

Is poverty-driven migration a challenge for the European freedom of movement for workers?

A single case study on the role of media in the European migration debate

Bachelor Thesis

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1. Introduction

This bachelor thesis deals with the often applied term of poverty-driven migration and question if poverty-driven migration is an actually given phenomenon that is a consequence but also a challenge for the European freedom of movement for workers. To answer that question this thesis will examine how the term of poverty-driven migration was compounded, when people use that term and how it can be defined and analysed scientifically. In addition to that this thesis will consider the methods of different mass media reporting about European migration.

1.1 State of the art

1.1.1 European freedom of movement for workers

In the Regulation no.1612/68 of the European Economic Community (ECC) from the 15th October 1968 the freedom of movement for European workers was already enacted, for the reason that there should not be unequal treatment of employees in employment, remuneration and other conditions of work. Employees have the right to move freely within the Community for the purpose of employment in paid employment (Regulation EEC No. 1612/68).

The legal basis of free movement of workers was also enshrined in Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. It states: "Freedom of movement for workers shall be secured within the Union." The free movement of workers should however prevent discrimination against workers based on their nationality. Instead they should be able „to accept offers of employment actually made, to move freely within the territory of Member States for this purpose, stay in a Member State for the purpose of employment and to remain in the territory of a Member State after having been employed in that State“ (Article 45, TFEU).

Within the European Economic Community the idea of the European freedom of movement is initially based on the intention of a project that supports the economic growth in the European Economic Area. The new possibilities of freedom of movement could be seen at the boundary of freedom, that granted people of different nations a new cross-border mobility within a common economic space, which in turn led to increased economic exchange and consumption (Parkes: 2010 85ff.). The freedom of movement for workers was an additional achievement for European employers and workers who had to deal less

with administrative barriers but could access through a growing, but also increasingly integrated economic area to a larger supply and demand job spectrum.

Even today, 56 percent of EU citizens see the free movement of workers as greatest achievement of the European Union (Standard-Eurobarometer 79, Spring 2013, European Commission). The Eurobarometer survey of November 2012 shows that more than two thirds of those surveyed think that the journey freedom and the ability to reside freely within the EU brings benefits to the economy of their country (Flash Eurobarometer 365 and Citizenship of the European Union, Report, European Commission). According to a European Commission report from January 15, 2014 more than 14 million EU citizens live in another Member State for a long term. The reasons for this are mostly work, study or family. All of these people benefit from the European free movement of workers.

With the EU enlargement of 2004, the debate on the European free movement of workers was increasingly negative connoted. Also at the political level politicians and parties were looking for ways to limit a drastic increase of a unilateral migration from the new Member States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Cyprus). With the exception of Malta and Cyprus, the old Member States (EU-15) decided on the so-called 2-3-2-years transitional period formula, which forecloses their labour markets in years intervals from the new EU-8 Member States and restricts access to their labour markets. Among EU-15, only the UK, Ireland and Sweden have decided against such a foreclosure. Greece, Spain, Portugal and Finland opened their labour markets for EU-8 according to the 2-3-2-years formula in 2006 already. The rest of the EU member states invoke all seven of the 2-3-2-years formula.

The 2-3-2-years formula was also inserted for the EU enlargement on Romania and Bulgaria in 2007. Only Germany and Austria installed seven years of restrictions on their labor markets. Since 1st January 2014, Bulgaria and Romania enjoy unrestricted freedom of movement for workers in the EU.

1.1.2 The term of poverty migration

With the occurrence of the unrestricted European freedom of movement for workers for Bulgaria and Romania, a new social and political debate has arisen within the old Member States, especially in Germany und the UK. Citizens, media, as well as some politicians from parties like the CSU in Germany and the Conservatives, but also the UK Independent Party in the UK discuss the so-called "poverty-driven migration" from countries such as Bulgaria and Romania by linking it with an "abuse of the welfare and social system".

The term of poverty migration can be increasingly found in social debates, as well as in mass media. Scientifically there are no concrete indicators of poverty-driven migration defined. Poverty migration neither measured, nor is there a concrete definition for this term. By adding the poverty-driven migration to "Google" a lot of press items are listed that deal with the issue of Europe's internal migration and the freedom of movement for workers. In particular it thematised the immigration from Bulgaria and Romania between 2013 and 2014. Today, the discussion rather rotates to a discussion about the amusement of national welfare systems and the importance of welfare state benefits for foreigners.

The concept of labour migration combines the general and abstract notion of poverty with the empirically examinable term migration. When talking about poverty, most people associate physical or monetary poverty with it (Currell: 2004: 21ff.). But next to it there is also immaterial poverty, which includes social, ethnic, religious and cultural values and political realities. Likewise, aspects such as educational opportunities, social participation, standard of living, self-determination or legal certainty are a part of this. In the EU, it is estimated that the absolute poverty of European citizens is less considered. Relative poverty instead would pose a good comparison because of all noticeable differences between the EU member states that still exist today. The examination of relative poverty would be interesting on national levels but in particular on the EU level.

In summary it can be said that the concept of poverty migration has been studied less scientifically by now. For the concept of poverty, however, there are already many considerations, indicators and scientific disputes. Also migration can be represented by empirical studies. The combination of these two has not been discussed scientifically very often, but nevertheless it enjoys great media attention.

1.2 Research question

The research question clarifies the scientific aims of this work, which are the examination of poverty-driven migration as undefined term and an exposition of possible impacts of the freedom of movement for workers on the European integration process.

The freedom of movement for workers started as achievement within the development of the EU and the effort of the Member States to be integrated as European Community. Today, issues such as European Migration are increasingly and critically discussed. But economic benefits and new opportunities through more mobility for workers are not in the

main focus anymore. The achievements through the freedom of movement for workers that was created to promote the interdependence of EU Member States and to strengthen the European integration process is discussed differently today. The discussion starts to focus more on differences in culture, language and ways of life. Especially migration from the new Member States is observed as a perceived fear of rising poverty and an abuse of social systems. The concept of poverty-driven migration is already a common term that represents the migration only from a perspective of countries that fear migration as a disadvantage. Even mass medias attend to this term, which has settled as a newly created terminology.

First of all it needs to be clarified, what exactly hides beyond these concepts. What might people mean when talking about the alleged migration poverty? What kind of a phenomenon is this? Consequently, the question remains whether the feared poverty migration is actually a phenomenon that poses a challenge, even danger, for the enhanced European integration process. What happens if the achievements of the European free movement of workers are increasingly placed into connection with a term, which has a negative connotation and unites the dangers feared with the free movement of persons in one word? What is the role of the media in this regard?

So is “poverty-driven migration” to be seen as a challenge for the European freedom of movement for workers and consequently for the European integration process? With an additionally focus on the role of media this thesis will expose the European migration debate.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

After the given introduction including the state of the art of the European freedom of movement and the term of poverty-driven migration and the derivation of the research question the thesis will proceed according to the following structure:

The theoretical framework bases on the theories of European integration. To qualify these theories in terms of this topic about poverty migration and the freedom of movement for workers, this part will concentrate on the ideas of federalism. To broaden the outlook on the topic of poverty-driven migration this thesis will also refer to the Agenda-Setting approach that will be used as theoretical framework for the analysis of the role of media in the migration debate. The aim of this work is to structure and to analyze given empirical studies and statistics in the field of European migration through the freedom of movement

for workers. Therefore it is necessary to focus on phenomena like mass migration that could be a possible evidence for poverty-driven migration, but also to limit the examination temporally and geographically. Using the method of meta-analysis the evaluation of collected empirical data and the analysis of these will be possible in a structured and categorized way. With the help of a content analysis this thesis will be able to illustrate how different mass media report about European migration and how they relate to the term of poverty-driven migration. In the first analysis part the thesis will deal with collected and limited empirical data about European migration and mass migration in general. But in addition to that, there will be a closer look on migration developments and social systems in Germany and the UK. In the second part of the analysis media coverage of yellow journalism and non-boulevard press will be compared with regard to their reporting style concerning European migration, especially when it comes to the term of poverty-driven migration. After having discussed these two emphases, the conclusion will give an overview and outcome of the analysis and also an outlook on political and societal trends.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 European integration theories: Federalism

The directive of freedom of movement for workers is based on an enhanced process of European integration. Bieling and Lerch (2006: p.44ff.) describe the theories of European integration as a "moving target". Moving target is according to the authors a political phenomenon that can change and progress. But a progress also means criticism and discussion in the same way. In order to deal with such a discussion, the concepts and the basic act must be known. So if we want to examine and assess poverty-driven migration, it is important to know on what kind of theoretical foundation the European freedom of movement for workers was established. That will make it possible to recognize, on which conviction migration in the EU is based and takes place today as well as what can possibly arise because of the consequences and challenges for European migration policy.

