

Public Governance across Borders (BA)
Institut für Politikwissenschaft
Universität Münster
Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences
University of Twente, Enschede

Module 12 (3.4) Bachelor Thesis
Bachelor Circle: Managing the 'Migration Crisis'
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Bachelor Thesis

'Othering' in the News Media: Are Migrants attacking the 'Fortress Europe'?

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Effects of the 2015/2016 European 'Refugee Crisis' on the Image of the Migrant in the German Speaking Print Media

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Date: 29.06.2016

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Abstract

Keywords: Othering, Labeling, Image, Migration, Critical Discourse Analysis

In this paper, the so called 'refugee crisis' of 2015/2016 is portrayed as a new phase of print media discourse on migrants and migration. Through Critical Discourse Analysis the facets of the image of the migrant prevalent in the news media in German speaking Central Europe are analyzed. The topics of threat and of culture continue to be persistent but now stress new points. The most pre-eminent new set of topics are that of control, or rather absence of control. As a solution to the 'crisis', the print media stress the enforcement of national and external EU borders. This presents the migrant as unwanted and an unequal subject that does not belong inside Europe. To fight prejudice that is continuously emphasized through the media and to establish equality and guarantee humanity and freedom of movement, other solutions than borders need to be developed in the discourse.

1. Background - The Print Media Discourse on the 2015/2016 'Refugee Crisis'

"Wir schaffen das, und dort, wo uns etwas im Wege steht, muss es überwunden werden, muss daran gearbeitet werden." – Angela Merkel, 31.08.2015 (Bundesregierung, 2015)

The so called 'migration crisis' in Europe has brought the recent migration to be one of the most if not the most debated topic in the second half of 2015 into 2016. From August to December 2015 the number of people who applied for asylum in German speaking Central Europe doubled compared to the same time span a year earlier (see appendix I. Table 1). Even with a long history of immigration in Europe, the perception of the incoming migrants and refugees¹ as an uncontrollable 'flood' that the region is not able to deal with, seems to be problematic (De Genova et al., 2016). European media seems to focus on the 'burden' Europe has to carry in regard to the 'migration crisis', i.e. putting emphasis on the negative implications for Europe, and leaving aside the much higher impact the current global migration has in many other countries as for example Lebanon, where recently one fifth of the population are refugees from Syria (Böhm, 2015). The media plays an important role on the framing of immigrants as media messages have a wide circulation rate and are the main source of information about current events for many people (Van Dijk, 2000). Therefore, news media is a key factor in forming and transforming the image of migrants. A rhetoric of exclusion has become part of the global discourse on migration (Wodak & Boukala, 2015a). Since in the 1980s right wing populists in Europe have consistently intervened in the discourse on migration, the news media more and more uses the migrant as an antagonistic 'other' opposing the European 'we' (Yılmaz, 2012).

For this paper, two previous phases of the discourse are relevant: Firstly, in the 1990s, Huntington's thesis of a 'clash of civilizations' dominated the discourse, especially the media discourse. Scientifically he was contradicted severely (Binyan, 1993; Çağlar, 2002; Hassner & Huntington, 1997; Metzinger, 2000). Nevertheless, the **media discourse** adapted Huntington's proclamation to a broad extent (Bottici & Challand, 2010). Through constant reference to the fundamental cultural differences proclaimed by Huntington, the Western European media played a significant role on the construction of migrants the 'other', antagonistic culture. Secondly, around 2010, the 'death of multiculturalism' was a new phase of talking about the 'other' in news media (Modood, 2008; Ossewaarde, 2014). Ossewaarde (2014) argues that it had its climax in 2010 when the British Prime Minister Cameron, German chancellor Merkel and Wilders, leader of the Dutch right wing Partij voor de Vrijheid, all put forth the perspective that the Middle East migrant with its distinct Muslim

¹ The categories migrant and refugee are often blurred in media reports (KhosraviNik, 2010), some scholars regard those categories as constructed anyway (Yazgan, Utku, & Sirkeci, 2015). Therefore, the distinction between different groups of migrants will not be made in this paper.

culture could not be an integrated part of the Western European society. They declared the 'experiment of multiculturalism' a failure (Ossewaarde, 2014).

This paper, following Holmes and Castañeda (2016), takes the recent situation in Europe 2015/2016 as a new phase of the media discourse on migrants. It is a new phase, as the attention given to refugees in news media has risen to be the most important news topic since July 2015 (IFEM, 2016a). Additionally, social events can further the relevance attributed to the topic (Hirschauer, 2014). Abrahamian (2003) suggests that since the attacks in New York on the 11th of September 2001, migration and the fear of terrorism are interconnected. Thereby, prejudice and unequal treatment of Muslim migrants continue to be enforced by this ongoing discourse. As Europe is, through attacks in Paris and Brussels during the past year, very sensitive to terrorism (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016), it is important to analyze, how the migrant is portrayed in this new phase. A postcolonial standpoint is taken to address the hegemony in this discourse phase through enacting the "critical practice of deconstruction" to make "agentive equality in the collaborative process of constructing reality and possibility" possible (Kinnvall, 2016, p.163).

Therefore, this paper seeks to detect a change through the previous phases. Due to these recent developments a few scholars have investigated the influence of this crisis within the media discourse on the image of the refugee. These scholars propose that there is an "acute sense of the necessity of rethinking the conceptual and discursive categories that govern borders, migration, and asylum" (De Genova et al., 2016). When politicians keep talking about integration it is interesting in how far the media discourse supports it or works against it by implying 'othering' as proposed by the labeling theory of Zetter (2007). This thesis aims to contribute to the knowledge about practices in the media discourse in order to deconstruct prejudiced knowledge, and contribute to what Holmes and Castañeda state as science's task to "question and seek to disrupt dominant communicable models" (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016, p. 21).

A first step is to analyze the media discourse and describe how the migrant is displayed during the 'migration crisis', so to say to construct the current image of the migrant. The first, descriptive research question examines how the migrant is portrayed in the media discourse context of the 'refugee crisis' in comparison to previous phases:

1. How is the migrant displayed in German speaking print media discourse in Central Europe in the course of the 2015/2016 'refugee crisis' compared to previous phases of 'othering'?

It is analyzed how the 'refugee crisis' impacted the image of the migrant in news media in comparison to other phases of the discourse – 'clash of civilization' as described by Bottici and Challand (2010) and 'multiculturalism is dead' by Ossewaarde (2014). It is important to uncover the images and reflect them critically, as most of the migrants who came during the last months are going to stay and be part of the national and European society (ProAsyl, 2015). To provide equal opportunities for all it is important that no

one faces discrimination due to his or her origin or biographical history. Media discourse analysis can help identify systems of dominating content (Jantzi, 2015) and engage in the deconstruction of images portrayed in the media (KhosraviNik, 2010). Germany, Austria and Switzerland are all countries of destination for migrants, as the countries have solid, strong economies. And since those countries form the core of the German speaking discourse, newspapers from each country were chosen to reconstruct the German speaking Central European media discourse. 108 articles were drawn from the articles conservative broadsheet and tabloid newspapers published in November 2015 and March 2016 about refugees (further explained in 3.3). Those articles are the basis for the analysis of the news media discourse.

In a second step the image displayed in the discourse can then be interpreted in the context of 'othering'. Therefore, a second, interpretative question that situates the study in the broader theoretical context of 'othering' is formulated:

2. How does the image displayed in the news discourse contribute to the 'othering' of migrants?

This question helps analyze mechanisms of 'othering' acting through news media when journalists draw on the images detected through the first question. Strategies of nomination, predication and the use of metaphors will be analyzed to see, how media discourse can contribute to the construction of a seemingly homogenous group of 'others' (Huot, Bobadilla, Bailliard, & Laliberte Rudman, 2015; Wodak & Boukala, 2015a). The words and metaphors used in the news media in the context of the crisis can have an impact on the perception of migrants and can contribute to the exclusion of migrants (De Genova et al., 2016). Whether this applies in the 'migration crisis' discourse will be investigated.

