ............................... 16
   2.5 Different ways of acculturation ............................................................. 17
   2.6 Racism in the German media discourse .............................................. 19

3 State of the art regarding refugee representation in the media .................. 22
   3.1 Studies following Critical Discourse Analysis ...................................... 24

4 METHODOLOGY ............................................................................................ 27
   4.1 Description of the project ....................................................................... 27
   4.2 Sample .................................................................................................... 28
       4.2.1 The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung .............................................. 28
       4.2.2 The Süddeutsche Zeitung ............................................................... 29
       4.2.3 The Taz. die Tageszeitung .............................................................. 30
       4.2.4 The BILD–Zeitung ....................................................................... 31
       4.2.5 The Tagesspiegel .......................................................................... 32
   4.3 Sample collection process ..................................................................... 33
   4.4 Proposed methodological approach ..................................................... 36
   4.5 Combination of CDA and CL ................................................................. 43
       4.5.1 Description of the methodological approach .................................. 44
       4.5.2 Building the corpus ...................................................................... 44

5 Proposed time plan ..................................................................................... 45

6 REFERENCES .................................................................................................. 47
   6.1 Appendix 1. Tables: .............................................................................. 55
   6.2 Appendix 2. Visual Content: ................................................................. 56

7 FUTURE LITERATURE .................................................................................. 56
1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

In September 2015 the Federal Republic of Germany had to deal with an unexpected number of immigrants, becoming the destination of more refugees and asylum seekers than ever before. As a consequence of the Civil War in Syria, thousands of refugees coming in trains from Austria arrived in Germany. While at the beginning pictures of people welcoming refugees at the Munich central station were published in the media, the attitudes towards refugees changed rapidly. According to the German Federal Criminal Investigation Department (BKA) more than 1,000 acts of violence against refugee shelters were recorded in the year 2015, six times more than in the previous year (Dpa, 2016).

At the same time the refugee crisis reached Germany, it also became for the first time visible in my homeland, Austria, when thousands of people arrived in Vienna mostly aiming to reach Germany. I will never forget seeing for myself a mass of people, desperate to know where to go and children, sleeping on stairs in the train station, collapsing from exhaustion.

In the beginning these events were followed by an enormous wave of offers of help and sympathy for refugees by the Austrian and German public. Unfortunately I saw for myself how the public discourse changed over time and how the fear of “a wave of refugees” or the fear of refugees “taking away our jobs” and other stereotypes were used by far right politicians to gain votes and newspapers to sell stories. Since immigration is an irreversible process that will shape European societies over the next few decades, the question as to whether see immigration as a way to achieve a culturally diverse society of mutual benefits or whether to see immigration as a “threat” will also be faced by the media.

Figure 1: Refugees arriving at the train station in Munich in September 2015 (DPA, 2015)

Figure 2: This Selfie with a refugee went around the world and became a symbol for Merkels refugee policy (Augsburger Allgemeine, 2016)
According to the numbers published in the “Global Trends Report” by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 65.3 million people were forcibly displaced due to persecution and violence, the highest number of refugees that have been recorded after World War II. The largest number of refugees came from Syria, with 4.9 million people being forcibly displaced as a consequence of the war (UNHCR, 2016). Table 1 shows the overall number of first time asylum applicants, registered in the EU member states. Between 2014 and 2016, the figure for new people seeking asylum in a European member state had more than doubled.

Table 1: “Number of first time asylum applicants registered in the EU Member States” (eurostat, 2017)

The German department for internal affairs announced that 890,000 immigrants sought asylum in Germany by the end of 2015, more than in any other European country (BMI, 2017). The largest number of asylum seekers in the EU came from Syria, with a total number of 368,400 people, three times more than in 2014. Germany was their main country of destination. In 2016 six out of every ten people seeking asylum in Europe, applied for asylum in Germany (eurostat, 2017).

Table 2 shows the six European countries with the highest number of first time asylum seekers in 2016. Germany experienced a 63 percent rise of asylum seekers compared to 2015.
This development presented an enormous challenge for the German society and in particular for politics and media. In the following months the refugee crisis divided German society and the trust in politicians and media decreased (Hemmelmann & Wegner, 2016).

With a newspaper penetration rate of 61.1%, Germany is the largest newspaper market in Europe. Three of five Germans over 14 years old read daily newspapers on a regular basis (BDZV, 2016). According to this numbers it is estimated that the news coverage in daily newspapers about the refugee crisis has an impact on the public discourse and perception of refugees and asylum seekers in Germany.

For this reason, this study aims to focus on the discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers by German daily newspapers during the refugee crisis, the way they report about this vulnerable group and the role Germany plays in this event. The study argues that language gives media the power to construct and actively influence the way, refugees and asylum seekers are perceived by the public.

1.1 Problem statement

Since 2015 Germany was affected by what newspapers called “the greatest refuge crisis after the Second World War”. Concerning the news coverage of the events in print media, phrases like “tides of refugees” or “Europe is overruled by refugees” or “the burden for the German society is high” were repeatedly used to describe the situation. Using a distinct wording, media had the power to frame the topic in a specific way.

Since race and immigration are controversial topics that can raise high emotions, journalists either report about them with an understanding for the explosive effect these topics can cause or publish hostility unfiltered. Therefore the media coverage can be expected to be very controversial (Braham, 1982).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of first time applicants</th>
<th>Share in EU total (%)</th>
<th>Number of applicants per million inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Change (in %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>1 257 030</td>
<td>1 204 280</td>
<td>-4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>441 800</td>
<td>722 265</td>
<td>+63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>83 245</td>
<td>121 185</td>
<td>+46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>70 570</td>
<td>75 990</td>
<td>+8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>11 370</td>
<td>49 875</td>
<td>+339%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>85 505</td>
<td>39 860</td>
<td>-53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>39 720</td>
<td>38 290</td>
<td>-4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: The six European countries with the largest number of first time asylum applicants (adapted from eurostat, 2017)
The importance of how media use language to create an image of minorities is relevant for society, as public opinion is shaped by the same. Framing the refugee crisis in a specific way, the media might point out certain difficulties dealing with “the others” and offer solutions to their readers.

Due to the relevance of the topic, little is known so far about the image newspapers created about refugees during the coverage of the refugee crisis in Germany. The aim of this study is to investigate if social inequality was caused through negative connotation of words used in the news coverage about refugees. Furthermore this research will analyze the way in which the language used by German media changed regarding the description of refugees over a time period of three years.

1.2 Research questions

The main research questions that will guide this study are:

1. In what ways are refugees linguistically defined and constructed? To what extent were verbal images with a negative connotation used to describe refugees?

2. Which problems do media locate referring to the refugee crisis and which solutions do they offer? Do they frame the topic in a specific way?

3. Are distinctions between broadsheets and tabloids as well as national and regional newspapers reflected in their use of language towards refugees and asylum seekers?

4. How did the language used by media change towards refugees since the beginning of the refugee crisis over a time period, from 2015-2017?
2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 The impact of immigration on nations as collectives

The following chapter describes the meaning of social and collective identities within societies and the consequences this implies in dealing with “the other” as opposed to “us”. Furthermore national identity as one form of cultural identity will be explained. In this context, Stuart Hall’s idea of nations as imagined communities will be discussed in detail. Furthermore the chapter discusses how national identity is constructed in discourse with the purpose of constructing a national sameness on the one hand and differences to other national collectives on the other (Wodak et al., 2009).

2.1.1 Social and collective identity

The sociologist Richard Jenkins describes identity in a very general definition as a “human capacity-rooted in language-to know ‘who’s who’ (and hence ’what’s what’)” (Jenkins, 2008, p. 5). A more specific definition describes identity as necessary for understanding our place in the human world both as an individual and also as someone belonging to collectivities (Ashmore et al., 2004).

In general one can distinguish between the social identity and the collective identities one shares. The first term refers to the identity of an individual person that offers social characteristics such as sex, age or class. This leads to certain role expectations that become part of one’s self-image and external characteristics, perceived by others (Frey and Hausser, 1987). If we describe collective identities, “[t]he object of identification is not individual people, but rather groups, organizations, classes, [and] cultures” (Frey & Hausser, 1987, p. 4).

What our social identity and collective identities have in common is that they are linked to certain characteristics ascribed to by external influence (Wodak et al., 2009).

Being a member of a collective gives people an identity by providing an accepted set of beliefs. It “informs us who we are and how we should view and treat others, and how others will view and treat us” (Hogg et al., 2007, p.135).

The psychologist Henri Tajfel described Social Identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (Tajfel, 1972, p. 292).

According to Tajfel, people try to reduce the complexity of their social world by categorizing it. To understand their place within a society they identify with a group and assign others to a
different group. As a result, they perceive differences within their own social group as minimal. Differences with other groups are experienced as severe (Geschke & Frindte, 2014). In conclusion being a member of a collective forces people to identify with it and to favor it to a greater extent. A likely consequence is the discrimination of others that don’t belong to ones’ own collective (Jenkins, 2008).

Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, and Moffitt (2007) state that there is a connection between people wanting to belong to a group and a feeling of uncertainty. Again knowing who you are and who others are provides people with a distinct place in the social world and makes behavior of others more predictable. Being a member of a strong group provides knowledge of how to behave and feel. As people according to this idea always want to reduce feelings of uncertainty about the world and their place in it, identifying with a group is an efficient way to reduce this feeling.

2.1.2 Cultural identity as a special form of collective identity

People have a number of collective identities like gender, religion, job or the leisure groups one belongs to. But cultural identity stands out in comparison to other collective identities. In terms of shaping our identity culture takes a superior role.

Hall (1959) describes Culture as “a mold in which we all are cast, […] [that] controls our lives in many unsuspected ways” (p. 52).

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines culture according to the Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society” (UNESCO, n.d.).

Within this context cultural identity can be defined as “a sense of solidarity with the ideals of a given cultural group and to the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors manifested toward one’s own (and other) cultural groups as a result of this solidarity” (Schwartz et al., 2006, p.5). Culture is omnipresent and provides people with guiding instructions for different aspects of life such as explaining the unfamiliar, uniting its members threw a shared history, language, norms and values and a concept of how to achieve generally accepted goals (Taylor & Osborne, 2010).