The selected theory that forms the basis of my research question and accompanies my thesis, is one of the classical approaches of the theories of European integration: federalism. According to Reichardt (1995) federalism is to be understood as an "articulated structure of social, political or governmental groupings", in which „each units have their own rights, autonomy and legitimacy" (Bielieng and Lerch: 2006:48ff). This

means that all units - in this case, all EU member states - have their own sovereignty. Despite this given sovereignty there is a possibility to come together as an "articulated structure" to combine or merge areas. To find decisions based on consensus and to execute these there needs to be a levy or merging of individual - in this case - national sovereignty. Not all Member States in the EU understand Federalism as a positive or more value-generating constitutional structure. So there are countries, such as the UK, who see European federalism as a form of centralism. They fear a disproportionate acquisition of decision-making, which they prefer to know in their national autonomy, as well as for example the regulations concerning internal European migration. After the second World War, the national states pursue a rethinking of Europe and sought-after a possibility where individual states in Europe can find together. This attracted the particular aspect that one state should not have its national individual interests as a primary goal and enforce these above all. They were looking for a concept that allows national individuality, but at the same time promote a process of European unification. Federalism was seen as a "promising model" (Knipping: 2004, 35ff.). According to the principle of subsidiarity, the conviction was that national states deliver tasks, in which a federal collaboration would be profitable, to the next higher level. For the national states, this meant the delivery of their sovereignty to the European level that in turn means a separation of powers according to the principle of "checks and balances". The more national states strengthen the legitimacy of the European federal system by merging issues and policies, the stronger the process of European integration would become. The free movement of workers is - based on the federal principle of a European single market - an amalgamation of autonomous responsibilities of national levels to a European level. Thus it is to be seen as a controlled strengthening of European integration.

2.2 Framing of mass media

Framing is a concept that is related to the agenda-setting. The framing approach can be found in various disciplines. The concept of framing of media says that in the first step media focuses on a specific topic, to which it has become aware of and in the second step is able to influence and steer the following discussion in a specific direction by its reporting styles. In this thesis the theoretical framework to analyse poverty-driven migration in media is based on the framing concept of Scheufele (2000). In the so-called "between-level" Scheufele (2000) distinguishes between the macro level (Elites, Interest Groups and Media etc.) and the micro-level (Audience, individuals), that in his opinion effect each other. On another "within-level" he differs between Elites frames, media frames and audience frames that depend from each other. These two levels constitute a framing

process that in turn can be divided into "Frame-Building, "Frame Setting" and "Individual-level in the sub processes-Consequences of framing".

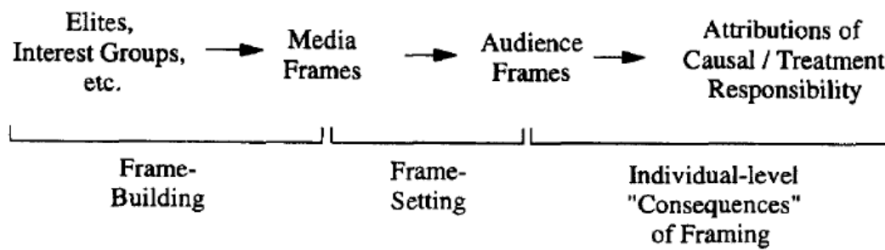


FIGURE 2 An overview of framing research.

Table I

According to this concept, the question is to what extent statements issued by politicians appeal to media and their influence on political debates and in turn to what extent media effect on the population through its reporting styles.

2.3 Preliminary considerations

European labour mobility is based on the constitutional structure of federalism. At the same time it also seems to be a politically motivated decision to strengthen the process of European integration and unification. But what would happen if precisely this politically motivated movement for workers threatened to fail. Would it not also affect the European integration process and the European integration?

The free movement of workers is discussed increasingly negative in particular with regard to the term of poverty-driven migration. It remains questionable whether the challenges that poverty-driven migration contributes to the European free movement of workers also meant a weakening of the European integration process that in consequence leads to a failure of the federal constitutional structure by the example of Europe.

In particular media had made great contribution concerning debate on poverty migration. To what extent does media target stylistic instruments in terms of poverty-driven migration to steer the debate on European migration? The concept of framing is to provide a conceptual basis in the discussion of poverty-driven migration within media.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Research design: Single case study

On a single case study a theoretical concept should be examined on the basis of a specific case and empirical data that will help to define a phenomenon. Johnson and Reynolds (2012) explain that case studies mostly conduce the declaration of "how- and why-questions" and thus become a component of scientific designs. This thesis shall illustrate how poverty-driven migration, according to media definition, affects the freedom of movement for workers. So the so-called poverty-driven migration serves as the examined case. So the research questions are: How does poverty Migration affect the freedom of movement for workers? What is the role of the media in this debate?

3.2 Evaluation method

3.2.1 Meta-analysis: Poverty-driven migration in the EU

Meta-analyses help to get an overview of the state of research. They provide information on missing and unclear research questions and therefore stimulate the further development of research in the respective field. Trunk and Schwarb (1995) denote meta-analysis as a "secondary analysis method by which quantitative results from empirical studies are summarized and examined on their variability". According to secondary analysis methods primary data is not to be collected, but already existing studies and empirical data shall be used and mutually integrated. Therefore independent results may be merged together to capture generally applicable statements. The meta-analysis is especially used in research issues in which a variety of quantitative research in the field had been done, which in turn can be linked to an investigation of a specific case. Glass used the term of "meta-analysis" in 1976 for the first time. He describes the meta-analysis as an analysis of the analysis, in which individual results are merged for the aim of an integrated response.

In the present work, different empirical data are assembled which will assist the analysis of poverty-driven migration. Poverty-driven migration is first of all an abstract concept that needs to be defined. There is no separate indicator for poverty-driven migration that allows a measuring of the controversial possible phenomenon. In order to approach this concept empirical data and indicators that describe poverty on the one hand and empirical data on the actual numbers of migration within the EU on the other hand will be collected and compared. The focus will be placed on the question of how these different data affect each other and also how they may depend on one another. With this summary of the data

a tentative explanation on poverty-driven migration will be given. As a result the consequences and impacts of poverty-driven migration on the European freedom of movement for workers shall be illustrated.

To illustrate the methodological approach, the examined object is categorized. Therefore the concept of poverty-driven migration is divided into "poverty" and "migration". Then empirical data and studies are collected and evaluated for these two items. The results of existing studies of both categories will be integrated and tested on their interdependencies and influences. One of the two categories is „poverty". How is the concept of poverty within the poverty-driven migration to be understood and how should it be classified and studied within the empirical social research? According to Burzan (2008) there are always liable value judgements in the determination of poverty, which are close to political views and demands.