In the following, Critical Discourse Analysis is conducted to answer the research questions about the role of news media discourse on the 'othering' of migrants. Therefore, basic principles of the theory on 'othering' (2.2) and the relevance of media discourse are introduced (2.3). Then the previous discourse is reconstructed to extract images used in the context of the 'clash of civilizations' and the 'multiculturalism is dead' debates (2.4.1.1). Concluding, expected changes are elaborated (2.4.1.2). The selection and collection of newspaper articles that form the basis for the Critical Discourse Analysis are explained in the methodology section (3.). With the means of Critical Discourse Analysis, the current media discourse is analyzed to find out what changes appear in the discourse (4.) and how those changes contribute to the re-construction of the image of the migrant as the 'other' (5.).

2. Theory – ‘Othering’ in Print Media

2.1 Introduction

The following section serves as theoretical background for the analysis. It elaborates on theories that explain mechanisms of ‘othering’ through the use of language. Further the role of news media discourse on the public perception (of migrants) is given. Combining ‘othering’ and ‘media discourse’, previous phases of the discourse on migrants are reconstructed and images used are extracted. Recent publications on ‘migration and discourse’ help construct new expected features of the image of the migrant. These categorizations will then be subject of analysis.

2.2 Concept of ‘Othering’

Theories of ‘othering’ evolved in the postcolonial period of the 1970s and 1980s. ‘Othering’ as a concept was first mentioned and elaborated on by Spivak (Jensen, 2011). She reconstructed how colonial masters in India used formulations of difference to subject the ‘other’. ‘Othering’ is the “symbolic degradation as well as the processes of identity formation related to this degradation” (Jensen, 2011, p. 65). Spivak builds her arguments on Edward Said’s thoughts on Orientalism. Said discloses ways in which the West constructs identities of the orient solely in opposite to itself (Said, 2003). In his work, he regards difference as a social construction rather than a fact, cultural communities are in that sense “imagined communities” (Anderson, 2005). Chakrabarti (2012) describes this logic of distinction as politics of ‘binarism’ inherent in the postcolonial elaboration of the ‘self – other relationship’. In this relationship the own identity is defined through an exclusive moment. So ‘othering’ is a projection of characteristics, that are not defining for the (homogenous) in-group, to the collective of an non-western out-group (Barnett, 2006). This goes hand in hand with Foucault stating, that “relations with others in turn always entails relations with oneself, and vice versa” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28).

One essential, critical point in the concept of ‘othering’ is representation. It refers to limits of self-representations by the out-group while being spoken for or about by for example the mainstream western media (Kumar, 2011). ‘Othering’ is to a certain extent motivated by national identity building. Membership for example in the form of citizenship or nationality has an exclusive character as it defines who belongs to the in-group and accordingly also who is part of the out-group (Wodak & Boukala, 2015a). The conditions can be renegotiated when societal conditions change. (Constructed) differences between groups are perceived as a threat to the homogeneity of the in-group which makes it difficult to find a common ground for negotiating (Mammone, Godin, & Jenkins, 2012). To keep the in-group safe, a hierarchy is established which puts the in-group at a superior position. In recent literature the theories of ‘othering’ are applied to migrants that arrive or might arrive in Europe (Grove & Zwi, 2006; Haynes, Devereux, & Breen, 2006; Wodak & Boukala, 2015a), which are further elaborated in chapter 2.4.1.2.

Labelling theories show that the process of alienation inherent in 'othering' has an impact on the behavior and future prospects of the migrant. Labelling is conceptualized by Zetter (2007, p. 2) as "forming, transforming and politicizing an identity". Although he focusses on the role of institutions on the labeling process this thesis is going to investigate the role of the media as another important public actor. Through the adoption of presented stigmatized images of a group as the self-image, migrants start to "act on the basis of this ascribed identity" (Ortensi, 2015, p. 182). As an example someone who is labelled by society, respectively the media, to be a potential criminal is more likely to indeed join a criminal group (Inankul, 2016; Kubal, 2014). 'Othering' can become a 'self-generating projection' (Barnett, 2006). This emphasizes the impact mass media can have and is practicing through the discourse.

To answer the research question, theories of 'othering' will be connected to articles of the news media discourse. The image of migrants displayed will be tested for examples of 'symbolic degradation', 'identity construction' and 'binarism'.

2.3 Impact of Media Discourse

Generally spoken, mass media functions as main source of information for many citizens, as well as source of "prejudice knowledge" and prejudiced ideology (KhosraviNik, 2010, p. 4). The images displayed in the media are "vital to the public perception of migration and migrants in ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse societies" (Bennett, ter Wal, Lipiński, Fabiszak, & Krzyżanowski, 2013, p. 248), as most nationals have few real contacts with migrants in daily life (Van Dijk, 2000). Through articulating 'us-versus-them' relations, media is involved in the re-articulation of (national) identities. Texts and especially news can be seen as "elements of social events" that lead to societal change in form of new foci of reporting (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8). The media discourse is essential in defining events as social problems and in mediating knowledge about events and perceived problems (Kim, Carvalho, Davis, & Mullins, 2011). Through the domination of European journalists in the news production process in German speaking Central Europe, the media often lack heterogenic visions of society. Instead, one hegemonic understanding of society is promoted (Yılmaz, 2012). In this worldview the migrant is constructed as antagonistic 'other'. Language "gains power by the use people make of it and by the people who have access to language means and public fora" (Baker et al., 2008, p.280). The power of journalists lies in choosing the content of their writing, the words they use and the linguistic means they embed. By doing that, they also determine the limits of the discourse on various topics. When it comes to 'othering' the migrant, a certain image of the migrant is seen as status quo.

Through its impact on the public perceptions of society, media is a strong actor in what Hirschauer (2014) calls 'doing of difference'. Hirschauer states that talking about the 'doing of difference' implies that there is also the possibility to undo difference. He argues that in a social process differences have phases of high social relevance which are caused by situations that attribute high salience to a certain difference. Elements

that lead to a rise of salience of a topic can be of very different kind. 9/11² can be regarded as such an highly relevant incident in the discourse on migration (Abrahamian, 2003) as well as the London bombings 2005 (Ossewaarde, 2014) and the recent attacks in Paris 13/11/2015³ (Bigo et al., 2015; Hillion & Blockmans, 2015; Tausch, 2015) and Brussels 22/03/2016. These events caused and cause peaks in 'doing of difference' and therefore in the discourse on 'othering', as will be explained in 2.4.1. The months witnessing terrorist attacks will be used in this paper for the choice of the time frame.

Following Fairclough (2003) the articles under study will be seen as elements of the social event 'migration crisis' and analyzed as such. It will be analyzed if and how news media represent a homogeneous, hegemonic vision of society. To see how 'othering' is working through 'media discourse', the two elements are brought together in the next part of this chapter.

2.4 Elements of 'Othering' in the Media

To uncover 'othering' in the media discourse different levels of analysis should be taken into account as far as possible. Two relevant levels of discourse are the following: content, discursive and linguistic means (Wodak & Boukala, 2015a). As this paper aims to re-construct the image of the migrant in the current news discourse, the focus will be on the content of the media discourse as the content is expected to reveal a change in the image. Strategies and linguistic means will be used as a way to understand how the content is expressed. Supportive evidence for 'othering' is expected to be found on the two levels of analysis. In the following, categories and ideas about what is said in the discourse (content) and how it is said (rhetoric and linguistic strategies) are presented.