Taylor and Osborne (2010) describe cultural identity as essential to developing a healthy self. Erasing ones culture has proven to be ineffective. As an example they talk of newcomers going to North America. Although asked to erase their cultural identity and become
“American” the diversity of cultures maintained and led to an America, describing itself today as a “multicultural society”.

Expecting from a new group to erase their cultural heritage and take on all values and norms of another collective will, in almost all cases, fail.

2.1.3 National identity and nations as constructed communities

Cultural identities coexist in many ethnic diverse groups or societies, merging the identification with one’s ethnic identity, identifying with the culture of origin, and the identification with one’s national identity, as part of a wider society (Jasinskaja-Lahtila et al., 2009).

National identity functions as a feeling of belonging together within a society, securing the base for an efficient democracy. A sense of nationhood is considered to provide stability. Media and politics often portray immigration as a threat to national identity. Immigrants are accused of dividing societies due to their lack of adherence to their host society. Therefore multicultural policies dealing with immigration have come under criticism and a trend towards policies that encourage assimilation can be observed (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012).

As one is always part of many collective identities and thus has multiple identities, the demand to be loyal to one superior identity is obsolete. “[T]he fact that individuals as well as collective groups such as nations are in many respects hybrids of identity, […] [implies that] the idea of homogenous ‘pure’ identity on the individual or collective level is a deceptive fiction and illusion” (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 16).

Nevertheless national identities have been in the focus of recent debates on immigration and integration in the European Union. Attempts to establish a European identity were accompanied by the resurrection of old concepts of national identity. Established national and cultural identities not only have become the field of political battles. It can be observed that the number of discrimination acts with a nationalist motive has increased in many European countries. The way media discourse communicates nationalism and stereotypes has had an influence on political decisions (De Cillia et al., 1999).
Seyla Benhabib explains the resurrection of national identity as follows:

“Since every search for identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, identity politics is always [...] a politics of the creation of difference. [...] What is shocking about these developments is not the inevitable dialectic of identity/difference that they display but rather the atavistic belief that identities can be maintained and secured only by eliminating difference and otherness. The negotiation of identity/difference [...] is the political problem facing democracies on a global scale” (Benhabib, 1996, p. 3ff.).

2.1.4 Nations as imagined communities

Smith (1991) defines nations as “cultural units” that are a “named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (p.14).

Anderson defines nations as imagined communities. This is the case because its members will never meet most of the other members personally but yet believe in the idea of a community (Seton-Watson cited from Anderson, 1983). According to Anderson (1983), every community that is larger than communities with face to face contact is imagined. Nations are imagined as limited, because they have boundaries and are located next to other nations. A nation does not aim that all members of the humankind belong to it. It is imagined as sovereign, because the concept of nation goes back to the time, where hierarchical dynasties were destroyed and replaced by structures known as sovereign states. Furthermore, a nation is an imagined community, because no matter how unequal its members might are, it is imagined as a unit.

Stuart Hall (2000) agrees with the concept of a nation as an imagined community “which produces meanings - a system of cultural representation. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the idea of the nation as represented in its national culture” (p. 612). In this context national identity is nothing we are born with but developed over time to represent ourselves as for example “German” or “Spanish”.

Hall links national identity to discourse in what he calls “the narrative of the nation”, which gives a nation meaning. Shared experiences like historical events, stories or national symbols provide the nation with a certain meaning. In this narrative the national identity is presented as timeless and his members are born with it.

A part of the narration of a nation is the myth of origin. It contributes to the invention of a nation, as the origin of a nation often goes so far back in history that it becomes unreal and a myth (Hall, 1996). Hall describes the invention of traditions as a tool to teach people how to behave according to values and norms. Every national culture is based on the continuation of
heritage, past memories and lives together as a community (Hall, 2000). In the end, the idea of “original people” or “folk” is invented to create a national identity (Hall, 1996).

Norman (2005) describes nations as constructions and agrees with Hall that national identity is not a given status we achieve by simply living in a country. National identity is the product of state institutions that nurture specific sentiments and narratives. A nation depends on people relating to the national identity to create itself. In other words, if no one identifies with the national identity there is no nation. The individuals’ concept of what is a nation is based on certain values, sentiments and beliefs.

According to Norman assimilationist nation-building is one activity to shape national identity. An assimilationist approach tries to protect national identity by changing the identity of minorities that have been historically become a part of the nation or recently immigrated. This can be accompanied by redefining the morals which means that the content of national identity based on obligations and rights people have to fulfill towards other nationals to belong to the nation are redefined.

When it comes to shaping national identity, the role played by politician’s must be observed with concern as they have the power to “do harm in attempts to shape identities, [...] they can stigmatize minorities, and they can legitimize a kind of nationalist discourse that may ultimately be abused by non-liberal nationalists” (Norman, 2005, p.85).

In conclusion no one single national identity exists but rather different identities that are being discursively constructed (De Cillia et al., 1999).

### 2.1.5 The construction of national identity in discourse

A national community becomes reality in the public realm through discourses, created inter alia by politicians and media and spread through the education system, the military and mass communication (De Cillia et al., 1999).

Wodak et al. (2009) state in their work about” The discursive construction of national identity” that

“[i]f a nation is an imagined community [...] an imaginary complex of ideas containing at least the defining elements of collective unity and equality, of boundaries and autonomy, then this image is real to the extent that one is convinced of it, believes in it and identifies with it emotionally. [...] it is constructed and conveyed in discourse, predominantly in narratives of national culture. National identity is thus the product of discourse “(p. 22).
The authors carried out a case study on the linguistic strategies used to construct national identities and nations by using the example of Austria, following the Discourse Historical Approach, developed at the University of Vienna. The research analyzed political speeches, newspaper articles, and qualitative interviews and focused group discussions related to different aspects of national identity. Although the study focused specifically on the construction of national identity in Austria its findings provide a framework for the discursive nationalization in modern nation-states (Wodak et al., 2009).

According to this case study, the construction of national identity is based on the construction of difference and sameness. The authors propose five thematic areas, which are dominant in the discursive formation of national identity:

1. “The linguistic construction of the “homo Austriacus”
2. The narration of […] a common political past
3. The linguistic construction of a common culture
4. The linguistic construction of a common political present and future

Within these areas, the study revealed certain strategies that shaped the discursive construction of nationalism. Wodak et al define strategies as “planned social (in our case, discursive) activities, of the political or socio-psychological aims of functions of these activities, and of (linguistic) means designed to help realize these aims” (2009, p. 34). Four strategies that seem relevant to this study shall be mentioned here:

Constructive strategies, which “establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation”(Wodak et al., 2009, p.33). In case of a threat to national identity, Strategies of justification are applied. “They attempt to justify […] the legitimacy of past acts on the ‘own’ national ‘we’-group which have been put into question, that is they restore, maintain and defend a common ‘national self-perception’ which has been ‘tainted’ in one way or another” (Wodak et al., 2009, p.33). Strategies of assimilation aim to linguistically establish a “temporal, interpersonal or spatial (territorial) similarity and homogeneity” (Wodak et al., 2009, p.33). Strategies of dissimilation portray out-groups as differing from the preferred norm and attach disparaging labels to them (Wodak et al., 2009).
The research concluded in the linguistic analysis that the term “We” was automatically used to refer to the national collective which also included voices that took a critical stand towards the nation or national identity (De Cillia et al., 1999).

With this perspective in mind, this study will investigate if perceiving refugees as a threat to Germany’s national identity is reflected in the use of language during the news coverage of the refugee crisis. Further this study presumes that language was used to define ourselves by defining “the others”, in this case the German demographic defining itself as a nation by defining refugees. Therefore semantic strategies used to identify both the German nation and refugees and asylum seekers are part of the analysis.

2.2 The media and minorities

This study is built on the premise that the language media uses to cover an event influences the perception of the recipient. The concept of Agenda-Setting states that news media have an impact on the public, giving certain issues importance (Zhu & Blood, 1997). Lang and Lang described in 1959 that mass media can bring attention to certain topics. Mass media “are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, [and] have feelings about” (Lang & Lang, 1959, p. 468).

Mc Combs and Shaw (1972) defined the agenda-setting function of media during their famous analysis of the influence of the mass media on the election campaign in 1968. They found a connection between the issues of the political campaign the media reported about and which topics of the campaign’s voters considered to be important. The opinion of the voters reflected the media coverage. In conclusion the “media can thus flag some concerns as having greater relevance than others, either directly through the work of journalists and media owners, or indirectly, by allowing some issues to be covered while ignoring or not seeing others” (Bleich et al., 2016, p. 859).

Specially the “[m]edia representations of refugees and asylum seeker issues are complex as they shape, and are shaped by, broader opinions about refugeehood, asylum seeking, and national identity” (Cooper et al., 2016, p. 10).

General themes that are typical in the communication about minorities are difference and perceived threat:

a) Foreigners are a threat to the economic interests of the host country.
b) They are perceived as a threat to the dominant culture, having a different mentality.

c) Foreigners are portrayed as being involved in negative activities such as crime and disturb the social order (Wodak, 2003).

The media as gatekeepers and agenda-setters gain special importance when it comes to the representation of ethnic minorities. The play a key role in the reproduction of unequal social relations. Through a certain representation of groups they invite the audience “to construct a sense of who ‘we’ are in relation to who ‘we’ are not, whether as ‘us’ and ‘them’, [...] ‘citizen’ and ‘foreigner’, [...] ‘friend’ and ‘foe’, ‘the west’ and ‘the rest’” (Cottle, 2000, p.2).

Bleich et al. (2016) name three reasons why the media plays an influential role in the discourse about migrants and minorities:

1. Media function as a source and provide information about minority groups and issues related to migration and ethnic and cultural diversity.

2. The media have the power to construct a certain representation of immigrants and minority groups.

3. The media can become a space where minority groups and immigrants can participate in the public realm.

Issues being covered frequently influence the public discourse dealing with immigration. “The more often the press mentions a particular issue and links it to a social ill, the more likely that issue is to be considered a ‘crisis’ meriting political action and resolution“ (Caviedes, 2015, p. 4).

Furthermore, members of ethnic minority groups can be portrayed in different ways by the media, framing a topic in a particular way. Entman (1993) defines framing as “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p. 52).