Poverty				
economic	socio-economic		socio-demographic	conceptual
Gross domestic product (GDP)	Per capita income (PCI)	Ratio of unemployment	Health-care	Poverty line (less than 60 % of the national net equivalent income)
Germany	UK	Greece	Romania	Europe
National Data and Statistics				Eurostat
				EU-SILC survey ("Statistics on Income and Living Conditions")

Table II

In order to measure poverty empirically there are material indicators which focus on economic analysis, as well as non-material indicators that are more related to sociological and demographic analysis. Examples of material indicators would be for example, income and assets per household. Non-material indicators are e. g. evidences on health and education (Burzan 2008 p.43). Moreover, there are also conceptual methods to capture

poverty. These include the acquisition of social-related opportunities, which calculate the described indicators additionally, as well as concepts such as the EU-SILC survey that combines statistics on income and living conditions. Table 2 shows the evaluation method of poverty in this thesis. Details about limitations on nationality and material selection will be described in part 3.3.

The evaluation of migration passes through concrete empirical data on the number of migratory citizens. In this case migration numbers within the EU are investigated methodically. There are many different reasons why people emigrate or immigrate. The evaluation method based on this case study refers to the migration figures relating to labour migration. Regarding to labour migration research fields such as employment, unemployment and qualification of workers are affected. Table 2 illustrates the evaluation method in the field of migration as part of the term of poverty-driven migration. These two different components and categories will then be integrated and analysed within a meta-analysis.

		Migration		
Data	Immigration figures 2013-2014	Net migration rate (difference immigration and emigration rate)		
Reasons for migration	Labour	Family-reunification	Education	Asylum
	Ratio of foreigners (EU) in the labour market	Foreign (EU) recipients of unemployment benefits	Qualification of foreign (EU) workers	
	Long-term workers	Supplementary top-up benefits recipients		

Table III

3.2.2 Content-analysis: Poverty-driven migration in mass media

As an evaluation method for analysing the coverage of different media from Germany and UK the content analysis is used. Especially in social research the content analysis is used for the evaluation of various texts, such as essays, newspaper articles, advertising slogans, but also for sources such as movies, photos and websites (Burzan 2015 p.43). Differently from the quantitative meta-analysis, the content analysis is a qualitative research method. According to Burzan (2015) the researcher designs a category system, which then serves as a basis for answering the research question. But in addition to time and material limitations specific coding and analysis units have to be defined. This can be for example keywords which define a discourse. Only on the basis of a sample case the collection and analysis can be performed.

Concerning the role of media in the discourse about poverty migration, case studies of tabloid press, Bild and Sun, as well as non-tabloids Süddeutsche Zeitung and The Daily Telegraph will be used. For the analysis specific keywords will be chosen. In regard to the discussion on poverty-driven migration in media the following keywords will be used: "mass migration", "poverty migration", "abuse of welfare / social state" or "low-skilled labour." In addition to that a further focus is placed on the photos of the publications.

Table IV

Poverty-driven migration in mass media	
BILD and SUN	Süddeutsche Zeitung and The Daily Telegraph
<p style="text-align: center;">Keywords:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Poverty migration – Mass migration – low skilled labour – abuse of welfare/social system</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Pictures</p>	

3.3 Material selection

3.3.1 Limitations

To have a limitation for the collected and analyzed data I will confine the data selection to the time period 1st January 2013 and 31st December 2014. These time periods were chosen because the debate on the so-called poverty-driven migration inflamed again by the unrestricted freedom of movement for workers for Bulgaria and Romania in January 2014.

Although this thesis focuses on the debate on the European freedom of movement for workers in general, Germany, UK, Greece and Romania are selected as limitations to be able to examine the field more detailed and to allow a closer look on the media discourse.

In particular, in Germany and the UK, the debate on labour migration has emerged and became a commonly used term. Also, it will be focused on immigration and emigration from Greece. It represents a country that currently suffers from a financial crisis. The implications for immigration and emigration are to be examined in the light of this example. In this context Romania will be observed as well. For Romania and Bulgaria the unrestricted freedom of movement for workers in the whole EU was permitted on 1st of January 2014 for the first time. In this case there will be a specific look on immigration and emigration.

3.3.2 Poverty-driven migration in the EU

According to the methodology of secondary analysis different data were researched and collected for the meta-analysis in forms of empirical surveys and studies. They are to be presented in this part.

In the present case national surveys and studies are used as main research data. With this information the economic power as well as the developments of the labour market shall be analysed. In contrast to European surveys, national surveys offer more detailed insights. They do not focus on the differences between European Member States, but often categorize the object of investigation in different categories. For example, national data collection would not only focus on the number of immigrants and put them into a foreign policy or a European comparison, but categorize the immigrants in age groups, nationalities and qualifications due to internal political relevance. Thus, in Germany and in the UK the domestic impact has high significance, when talking about poverty-driven migration and an alleged abuse of the national social security system. Also, there is a domestic interest on the reasons why people emigrate from another country. What

immigration in a country means for another country can be seen in an EU-wide comparison. With the comparison of net migration it can for example be examined whether there is an existing balance in the area of migration among the European Member States.

In order to enable a meta-analysis on poverty-migration, existing data on poverty and European migration were collected. The focus lays on the following indicators: (1) population, (2) GDP per capita (3) Ratio of unemployment, (4) Mean and median income by household, (5) Population below national poverty line, (6) People at risk of poverty and social exclusion, (7) Compensation of employees, (8) Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, (9) Labour costs per hour (10) Immigration total, (11) Net migration net total, (12) Immigration of EU citizens, (13) Group of citizens with highest immigration rate, (14) Immigration for work reasons by EU nationals (15) EU nationals in the labour market (16) Foreign (EU-nationals) recipients of unemployment benefits.

The table below lists the existing data and studies that were used for the analytical part, and critically evaluated and compared. The sources of this data are listed in Part 6 References.

	Germany	United Kingdom	Greece	Romania
Population:	Eurostat: Population on 1 January (2015)	Eurostat: Population on 1 January (2015)	Eurostat: Population on 1 January (2015)	Eurostat: Population on 1 January (2015)
GDP per capita in 1000:	Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)
Ratio of unemployment:	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)
Mean and median income by household type in Euro (source: SILC):	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)
Population (%) below national poverty line (less than 60% of median income by household type):	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship:	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over) (25/06/2015)	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over) (25/06/2015)	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over) (25/06/2015)	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over) (25/06/2015)
Compensation of employees (% of GDP):	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)
Average gross annual earnings in industry and services:	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)
Labour costs per hour worked private sector in euro:	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)
Immigration total:	BAMF: migration monitoring economic migration to Germany Annual Report 2014 (May 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	Eurostat: Immigration by five year age group, sex and citizenship (15.06.2015)	Eurostat: Immigration by five year age group, sex and citizenship (15.06.2015)
Net migration rate total:	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108
Immigration of EU citizens:	BAMF: migration monitoring economic migration to Germany Annual Report 2014 (May 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)		
Group of citizens with highest immigration rate in (...):	BAMF: Free movement monitoring: Migration of EU nationals to Germany Annual Report 2014	The Migration Observatory: Migrants in the UK: An Overview (19/12/2014)		
Immigration for work reasons by EU nationals:	Work Employment Agency: Analysis of the labor market for foreigners May 2015	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)		
EU nationals in the labour market:	Work Employment Agency: Analysis of the labor market for foreigners May 2015	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)		
Foreign (EU-nationals) recipients of unemployment benefits:	Federal Employment Agency: report for Focus inquiry (28/05/2014)	House of Commons Library: Statistics on migrants and benefits (27/11/2014)		

Table V

See Appendix 1: Selection of references for figures and studies used for analyzing poverty-driven migration

3.3.3 Poverty-driven migration in mass media

For the analysis of the influence of media on the debate on European migration, samples in the forms of online articles of “Sun” and “Bild” as representatives for tabloid press, as well as online articles from “Süddeutsche Zeitung” and “The Daily Telegraph” are used. Three articles were chosen and determined. Thereby the attention was paid to keywords such as “mass migration”, “poverty migration”, “abuse of welfare / social state” or “low-skilled labour.” The chosen articles will be listed and categorized in the table below.