2.4.1 Content – Images of the Migrant

In the following, aspects of the discourse on the migrant as the 'other' are elaborated.

2.4.1.1 Established Categories: Reconstruction of the Discourse of 'Othering'

Two phases of the debate on 'othering' and their reflections in the media are seen as central to understand the image which is displayed in the current discourse. First the debate around Huntington's thesis of a 'clash of civilizations' in the late 1990s and second the 'multiculturalism is dead'-discourse in the 2000s. The 'migration crisis' as a third phase will be established in the analysis. It is of specific interest which role the media played and plays on (re)producing the migrant as the 'other' and how this is connected to a change of image of the 'other'.

² An airplane crashed the twin towers in New York on the 11th of September 2001, 2977 people died (Museum, 2016).

³ 13th of November 2015: eight attacks in Paris during one evening, 130 people died

22nd or March 2016: three bombings in Brussels, 35 people died

In Central Europe of the 1960s and 1970s the image of the migrant was a rather functionalistic one that relied on the usefulness of the guest worker (German: Gastarbeiter) as part of the workforce (Fassmann, Münz, & Seifert, 1997). At this time the self-conception of the state and the nation was very much tied to the constitution. It was a rather civic approach that was used to define who belongs to the nation and that left space for new members (Suvarierol, 2012). Through state schools and education a somewhat homogenous society was constructed (Suvarierol, 2012). The topic of 'othering' the migrant gained ground in the 1980s when right wing populists' critique of multiculturalism was widely adapted in the media (Geden, 2006; Ossewaarde, 2014; Yilmaz, 2012). This led to a change of image of the migrant to a first and foremost negative image contrasting the Western self (Kamenova, 2014). This results in the construction of a homogeneous (national) in-group opposing the homogeneous (migrant) out-group (Rizvi, 2011).

Most attention in the late 1990s and early 2000s was given to Samuel Huntington when he proclaimed the 'clash of civilizations'. He argues that the people of the world can be categorized into eight different civilizations. If those civilizations interact with each other there is a potential for conflict (Huntington, 1997, p. 207). He claims that conflicts occur particularly between Muslims and Non-Muslims. He constructs the relation between Christianity and Islam to be violent and opposing "for the past fourteen hundred centuries" (Huntington, 1997, p.212). His argument of the opposing civilizations was rapidly and vehemently contested by other scholars (Binyan, 1993; Çağlar, 2002; Hassner & Huntington, 1997; Metzinger, 2000). Although Huntington's thesis is not considered mainstream in the scientific debate, the media discourse has very much accepted it as normality and status quo. Especially after the attacks in New York on 11th of September 2001 his thesis was reinforced by the media (Abrahamian, 2003; Jackson, 2007; Kellner, 2004) who framed the attack by locating them in the context of "Islam, of cultural conflicts, and of Western civilization threatened by the Other" (Abrahamian, 2003, p. 531). Bottici and Challand (2010) and Rizvi (2011) investigate why Huntington's thesis was given much relevance in the media debate. Bottici and Challand (2010) argue that the assumption of opposing, 'clashing' civilizations has become a political myth. This myth is not necessarily a result of existing differences but rather a "self-fulfilling prophecy" (Bottici & Challand, 2010, p. 2). They regard the 'clash of civilizations' to be part of what Edward Said calls Orientalism (Said, 1979). So to speak the Western discourse on 'the Arab' which is based on biased observation of western and misses interaction with the people under study. It is used as a simplification of the world that facilitates orientation and self-positioning. Haynes et al. (2006) analyzed Ireland's news media discourse on migrants in 2002. As a result, they come up with the following frames: The Illegitimacy of Asylum Seekers and Seeking, Threat to National or Local Integrity, The 'Other' as Contaminant, Asylum Seekers as a Criminal Element, Asylum Seekers as an Economic Threat.

The discourse on 'othering' reached a new peak when news media rearticulated statements of heads of government who referred to the '**death of multiculturalism**' in the aftermath of the London bombings 2005 (Mammone et al., 2012; Ossewaarde, 2014). By 2010 the discourse reached a populist climax when key

spokespersons referred to cultural backwardness, imperialism and totalitarianism of the culture of the migrant (Ossewaarde, 2014). When multiculturalism was declared dead and the experiment of integration declared a failure, the widely accepted image of the migrant was that of a disruptive element, that does not integrate in society. Migrants were regarded as cultural 'other' who should adapt to the cultural mainstream (German: Leitkultur) to integrate (Wodak & Boukala, 2015b). Nationalism served to protect the existing nation of mostly natives and was not part of a nation building process anymore.

In the discourse elaborated so far, four categories are attributed to the group of migrants – leading to their perception as an out-group. To some point those categorizations might still be found in the current discourse, as the current discourse stands, despite changes, in the tradition of discourse about migrants: Those categories include, from the early guest worker phase, the idea of the migrant as **economically useful 'other'**. The 'clash of civilizations'-debate gave relevance to the migrant as **cultural 'other'**, having strange values and a different religion (Haynes et al., 2006; Lutz, 1991; Razack, 2004). The image of the migrant as **threatening 'other'** was especially used after 9/11 in relation to public security (Bigo, 2002; Haynes et al., 2006). In the context of the 'multiculturalism is dead' discourse the cultural 'other' was enforced and replenished by the image of the migrant as **criminal 'other'** (Baldacchino & Sammut, 2015; Shoshan, 2008).

2.4.1.2 New Categories: Expected Changes of the Image of Migrants in times of the 'Refugee Crisis'

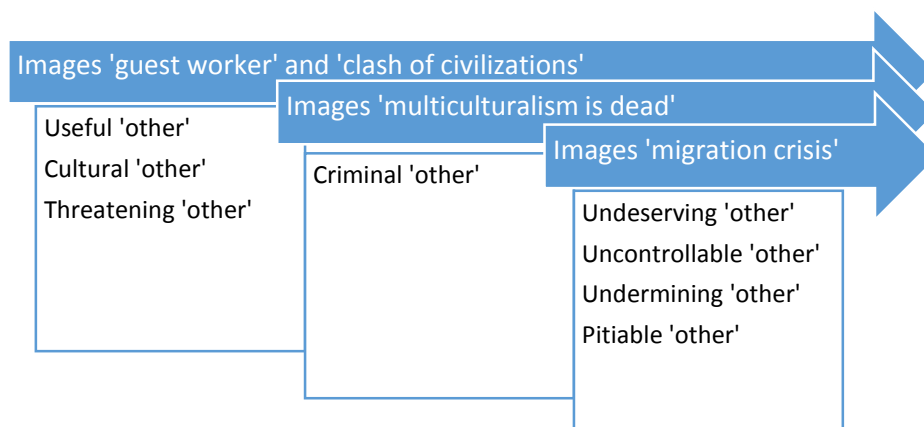
For the analysis of the content of the discourse of 'othering', Reisigl and Wodak (2009) elaborated the concept of topoi as a tool that can be applied to analyze the content of texts. KhosraviNik (2010) uses their work when taking the following content-based topoi as basis for his analysis: topos of advantage/usefulness, topos of danger/threat, topos of burdening/weighting down, topos of law/right, topos of culture, topos of abuse, and topos of authority (KhosraviNik, 2010, p. 4). Wodak and Boukala (2015a, p. 96) regard the following themes as "content related topoi in discriminatory discourses on migration" at the moment: topos of advantage or usefulness, topos of uselessness or disadvantage, topos of threat or topos of danger, topos of humanitarianism, topos of burden or weighing down, topos of finance, topos of reality, topos of numbers. According to the reconstruction of the previous discourse, the following topoi can be seen as deeply rooted in the previous discourse: topos of danger/threat, topos of law/right, topos of culture, topos of usefulness.