Within this context a news frame can be defined as “the verbal and visual information in an article that directly or implicitly suggests what the problem is about, how it can be addressed, and who is responsible for creating and solving it“(Tewksbury, 2015, para. Introduction).

Caviedes (2015) carried out a framing analysis on the question of whether major centre-right newspapers in the UK, France and Italy connect immigration and migrants to an economic narrative like consequences for the labour market and costs or a securitising narrative
referring to border protection and crime. The study showed that the “boarder” frame referring to security was dominant in the newspapers of the three countries but economic issues were presented as equally important. However, the author claims that more research about the depiction of immigration by the press is necessary.

Furthermore, the images media communicate of immigrants “have been instrumental in constructing and reinforcing the prejudiced terms of the debate on the so-called ‘foreigner problem’ ” in many countries. (Wodak, 2003, p.109)

2.3 Racism and prejudice in discourse

In the following chapter concepts about the discourse of prejudice and racism will be reviewed. The meaning of both terms shall be explained as well as their impact and role in media discourse.

The sociologist Anthony Giddens states that differences between ethics are “commonly associated with marked inequalities of wealth and power, as well as with antagonism between groups” (Giddens, 1989, p. 244). Characteristics that are used to define an ethnic group are culturally mediated and apprehended through socialization. (Mitten & Wodak, 1993). Within this context, Taguieff (1991) defines the term racism as “an ideology, the hard core of which consists of an asserted inequality. This is founded on natural differences between groups (races). An assumption implying the practices of exclusion, discrimination, persecution and annihilation is ushered in, and accompanied by, forms of hate and disdain” (p. 225). The idea of race provides a hierarchy to assign a group of people as being superior, trying to “legitimize systems of power and domination” (Cottle, 2000, p. 4).

Previous studies have shown that the “dominant media in various degrees have always perpetuated stereotypes and prejudice about minority groups” (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 11).

Uta Quasthoff (1973) describes prejudice as having a linguistic function that reduces the complexity of communicating with the own group and describes the out-group. This is especially the case if there is a period of rapid social change. According to Quasthoff, there exist four specific types of how prejudice appears in sentences:

1. “Analytical propositions claiming to express a truth. This is the basic form of a stereotype, and all stereotypes can be seen as conforming to this pattern. A quality or behaviour pattern is
ascribed to a group. The group is the subject, the quality the predicate. It takes the form of a statement, from the point of view of logic it is, however, a judgment (e.g., "Germans are hard-working").

2. Modified statements are those which limit their force by using certain signals in their surface structure (e.g., "The inhabitants of Lower Saxony are said to have a reputation for being taciturn.").

3. Directly expressed opinions are sentences in which the speaker explicitly refers to herself or himself (e.g. "I don't think that . . .").

4. Text Linguistic type. In this case, the stereotype is expressed implicitly (e.g. "He is Jewish, but he's very nice")” (Quasthoff as cited in Mitten & Wodak, 1993, p. 201).

Since the refugee crisis meant an unexpected social change and challenge for the German society, it can be expected that social prejudice was formed in media discourse.

A main study in the field of CDA about Racism in the press was carried out by van Dijk (1991). The study shed light on the role of the British press in reproducing racism. In this approach to analyse the way ethnic minorities are portrayed in the press, van Dijk claims that mass media are part of the elite discourse that reproduces prejudice and play a part in legitimizing social inequality in societies.

Van Dijk describes the relation of dominant groups and the media as follows:

“Groups can remain dominant only if they have the resources to reproduce their dominance. This is not only true economically, but also socially, culturally, and especially ideologically. Hence, it is essential for the reproduction of racism that also the ‘means of ideological production’, such as education and the media, are controlled by the white dominant group “ (van Dijk, 1991, p.32).

As mentioned before, the press has always been portraying members of minority groups in a negative or stereotypical way. Minorities have often been referred to as a problem or a threat and have been “portrayed preferably in association with crime, violence, conflict, unacceptable cultural differences, or other forms of deviance” (van Dijk, 1991, p. 20). At the same time sources of minority groups have been seen as less credible and rarely given voice in news stories and minority journalists are less often hired. Van Dijk argues that the press does not differ in this aspect from other organizations in “white societies”. Moreover, the press radicalizes conflicts and fails to address a deeper understanding of the social, economical or political backdrops of conflicts.
Van Dijk’s definition of racism describes it as a “relation of dominance [which] may take many forms of economic, social, cultural and/or political hegemony, legitimated in terms of, usually negatively valued, different characteristics ascribed to the dominated people(s)” (van Dijk, 1991, p. 24). Certain races are assigned to certain sociocultural or moral features. Although scientifically race doesn’t exist, the social construction of race goes hand in hand with social consequences minority groups face. From a western perspective, minorities are categorized as “them” as opposed to “us”.

Van Dijk claims that racism has transformed into ethnicism, an ethnic placement of the self and the others, which justifies the legitimacy of the dominance of one ethnic group and the exclusion of other groups. Different forms of ethnicism differ in the criteria by which differences to the “out-group” are socially constructed. Nevertheless, the consequences the dominated groups face are similar. The modern way of racial discrimination has become the focus on differences between cultures, because it is less condemned.

Although the press or journalists cannot be generally accused of being racist, racism as an ideology goes back to the dominance of the elite, which has been characterizing the media. Van Dijk summarizes his research on prejudiced discourse as follows:

“most ethnic news stories are not reproductions of conversational stories. On the contrary, everyday stories often reproduce media stories. It is in this sense that the media [claim to] provide what the public ‘wants’ [...] Against this background, we have reasons, and empirical evidence, to assume that elite groups provide the initial (pre)-formulations of ethnic prejudices in society, and that the media are the major channel and the communicative context for such discourse” (van Dijk, 1989, p.361).

Wodak and Matouschek (1993) agree that the media after all will only reproduce the kind of prejudice they expect their readers to respond to positively. But the media coverage can strengthen existing prejudices and legitimate them.

In the public discourse about the refugee crisis, German politics and media often speak of the aim of a successful integration, integration of refugees as a challenge of the German society or criticize the lack of motivation of immigrants to integrate in their host society. The following chapter aims to gives a brief overview of the history of immigration in Germany after the Second World War, discusses different concepts of acculturation, and gives an overview of the media discourse towards foreigners in Germany, that shows racist tendencies.
2.4 The history of immigration in Germany after 1950

At the end of the 1940s, the arrival of refugees and displaced people, caused by the Second World War, decreased in Germany. In the 1950s a strong economic growth led to a manpower shortage in the country. As a consequence the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) started hiring workers from foreign countries, signing a first treaty with Italy in 1955. Further treaties with numerous countries like Spain and Greece in 1960 or Turkey in 1961 followed. In the beginning the number of foreign workers was low because the manpower shortage was mainly covered with workers coming from the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) until the building of the Berlin Wall. After Germany was divided the number of manpower coming from foreign countries increased. Between the 1960s and 1973 workers from foreign countries had been acquired to cover the labour shortage in the industrial mass production and the mining industry. These works mainly required little qualifications so the foreign workers had to start at the bottom of the labour market hierarchy. These measures aimed to cover the labour shortage during the economic boom but did not aim to lead to a permanent residence of foreign worker, who started bringing their families to their host country. In 1964 the one millionth foreign workers even received a motorbike as present. In 1973 the FRG ordered a stop to hiring foreign workers due to the oil crisis. By this time approximately four million foreigners lived in Germany. During the Eighties the number of people immigrating to Germany was low, even resulting in a negative balance. In the beginning of the 1990s immigration increased again due to crises like the fall of the iron curtain, the civil war in former Yugoslavia and the Turkish-Kurdish conflict. But arriving refugees did not experience a welcoming attitude. The German asylum law was under pressure for the first time, as 438,000 people applied for asylum after the fall of the Iron Curtain – 80 percent of all applications for asylum in West Europe were submitted in Germany.

After the reunification of Germany in 1990 a xenophobic atmosphere spread and resulted in attacks against asylum seekers and foreigners. For example, refugee shelters in the German city Rostock were besieged for days and finally set on fire in 1992. In the mid 90s the number of immigrants decreased again and violent attacks stopped. Between 1996 and 2005 the number of foreigners living in Germany decreased from 7.5 to 7.2 million.

The increasing number of refugees as a consequence of the fall of the Iron Curtain, led to a political debate in the German parliament to pass of a stricter asylum law. The current law had so far stated that in general asylum was granted to all political persecuted persons. So a new law was passed in 1993, which tied receiving asylum down to certain conditions. The “third-
country regulation” meant that immigrants, coming from safe third-countries could no longer apply for asylum in Germany. Further a list of countries that are free from persecution was published. Citizens of these countries were not allowed to apply for asylum. This led to a drastic decrease of asylum applications. The launch of the European wide “Dublin treaty” in 1997 provided uniform criteria for the responsibilities of asylum applications in the member states of the European Union. The new law should secure that people whose asylum application was rejected, could not apply again in another member state of the EU (Seifert, 2012)

As a result of the global crises, mentioned before, Germany faced an unexpected number of refugees and asylum seekers in September 2015. By the end of the year 890,000 immigrants sought asylum in Germany, more than in any other European country. In the following months, the German chancellor Angela Merkel was criticized for a too liberal asylum policy.

2.5 Different ways of acculturation

The following chapter aims to explain different strategies on sides, immigrants and nations, dealing with immigration. If integration is successful or not is not entirely up to immigrants. Expectations imposed on immigrants by the host nation have a strong impact on the success of their acculturation strategy (Kosic et al., 2005).

Two important aspects define acculturation strategies between immigrants and groups: Are people seeking contact to the others that don’t belong to their group and are willing to participate with them in society? The second important aspect is how strongly people aim to preserve their identity and own culture. Depending on how these two aspects are balanced by members of a group, Berry defined four different possible ways of acculturation: Marginalization, Assimilation, Separation and Integration.

Acculturation describes here “the process of cultural and psychological change that results following meeting between cultures. [...] No cultural group remains unchanged following culture contact; acculturation is a two-way interaction, resulting in actions and reactions to the contact situation” (Sam & Berry, 2010, p. 472-473).