BILD	Sun	Süddeutsche Zeitung	The Daily Telegraph
Deutsches Kindergeld für 41 000 Kinder in Polen (22.03.2014)	Persecution and poverty driving gypsies of Romania to Britain (2013)	Mythos Armutsmigration (03.01.2014)	David Cameron: I'm ready to lead Britain out of Europe if migrant reforms fail (27.11.2014)
Die Wahrheit über Sinti und Roma (04.03.2013)	UK needs 'fair not free' movement of migrants (2014)	Merkel verschiebt Streit um Sozialmissbrauch in Arbeitskreis (03.01.2014)	The Telegraph meets the Bulgarian 'King of the Gypsies' (28.12.2013)
Weniger Kindergeld für Bulgaren und Rumänen (31.12.2013)	Time's run out... the tidal wave's upon us (2013)	CSU plant Offensive gegen Armutsmigranten (28.12.2013)	385.000 Romanians and Bulgarians will come to Britain report warn (03.12.2013)

Table VI

3.4 Critical frame analysis

Both the meta-analysis as well as the content analysis carry advantages and disadvantages. This part of the thesis will take a critical look at both methods of analysis.

Under the subject of "Forty Questions about Validity Generalization and Meta Analysis" Schmidt and Sackett (1985) have put four points of criticism for meta-analysis together. These four points of criticism "depending on the primary results", "Apples and oranges" problem, "Garbage In - Garbage Out issue" and the "publication bias" should be considered closer in this regard. The first issue concerns the different dependencies of the primary results. By identifying samples effect averages are generally summarized. So we look at the individual study per se, the dependencies of the selected sample are very well known. Therefore effect releases can also be standardized. But if samples of various studies and surveys are integrated and considered, there is a high probability that these individual dependencies due to the high number of studies and surveys are no longer understandable and distinguishable. For example, if two different national results of studies regarding youth unemployment will be integrated, they might have been tested on different dependencies. So one of the studies could relate to certain dependencies in education and social background and the other study could focus on the dependencies of the economic and financial situation of the national state. These different dependencies show the variety of composite studies and surveys attentively, which describes the criticism of the "Apples and Oranges problem" exemplarily. Glass (1981) points out that researchers who use the meta-analytical method, have to be able to distinguish within their collected data, which data they want to merge and integrate in their meta-analysis. In a meta-analysis the researcher should collect data for subject as much as possible. But the decision on which data will be integrated with each other in the end, is a methodical and analytical decision taken by the researcher. When talking about poverty migration, there are a lot of journalistic texts and attempted interpretations. These journalistic texts will be treated in a separate part that deals with the role of media in the debate on European migration. The garbage-in garbage-out problem criticizes that both quality high studies are equated with lower quality studies through the integration of these data. Glass (1981) suggests to organize the studies in accordance with a numbering to the value and impact on the meta-analysis. In the present thesis, a distinction is already made between empirical research and journalistic texts and literary grey areas. So there is a two-part analysis of poverty-driven migration given. The meta-analytical part focuses only on collected empirical data and differs among national and pan-national studies. Often, there are studies that are not published despite their earned income. The publication-bias issue draws attention to the fact that existing scientific evidence, which was never published,

affects the collection of existing data sets, as well as the analysis that in turn could lead to distortions within the scientific work.

In a content analysis, the data cannot be tailored to the research question. So the researcher has to be able to reach out to existing sources and test his chosen indicators on their function. This means that the researcher must determine whether the indicators actually measure what he or she wants to examine in order to answer the hypotheses. Regarding the role of the media in the migration debate it needs to be tested whether the chosen keywords can be discovered and interpreted in the samples, which are the articles.

4. Data and Analysis

4.1 Poverty-driven migration in the EU

For the analysis of various empirical data and studies a summary table with key indicators was compiled, which are necessary in the analysis of poverty-driven migration. In the table, indicators of poverty, national figures on European migration and the respective labour markets of Germany, UK, Greece and Romania are set out comparatively. Consequently, the analysis will focus on the differences between the European states, the immigration situation and domestic and integration policy in Germany and the UK.

Table 7: See Appendix 2: Data for analyzing poverty-driven migration by connecting poverty and migration data

	Germany		United Kingdom		Greece		Romania		EU (28)	
	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014
Population:	80.523.746	80.767.463	63.905.297	64.308.261	10.991.400	10.903.704	20.020.074	19.947.311	505.114.995	506.824.509
GDP per capita in 1000:	34,2	35,2	31,5	34,4	16,5	16,3	7,2	7,5	26,6	27,3
Ratio of unemployment:	5,2	5	7,6	6,1	27,5	26,5	7,1	6,8	10,9	10,2
Mean and median income by household type in Euro (source: SILC)	19.545	-	18.694	-	8.377	7.680	2.071	-	15.430	-
Population (%) below national poverty line (less than 60% of median income by household type)	16,1	-	15,9	-	23,1	-	22,4	-	16,6	-
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over; EU SILC survey)	20,2	-	22,1	-	32,6	33,7	38,5	-	-	-
Compensation of employees (% of GDP)	50,8	51	51,1	50,5	32,5	33,4	31,5	31,3	47,9	47,9
Average gross annual earnings in industry and services	42.900 (2011)		38.284 (2011)		-		5.869 (2011)		-	
Labour costs per hour worked private sector in euro	-	31,8	-	22,2	-	14,4	-	4,8	-	24,4
Immigration total	884.493	1.149.045	526.046	624.000	47.058	-	153.646	-	-	-
Net migration rate total:	517.660	676.730	209.000	298.000	-70.036	-	-8.109	-	-	653,1
Immigration of EU citizens	521.509	630.243	201.000	251.000						
Group of citizens with highest immigration rate in (...):	Poland (102.753)	Romania (156.440)	Spain (33.000)	"Romania and Bulgaria" (37.000)						
Immigration for work reasons by EU nationals:	-	791.203	217.000	271.000						
EU nationals in the labour market:	1,1 mio	-	1,6 mio	1,8 mio						
Foreign (EU-nationals) recipients of unemployment benefits:	504.470	529.511	121.28	130.99						

Table VII

4.1.1 Differences of EU member states

According to a survey by Eurostat (2015), 505.114.995 in 2013 and 506.824.509 in 2014 people live in the EU. They are heterogeneously distributed in the respective Member States. In Greece and Romania the number of population is declining. Since 2008, Greece experienced an economic transition and descent through the so-called Euro crisis. Romania instead loses a number of its population through emigration due to the unrestricted freedom of movement for workers and the attractiveness of richer European countries. Unlike Greece and Romania the population number in Germany and UK is rising (Eurostat 2015). In Germany for example the number of population still increases despite a low and declining birth rate. According to the German Federal Statistical Office, more people died in 2013 (893 823 in 2013), than babies were born (682 069 in 2013). According to a recent study by the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (2015), the so-called crude birth rate amounts 8.28 births per 1000 inhabitants in the years from 2009 to 2013 . The crude birth rate is the number of births during the year in consideration to the average population in that year. According to this study, Germany has the lowest birth rates worldwide. The rising population can therefore be explained by an increasing number of immigration. In particular, the freedom of movement for workers makes it easy for European citizens to emigrate to Germany in order to work or to seek for work. According to the debate on poverty-driven migration, there shall be among all migrant workers from different countries, a group of immigrants that only look for ways to stay in a more developed country on the basis of social benefits and an individual economic rise through the given welfare and social systems.