The rhetoric of crisis that dominates the current discourse across Europe is a clear sign for a new phase of the discourse. It is not driven by a single event but continues since April 2015 when the 'refugee crisis' was first the most mentioned news item in German (television) news (IFEM, 2016a). It remained the number one news item apart from June 2015 (Greek debt crisis) and November 2015 (attacks in Paris). This rhetoric of a new crisis implies a crisis of 'European values' and the production of crisis through the use of numbers (De Genova et al., 2016). A discussion about the (un)deservingness of migrants and refugees is brought up in these times, when the financial means seem to become short (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). In line with that, the topoi recently proposed by Wodak and Boukala (2015a) are expected to play a strong role on the

‘migration crisis’ discourse: topos of numbers, topos of burden, topos of uselessness or disadvantage, topos of abuse, topos of finance; topos of humanitarianism; topos of reality.

Therefore, in addition to the four characteristics in 2.4.1.1, new attributes in the context of the ‘refugee crisis’ are expected to be the following. The migrant as **uncontrollable ‘other’** (topos of numbers, topos of finance, topos of burden) is expected to be a dominant motive (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016, p.16). This in turn might be used to depict migrants as **undermining ‘other’** (topos of disadvantage) acting out of prevailing regulations. A certain skepticism toward the deservingness of refugees will be captured with the image of the migrant as **undeserving ‘other’** (topos of uselessness, topos of abuse). (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). A rather emphatic image is that of the migrant as **pitiable ‘other’** (topos of humanitarianism; topos of reality), referring to the flight experience of refugees who are the dominant group of migrant in 2015/2016.

From the reconstruction of the former phases and the recent developments, the following overview of categories expected to be found in the discourse, follows:



2.4.2 Discursive and Linguistic Strategies

The discursive strategies relevant in the discourse on migration when investigating the image of the migrant which is displayed are nomination and predication (KhosraviNik, 2010; Wodak & Boukala, 2015a). Nomination is the “discursive construction of social actors” which means that it has the power to define the social role attributed to a social group, as in this case the migrants/refugees (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 95). The words that are used to name the (group of) migrants are very powerful. Each term evokes associations. Nomination of a group also determines the membership of the in- and out-group. The migrants are represented in the discourse by journalists choosing a (collective) term when talking about them. Investing predication strategies the attributes ascribed to the group of migrants can become clearer. It helps analyze the “discursive qualification of social actors” that happens through the discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 95).

The analysis of these strategies might help display pictures that are not explicitly stated. As 'Othering' can happen indirectly and implicitly, focusing on these strategies can help the analysis to go deeper than the obvious surface of the text.

When it comes to the use of linguistic means, metaphors play a relevant role. They create analogies to other situations and trigger the imagination of the reader. Again, statements might not be made explicitly but can hide behind metaphors (Van Dijk, 2000). Metaphors are an important means of subtle messages. Therefore, metaphors in the articles will be coded and analyzed according to their relation to 'othering'.

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this section introduced 'othering' as a key element of the media discourse about migration. It defines the group of migrants as intrinsically different from a homogenous self of which the reader is a part. These images and strategies can, as they are elements of a discourse that (re)produces hierarchies, be deconstructed by qualitative analysis of discourse fragments. The choice of Critical Discourse Analysis as a research program and the mechanism of data selection are subject of chapter three – methodology.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In the following, Critical Discourse Analysis and its relevance for this thesis is introduced. As a second step, the choice of German speaking Central European news media as data source and the time frame is justified. Then, the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis will be used to operationalize the elements of the theory elaborated in chapter two.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a useful tool to uncover latent hierarchies. But it is not only regarded as a tool but also partly as a *theoretical concept* of critique and in-depth analysis of presuppositions in the media discourse (Baker et al., 2008). It serves to answer the research question about how media coverage during the ‘migration crisis’ displays images of the migrant as well as the relation of that images to ‘othering’ of migrants. Critical Discourse Analysis does not only take the words of a text into account but tries to reveal relations within the text and relations between the text and the setting in which the text was produced (Wodak & Meyer, 2015), which are in this thesis the ‘migration crisis’ and related events and societal developments. Discourse is seen as a process of ‘meaning making’ that attributes certain characteristics to – in this case – migrants (Fairclough, 2003). This study can only analyze the production of discourse. For a holistic picture, one would also have to include the study of the reception of discourse which stands between the text and the societal impact it may have (Fairclough, 2003).

There is a variety of methods and approaches in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (elaborated in Wodak and Meyer (2015)). To come up with the strategies that are used in the current media discourse and to see how it contributes to the ‘othering’ of migrants, methods of analysis will be borrowed from the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) by Reisigl and Wodak (2009). It is regarded useful to analyze discourses about ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ which basically is what ‘othering’ is all about (Wodak & Boukala, 2015a, p. 93). This study cannot analyze the total contextual and historical relations of recent media texts in depth but it can contribute to the understanding of logics implied in the media when it comes to the depiction of migrants as out-group.

The DHA is enacted in several recent studies that analyze discourse on migration and ‘othering’ (Richardson & Colombo, 2013; Wodak & Boukala, 2015a). The two levels of analysis will be parallel to the theoretic considerations: content – what is said - and discursive and linguistic strategies – how it is said.

3.3 Case Selection: Setting and Time

The focus of the study is German speaking Central Europe which encompasses Austria, Germany and Switzerland. The three countries are supposed to have a common regional pattern of depicting the 'migration crisis' due to the common use of the German language (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). As the national newspapers all publish in German the discourse analysis is facilitated as linguistic figures, as for example metaphors, do not need to be translated. Additionally, the language skills available for interpretation especially when it comes to subtle allusions are highest in the German language as it is the researcher's mother tongue.

Especially Germany and Austria are key actors of the 'migration crisis' as they are the countries of destination of the so called 'Balkan route' (Kallius, Monterescu, & Rajara, 2016). All three countries registered a sharp rise in numbers of applications for asylum in 2015 compared to 2014 (see appendix I. Table 1). It is important to shed light on this region's discourse as most of the migrants who came in the last months are going to stay. In Germany for example half of the refugees have a chance to be recognized as in need of protection and be granted the right to stay (ProAsyl, 2015). Austria and Switzerland face similar situations. This means that the societies in the affected countries will be more and more societies that have to deal with integration issues as they are shaped by immigration. To provide equal opportunities for all (future) citizens it is important that no one faces discrimination due to his or her origin or biographical history. Media discourse analysis can help identify systems of domination (Jantzi, 2015) and engage in the deconstruction of images portrayed in the media (KhosraviNik, 2010). Due to this similarities, the discourse in the three countries will be examined as one discourse. The change of the image that can be attributed to the 'migration crisis' is of more interest than national differences.

3.4 Choice of Data: Newspapers and Articles

The data which provide the basis for the discourse analysis of this paper are articles of popular newspapers. Therefore, for each respective country a conservative broadsheet and a tabloid daily are chosen. The different types of newspapers are chosen to paint a picture of the discourse that includes arguments in the sense of the elite, represented in the conservative broadsheet (Richardson, 2004), and rather populist arguments which are associated with tabloids (Conboy, 2006). For the tabloids the national newspaper with the highest circulation was chosen. The broadsheets with the highest circulation rates differed in their editorial policy (Süddeutsche Zeitung rather liberal, NZZ rather conservative). It was then decided to focus on conservative newspapers as they are expected to practice the mechanisms of out-group distinction more. Conservatives usually stress the maintenance of traditions. Migration represents the addition of new elements to a society, which is seen skeptical by conservatives (Van Dijk, 2015). Representing a complete picture of the discourse including different political leanings goes beyond the scope of this paper.