Assimilation is a strategy that aims that individuals take on the values and norms of the host society by sacrificing their own cultural identity. Integration strategies on the other hand want people to keep their cultural heritage and identity but at the same time participate in the everyday life and be a part of an ethno cultural society. Separation strategies avoid interacting with the members of another group. The own heritage culture stands above all.
Marginalization describes a strategy that doesn’t aim to preserve the own culture and is not interested in interacting with others. Both, the own culture and the culture of the host society, are nonessential. This can be the result of discrimination and experienced cultural loss. As mentioned before, how these strategies and as a result intercultural relations develop is not a free choice. Policies and the expectations of the host society towards immigrants influence the chosen strategy (Sam & Berry, 2010).

Kosic, Mannetti and Sam (2005) state in their study about acculturation strategy preferences and prejudice of host group members towards immigrants, that members of a host society or majority group that have a high grade of prejudice likely expect immigrants to assimilate. These people make the assumption, that the values of immigrants contradict their own culture. As a consequence, immigrants assimilating to their host culture are perceived as less of a threat to the nationals. Acculturation strategies that allow immigrants to keep their cultural identity are more likely accepted by individuals of the host society with low prejudice and support the concept of a multicultural society.

Van Oudenhoven et al. (1998) agree that “adaptation strategy chosen by immigrants will also partly be dependent on the society and the kind of policy promoted by that society” (p. 998). They investigated the attitude of Dutch as the majority group and Turkish and Moroccans, living as a minority group in the Netherlands, towards the afore-mentioned acculturation strategies. Their research came to the result that Moroccan and Turkish immigrants preferred integration as strategy to adapt to their host society. On the other side, the Dutch people, representing the host society, had a positive standpoint towards assimilation and integration. Separation was the strategy of acculturation that Dutch rejected the most. Surprisingly this was the strategy that they believed, immigrants would favor the most (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998).

According to Bochner (1982), integration is a preferred strategy, because immigrants can reach a combination of their culture of origin and the new culture of the host society. Multicultural societies allow members of different ethical groups to maintain their cultural identity, creating a space of tolerance and equal chances. Bochner questions if such a society exists.

How immigrants acculturate to their host society can also be linked to ethnic discrimination. If immigrants experience discrimination from their host society, they are more likely not to
identify with the national majority group, and distance themselves from it (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009).

Esses et al. (2001) call the challenges and obstacles, immigrants face, “the Immigration Dilemma”. On the one hand, immigrants who don’t achieve economical success and face unemployment might be perceived as a burden to the welfare system of a nation and in general a threat to the stability of a nation. Immigrants who have difficulties to socially belong to their host society and fail to integrate might be assumed to be a threat to the collective identity. On the other hand, if immigrants manage to be economically successful their success might be perceived negatively as well, as it might be said to be achieved at the expense of natives.

2.6 Racism in the German media discourse

Previous research carried out about the representation of foreigners in the German press in the 1980s showed that the German press constructs a picture of foreigners that is based on prejudice about their behaviour:

1. Stories about foreign workers were mainly embedded in discourse about criminality or an increasing crime rate.
2. While German media had constructed the so-called “Ausländerproblem” (foreigner problem) in the 80s as “Türkenproblem” (Turk problem) this term changed to the definition of an “Asylantenproblem” (problem of asylum seekers).
3. Tabloids portrayed foreigners and asylum seekers as a possible threat for jobs, the German culture, and Christianity.
4. A multicultural society as a result of immigration was not portrayed as a chance by the press but constructed as a threat for the German population (Ruhrmann et al., 1995).

An example of German research that supports these claims shall be mentioned here. It shows that the news coverage about foreigners has primarily constructed a social reality through the news value factor “Negativity” (Ruhrmann & Demren, 2000).

A pioneer research project on this subject was carried out in 1972 by Juan Manuel Delgado, who published on behalf of the Center for Political Education in Nordrhein-Westfalen a content analysis of the representation of foreign workers in the press. In this study, 3000 articles were analyzed, published in 84 different newspapers located in the German State of Nordrhein-Westfalen. The author chose articles from a time period between 1966-1969, published in times of economic recession in Germany, the impact of recession, economic
stagnation and the economic upswing on the news coverage of foreign workers (Gastarbeiter) was included in the research. The sample was divided into four categories “Sensation-Crime”, “Good-Will”, “factual reports” and “labor market reports”. The study showed that articles related to “Sensation” and “Crime” dominated in the media coverage of all groups of foreigners with different nationalities. A quarter of the analyzed articles dealing with “Ausländer”, referring to foreigners, dealt with the topic of (increasing) criminality and crime rate.

While the coverage of “Sensation-Crime” increased, the coverage of what Delgado calls “Good-Will information” was reduced by half during the investigated time period. A further differentiation was made between the “types of foreigners” that became the topic of the news. Foreign artists and sportmen were portrayed in a positive way whereas asylum seekers and foreign workers were negatively evaluated by the press.

Overall, the study showed that the coverage of the daily press in Nordrhein-Westfalen created a one-sided image of foreigners relating them mostly to criminality. The author concluded that the press did not follow its objective of fair coverage (Leuninger, 1984).

Ruhrmann and Kollmer (1987) carried out a study on the local press in Bielefeld analyzing the news coverage on foreigners and xenophobic everyday theories created by the press in the municipality. The study came to the conclusion that the coverage of daily newspapers in Bielefeld associated foreigners mainly with criminality. Newspapers emphasized portraying the presence of foreigners as a threat to German resources and portrayed foreigners as indecisive, passive and incapable of making decisions. The press created everyday theories about foreigners that were xenophobic. Furthermore, the news coverage stressed that foreigners should not be granted the same rights as nationals and demanded to assimilate them and adopt the German culture, language and morals. Turkish people were, in comparison to other foreign groups, highly overrepresented in the press coverage and portrayed as a problem. All investigated newspapers contributed to strengthen stereotypes about foreigners. In conclusion the press in Bielefeld produced an image of foreigners portraying their presence mainly as a burden for the prosperity of the society.

Merten et al. (1986) investigated the coverage of foreigners in the most influential media in West Germany. Again immigrants mostly became the topic in negative stories related to crime. Especially tabloids reproduced common prejudice related to overpopulation or immigration being a threat to public safety.
Both the studies of Merten et al. and Ruhrmann and Kollmer showed that news coverage about foreigners distinguishes between “wanted” and “less welcomed” groups of people. Again, the press mainly assessed tourists, sportmen, and artists in a positive way while foreign workers and asylum seekers were in the majority of cases negatively portrayed. A further distinction was made between foreigners, coming from familiar cultural backgrounds and countries like Italy or Greece, who were reported in a more positive way than foreigners who were differing from the majority of the German society, for example, in terms of their religion (Thiele, 2015). Furthermore, the term “asylum seeker” frequently occurred in conjunction with metaphors like “flood” or “avalanche” which implies a possible threat to German society and identity (Ruhrmann & Demren, 2000).

Hömberg and Schlemmer (1995) investigated the image media constructed of asylum seekers by analyzing six German daily newspapers. The study showed that newspapers linked stories about asylum seekers mainly to the news-value factors Negativity, Sensationalism and Conflict and represented asylum seekers in a stereotypical way. Asylum seekers were mainly portrayed as an anonymous mass. If individual persons became topic of the news they were criminals or victims of discrimination or racism. Generally asylum seekers only became topics in the news in administrative decisions by politicians about asylum policies, in case of violent acts against asylum seekers, or if asylum seekers were involved in criminal acts. The everyday reality of asylum seekers and their individual fates rarely became a theme in the investigated newspapers. They hardly got the chance to speak for themselves.

In conclusion, the news coverage of asylum seekers was problem oriented. Stories about positive effects of a multicultural society were neglected. The news coverage furthermore lacked giving background information about escape or how asylum seekers live in Germany, which could have led to a more understanding attitude towards immigrants. The authors claimed that by constantly mentioning problems regarding asylum seekers, the press contributes strengthening fears and defensive attitudes towards this group within the German society.

In summary, the definition of a “foreigner problem” by media is influenced by the current political problem area in Germany. While in the 1980s media spoke of a “problem of Turks,” this shifted to a “problem of asylum seekers” by the end of the 90s and a “problem of refugees” (Ruhrmann & Demren, 2000). “The consequences of worldwide migration processes and as a result multicultural tendencies are presented in the semantics of threat” (Jung as cited in Ruhrmann & Demren, 2000, p. 5).
To sum up the way German media have been portraying immigrants and asylum seekers is problematic as “if stories about migrants and minorities consistently have a criminality or economic threat frame, they may convey a representation of those groups as deeply problematic for society as a whole” (Bleich et al., 2016, p. 861).

3 State of the art regarding refugee representation in the media

Van Dijk generally described the way media portray minorities as being “often represented in a passive role (things are being decided or done, for or against them), unless they are agents of negative actions, such as illegal entry, crime, violence or drug abuse” (van Dijk, 2000, p. 39f). The media portrays minorities as a threat, providing the reader with the possibility of identification with a united “us” against “them”. If immigrants become the topic of news, the reporting focuses often on the illegal arrival of immigrants, descriptions of how they are different to us, of their employment problems, or negatively framed political responses, like demands to stop immigration (van Dijk, 2000).

A study by Elisabeth El Rafaie (2001) investigated the metaphors used by Austrian daily newspapers to report on Kurdish asylum seekers coming to Italy in 1998. The author selected a sample of all Austrian newspapers that are nationally distributed. From metaphors that appeared in the sample the majority could be linked to few main themes. Refugees were either portrayed as criminals, an invading army, or as a factor that destabilized Europe. These repeatedly used themes appeared in the media coverage of all media. Since El Rafaies sample included both broadsheets and tabloids this implied that using these terms referring to asylum seekers had become a normal and accepted way by both quality media and tabloids to report on immigrants. Furthermore, the author claimed that refugees were so frequently described in aquatic terms like “tides of refugees” that readers would not notice them anymore or interpret them as uncommon.