With its federal constitutional system the EU unites a number of heterogeneous countries. These often differ in case of their political systems, economic power, as well as cultural heritage and national diversity. First the EU was based on an incurred Economic Community that was established through specific policy decisions on a basis of shared values and visions that should ensure political stability and security in particular after the Second World War. These policy decisions made it possible for such heterogeneous nations to unite under the joint EU project over years. Today the European Union is trying to network operations and to merge workspaces. The EU allied a basis on the founding European treaties in forms of the TEU and the TFEU. Critics complain that if different competent States were established for equal opportunities, this could lead to an imbalance. The freedom of movement for workers could fall under this aspect, if the so-called poverty-driven migration would exist in the way of its debated shape.

The debate on poverty migration is discussed very one-sided. Naturally, these debates often occur in those countries that expect an increased immigration and the possible challenges of this. Migration and its possible consequences are accordingly set with possible challenges for the domestic policy (Boswell and Geddes: 2011: 181ff.). The freedom of movement for workers, as European regulation, does not only mean consequences for the country of immigration, but also for the country of emigration. A debate about poverty-driven migration, which is increasingly concerned about the consequences of the immigration country only, is not enough concerning the discussion on poverty-driven migration as a possible European phenomenon and the problem of an possible imbalance between the Member States. On 01/01/2014 the full freedom of movement for workers from Romania and Bulgaria was obtained. Since the EU enlargement to East-Europe, the Romania's population of estimated 23 million dropped to 20 million. According to a Eurostat figure (2015), the population was already at 19,947,311 in 2014. Usually skilled workers and young people leave the country. Thus Romania's Labour Minister Campeanu speaks about "disastrous consequences" concerning the shortage of skilled workers - especially when talking about doctors, information technicians and engineers. The so-called brain drain, the loss of skilled workers through emigration, will bother Romania prospectively (The Daily Telegraph: 4/12/2013). Poverty migration could be seen and analysed from the perspective of the countries of emigration. So poverty can be also understood as a lack of opportunities and perspectives that lead qualified people, as well as low-wage workers to the decision of leaving the country and moving to another because of better job opportunities or better revenues. Poverty-driven migration would therefore not only affect the domestic and economic situation of the country of immigration, but also the situation of these countries that will find difficulties building up their national economy due to the exodus of their own people.

4.1.2 Germany

With a population of over 80 million people, Germany belongs to the countries with the lowest unemployment rate. According to data of the Federal Statistical Office this ratio amounts 6.7% of workforce in 2014. At the same time Germany suffers from a huge shortage of skilled workers for years. In the field of nursing for example Germany tries to recruit people from third countries (GIZ programme Vietnam¹). With regard to the EU eastward enlargement, Germany sealed its labour market from the new Member States by

¹ The Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) started a program to recruit Vietnamese nurses

using the 2-3-2-year formula. There was the same procedure concerning the admittance of Romania and Bulgaria to the EU. Only since 01/01/2014, Bulgarians and Romanians enjoy the unrestricted freedom of movement for workers. The fact that Germany's low birth rate and increasing population is attributed to its immigration was already described in the upper section. According to the study of the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (2015), which also examined the birth rate in Germany, there need to be an average of 533,000 immigrants per year migrating to Germany, so that the country could keep the current level of an industrial business location despite its demographic change. In contempt of this urgent appeal and given demographic trends, the discourse on migration (see media analysis in 4.2) is increasingly brought together with the concept of poverty-driven migration. Especially politicians communicate poverty-driven migration as an existing problem, which in turn is published within the media landscape very often without additional scientific facts. Does poverty-driven migration really exist in Germany and how does it appear? What makes Germany, in comparison to other European countries, an attractive country for immigration? With a rising gross domestic product, 34.2 GDP per capita in 2013 and 35.2 per capita in 2014, Germany has - in comparison to Greece with a declining GDP per capita of 16.3 and Romania with a GDP per capita of 7.3 - a much stronger economic power. Looking at the unemployment rate, Germany is also close to full employment, which lays between three and five per cent in Germany as the former Labour and Economy Minister of Germany Wolfgang Clement defined in an interview in 2004, with a value of 5.2 (Eurostat 2013) and 5.0 (Eurostat 2014). In contrast the unemployment rate of Greece was 27.5 (Eurostat 2013) and 26.5 (Eurostat 2014). According to the National apprenticeships report (2015), the number of 37,100 reported unfilled apprenticeship places has reached a new record, which means an increase of 10% in long-term. Apprenticeships, that could help Greece concerning its youth unemployment rate with an amount of 48.9% (Eurostat, Youth unemployment 2014).

Regarding the migration numbers Germany with 884 493 immigrants (2013) - rising in 2014 - has a considerably higher inflow of immigrants than Greece with 47 058 (2013) and Romania with 153 646 (2013) immigrants. Focusing on the immigrants coming to Germany it is to realize that a large part of the immigrants are from other EU countries. According to the data obtained, 521,509 immigrants from EU countries have immigrated to Germany in 2013. A year later, the number increases to 630 243 2014 people coming from EU Member States. In 2013, most immigrants that are EU-nationals came from Poland (102 753 immigrants). In 2014 instead, most immigrants were from Romania (156,440). This could be explained with the fact that Bulgarians and Romanians fully enjoyed the European freedom of movement for workers for the first time in this year and

in particular the opening of the German labour market. According to a report on the impacts of free movement of workers from March 2015 of the Employment Agency 2013, 133,000 Bulgarians and Romanians were employed in Germany in December 2013. In March 2015, the number amounts 274,000 and therewith shows an increase by an absolute number of 141,000 or 106% in comparison to December 2013. About two-thirds of these immigrants have a Romanian citizenship. Of all employees, 231,000 have the right on social insurance and 43,000 were marginally employed.

Recognizable by the net migration of the compared countries, a dominance in the choice of emigrating to Western European countries can be seen very clearly. The described economic difference illustrates the main reason for emigration. Since the freedom of movement for workers provides greater mobility for working people, also a look at the given framework in terms of working conditions and social components of the state must be taken. A healthy economic situation of a country usually creates more jobs and secures higher living standards in a country. Therefore the probability to find a job is correspondingly higher than in a country where the economic situation fluctuates and runs into negative territory. Looking at the percentage shares of GDP that is given for the compensation of employees, it can be seen that the numbers of Germany and UK are much higher with around 51% of their GDP, than the ones of Greece with 33.4% (2014) and Romania with 31.3% (2014). In particular, the hourly wage, measured by the labour costs per hour worked in the private sector and by the average gross annual earnings in industry and services, show the serious wage gap between those countries. So the average gross annual earnings in industry and services of Germany account 42,900 in 2011, but only 5,869 in Romania. The labour costs per hour worked in private sector amount for 31.8 Euros in Germany and 5.4 Euros in 2014. Under these circumstances, it could be interpreted that working people in Romania and Greece are exposed to very low chances of finding a job. Instead they find financial disadvantages in their payment compared to Western countries of the EU. Theoretically, the given mobility in Europe will allow them a professional and financial advancement, if they are able to find a suitable job.

Up to this point one can say that the conditions between EU Member States are very different. The attractiveness to emigrate to another country with better conditions in terms of a lack of perspectives is given. But does this fact mean poverty-driven migration already? Poverty-driven migration, which is discussed within a societal and medial discourse, mostly refers to people who leave their homes due to social security systems and benefits of other countries. But if one considers the immigration of Romanians to

Germany, it reveals that a majority of these Romanians are qualified doctors. According to the German Medical Association, the number of professional foreign doctors that had been reported until the end of 2013 in Germany increased with an amount of 10.3% to 35,893 persons between 2012 and 2013. Among those immigrants that are also EU-nationals, Romanians are the majority that immigrate to Germany. Their number increased with an amount of 18.7 % and with an absolute number of 3,454. In the press release of the Institute of German Economy in Cologne (20/01/2014) it is stated that 25% of adult immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania have an academic degree. Among the whole adult population the amount was 19%. The concern that the freedom of movement for workers will cause poverty-driven migration only, and the fear about an inflow of immigrants to Germany for social benefit reasons cannot be confirmed. But still the comparison on earnings illustrates that most people migrate because of the higher compensation in Germany. From a European perspective, this means an advantage for countries like Germany but disadvantage for countries like Romania that suffer through brain drain, the loss of professionals and academics through emigration reasons (Nell and Yeshurun: 135ff.). So it can be concluded that the freedom of movement for workers creates a European imbalance on the European labour market that in turn affects national economies.