Therefore, the newspapers which are referred to are the following:

[Intext Table A: Overview of selected newspapers]

Country	Broadsheet	Tabloid
Austria	Die Presse	Kronenzeitung
Germany	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	Bild
Switzerland	Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)	Blick

The months of November 2015 and March 2016 were chosen due to two reasons. Firstly, in both months, the ‘refugee crisis’ contributed a lot to the news content. The IFEM states the minutes of TV news devoted to a certain topic per month – and in their overview the ‘refugee crisis’ is part of the top two topics in both months. In November the terror attacks in Paris were most mentioned, followed by the ‘refugee crisis’ (IFEM, 2015). In March, the ‘refugee crisis’ in in the first place followed by the attacks in Brussels (IFEM, 2016b). Secondly, the time frame was chosen as both months witnessed terrorist attacks in European capitals⁴ which are events with high social relevance and therefore important moments for the discourse on migration as the discourses about migration and terror are entangled (Hirschauer, 2014).

The database WISO (Hochschuldatenbank, 2016) was used to preselect articles of Bild, NZZ, Blick, Die Presse and Kronenzeitung. The articles of the FAZ were selected via the extended online archive of the FAZ (F.A.Z., 2016). Sunday editions of the respective papers are not part of the sample as they have different editorial departments than the weekday papers.

As this thesis is written in the context of the ‘migration crisis’, which is referred to as ‘refugee crisis’ in the German speaking news reporting, the article selection takes that context into account. The first selection criterion was that the headline or the teaser contain the word refugee (‘Flüchtling’). The word ‘migrant’ was considered but could not deliver enough newspaper articles for the analysis. To make sure, that all variants of the word refugee are included, the archive was searched using the term *flüchtling* in heading and lead sentence only (search option: Nur im Titelbereich suchen). This first search delivered, as expected, a high amount of articles – 289 in total (see appendix I. Table 2).

⁴ 13th of November 2015: eight attacks in Paris during one evening, 130 people killed
22nd or March 2016: three bombings in Brussels, 35 people killed

This selection was reduced by excluding articles shorter than 200 words as they might not be as helpful to find elaborated images but rather short news topics, which could be analyzed in another paper. 1000 words were set as maximum length to avoid an unmanageable amount of data. It is assumed that 200 to 1000 words are enough to elaborate on a topic. Parallel, the content of the articles was taken into account. Articles whose heading and lead sentence focus was on reporting about migrants/refugees, their situation, their actions as well as thoughts and impressions of the nationals about migrants/refugees were chosen. Therefore, articles that focused on party politics, inter-European differences, countries that are not part of Central Europe, the EU-Turkey deal, doublets and reader's letters were excluded. An overview of the 150 preselected articles is found in the appendix (see appendix II. List of articles).

After this preselection, the content of the articles was the decisive point of selection. A second round of selection excluded articles about the European attempt to resettle, articles about decisions of countries that are not part of the countries under study, EU summits, institutional statements, one of two articles about the same topic (e.g. What can the military do?), articles focusing integration strategies and administrative topics (e.g. provision of German classes). The final selection of articles consists of 108 press articles (see appendix I. Table 4 and appendix II. List of articles).

3.5 Operationalization

The next step is to extract the relevant information from the articles. The dominant categories in the media discourse on migrants that were elaborated in the theory section are now transformed into a tool to extract information of texts – a coding scheme (see appendix III). This tool is developed to help uncover the images of migrants displayed in the selected newspaper articles. The analysis is done with the help of the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti.

The coding scheme is build up on the two pillars, which were introduced in chapter two: content and discursive and linguistic means. This levels of analysis are each separated into the eight different concepts that were introduced in the end of chapter two –as for example the cultural 'other'. Those concepts are described by two to three codes – e.g. religion and strange behavior. To make comprehensible why certain fragments of the texts were attributed the very codes, a list of keywords is given in the coding scheme (see appendix III). This list of keywords is not exclusive. It rather illustrates the idea of the various codes. Those keywords do not only stand for themselves but can embrace a set of synonyms. It would end up in a list way too long to list them all. To clarify what is meant with synonyms, an example from the code 'religion' is given: when referring to a religious person, articles use different words: muslimisch, Muslim, Muslima, islamisch, islamistisch. In the keywords section in the coding scheme these words are 'summarized' by muslimisch.

After analyzing the content of the articles another level of the texts will be displayed through Critical Discourse Analysis. Therefore, the various words used when talking about migrants and refugees are coded,

as well as metaphors used. It is difficult to provide keywords for those concepts, as they are rather open categories inviting new insights.

3.6 Conclusion

Due to the relevance of German speaking Central Europe in the context of the 'refugee crisis' the following newspapers were chosen: Bild, FAZ, Blick, NZZ, Kronen, Die Presse. Articles from November 2015 and March 2016 were chosen due to their relevance in the course of the crisis. Through the coding scheme, which is based on the theoretical considerations in chapter two, clear guidelines for the coding of the articles are established (see appendix III). The coded documents (see extra document: table of quotations) now form the basis for the analysis and display the images prevailing in the discourse.

4. Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The coded data delivers a vast amount of output. This section is used to structure the results and to relate them to the theory of ‘othering’ established in chapter two. The results from the two strands of analysis (content, discursive linguistic means) will be presented. First the established images are checked for their continuous validity and then new images are explored; so it is described *what* is written in the discourse. Therefore, for each category, general findings are presented, illustrated and related to ‘othering’. Then, the language used in the discourse is given more attention when presenting *how* the content is formulated. The nominational and predication strategies, as well as metaphors and their function in the context of ‘othering’ are brought forward. The analysis follows the order of the coding scheme and the table of coded quotations (see extra document: table of quotations), and is also based on an overview of the distribution of codes across articles (see appendix I. Tables 5, 6).

4.2 Reference to Established Categories in the Current Discourse

In the current discourse in German speaking Central Europe (the 108 articles under study) the images that evolved in the ‘clash of civilizations’- and the ‘multiculturalism is dead’-debate are still relevant. It is noticeable that those categories are continuously used when talking about migrants but that mostly a certain new focus around one topic is evident. For the four categories that are rooted in previous phases of the discourse examples are given which are interpreted in the context of ‘othering’.

The image of the migrant as **criminal ‘other’** is still enforced. Mentioning of criminal migrants is still very much used in the discourse. Petty crime, e.g. theft (68, 83, 89, 142)⁵, false documents (64, 77, 79, 121, 133, 142), drugs (1, 121), as well as serious crime as violent attacks (101,138) are mentioned. Articles mention the nationality of the perpetrator, suggesting that it is relevant for the story. In five cases, it is pointed out, that the presented story is only a rumor or suspicion (37, 83, 87, 133, 137) as for example in article 83: “Es geht um angebliche Plünderungen (jeder Supermarktnamen wurde bereits genannt, kein einziger Vorfall bestätigt)”. It follows that no matter if a migrant actually committed a crime, the connection between being migrant and being criminal is established in recent articles.