An interesting element of the study is the connection of the used language by media and the political situation in Austria. According to El Refaie, Austria had a tradition of a rather liberal policy towards refugees. This can be explained by the country wanting to establish a positive image after its role in the Second World War. Austria accepting more refugees from Bosnia or Croatia during the civil war than any other Western state is only one example of this liberal policy in the past. However, the fall of the Iron Curtain caused a strong feeling of insecurity towards refugees and media reported about asylum seekers often as not willing to integrate.
After Austria joined the European Union in 1995, the Schengen Treaty ended border controls between the member states. The events of Kurdish refugees arriving on boats in Italy caused a reaction in Austrian media that the author investigated. Although the number of refugees was minimal, media reported about it as a wave that would overrun Europe. El Refaie links reporting about the Kurds in a way that didn’t reflect the actual number of refugees with the construction of the Kurds as “the other” and as a consequence a strong feeling of nationalism.

Another study that focuses on metaphors used to describe asylum seekers and refugees is Charteris-Black (2006) study about immigration metaphors used in the British election campaign in 2005. Natural disaster and container metaphors were identified as the two main ideas used to describe immigration. Terms referring to natural disasters were used describing refugees through the use of liquid metaphors like floods or tidal waves. Referring to refugees with water metaphors had two different purposes: On the one hand comparing immigrants for example with “a flood of water” can describe an increase of migration. On the other hand metaphors like flood or stream refer to a process that is unidirectional and can’t be reversed or stopped. Container metaphors compare countries with a closed container, where everything that is inside is close and familiar and everything outside is illegal and outside the law (Chilton, 2004).

The author claimed that these metaphors dehumanize immigrants, treat them like objects and create no empathy with refugees (Charteris-Black, 2006).

Parker (2015) analyzed how asylum seekers and refugees are portrayed by Australian and UK daily print media with a focus on similarities and differences comparing the countries. The study included a sample of 40 articles, published between 2001 and 2010 that were investigated following a discursive psychological analysis. Ten different daily newspapers were chosen to represent a variety of media, supporting different political parties. The premise of the study was that the way refugees and asylum seekers appeared in the print media coverage was not an accurate illustration of reality but a constructed reality by the media. To prove this the author searched for interpretative repertoires in the sample opposed to most recent studies that analyze large numbers of articles for repeatedly used words and phrases, as the author claims. According to Parker, discursive psychologists like Potter and Wetherell define interpretative repertoires as metaphors and terms used to portray and judge events. Following this approach Parker looked for metaphors that were repeatedly used in the media coverage of refugees. His analysis showed that the metaphor “criminals”, refugees being...
portrayed as a threat to national security and metaphor of water like flood, cautioning the readers that a large number of refugees were entering or being in the country, were used by the daily newspapers of both countries. The main repertoire, print media in both countries constructed is what the author calls the “unwanted invader”. While media in the UK created this repertoire by implying that asylum seekers should be get rid of, Australian newspapers used the repertoire of the “unwanted invader” by focusing in their coverage on the need of border protection and keeping asylum seekers out.

3.1 Studies following Critical Discourse Analysis

A Critical Discourse Analysis about neo-racism towards foreigners in Austria was carried out by Wodak and Matouschek (1993). Following the Discourse Historical Approach, the study took the political history of Austria towards immigrants into consideration, that had developed from Austria becoming a “country of asylum” after the Second World War to developing a hostile attitude towards refugees.

The authors detected a shift in the attitude towards foreigners in Austria after the liberation of Central-East Europe. After the fall of the Iron Curtain and a reduction of travel restrictions for people coming from Hungary and Poland in 1988, the number of East Europeans coming to Austria increased. As consequence the fear of a “wave of immigrants” became the topic of a public debate. This fear also manifested in language in the media, talking about an “invasions of unemployed Poles” or “Poles come for a working holiday”. Besides the fear of economic consequences for the Austrian population people feared the raise of “foreign criminality”. This fear was again relayed by the media, headlining for example “Criminal Tourism from Poland”. The study named two main discursive strategies that were dominant in the prejudiced discourse. Strategies of group definition and construction enabled the speaker to reject responsibility and guilt and displace it on the group. Strategies of justification allowed the speaker again to present him as free from prejudice. An extreme example of this strategy is the victim-victimizer reversal, which claims that the victims themselves are being responsible for attacks against them.

Khosravinik (2010) carried out a text analysis about the representation of refugees and asylum seekers and immigrants in British newspapers through a ten year period between 1996 and 2006. The study took into account the different ideologies the investigated newspapers stand for as well as world events that took place during the analyzed period of time having an
influence on the media discourse. To analyze the discursive strategies that were used reporting about immigrants the author combined different approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for a qualitative analysis of the content, following mainly Wodaks’ Discourse Historical Approach and van Dijks’ socio-cognitive approach, that have provided the main studies in CDA about immigration, foreigners and social out-groups. Further the author used corpus linguistics for a quantitative analysis of the representation of immigrants in British newspapers.

The author refers in his study to investigating the representation of RASIM (Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants), as media often confuse the meaning of these terms and as a result people belonging to one of these groups are referred to with all of these terms. The study argues that although the terms refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants refer to different groups they are not distinguished from each other in the media discourse and mostly are embedded in the same discourse topics.

The analysis showed that the word immigrant was mainly used in negative discourse topics in newspapers. Immigration was portrayed as a problem, frequently appearing in discourse about “immigrants and crime, immigrants and illegality, immigrants as/and problems’, immigrants and the burden on society”, and so on (Khosravinik, 2010, p. 11).

The study further showed that immigrants linked to negative connotation especially occurred in political discourse. The author explained this with the uprising conservative ideologies throughout Europe that discuss immigration in a way that supports a negative atmosphere against foreigners.

RASIM were portrayed in the context of aggregation not only as specific words addressing them as agents or objects but occurred more hidden within the semantic context in the articles where the meaning of the content created the impression of a single anonymous group. This was achieved by referring to refugees and asylum seekers with a number which depersonalizes and objectifies them. The analysis further showed five dominant “topos”, describing, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), “rules”, that connect and justify why an argument implies and is followed by a certain conclusion. The topos of an economic burden, taking advantage of the welfare-system, the topos of threat referring for example to a threat for the cultural identity of the host nation, as well as the topos of numbers, danger and law. The author gives the arrival of Asian immigrants as an example for topos of threat, which is referred to as a threat for the identity of the existing population in the UK.
Comparing conservative and liberal quality newspapers with tabloids the research shows that tabloids reproduced stereotypes about RASIM in the news coverage that already exists in society. Khosravinik argues that tabloids sharply distinguish between “us” versus “them” and thus construct a “panic state of affairs among its readership, legitimizing and urging them to take on a more active role within this (constructed) standoff while at the same time, it attributes only negative evaluation to all people who are perceived as ‘the other’ overwhelmingly” (Khosravinik, 2010, p. 22).

Conservative quality newspapers on the other hand did not reproduce existing stereotypes but alluded to them constantly. On the other hand British liberal quality newspapers used positive topos, the topos of humanitarianism and justice to report about RASIM. As an example the British newspaper “The Observer” addressed the UK’s responsibility to provide education for refugee children as a human right. The author counted these articles as positive representation, but points out those “positive” articles mainly dealt with the fears of RASIM. The media discourse showed articles with a humanization and individualization by telling individual stories of refugees and referring to actors by their name to create sympathy with the reader but focused on the victimization of people.

Whether newspapers reported in a negative or positive way, both categorized this group as “them” as opposed to “us”. For this reason the author speaks of a victimization of refugees and asylum seekers in the news rather than representing them in a positive way.

In conclusion the study showed that RASIM where “constructed as one unanimous group with all sharing similar characteristics, backgrounds and intentions, motivations and economic status or reducing these groups to their functions e.g. ‘entrants’” (Khosravinik, 2010, p. 13).

As Khosravinik used a combination of different approaches of CDA with a goal similar to this study, this method seems to be best to approach the complexity of the topic. For this reason this study aims to follow this approach.

Cooper et al. (2016) placed the focus of their analysis on how regional media in Australia represent refugees and asylum seekers. The study investigated the media coverage on refugees of four regional newspapers between July 2014 and April 2015, combining a quantitative analysis with a qualitative analysis of a case study of two regional newspapers, applying CDA to focus on themes in depth. The research filled a gap, as focusing on the regional press
reporting on refugees has hardly become a topic of media research in Australia. The newspapers for the sample were chosen from areas, which fulfilled the criteria, having at least 50 new inhabitants with a refugee background moving to the area in the last five years.

The surprising result was that, despite the historically negative way of national media reporting about refugees as a threat or dehumanizing them, regional media did not. They framed the topic in a positive, humanising way, focusing on personal stories of refugees, or integrating refugees through education and work. Precisely 78.1% of articles framed the coverage on refugees in a positive way, whereas negative articles portrayed refugees as a burden and used negative terms. Furthermore the regional press showed a wider range of sources in their news coverage. However the “strongest voice in these representations was that of the journalist, suggesting a lack of agency for refugees to frame their own depictions” (Cooper et al., 2016, p. 6).

In articles that focused on local issues, refugees and NGOs were the most quoted source whereas articles with a national focus on refugees, the majority of quotes belonged to politicians and governments. Local topics in the newspapers included “community support for refugees, community advocacy, and refugees in the local community. National topics discussed refugee issues at a broader level like legislation and events, political commentary, and the plight of detained asylum seekers” (Cooper et al., 2016, p. 3-5).

To sum up, Cooper et al. showed that when refugees became a local issue, regional media challenged the “familiar” negative debate on refugees in Australia. They concluded that this result could be explained by local media, fulfilling a community-building purpose (Richards as cited in Cooper et al, 2016). By regional newspapers quoting other sources than the government, this might lead to less influence of governments, and give space for local voices on the refugee debate. As a result the national discourse on refugees could be challenged by the coverage of regional journalists (Cooper et al. 2016).

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Description of the project

The objective of this study is to examine the discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers in the German press articles published between 2015 and 2017, aiming to find evidence of linguistic patterns. For this reason a Critical Discourse Analysis will be applied
and combined with Corpus Linguistics (CL) so that observed frequencies within the sample can be quantitatively described. The sample will include a selection of national and regional daily newspapers and broadsheets and tabloids to enable a comparison. The investigated daily newspapers will include the print editions of the national newspapers “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” (FAZ) the “Süddeutsche Zeitung” (SZ) and the “Taz. die Tageszeitung” (Taz), the German tabloid “BILD–Zeitung” (BILD), and the regional daily newspaper “Tagesspiegel”.