Already on 01/05/2011, Germany has feared poverty-driven migration. At that time the EU-8 had enjoyed the unrestricted freedom of movement for workers for the first time. The number of social insurance contributions and marginally employed has grown steadily since then. In April 2011, there were 223,000 workers reported in Germany that had the right on social insurance and marginally employees with nationalities from the EU-8 (Federal Employment Agency; background information, June 2012). In March 2015, the number of employees has increased to around 513,000. The vast majority of these immigrants had a Polish citizenship. 2011 the fears on poverty-driven migration abusing the national social system failed. Most Polish citizens were disproportionately short-term immigrants, for example because of seasonal work, who emigrate back (Migration Report 2011).

4.1.3 United Kingdom

As an opposite to Germany, the UK had opened its labour market in terms of the freedom of movement for workers since the EU eastward enlargement without using the 2-3-2 time period formula. Today David Cameron, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, fears an above-average increase in case of immigration and an abuse of the British social system. Therefore he intends to reduce the EU-immigration in particular and combat illegal

immigration (Welt, 21/05/2015). Comparing the net migration of the UK with that of Germany, there are approximately 298,000 people additionally immigrating to the UK in 2014 than people emigrate, while there are 676,730 additionally people that immigrated to Germany than people had emigrated. In comparison, Germany has a 300,000 people higher net migration than UK. With an amount of around 251,000, the EU-national immigrants form the largest group out of 624,000 immigrants in the UK. In 2013, most of the immigrants came from Spain to the UK. This can mainly be attributed to the debt crisis of the Southern EU countries. Because of the economic and labour market situation in their home countries, in particular high-qualified workers from Spain were looking for jobs abroad. Next to Germany especially the UK was the most popular destination for the Spanish. With approximately 1.8 million (2014) foreign EU-nationals in the labour market, the UK employs significantly more EU citizens than Germany. In Germany there were around 1.1 million foreign workers from the EU.

In the British debate on the freedom of movement for workers and poverty-driven migration, the British social system and the welfare state are in the foreground. It also becomes clear that the freedom of movement for workers for Romania and Bulgaria in 2014 was one of the triggers of this debate. Most empirical data and journalistic texts that deal with European migration were collected for this thesis, primarily thematize the immigration from Bulgaria and Romania and often summarize the numbers of both countries together as EU-2. A segmentation of these two was often proved to be difficult to find.

According to the Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2014) of the British Office for National Statistics, "work" had been given as a reason for immigrating to the UK the most. So in September 2013, 218,000 immigrants had indicated to have migrated due to work reasons. In particular, the numbers on legal labour migration can be determined by the National Insurance Numbers (Ninos) that were issued to non-UK nationals immigrating for work. These figures also include the short-term workers in the UK within the statistics. The National Insurance Numbers are used for the administration of the National Insurance or Social Security system. UK-nationals receive this number by reaching the age of 16. Non-UK members have to apply for this number. According to these statistics, Polish were the ones who registered most with 111,000 people as well as the country with the highest growth concerning new registrations with an amount of 31.0000 until September 2013. Italians followed with an increase of 18,000, Spanish with an increase of 14,000 and the Portuguese with an increase of 10,000 new registrations.

In 2014, the total number of immigrants increased to 526 000 migrants from the previous year 2013, according to a recent migration Statistics Quarterly Report (May 2015). In particular the number of EU immigrants increases with 42,000 to around 251,000. In total 284.00 people were reported to have migrated to the UK due to work reasons. This represents an absolute increase of 73,000 immigrants compared to 2013. Among the immigrants in 2014 46,000 were Romanians and Bulgarians (EU-2). 35,000 of them indicated to have immigrated for work reasons. The study also states that an immigration inflow of 150,000-270,000 has always been a typical amount for the UK from 1998 to 2013. However, especially the opening of the British labour market to the new Member States through the EU enlargement in 2004 affects the net migration. In 2014, a peak was reached with a net migration of 298,000. This peak can be particularly explained with an increase of immigration from the EU. In addition to the affected Southern countries that still face the effects of the financial crisis, the debate is more focused on the EU-2 countries. 46,000 new EU-2 migrants meant an increase of over 50% new immigration from these two countries. In comparison there were only 20,000 in the previous year.

Although the debate about poverty-driven migration focuses on the increase immigration from Bulgaria and Romania, the British government tries to take action in reducing the access to social services and in reducing the pan-European immigration from the whole Economic Area (EEA) in general. That concerns Jobseekers' Allowance, child benefits as well as child tax credits. Currently, EU migrants are not allowed to stay longer than three months. If migrants want to extend their stay, they must prove that they have work or actively seek for work or proof that they have a good chance of working. To claim social benefits after three months of residence, they must pass a "habitual residence test" under EU law. This test is emerging, how long they are allowed to stay and what kind of status they have, for example, whether they have a job in the UK, looking for work, are students or stay because of family reasons. Also only this approved test gives them the right to receive six months Jobseeker's Allowance. They can only ask the government for more support under special circumstances, such as an existing job offer. Less than 5% of EU migrants apply for Jobseeker's Allowance. The British „think tank class“ found out that among all the Jobseeker's Allowance recipients, 91.5% UK are UK-nationals. Especially in comparison to Germany, the number of foreign social benefit recipients is significantly lower, when comparing 130,099 (2014) foreign recipients in the UK to 529.511 (2014; see Table 4) recipients in Germany. Nevertheless, the British government has made its goal of a much stricter immigrations policy regarding the immigration from EU countries because they still fear an abuse of their social systems. The additionally introduced test of the

British is named "right to reside" will now be examined by the European Justice Court. In April 2014 the housing benefit for EU-immigrants have already been deleted.

Compared to a EU-2 country, such as Bulgaria, where people are only entitled to receive unemployment benefits if they have worked at least nine months within the last 15 months, the social systems in Germany and in UK are more socially compounded. From the beginning, the European federalism idea has the assumption that the national states differ from each other. These national states agree - in Art. 18 TFEU - not to treat EU citizens unequal because of their nationality, which could then lead to discrimination.

4.2 Poverty-driven migration in mass media

4.2.1 Sun / Bild

Language und Reporting Styles

Voss (1999) describes that in addition to everyday language, metaphors and deliberate exaggeration are used to widespread journalistic repertoire. Headlines help to convey the most important information in a few words (Lobe, 2002). Exclamations, appeals and generalizations were especially clear in the analysis of the material of the tabloid press, "Bild" and "Sun". Six samplings are used in the analysis of the coverage and reporting styles of these two newspapers.

Already the headlines of the articles „Stop Child Benefits for seasonal workers!" (Bild), „Again, beggars-alarm in the City!" (Bild) or „Less Child Benefits for Bulgarians and Romanians" (Bild) describe European migration with terms such as "child benefit" or "Bulgarians and Romanians" and create a direct link between the freedom of movement for workers and the national social security system, as well as an association of an abuse of social security systems with immigrants coming from Bulgaria and Romania. In this case, „Bild“ uses Bulgarians and Romanians as the largest immigrant group in Germany and conveys an automatic recourse to social benefits. Subtitles like "EU citizens abusing child benefits" (Bild 05/12/2014) sound like fixed facts, which are not questioned within the report anymore. Additionally, statements of politicians who initiated the debates support the report. Thus, there are in particular quotations from CSU-politicians like "The CSU wants to stop child benefits for seasonal workers from EU countries generally. CSU General Secretary Andreas Scheuer (39) told BILD: „Child benefit transfer abroad must end." (Bild, 05/12/2015). The framing begins with „Bild“ taking up certain policies of politicians and giving them a political stage by reporting it uncritically. These reports from

„Bild“, which had a print run of 2.8 million (Statista, 2015) and more than 800 million page impressions in 2008, are capable of influencing and framing a debate. Thus, „Bild“ interacts with the instrument of media framing.