A new, additional component of the topos of criminality is the reference to illegal border crossing. This development is evolving a narrative of ‘the border’ as a central means of solving the crisis and the problems surrounding recent migration into Europe. 14 articles accentuate the illegal aspect of migration of refugees. Different aspects are put forward to illustrate the illegality of the migrants’ border crossing. Some articles

⁵ In brackets the numbers of the articles, which provide evidence for the analysis, are given (see appendix II. List of articles for the corresponding title/newspaper/date of the articles).

talk about migrants circumventing or even destroying the border fence (106, 132, 139) by which they are helped by activists and leftist movements. Victor Orbán, who is cited in the news media, used that incident to construct conspiracy theories about leftist elites using migrants to undermine European values (29). By this he adds the 'leftist elite' to the out-group that threatens the national population. Additionally, the refugees' dependence on human traffickers is described, who assist the migrants in crossing the borders if the migrants are able to pay for the service (123, 149). This enforces the perception of migrants as people who are unable to act independently, as they depend on others (e.g. human traffickers), even in the process of migration.

Although, according to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its protocol, every persecuted person has a right to asylum, crossing of borders is generally described as an illegal act in the articles. As there are no 'legal' ways anymore to come for example from Syria to Germany, migration itself is criminalized as the majority of the people that arrived in Austria, Germany or Switzerland in the last year crossed the border 'illegally' (Frontex, 2016). According to the news media, the countries facing an external EU border are not able to control the 'onslaught' (Ansturm/Zustrom) of immigrants into the EU (75, 103). As a direct consequence, countries that are located in the midst of the Schengen area, and therefore did not have regular controls on the borders to other Schengen members since 1985, start to reinforce their own national borders (68, 70, 101). By closing the borders, the separation between those who are inside and those who are outside is enforced. Migrants are literally the out-group. The perception that this out-group is a danger to the in-group is enforced by mentioning the use of police or military force as necessary reaction and as something that needs to be improved (109). This leads to the idea of a war, in which Europe is attacked by a criminal, malicious 'other'. From this follows that in the discourse, the in-group ('Europe') constructs itself as morally superior to the 'criminal' migrants, which can be seen as a 'symbolic degradation' in the sense of Spivak (Jensen, 2011).

A striking insight in the context of culture is the perceived connection between the refugees' (Arabic) culture and the perceived abnormal sexual behavior and oppressing treatment of women. This image is created as if there was a European counter figure that is free from sexism, respects women in all instances and is not involved in sexual abuse. This feature of the **topos of culture** is described as strange, abnormal and uncommon and is strongly connected to Islam. The role of women in Muslim culture is criticized and reference to the headscarf is made in three articles (1, 13, 27). Patriarchy suppressing the women is associated with the Arab or Muslim background of the men. In the discourse, the importance of equal treatment of male and female persons in different societal positions in the European culture is emphasized (141, 142, 146) and contrasted with the hijab. "[J]unge Frauen bei der beruflichen Weiterbildung, alle vor Bildschirmen und alle mit verhülltem Haar. Ein Ausdruck religiöser Radikalisierung?" (46). This citation shows that the mere presence of religious symbols evokes the association of a cultural 'other', that is potentially radical.

To stress the 'incompatible cultural behaviors', the migrants' culture is contrasted in the discourse with the 'European' culture, for example when talking about the interaction of men and women (142). A fear of the migrant as threat to identity is constructed by stressing the importance and essentiality of the own (European) values. The code 'threat to identity' co-occurs noticeably often with the 'change in values' code (part of undermining 'other'). This is a manifestation of a fear of cultural change in parts of the European society. Behavioral courses and the importance of adapting 'European values' to successfully integrate are stressed, parallel to what Wodak and Boukala (2015b) revealed about the importance of knowing the national language. Learning about the 'European values' has become a condition of membership (of nationality) recently. One article (37) about "Sex-Kurse für Flüchtlinge" puts forward that: „Es ist eine gute Idee, dass man jungen Männern Elementares über unsere Kultur vermittelt“. The author continues to argue that "[v]iele Flüchtlinge kommen aus Ländern mit einem anderen Frauenbild. Kurse sind da hilfreich und könnten auch bei uns nicht schaden". "Wertekurse, Schulungen für den Umgang mit Frauen" are regarded as a means to ease integration (141). These citations show, that according to the discourse, migrants should adapt to the construct of one European monoculture which indirectly leads to an oppression of the migrants' original culture. It is very interesting that on the one hand, the rights and equal treatment of women are stressed but on the other hand all namely mentionings of migrants except two (Ysra in article 91 and Hala in article 105) are male. All full names mentioned refer to male refugees. Female migrants are seldom mentioned at all and if so then in connection with children. The value courses also address, at least in the reporting, mainly men.

These examples show that the media reproduces what Said called 'Orientalism'. The German/Austrian/Swiss culture is subsumed and idealized (tolerance, emancipation of women) under the construct of 'European values'. The idea behind these values is that they are exclusive for Europe and only followed in Europe and by Europeans. Other values are not accepted. This connects the current debate with the 'death of multiculturalism' discourse, when the perception was that populations of arriving migrant segregated themselves ("sich abschotten") and constituted "Parallelgesellschaften", which live under other rules and moral codes and "lehnen [sie] die Mehrheitsgesellschaft ab" (64). Through a focus on the migrants' inability to act in a 'civilized' (=European) way, the migrants' values get connected with the **topos of criminality**. The examples given in the articles describe sexual assaults and rape of (European) women by migrants. „In Kursen klärt Norwegen seine Asylsuchenden über die westliche Sexualmoral auf und will damit Vergewaltigungen vorbeugen.“ (37). While the cultural aspect in the previous debates is rather a separating aspect that leads to a split in society (Ossewaarde, 2014) the critique is now, and that is new, much more fundamental as the migrants' culture is constructed as **inherently destructive**. The group of migrants is therefore clearly separated from the national identity and European values. The values of the in-group are described as values that should be held up and taught to others, especially as the European values are described to be threatened by the destructive culture of migrants.

This point is taken up by the **topos of threat** which is, as in the aftermath of the 11th September 2001, dominating the discourse on migration recently. The threat to security is the most present, 38 articles mention it, followed by the fear of competition for jobs and houses (25 articles) and the fear of losing the own identity (18 articles).

It is striking, that terror is the main focus when it comes to threat. Terror had a revival in Western and Central Europe due to the terror attacks in November 2015 in Paris (Bigo et al., 2015; Hillion & Blockmans, 2015; Tausch, 2015) and March 2016 in Brussels. In that relation a clear connection between refugees and terror is established by reporting about two terrorists of the Paris attacks, who according to the discourse (79, 80, 84), entered European ground in disguise among the refugees – “Bei der Leiche eines Terroristen fand man einen syrischen Pass. Dessen Inhaber haben Behörden in Griechenland, Serbien und Kroatien registriert.” (79). It is not explicitly stated that the person was the owner of the passport, but the assumption is presented as a fact. In addition to that, the presence of war criminals from Syria among the refugees is stated (80, 148). To illustrate the danger that is implicit in the nature of the migrant nowadays an explicit rhetoric of war is used. In the course of that, migrants are described as war refugees and as men with war experience contrasted by the innocent police. “Aber es kommen Menschen aus Kriegsgebieten und mit Kriegserfahrung. Männer, für die nicht nur der Anblick, sondern womöglich auch der Umgang mit einer Kalaschnikow eher alltäglich ist - im Vergleich etwa mit den Erfahrungen eines deutschen Streifenpolizisten.” (16). This citation is a typical example of ‘binarism’ as voiced by Chakrabarti (2012). The experience of war many refugees had to witness is transferred to be an aspect of their culture. This also contributes to the contrasting image of the rude male refugee versus the educated female European (146). This shows, how the European self-definition uses the migrants as antagonistic counterpart onto which negative images are inscribed.