In the following chapter the choice of daily newspapers, selected for this research shall be explained in detail and a brief overview of their political and ideological background will be given.

4.2 Sample

The daily distributed newspapers used for this research include:

1. Germany’s national newspapers with the highest nationwide reach
2. the regional newspaper with the highest reach in Germany’s capital Berlin
3. daily newspapers with conservative or liberal political orientation
4. the most read German daily newspapers in foreign countries
5. the most read newspapers amongst opinion leaders in the capital Berlin

For this reason the selected daily papers are estimated to give a reliable overview of the media discourse on the refugee crisis in Germany.

4.2.1 The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung is a national daily German newspaper that was founded in 1949. Unlike other print media, the F.A.Z is the only German newspaper that has been led by a group of five publishers instead of one editor-in-chief since its foundation. Further the F.A.Z is, besides the tabloid BILD–Zeitung, the most widely distributed German newspaper in foreign countries. With almost 90 local- and foreign correspondents, the F.A.Z has one of the largest correspondent networks worldwide (FAZ, 2015).
Together with its Sunday Edition, the “Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung” (F.A.S.), the F.A.Z reached 1,005,000 million readers in Germany in 2016 (FAZ Media Solutions, n.d.-a). The online edition FAZ.NET has 29.78 million visits per month (FAZ Media Solutions, n.d.-b). The political orientation of the F.A.Z. has been indicated as liberal-conservative (Brockhaus Enzyklopädie, 2006). The F.A.Z. describes itself as “quality journalism for opinion leaders and decision makers” and states on its homepage that if you want your voice be heard by the elites of the country, the best way to reach that is presence in the F.A.Z. (FAZ Media Solutions, n.d.-b). Table 4 shows the front page of the F.A.Z published on the 8th of September, 2015, showing a picture of Chancellor Angela Merkel, headlining: “Merkel: Refugee stream requires a national exertion.”

4.2.2 The Süddeutsche Zeitung

The “Süddeutsche Zeitung”(SZ) is part of the publishing house “Süddeutscher Verlag“, one of Germany’s largest media companies. The SZ is Germany’s largest national quality daily newspaper with a sold circulation of 368,814, reaching 1.32 million readers (Süddeutscher Verlag, n.d.). The online edition of the newspaper has 28.82 million monthly visits (Süddeutsche Zeitung Media, n.d.). Its readership mainly comes from a higher educational and financial background. 72 percent of its readership have completed a higher education, completing the German Abitur (high school diploma) or have graduated from University. 56 percent of the SZ’s readers have a net income higher than 3,000 euros (Media Data, 2016). The first edition of the SZ was published in 1945 with the subtitle “Munich news from politics, culture, economy and sports”. Although initially focusing on regional topics, the
SZ was able to reach recognition beyond the borders of Germany through its journalistic excellence. Its political orientation can be described as left-liberal. The SZ is known for its investigative journalism, feature articles on page three and its sharp opinion pieces (Rechmann, 2007). The newspaper describes itself on its homepage süddeutsche.de as an example for independent journalism, for which critical editors and critical readers are of high importance. Figure 4 gives an example of the SZ, headlining “The great welcome. Historic numbers: More than 15,000 refugees have reached Munich on the weekend…”

4.2.3 The Taz. die Tageszeitung

The Taz was founded in 1979 as an alternative daily newspaper. It was founded in an era of social change in Germany with the aim of creating an alternative to established media and a forum for an alternative discourse (Blöbaum, 2006).

It is a leftwing daily paper based in Berlin that is owned by a cooperative of readers. As the paper faced bankruptcy in 1992, it was saved by its readers that appreciated the independence of the Taz (Kingsley, 2012). Today 16,700 people are part of the cooperative which publishes the newspaper. The ownership of the Taz is unique in the German press landscape. The newspaper claims that in times where journalism is on sale due to increased financial pressure, and media companies being mostly owned by rich families or investors, the Taz is owned by the Taz, which secures the independence of the newspaper. The print edition of the Taz reaches 213,000 readers per edition. The online version taz.de has 2.895 million visits per month (taz.die tageszeitung, 2017).

The newspaper describes its motives as follows:

“It addresses issues which others ignore. It focuses on countries that hardly get a mention anywhere else. It takes the powerful to task where others shy away. It gives a voice to people who can’t make themselves heard elsewhere. And by doing so it has become the loudest voice of the democratic counter-public in Germany” (taz.die tageszeitung, 2017).
Figure 5 shows the print edition of the Taz from September, 18th, 2015 headlining: “Refugee department needs a new chief (m/f): ‘We can manage it’, says the chancellor addressing the asylum policy. But the new chief of the department, Manfred Schmidt, can’t and resigns. Who can manage it?”

4.2.4 The BILD–Zeitung

The German tabloid BILD–Zeitung was founded in 1952 and is Germany’s biggest selling national newspaper as well as the biggest daily newspaper in Europe. Its Sunday print edition BILD am SONNTAG “is Germany’s best-selling nationwide Sunday newspaper in 2016”. The newspaper is part of the BILD group which includes numerous regional editions of the BILD, magazines such as AUTO BILD, Germany’s biggest automotive magazine” and digital offerings such as Bild.de, Germany’s news portal with the largest reach (Axel Springer, 2016). The BILD–Zeitung is published by the Axel-Springer-Verlag in Hamburg, Germany’s largest publishing house.

The political orientation of the BILD–Zeitung can be described as conservative as the newspaper has been reporting in favor of Germany’s main conservative parties the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU) (Wagner, 2007).

The BILD DEUTSCHLAND (including B.Z., a regional edition in Berlin), referring to the national print edition of the newspaper, has a sold circulation of 1,788,626 copies a day (mediaimpact, n.d.). It reaches, including the titles BILD, BILD Fussball and B.Z., 9.96 million readers (mediaimpact, 2017).

The Sunday edition BILD am SONNTAG has a reach of 9.05 million readers (ma-reichweiten, 2017). Bild.de started in 1996 as BILD ONLINE as the online version of the printed edition and has today 297 million monthly visits (bild.de, n.d.). Figure 6 shows an example of the BILD–Zeitung’s coverage of the refugee crisis headlining: “Bild uncovers: How politics failed in the refugee crisis!”

Figure 6: The Bild-Zeitung (Horizont, 2016)
4.2.5  The Tagesspiegel

The Tagesspiegel is with a weekly sold circulation of approximately 112,198 copies the largest regional daily newspaper in Germany’s capital Berlin (tagesspiegel, 2017a). It reaches 318,000 readers in Berlin and Potsdam per day and has with 107,319 subscriptions the highest subscription rate amongst regional newspapers from Berlin (tagesspiegel, 2017b). The online edition of the newspaper, tagesspiegel.de has 9.27 million monthly visits (tagesspiegel, n.d.-a). The newspaper was founded in 1945 and described by the New York Times in March 1946 as “an independent journal printed in the American sector of Berlin [which] -is suppressed in the Soviet zone” (Sulzberger, 1946). The Tagesspiegel is mostly read in West Berlin, which goes back to the time when Germany was divided and the Berlin Wall limited the distribution of the newspaper to West Berlin The political orientation of the daily paper can be described as liberal-conservative (Eurotopics, n.d.). On the front-page of the printed edition of the Tagesspiegel the line “Rerum cognoscere causas“ is written. This means “understand the cause of all things” the daily paper’s motto since 65 years (tagesspiegel n.d-b). An analysis of newspapers read by opinion leaders in 2016, commissioned by the publishing house of the Tagesspiegel, the “Verlag Der Tagesspiegel GmbH”, showed that the newspaper reaches 43 percent of the opinion leaders in Germany’s capital Berlin, more than all national newspapers together. Table 3 show that national newspapers are underrepresented amongst opinion-leaders in Berlin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Percentage of readership among opinion-leaders in Berlin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tagesspiegel</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Süddeutsche Zeitung</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handelsblatt</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Welt (gesamt)</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: The Tagesspiegel (Horizont, 2015)
Table 3: Entscheidungsträgeranalyse Berlin 2016 (adapted from tagesspiegel, 2017).

Figure 7 gives an example of the „Tagesspiegel“, published on. The Headline states: „Germany reaches its limit. Merkel changes her course in the refugee policy...“

The German media research institute “Media Tenor” statistically evaluated the most cited German daily newspapers in 2016 that are considered to be leading agenda-setters. The results showed that the BILD-Zeitung is the most cited daily paper in Germany, setting the tone in many topics like the refugee debate, foreign policy or international conflicts. The Tagesspiegel is the most cited regional newspaper and the only regional paper in the top ten of the ranking (Media Tenor, 2016). Table 4 shows the most cited media in German media.

![Image of bar chart showing the ranking of the most cited media in German opinion leading media in 2016](chart.png)

Table 4: Ranking of the most cited media in German opinion leading media in 2016 (Media Tenor, 2016, p.4)

4.3 Sample collection process

The sample for this research will be selected from the weekly print edition of the described daily newspapers, including its Sunday editions. The sample will be obtained from the “WISO Presse-Dienst”, a database provided by the Austrian National Library, which archives print media from Austria, Germany and Switzerland. A main criterion for the selection of an article is a connection to the refugee situation in Germany or Germany having to deal with the consequences of political decision as a member of the European Union. This will be secured by a selection of keywords, which are related to the refugee debate or were used in the recent debate. This results in a first selection of the following key words: “Asyl” (asylum) OR
“Asylwerber” (asylum seeker) OR “Flüchtling” (refugee) OR “Flüchtlingskrise” (refugee crisis) “OR “Flüchtlingwelle” (wave of refugees) OR “Obergrenze” (upper limit).

The sample will include feature articles, news reports and editorial and opinion columns. Each unit of analysis will be categorized according to the following criteria: the source (title of the newspaper, publishing date, article number, the section, journalistic genre, length of the article in words and the author.

The investigated time span begins on the 20th of August, 2015, when the German Minister of the Interior Thomas de Maizière announced a historical number of 800 000 refugees, expected to seek for asylum until the end of 2015. The end of the research period will mark the national election of the German “Bundestag” on the 24th of September, 2017, as the refugee crisis and Chancellor Merkels refugee policy are expected to be main topics in the election campaigns and therefore will receive a high media coverage.