Parallels can be found within the headlines of the „Sun“: "Persecution and poverty driving gypsies of Romania to Britain". The „Sun“ uses terms such as "gypsies" that is no longer common in the official parlance because of discrimination. The „Sun“ calls attention to the Roma minority who live Bulgaria and Romania under particularly poor conditions.

Pictures and visual design

The “Sun” attracts much more attention to the visual design and the choice of pictures. In its online articles, „Sun“ uses large images to create a visionary idea of the debate. So in article "Persecution and poverty driving Gypsies of Romania to Britain" for example, “Sun” shows a picture of a place in Romania with a hut, naming it “hovel”, with lots of rubbish around it. The picture title is "Hovel ... a typical Roma home in Arad, Romania". In the debate on immigration from Romania through the freedom of movement for workers, a deterrent view is conveyed to the Western European countries and it is also described "typical". In this regard, the reader gets an erroneous impression of Romanians who may become his or her future neighbour through the European freedom of movement for workers. In another caricature, the immigration of EU-2 citizens is shown by an illustration of a bunch of black people with yellow eyes giving a hostile impression, run through an old native inhabitant with a frightening facial expression. The presentation of the cartoon with the metaphor of an old-Britannic man fearing new conquerors reminds the British of historical happenings concerning alien people and conqueror coming to Britain. The subtitle is "(...) the day has come. From midnight tomorrow, Britain is open to any of the Bulgarians and Romanians who want 29million to come." shows the voltage and expectancy of Britons on what might hit them negatively, namely the immigration from Bulgaria and Romania. In its report „Again, beggars-alarm in the City“ (05/17/2015), „Bild“ shows images of foreign-looking people begging on the streets and refers to "beggargangs from Romania, Bulgaria and Slovakia". Lobe (2002) described this type of visualization within the coverage as "printed response to the TV".

4.2.2 The Daily Telegraph / Süddeutsche Zeitung

Language and Reporting styles

As contrary example to the described Bild-articles, the online-article from “Süddeutsche Zeitung” from 03/04/2014 can be shown that entitles "poverty-driven migration myth“. This

article clarifies alleged prejudices with facts and figures. The article is structured in blocks where questions such as "Why are Romanians and Bulgarians to come to Germany?", "How many people immigrate?" or „Which benefits of the social system foreigners are allowed to claim for?" are proposed and answered. This article shows that it is concerned to the phenomenon of poverty-driven migration and attempts to clarify the prejudices and to work with scientific facts. The other selected articles from „Süddeutsche Zeitung“ deal with the discussion style of the CSU party debating poverty-driven migration. The article "CSU is planning an offensive against poverty migrants" does not report about the poverty-driven migration in its own sense, but about the way and style politicians and parties deal with their idea of poverty-driven migration. The framing of the media according to the theory of Scheufele in this context can be experienced as more transparent. Media in that case does not only take the information of politicians and communicate it, but reports about politicians' policies and their ways in addressing this issue further.

The article of The Daily Telegraph also reports about the demands of David Cameron. In articles like "David Cameron: I'm ready to lead Britain out of Europe if migrant reforms fail" the selected keywords on poverty-driven migration can be found much less than in the tabloid press. Nevertheless, a predominance of criticism of the European Union and the European legislation can be found in these articles. Excerpts as *"They would "deliver the toughest system on welfare for EU migrants anywhere in Europe", he will add. The proposals are an "absolute requirement in the renegotiation" with Brussels, Mr Cameron will say, warning that if they are not accepted, Britain could leave the EU."* show that the coverage is more tended to focus on the freedom of movement for workers as part of the European Union. Overall, on the one hand the role of David Cameron as a protector of the national social system and on the other hand his threats, concerning leaving the EU stand in the foreground. In another article "385,000 Romanians and Bulgarians will come to Britain, report warns" from 03/04/2015 it is not only written that "385,000 Romanians and Bulgarians will come to Britain", but it is shown that this is the presumption of a report.

Pictures and visual design

The visual design is generally limited. In the online articles there is only one photo used that mostly shows a politician who has mentioned the issue of European migration (Süddeutsche 28/12/2013; The Daily Telegraph 11/27/2014). In all six samples there is more text material than picture material. Except the interview with the "Gypsy King" (The Daily Mail, 12/28/2013), there are no typical stereotypes used.

5. Conclusion

The idea of federalism in Europe and in the form of the European Union was, among other things, to combine different forms of government and nations under a same constitution. The aim was to let the national states keeping their individuality and their own decision-making. At the same time the attempt was to combine European workspaces and to strengthen economic benefits on the internal market through the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU). One part of this greater European integration process is the European freedom of movement for workers. With the help of this regulation, mobility for workers should be created, which at the same enables a kind of elasticity on the European labour market.

On the one hand, the analysis of this thesis has come to the following results: The economic differences between the EU Member States are vehemently large. In particular, there are various reasons for economic and social differences between the Western, Southern, and particularly the Eastern parts of Europe. The Western part of Europe has a strong economy, but in turn suffers from a lack of skilled and young workers due to demographic changes. The Southern states, however, have a large number of young people who are looking for jobs and education, due to the debt crisis that weakens the economies. The Eastern part of Europe, in turn, provides a large number of highly skilled workers that see no financial perspective in their own country due to low economic power and are willing to leave their country to seek for work. That seems to be good conditions for a steady exchange. But the differences between the national states lead to an increasing imbalance in the EU, which could be entirely strengthened by the freedom of movement for workers. In Romania for example skilled workers like doctors and engineers increasingly migrate to Germany. This in turn causes a large loss of skilled workers known as brain drain in countries like Romania, which makes it even more difficult for the country to escape from its economically weak situation. These countries will suffer a lack of high-qualified professionals that can lead the country to more innovation. In terms of that poverty-driven migration is to be understood as a migration from a country with a lack of prospects and low wages to a country that offers opportunities, higher wages and an increasing quality of life.

From the perspective of Western states, people interpret this immigration inflow from economically poorer countries as poverty-driven migration with the aim to profit from the given social systems to which EU-citizens are entitled by the freedom of movement for workers. For these countries, poverty-driven migration initially means a potential goal of their welfare systems. By comparing the social systems of the UK and Germany with the

one in Bulgaria, significant financial differences can be found. The analysis of labour migration has shown that the majority of EU migrants specify work as immigration reason. Among these migrants there are many doctors from Romania for example who are sought and needed in Germany. But instead of communicating the skills shortage and the consequences of the demographic change in Germany and to arise attention to the opportunities resulting from immigration, a lot of newspapers, in particular Bild and Sun, report about an abuse of social security systems and negative consequences through poverty-driven migration. The increase number of applications for child support, as well as the use of social benefits without seeking for work or in spite of self-employment are nevertheless signs of a possible exploit of privileges by immigrants, what they in turn claim by their given rights. This could be largely because the differences between the social systems within Europe are noticeable. But to declare the increasing migration in European countries as poverty-driven migration remains disproportionately, after having analysed the figures on actual migration and the aims of the European freedom of movement for workers. The freedom of movement for workers creates chances and opportunities to compensate grievances like the shortage of skilled workers, but it also harbours dangers in the form of an imbalance within the EU due to economic and social differences between Member States.