Religious connotations are brought up in the context of terror/threat to public security in nine articles. That reduces the religious part of the migrants’ culture to absurdity. It is interesting, that the migrants’ religion is no longer perceived as a legitimate practice but as a threat to the West. This is especially furthered by references to the so called ‘Islamic State’. This is a new context of the discourse, as the ‘Islamic State’ evolved in 2014 and is one of the causes of the ‘refugee crisis’ as many people flee from the war zones and the suppression. One article (9) describes the logic of the IS as a religiously arguing actor. To attribute the ideology of the ‘Islamic State’ to the Muslim religion can, following Dagli (2015), be seen as a harsh generalization as the ‘Islamic State’ perverts Muslim principles. This can be interpreted in the light of representation. Through the mere representation of Islam in connection with terror, the Islam is not appropriately represented and therefore the displayed image can be misleading, especially for those people who have no direct interaction with migrants.

A quite paradoxical element of the discourse about migration is the discourse fragment on migrants and their relation to the labor market. First, there is reference to the **topos of usefulness** of migrants, which was most

present in the period of the guest workers. They were then needed to build up the economy of the post-war countries. Now a similar argument is made. In the argumentation of the articles, migrants are useful in regard to their contribution to the economic growth (55, 60, 73, 85, 150). They are, as the guest workers, described to do simple, unqualified work that is not sought by national citizens as for example cleaning (33, 49, 60) or working in factories (150). Often, the educated refugee - 'the Syrian medical doctor' (48, 49, 64) - is stressed to be an exceptional case (49, 64). By that, the group of migrants is portrayed as generally uneducated in difference to the educated national population. Economists argue that migrants will contribute to the economic growth by joining the workforce and acting as consumers and tax payers (98). Several articles also use the cost-benefit logic when talking about migrants' contribution (73). Mostly, the migrants' arrival is perceived as a heavy financial burden that can be compensated by their contribution later. This is a very functionalistic approach which dehumanizes the migrants. They are not persons with human dignity as European citizens but are valued according to their contribution. The topos of economic usefulness is contrasted by the refusal and fear of 'Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge' (economic migrants) from so called safe countries of origin⁶ who are felt to **compete** with the nationals for jobs and social security benefits. Refugees from war countries are not seen as economic migrants, but still as financial burden. From the observations about the contradiction between 'usefulness' and 'competition' follows that the logic of 'othering' the migrants is not based on facts or knowledge but, as KhosraviNik (2010) put it, prejudice knowledge.

It is interesting to see, that the motives which were established in previous phases, 'clash of civilizations' and 'multiculturalism is dead', (criminal, cultural, threatening, useful 'other') of the discourse still play their role. Even more interesting is that, new aspects of old topics are given a lot of attention. In the following section, images which are not rooted in the former debates are explained.

4.3 New Images in the Media

The new images that were expected to be found, could all be verified in the articles under study. Most interesting is the focus on the number of refugees which appears in 65 articles. Through the focus on numbers instead of persons, a de-individualization happens. That contrasts the 'European individualist' with the 'refugee collective'. In the following the new aspects of 'othering' are analyzed.

The image of **the undeserving 'other'** enforces the paradox of the topos of usefulness. It is new, that there is an emphasis in discourse on the idea that border controls are meant to separate the deserving from the undeserving (**topos of abuse** as in Wodak and Boukala (2015a)). The argument is that the registration is meant to prevent abuse of the social system and abuse of the refugee status. "Allerdings gelten Zugangssperren mittlerweile als unverzichtbar, um die Flüchtlinge registrieren zu können beziehungsweise in Migranten mit möglichem Asylstatus (Kriegsflüchtlinge) und ohne Anspruch auf Asyl

⁶ This means, that the authorities in Europe assume that the asylum seekers were not persecuted in their home country, meaning that they will not be granted asylum in a country of the European Union.

(„Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge“) unterscheiden zu können.“ (70). To emphasize this, four articles (27, 75, 101, 138) talk about deportation of those who are not granted asylum and those who act criminally. “Sollten unter den Schlägern Asylbewerber gewesen sein, sagte Michael Häupl (SPÖ), "dann sollten sie rausgeworfen werden". Dann hätten sie ihr Asylrecht verwirkt.“ (101). This citation suggests that the right to asylum, which is a human right, is something one could forfeit. The group of migrants is constructed as an out-group which is not entitled to the fundamental rights. Connecting to this withdrawal of the right to asylum, the rejection of ‘economic refugees’ who come from so called safe countries of origin enforces the same image of an undeserving ‘other’ (98, 103). Even those migrants who have the right to stay are mainly perceived as a burden to the social system (topos of burden, topos of finance) as their unemployment rate is above national average (49, 117). It is argued that due to a comparably high basic support the incentive to work disappears (48). The discourse puts into the readers mind the idea that accepting refugees is a matter of Western states’ kindness enforcing the dependency of migrants. But it actually is an obligation and responsibility by international law (e.g. 1951 Refugee Convention). According to the Dublin agreement, refugees have to seek asylum and stay in the country where they first entered the EU. The freedom of movement, which is a central ‘European value’ does not apply for refugees: “Es könne nicht sein, dass sich Flüchtlinge aussuchten, wo in der EU sie Asyl beantragten, sagte Bundeskanzlerin Merkel kürzlich.“ (103) The tenor is that refugees are heading for the economically strong central European countries (38), which include the countries under study (53). Even if they have to go underground (133), they will go to a place where they want to stay (96).

From these observations follows that the media apply double standards. One for the in-group, one for the out-group. The unemployment of refugees is for example perceived as a heavier burden than the unemployment of national citizens. This emphasizes the hegemony of the European society as Yilmaz (2012) called it.

Another new pattern in the discourse is the motive of an unmanageable ‘crowd’ of refugees leading to the perception of migrants and the migrant as an uncontrollable ‘other’. Different arguments contribute to that ‘**uncontrollability**’ of the situation. The migrants are held responsible for that situation instead of holding the state responsible for its failing infrastructure. First and foremost, the idea of uncontrollability is very obviously created by the use of the topos of numbers when referring to immigrants (observed in 65 articles). Numbers make it difficult to develop an insight, as they are usually not given in a context of numbers which would make an estimation of their relevance possible. By leaving out this context, the numbers are not helping to deal with the situation but create panic and fear of an anonymous group of migrants. All in all, 64 out of the 108 articles use numbers to illustrate the situation. From specific numbers about 100 up to three million people, all dimensions are mentioned. This is due to the frame of reference. Talking about a village, 130 refugees are perceived as a high number, that is difficult to deal with regardless of the actual size of the village (110). But when talking about a country or even the whole European Union, numbers rise up to more than 1 million and even up to three million when talking about expected migration (64, 85). That seems much,

but one article (88) relativizes the high numbers saying that “der Größenordnung nach ist der Flüchtlingsansturm für die 510-Millionen-Menschen-Union eine bewältigbare Herausforderung“. Other articles stress the rise in numbers of people by the use of words like “noch mehr” (4, 38, 68, 106, 123), “zahlreich/große Zahl” (31, 53, 92), and vague counting words like dozens, hundreds (4, 31, 132, 144) and thousands (26, 27, 33, 59, 77, 89, 94, 95, 119). Other counting words are not merely describing but already interpretative, as for example “zu viele” (86) and “Heim überbelegt” (1). All of this contributes to what is called ‘politics of numbers’ in De Genova (2016): The “fear-mongering news media” endorse the invasion of a foreign crowd (De Genova et al., 2016, p. 22), analog to the times when the Ottoman Empire was about to conquer the region (“die Türken vor Wien”(Schiffer & Wagner, 2010)). Another example when the collective rhetoric of herds was used and reproduced by the media is Joseph Goebbels when talking about “asiatische Horden” threatening Europe, or rather Germany. This collectivization is used to talk negatively about a group of people. Thereby, they are from the start not seen as individuals seeking protection but as a threatening ‘other’.