To track a change in the media discourse towards refugees, the articles for the sample will be chosen around certain key moments of the refugee debate in Germany. The sample will include the day of the event (key moment), the first five days before, and the first five days after the event. Within this period, all articles referring to the refugee situation in Germany will be collected.

That specific incidents can influence and change the media coverage towards refugees and asylum seekers showed a study that analyzed Australian daily newspapers. After a tragedy where numerous refugees drowned, the linguistic description of refugees changed from “invaders” to “victims” within a short period of time (Klocker & Dunn, 2003).

A first selection of important events show the following key-events that are of interest for this study. Events for the second and third year under investigation will be added after a further examination of the media coverage of the refugee debate in Germany. The following list is a selection of key events starting with the research in August 2015 until the end of the first investigated term.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Investigated time period</th>
<th>Key Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>End of August 2015</td>
<td>The German Minister of the Interior Thomas de Maizière announces the historical number of 800 000 refugees, coming to Germany in 2015, four times as many as in the previous year, and declares that the country cannot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cope with this amount. Days later, rightist extremists attack a refugee shelter in the German city of Heidenau (Hemmelmann & Wegner, 2016).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>August 25th, 2015</th>
<th>Germany suspends the Dublin regulation for Syrian refugees: refugees from Syria are permitted to stay in Germany and will no longer be sent back to the EU-country they were first registered (Deutschland setzt Dublin-Verfahren für Syrer aus, 2015).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 31/Beginning of September 2015</td>
<td>The German Chancellor Angela Merkel holds a press conference promising that the refugee crisis will be managed with her famous words: “We can do it”. By this time thousands of refugees have been stuck in Budapest for days. The chancellor decides to bring them with trains to Germany. It is a controversial decision that will divide the country. These three days in the beginning of September will be known as &quot;Merkel's border opening&quot;. But the German government loses control over the situation, having 13,000 people a day crossing the border to Germany (Blume et al., 2016).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 13th, 2015</td>
<td>The German authorities announce that they will temporarily control the border to Austria again, exiting the Schengen-system temporarily, due to the uncontrollable number of refugees crossing the Austrian-German border (Deutschland führt Grenzkontrollen wieder ein, 2015).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 11th, 2015</td>
<td>The German Department of the Interior announces that they will apply the Dublin regulation again and send back new arriving Syrian refugees to the country the first registered. The decision causes harsh critique. The commissioner for integration of the SPD, Aydan Özoguz, speaks of a chaotic asylum policy. The chairman of the Green Party, Katrin Göring-Eckardt, warns that the reintroduction of “Dublin” will extend asylum proceedings and cause problems (Deutschland wendet Dublin-Verfahren wieder an, 2015).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January, 1st 2016</td>
<td>The incidents at the central train station in Cologne: On New Year’s Eve women were attacked and sexually assaulted by groups of men in front of the Cologne train station. According to the police president Wolfgang Albers, 1000 men were this night at the main square in front of the train station and speaks of a new dimension of criminal acts. After witnesses reported that men with an Arabic and African background were involved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in the attacks, refugees were immediately suspected. The minister of the Interior of the affected state, Nordrhein-Westfalen, states that it is unacceptable that organized groups of North African men attack women. An intense debate in the media about refugees and immigration follows after the event (Stenzel, 2016).

4.4 Proposed methodological approach

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary method that “is informed by social theory and views discursive and linguistic data as a social practice, both reflecting and producing ideologies in Society […]” (Baker et al, 2008, p.280).

Topics like racism, prejudice or discrimination have been one of the main research fields in CDA. Numerous studies dealt with discourse and racism, racism in the media, racism and elites, discourse of discrimination and so on (Jung et al., 1997; Matouschek et al., 1995; Van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Sedlak, 2000; Wodak & van Leuween).

The theoretical and methodological background of this study will be based on the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which was developed at the University of Vienna in the research on discourse and anti-Semitism and racism (e.g. Gruber, 1990; Reisigl & Wodak, 2000; Wodak & Menz, 1990). This approach analysis discourse within its social-historical context, which means that the social and political context that a discourse is embedded in will be included in the analysis (Wodak, 2001).

According to Wodak (2001) the DHA is a three dimensional approach that includes the topics of a discourse, the argumentative strategies, and the linguistic realization of a discourse. Wodak proposes five questions, analyzing the discourse about racial, national and ethnic topics:

1. Which linguistic terms are used to name actors?
2. By which features are persons characterized?
3. Which arguments does a member of one group use to legitimize the discrimination or exclusion of another group?
4. From which point of view are these attributions addressed?
5. Are these statements expressed in an intensifying or moderate way?
The Discourse Historical approach proposes five different categories for analysis that are relevant for this study: Referential strategies (naming), Strategies of Predication (attribution), Argumentative strategies (topos), Perspectivation, Mitigation and Intensification Strategies (Wodak 2001) that will be explained in detail in the following categories.

Applying the Discourse Historical Approach the methodology will include a linguistic analysis of articles following also Fairclough (2003) and Van Leeuwen (1996). The object of investigation will be the headlines and text of the news articles. Pictures that occur in articles will not be a part of the investigation. In particular five main categories will be of special interest:

**Category 1: Representation of refugees with metaphors**
Following previous research the study will look for metaphorical expressions in the texts that describe immigration, refugees and asylum seekers or the refugee crisis, as an own category.
Variable 1: Water metaphors: terms that refer to refugees as liquids like flood of refugees, tide of refugees, or wave of refugees.
Variable 2: Crime metaphors: words that refer to refugees as invaders or illegal immigrants, or describe their actions as illegal.
Variable 3: Container metaphors: terms, that describe the need for border protection, or an invasion of the country by immigrants.
Variable 4: Weight or burden metaphors: terms, that imply that Germany carries a burden because of the refugee crisis.

**Category 2: Representation of Social actors**
According to Fairclough who becomes an agent depends on “both the nature of the event and its relationship to social practices and social structures, and the capacities of the agent” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 161).

To categorize social actors this study will be oriented on Van Leeuwens “Social Actor Approach” (Van Leeuwen, 1996). The author provides a set of categories for the investigation of social actors. The categories that will be used for this research shall be explained in detail:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Concept</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exclusion</td>
<td>Social Actors can be included or excluded in a text. This serves their interest and purposes and the readers expectations. Further activities of certain actors might be included in the text but they themselves are excluded. Van Leeuwen distinguishes between suppression and backgrounding. In the first case there is no reference to a social actor at all. In the case of backgrounding the social actor is not completely excluded, but not related to his activity. He appears in a different part of the text, being backgrounded. In conclusion this provided three categories. As social actors can either be included, backgrounded or suppressed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>Social actors can either be represented as a group, in which case Van Leeuwen speaks of assimilation or individuals, in which case he speaks of individualisation. While middle class newspapers tend to individualize people belonging to the elite and assimilate people who belong to the working-class, newspapers that address the working-class as readers individualize more likely „ordinary persons“. Assimilation further distinguishes two sub groups: - Aggregation, members of a group are quantified, being treated like a statistic. - Collectivization: this can be realized by referring to a group as nation or community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individualisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Passive</td>
<td>Who is given an active role and who a passive role? Activation: a social actor is presented as an active force in a process or activity. Passivation: a social actor is undergoing an activity or is subjected to something. In this context it is important to ask which of these choices are made in relation to which social context, and what interests and purposes they serve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomination</td>
<td>Nomination: a social actor is nominated, being described by his/her unique identity. Categorization: a social actor is described by his/her functions or identities they share with others. For example nameless actors become visible in a text through their functional role, but are not identified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differentiation</td>
<td>Differentiation: the identity of an individual is described specifically. Indetermination: a group or individual is presented as anonymous. The writer considers the identity as not relevant for the reader. For example by using indefinite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pronouns like „somebody“, „some people“, „them“.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personalisation</th>
<th>Impersonalisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personalization</strong>: social actors are personalized by using e.g. names, personal pronouns, nouns,… that represent them as human beings.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Impersonalisation</strong>: social actors are categorized with terms that don’t include the semantic meaning “human”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subgroups of Impersonalisation:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <strong>Abstraction</strong>: a quality is assigned to a group that represents it as a problem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <strong>Objectivation</strong>: social actors are described either with an activity they are participating in or by referring to a place that is assigned to them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Categories of Social Actors (adapted from Van Leeuwen, 1996)

The analysis looks especially for passive constructions referring to refugees. This includes phrases were things are done or decided for refugees. For phrases that describe refugees as active actors the research looks, according to van Dijk (2000), especially for negative actions like violence or crime, as van Dijk states that refugees mostly become active agents of negative actions.

**Category 3: Equivalence and difference**

Under this category Fairclough (2003) understands differences being made between groups and the way they are classified.

This study will focus its analysis on the positive self- negative others representation. Therefore the category analyses, if “In-groups” and “Outgroups” are constructed. For example, this can be identified in a discourse where ethnic differences are portrayed as a threat.

For this purpose the following questions are addressed to the texts:

a.) In which context are refugees and asylum seekers portrayed as a threat?

b.) Is the status of the own group (German demographic) raised and the foreign group (refugees and asylum seekers) devalued (terms of explicit or implicit valuation)?

c.) Is there a generalization of the German demographic as “Us” and refugees as “Them” (terms like foreigners, immigrants, refugees,)?
According to this questions five discursive strategies, described by Wodak (2001) are of interest in the discourse of identity and difference that examine the positive self-presentation and negative other-representation. Wodak defines strategy as “systematic way of using language” (Wodak, 2001, 73). A strategy is a “more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim” (Wodak, 2001, p. 73).

### Table 6. Strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Baker et al., 2008 p. 282, adapted from Wodak, 2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategies</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Devices</th>
<th>Examples from the news corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Referential/Nomination</td>
<td>Construction of in-groups and out-groups</td>
<td>Membership categorization</td>
<td>‘...the pitiful convoy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Biological, naturalizing and Depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies</td>
<td>‘...an army of 110,000 Iraqi refugees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predication</td>
<td>Labeling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively</td>
<td>Stereotypical, evaluative attribution of negative or positive traits Implicit and explicit predicates</td>
<td>‘Calais is still crawling with asylum seekers trying to break into Britain.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argumentation</td>
<td>Justification of positive or negative attributions</td>
<td>Topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment</td>
<td>‘... if too many arrive in an uncontrolled manner, the structures of society in an already overcrowded island cannot cope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation</td>
<td>Expressing involvement positioning speakers ‘point of view’</td>
<td>Reporting, description, narration or quotation of events and utterances</td>
<td>‘BRITAIN was warned last night it faces a massive benefits bill to pay for the looming influx of immigrants...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensification, mitigation</td>
<td>Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition</td>
<td>Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force or (discriminatory) utterances</td>
<td>‘... the politically correct dictators of liberal fashion... will never concede that most asylum-seekers are economic migrants, rather than people fleeing persecution.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Category 4: Topos**
Which are the dominant topos in the media coverage- do they change over time?