For the reason that the freedom of movement for workers can function as a part of the European integration process in the long term, a balance between the EU Member States should be sought. This means that both, the economic and the socio-political circumstances of different Member States should come together in their strengths in order to create a balance. Therefore European-directed investments for example could be created to help weak economies. The aim should be that not only a Bulgarian student or trainee should acknowledge Sweden as an attractive location to live and to work, but also a Swedish academic or professional shall be able to perceive Bulgaria as a liveable place to stay due to improved conditions.

Media's portrayal of poverty-driven migration enormously differs between tabloid press and not tabloid press. Media as Bild and Sun thematized poverty-driven migration by generalizations and a dominating visualization. In contrast, the non-tabloid newspapers rather report in an enlightening manner without using much imagery. Moreover, they do not frame the debate with secluded statements but rather provide the author of the statements or the politician with his or her demands to the forefront. Therefore it can be said that media play an important role in the mediation of the term of poverty-driven migration, but they definitely differ in the way of their reporting styles and framing roles. So

Sun and Bild report in a more judgmental way while Süddeutsche Zeitung and The Daily Telegraph rather report as neutral enlightener.

All in all it has proved to be very difficult analysing poverty-driven migration based on different national statistics and European studies. In order to enable a more focused analysis of poverty-driven migration, primary studies should be carried out for all Member States of the EU, in the same period of time and in the same research fields for immigration, such as labour market situation, immigration and emigration reasons and the qualifications of immigrants.

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7. Appendix

Appendix 1: Selection of references for figures and studies used for analyzing poverty-driven migration

	Germany	United Kingdom	Greece	Romania
Population:	Eurostat: Population on 1 January (2015) Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Population on 1 January (2015) Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Population on 1 January (2015) Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Population on 1 January (2015) Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)
GDP per capita in 1000:				
Ratio of unemployment:	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)
Mean and median income by household type in Euro (source: SILC):	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)
Population (% below national poverty line (less than 60% of median income by household type):	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship:	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over) (25/06/2015)	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over) (25/06/2015)	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over) (25/06/2015)	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over) (25/06/2015)
Compensation of employees (% of GDP):	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)
Average gross annual earnings in industry and services:	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)
Labour costs per hour worked private sector in euro:	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)
Immigration total:	BAMF: migration monitoring economic migration to Germany Annual Report 2014 (May 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	Eurostat: Immigration by five year age group, sex and citizenship (15.06.2015)
Net migration rate total:	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108
Immigration of EU citizens:	BAMF: migration monitoring economic migration to Germany Annual Report 2014 (May 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	
Group of citizens with highest immigration rate in (...):	BAMF: Free movement monitoring: Migration of EU nationals to Germany Annual Report 2014	The Migration Observatory: Migrants in the UK: An Overview (19/12/2014)	The Migration Observatory: Migrants in the UK: An Overview (19/12/2014)	
Immigration for work reasons by EU nationals:	Work Employment Agency: Analysis of the labor market for foreigners May 2015	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	
EU nationals in the labour market:	Work Employment Agency: Analysis of the labor market for foreigners May 2015	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)	
Foreign (EU-nationals) recipients of unemployment benefits:	Federal Employment Agency: report for Focus Inquiry (28/05/2014)	House of Commons Library: Statistics on migrants and benefits (27/11/2014)	House of Commons Library: Statistics on migrants and benefits (27/11/2014)	

Appendix 2: Data for analyzing poverty-driven migration by connecting poverty and migration data

	Germany		United Kingdom		Greece		Romania		EU (28)	
	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014
Population:	80.523.746	80.767.463	63.905.297	64.308.261	10.991.400	10.903.704	20.020.074	19.947.311	505.114.995	506.824.509
GDP per capita in 1000:	34,2	35,2	31,5	34,4	16,5	16,3	7,2	7,5	26,6	27,3
Ratio of unemployment:	5,2	5	7,6	6,1	27,5	26,5	7,1	6,8	10,9	10,2
Mean and median income by household type in Euro (source: SILC)	19.545	-	18.694	-	8.377	7.680	2.071	-	15.430	-
Population (%) below national poverty line (less than 60% of median income by household type)	16,1	-	15,9	-	23,1	-	22,4	-	16,6	-
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over; EU SILC survey)	20,2	-	22,1	-	32,6	33,7	38,5	-	-	-
Compensation of employees (% of GDP)	50,8	51	51,1	50,5	32,5	33,4	31,5	31,3	47,9	47,9
Average gross annual earnings in industry and services	42.900 (2011)		38.284 (2011)		-		5.869 (2011)			
Labour costs per hour worked private sector in euro	-	31,8	-	22,2	-	14,4	-	4,8	-	24,4
Immigration total	884.493	1.149.045	526.046	624.000	47.058		153.646		-	-
Net migration rate total:	517.660	676.730	209.000	298.000	-70.036	-	-8.109	-	-	653,1
Immigration of EU citizens	521.509	630.243	201.000	251.000						
Group of citizens with highest immigration rate in (...):	Poland (102.753)	Romania (156.440)	Spain (33.000)	"Romania and Bulgaria" (37.000)						
Immigration for work reasons by EU nationals:	-	791.203	217.000	271.000						
EU nationals in the labour market:	1,1 mio	-	1,6 mio	1,8 mio						
Foreign (EU-nationals) recipients of unemployment benefits:	504.470	529.511	121.28	130.99						

Statement of Authorship

I hereby certify that this Bachelor Thesis has been composed by myself, and describes my own work, unless otherwise acknowledged in the text. All references and verbatim extracts have been quoted, and all sources of information have been specifically acknowledged. It has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree.

Kim Thy Tong

	Germany		United Kingdom		Greece		Romania		EU (28)	
	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014	2013	2014
Population:	80.523.746	80.767.463	63.905.297	64.308.261	10.991.400	10.903.704	20.020.074	19.947.311	505.114.995	506.824.509
GDP per capita in 1000:	34,2	35,2	31,5	34,4	16,5	16,3	7,2	7,5	26,6	27,3
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Population (%) below national poverty line (less than 60% of median income by household type)	16,1	-	15,9	-	23,1	-	22,4	-	16,6	-
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion by broad group of citizenship (population aged 18 and over; EU SILC survey)	20,2	-	22,1	-	32,6	33,7	38,5	-	-	-
Compensation of employees (% of GDP)	50,8	51	51,1	50,5	32,5	33,4	31,5	31,3	47,9	47,9
Average gross annual earnings in industry and services	42.900 (2011)		38.284 (2011)		-		5.869 (2011)		-	-
Labour costs per hour worked private sector in euro	-	31,8	-	22,2	-	14,4	-	4,8	-	24,4
Immigration total	884.493	1.149.045	526.046	624.000	47.058	-	153.646	-	-	-
Net migration rate total:	517.660	676.730	209.000	298.000	-70.036	-	-8.109	-	-	653,1
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	Germany	United Kingdom	Greece	Romania
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GDP per capita in 1000:	Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)	Eurostat: Gross domestic product at market prices (02/03/2015)
Ratio of unemployment:	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)	EuroStat: Unemployment rate, 2003-2014 (18/06/2015)
Mean and median income by household type in Euro (source: SILC):	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)	Eurostat: Mean and median income by household type (source: SILC) (02/07/2015)
Population (%) below national poverty line (less than 60% of median income by household type):	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)	Statista / Eurostat: poverty rate after social transfers in European countries in 2013 (May 2015)
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Compensation of employees (% of GDP):	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)	Eurostat: Compensation of employees (03/02/2015)
Average gross annual earnings in industry and services:	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)	Eurostat: Average gross annual earnings in industry and services, by gender (2011)
Labour costs per hour worked private sector in euro:	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)	Federal Statistical Office Press release no. 160 (04/05/2015)
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Net migration rate total:	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108	EuroStat Newsrelease: STAT/14/108
Immigration of EU citizens:	BAMF: migration monitoring economic migration to Germany Annual Report 2014 (May 2015)	Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (February 2015)		
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