Wodak describes topos as “content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim” (Wodak, 2001, p. 74). The DHA suggests a list of 15 Topos for analysis (Wodak, 2001). Eight Topos shall be explained in detail here, which seem especially relevant for this study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topos</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>This topos claims that if decisions of politicians cause dangerous consequences, they should not be made. The topos of threat for racism implies that if too many refugees come to the country the local inhabitants cannot deal with it and immigration should be restricted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burdening</td>
<td>This topos claims that if an institution or individual is burdened by a problem it should aim to minimize its consequences. For example actions to restrict immigration can be expressed in sayings like “the boat is full”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>This topos refers to other topos, meaning that if a number of a specific topos is reached, certain actions should be performed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuse</td>
<td>This topos has the conditional that if help is misused it shall be withdrawn. For example extreme right-wing politicians claim that help for refugees should be withdrawn as they abuse the asylum system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>This topos has in racist discourse the following conditional: because members of a cultural group have certain negative qualities, this will cause problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>The topos claims that if a situation costs to much it should be avoided or its costs reduced. In the case of the refugee crisis this can refer to negative economical consequences for the labor market or costs for the accommodation of refugees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>The premise of this topos is that if a country or individuals are responsible for a problem, they should aim to find a solution. In a discriminating context this could address the government's responsibility to reduce numbers of immigrants, as they are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanitarianism</td>
<td>This topos claims that if a decision is violating human rights and values, an institution or individual should not perform it. This topos fits arguments against unequal treatment or differentiation between races or for example gender, or discrimination.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Categories of Topos (adapted from Wodak, 2001)

**Category 5: Framing**

This study aims to answer in which frames the media embedded the discourse about refugees and asylum seekers. As mentioned before frames define problems, identify responsible agents, judge causal agents and offer a solution to a problem and predict its consequences (Entman, 1993). Depending in which frame refugees are embedded in, the news coverage creates associations within the audience. This study will analyse the sample for five different frames based on Semetkos & Valkenburgs (2000) research on the framing of European policy in the news.

The five frames following Semetko & Valkenburgs study (2000) shall be explained:

a) **Conflict:** A topic or problem is presented as a conflict between individuals, groups or institutions to draw the audience attention to a news topic. For this study this means that the refugee crisis causes a conflict between different parties like inhabitants or political parties.

b) **Human Interest:** An issue or problem is presented under an emotional aspect. To gain the attention of the audience, a news event is „emotionalized“and „personalized“. This can be for example achieved by portraying the individual fate of refugees or asylum seekers.

c) **Economic Consequences:** A topic or problem focuses on the economic consequences it has for individuals, groups or countries. An example in this study would be the economic consequences of the refugee crisis for example for the labour market in Germany or the question if Germany can afford the refugee crisis.

d) **Morality:** A topic is presented under the aspect of a moral responsibility. According to Semetko & Valkenburgs, journalists often do so indirectly by quoting somebody, as
they should remain objective. An example would be focusing on Germany’s moral obligation to help refugees and asylum seekers.

e) **Responsibility:** An issue is presented in a way that speaks about the responsibility of a government or persons for causing or solving a problem. In context of the refugee crisis this can address the distribution of refugees to different states in Germany.

To measure the occurrence of each frame Semetko & Valkenburg propose to ask certain yes-no questions to the text. For example to proof a Human Interest frame questions like “Does the story provide a human example or „human face „on the issue? “Or “Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem? “(Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100) were asked that will also be addressed to the articles of this sample.

The study further addresses the question to the texts: What are the problems that print media detect during the refugee crisis and what solutions are offered? Fairclough (2003) suggests that problems are often explained in the headline of a text and solutions are offered in the following article. Therefore the analysis explores the texts for phrases that describe problems and solutions within the refugee crisis.

Further individual categories will be developed during the research process. As Wodak states “Categories and methods [of CDA] are not fixed once and for all. They must be elaborated for each analysis according to the specific problem under investigation“ (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 32).

### 4.5 Combination of CDA and CL

To answer the research questions, this study will apply a combination of Critical Discourse analysis and Corpus Linguistics. “Corpus linguistics [...] is the analysis of naturally occurring language on the basis of computerized corpora” (Nesselhauf, 2005). Recent studies showed that a combination of both methods is useful (e.g. Baker et al., 2008; Fairclough, 2000; Mautner, 2007). Mautner (2016) states that a combination of the two methods is a relatively new approach but enables the researcher to analyze linguistic frequencies as well as the context of media discourse. CL can contribute to CDA by revealing words in a text corpus that occur significantly frequent as well as showing collocations focusing on the co-occurrence of terms. While CL fails to analyze the context that linguistic terms are embedded in, CDA has been criticized for its lack of providing quantitative evidence. By combining
both methods, the results of a smaller sample for CDA can be checked for evidence against the CL of a larger sample and can confirm or reject evidence found with CDA. An example for the use of CL in combination with CDA showed that the word unemployment occurs frequent with words like desperate, disadvantaged or divorced amongst others. A similar analysis of the words that occur with refugees can be an interesting contribution to this study.

4.5.1 Description of the methodological approach

To carry out the analysis, CL depends on “concordance programs” to examine the sample. This research will use “Wordsmith Tools”, a lexical analysis software that measures the statistically significance of key-words. The software enables the researcher to look for linguistic patterns by analyzing frequencies, collocations and concordances. The selected texts of the sample will be uploaded to the software and analyzed according to these categories. A list of key words will be selected after the CDA of the sample, which will reveal first tendencies of frequently used word groups. As Baker (2006) states in his work "Using Corpora in discourse analysis”, the researcher should get familiar with the texts as certain patterns or hypothesis will arise before carrying out the method. For this reason the Critical Discourse Analysis will be carried out first. Since this research investigates the media coverage of a certain time period it analyses a specialized corpus that has to be built from scratch.

4.5.2 Building the corpus

[A] corpus [...] is designed for a particular ‘representative’ function” (Leech, 1991, p.11). There is no specific rule on how big a corpus for this methodology should be. Baker (2006) explains that if the language of a specific event or genre like a newspaper is investigated, there is no need for a corpus of millions of words. So the same sample obtained for the CDA will be used to carry out the CL investigation, as it provides an overview of the use of language over a large time span. As the concordance software can only work with plain text, only the text of the articles will be considered.

The corpus for this research will be analyzed for:

Keyness: It is defined as “the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus“ (Baker et al. 2008, p. 278). This study will compare the frequency of key terms like metaphors used to describe

Collocation: Collocation measures the „frequent co-occurrence of two words within a predetermined span, usually five words on either side of the word under investigation“(Baker et al, 278. 2008). It provides an understanding of associations that are made between words (Baker 2006). For example Stubbs (2001) proved that the word „Cause“ “occurs overwhelmingly often with words for unpleasant events“ (p. 65). This research will analyse on which kind of activities refugees are engaged in. For this purpose it will be looked for the concordance of the term refugees and a verb form, like e.g. do or cause.

Concordance: Concordance informs the research about semantic preferences of the unit of analysis (Mautner, 2016). It looks for certain concordance lines „to help the analyst examine different patterns of the same word/cluster” (Baker et al. 2008, p. 279). Concordance lines will be grouped according to the topos in which they occur.

5 Proposed time plan

The proposed time plan for this study is as follows (total duration of 3 years, 2017-2020):

1st year:

| September 2017 to December 2017 | - Theoretical Research: A rough first literature review will be applied to include further theories within social sciences that relate to the topic
|                                | - Background research on the social and political context of the investigated time period and formation of hypothesis |
| January 2018 to July 2018      | - Literature Review
|                                | - Planning of the Research Method |
| August 2018 to February 2019   | - Data collection for CL and CDA: the sample will be selected
<p>|                                | - Data Analysis with CDA/ further development of the discursive strategy to examine the sample |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>2nd year:</th>
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<tr>
<td>March 2019 to July 2019</td>
<td>- Including relevant findings of CDA, search for frequencies through the analysis of a larger sample with Corpus Linguistics</td>
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| August 2019 to December 2019                 | - Systematization and comparison of gathered information  
- Interpretation of the results  
- Discussion and Conclusion |

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<th>3rd year:</th>
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<td>January 2020 to June 2020</td>
<td>- Composition of the Paper</td>
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</table>
| July 2020                                    | - Completion of the PhD Paper  
- Presentation |
6 REFERENCES


6.1 Appendix 1. Tables:

Table 1. Number of first time asylum applicants registered in the EU Member States. Adapted from Eurostat (16.03.2017). Asylum in the EU Member States [PDF file]. Retrieved on May 22nd, 2017 from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7921609/3-16032017-BP-EN.pdf/e5fa98bb-5d9d-4297-9168-d07c67d1c9e1

Table 2. The six European countries with the largest number of first time asylum applicants. Adapted from Eurostat (16.03.2017). Asylum in the EU Member States [PDF file]. Retrieved on May 22nd, 2017 from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7921609/3-16032017-BP-EN.pdf/e5fa98bb-5d9d-4297-9168-d07c67d1c9e1


6.2 Appendix 2. Visual Content:


Figure 2. This Selfie with a refugee went around the world and became a symbol for Merkels refugee policy. Adapted from Geldermann, S. (31.08.2016). Momente und Bilder: So veränderte die Flüchtlingskrise Deutschland. *Augsburger Allgemeine*, Retrieved on June 10th, 2017 from http://www.augsburger-allgemeine.de/politik/Momente-und-Bilder-Soveraenderte-die-Fluechtlingskrise-Deutschland-id38939557.html


7 FUTURE LITERATURE