The use of numbers enforces the perception of migrants as a financial burden (**topos of burden, topos of finance**). 27 articles come up with the topic of financial burden caused by migration and migrants. The argumentation used produces the image of an ‘ever increasing flow’ (26, 62, 101, 131) of people who need to be alimented by the state, hence national tax payers. And even before they arrive they are a financial burden to the countries under study in the form of humanitarian aid donated to fight the causes of escape. The humanitarian aid can be regarded as contribution to the superiority of Western states as they can, through donation (106, 119), extend their hegemonic vision of the world. Talking about the European context, the main argument is that when migrants arrive they will not immediately find a job but will rely on the state’s social system. “Grob gesagt, arbeiten laut einer Studie von 2014 nach 2 Jahren etwa 20% der Flüchtlinge, nach 5 Jahren 20% bis 40% und nach 10 Jahren 40% bis 50% was weit unter dem Mittel der erwerbsfähigen Bevölkerung von etwa 80% liegt. Die Löhne vieler Flüchtlinge sind überdies tief. All dies heisst [sic], dass der Staat aufgrund der jüngsten Flüchtlingsströme mit zusätzlichen Sozialkosten rechnen muss.“ (49). This citation shows, that migrants are displayed as a heavy financial burden in the sense that they are described to not be able to contribute appropriately to the economy and the welfare state.

The argumentation is mostly based on a short term vision of the situation. One article (98) provides different scenarios about handling the ‘migration crisis’. Only the last scenario, in which money is invested in the short term, will lead to integration in the long term perspective: “Szenario 1: Ohne Zuwanderung scheiden in zehn Jahren viereinhalb Millionen Menschen aus dem Arbeitsmarkt aus. Die Sozialkassen geraten unter Druck. Szenario 2: Wir verzichten auf eine konsequente Integrationsstrategie. Dann gibt es Arbeitslosigkeit, und die Sozialkassen geraten ebenfalls unter Druck. Szenario 3: Wir investieren jetzt in Integration und schaffen es, aus den zu uns kommenden Menschen in den nächsten fünf bis zehn Jahren Steuerzahler zu machen. Das ist die Win-win-Situation.” (98) The quotation makes clear that without the interaction of the state in form of

an integration strategy the migrants will not contribute anything to the state – a reference to their dependency on the state. Secondly, the citation displays the migrant as useful to the society as the ageing Central European societies will need a backup when the baby boom generation is retiring.

When before the ‘refugee crisis’ only the consequences of migration were out of the control of the state, now the process of migration itself is described to be inherently **chaotic and out of the states’ control** (49 articles referring to it). When it comes to the chaos and the related chaos management, again borders play an important part. National borders as well as the EU’s external borders are a subject of the discussion.

Being out of control is a common motive. The situation is characterized by words like “Überforderung” (86, 89), “unzumutbare Zustände” (27, 31), “volatile” (32, 34, 115), “prekär” (119) and “Missstände” (27). This failure of the infrastructure of the welfare state which usually provides for the needy is partly attributed to the refugees but also to the government policies. The tenor of the articles⁷ goes against Merkel’s “Wir schaffen das”⁸. This is explicit in article 16: “‘Wir schaffen das nicht.’ Schon damals ging es um die Unbeherrschbarkeit des Flüchtlingsstroms.” This quote shows that a scenario of a dystopia is drawn in which the migrants are deemed responsible for the incapacity of the state to deal with the situation of the ‘migration crisis’. The ‘influx of refugees’ is described as uncontrollable and unmanageable. That is a strange position as the situation is real and has to be solved somehow. But instead of thinking about reforms of the welfare state to be able to deal with the new social conditions, the topos of borders is stressed to keep the ‘other’ out.

The description of a chaotic policy situation is used by right wing populists to stress their goals: „Christoph Blocher sagte am Mittwoch, wer behaupte, er habe die Situation im Griff, habe sie sicher nicht im Griff.“ (34) This confirms De Genova (2016) and Wodak and Boukala (2015a) who argue that right-wing-populists use the topic of ‘migration crisis’ for their own line of argumentation enforcing to topos of national security. Other politicians hold against that by saying that there was no reason for panic: “Anlass zur Panik sehen heimische Politiker und Medien zwar nicht, mahnen aber angesichts der nur begrenzt zu überwachenden Flüchtlingsbewegungen über die Balkanroute zu erhöhter Aufmerksamkeit.” (79). This citation warns to keep careful watch and leads to an important issue in chaos management: registration of the incoming refugees. This issue is, in the discourse, connected to the hiding of war criminals and terrorists within the group of refugees (80, 88) which seems to justify strict controls. Border controls are put forward as the measure to ensure registration. Another article stresses that “Die Unordnung würde gerade jenes Europa zerfressen, auf das die Flüchtlinge ihre Hoffnung setzen.” (88). With this citation, border controls are indirectly described to

⁷ After numbers of refugees (in 65 articles), living conditions (in 50 articles), chaos is the third most often code (in 49 articles).

⁸ In her summer press conference, the German chancellor Angela Merkel voiced her optimism about a solution for the ‘refugee crisis’. She was criticized for that by other German as well as European politicians. The sentence has become a code for the opening of the German borders for Syrian refugees (ZEIT-ONLINE, 2015).

be in the interest of the migrants. This is misleading, as especially refugees are not allowed to pass borders directly as soon as controls are introduced. This detains them from reaching their country of destination. Although freedom of movement is a central 'European value' it is not considered important anymore when talking about the refugee-'other'.

The 'change of values' in Europe is a motive that is found on different levels in the discourse. On the European level, the Schengen-Agreement is endangered (68), the enforcement of borders goes against the freedom of movement which is economically needed (96). A sharp policy change is depicted by the German chancellor's "Kehrtwende" (95). In September, she helped out when several thousand people were stranded in Budapest, but she did not repeat that act in March when people were stuck in the Greek Idomeni at the Greek-Macedonian border (96). A rather national or cultural level of value change can be observed in the reaction to the terror attacks. It is interesting to witness that humanity is played out against security. It is suggested that helping refugees will directly lead to a rise in insecurity for the national citizens (17, 86, 98). This reproduces European hegemony in the discourse. The security of national citizens is placed above the living situation and security of those still on their way to a safe place. This is an example of an intensification of the symbolic degradation which Spivak observed (Jensen, 2011).

All the negative connotations persist despite the portrayal of the living conditions of refugees in the discourse which are addressed in 50 articles. Those descriptions might raise **the image of a pitiable 'other'** but might in the same way create a deep rift between the Europeans and the migrants. 'We', who live in houses versus 'them' who live in poor conditions in a tent – "Wegen der Luftfeuchtigkeit frieren die Bewohner unter ihren klammen Decken, werden krank. Die immer leicht feuchten Zeltplanen riechen muffig, durch die Platten auf dem Boden dringt Schlamm" (31). These worlds are perceived as too different to become one. The difference is rather used to propagate the inferiority and **dependency** of the migrants who depend on the alimentation and donations by people for their living (33, 65, 141). The living conditions they have right now are not attributed to the situation they undergo, but to be part of their character – they are expected to be dirty and loud (33).

The analysis of the new categories (undeserving, uncontrollable, undermining, pitiable 'other') leads to the conclusion that despite awareness of the 'pitiable situation' of refugees, the fear of uncontrollable 'masses' of refugees that will damage Europe dominates the discourse.

4.4 Discursive and Linguistic Means

To go deeper into the language aspect, the following subsection examines not only what is said but how it is said.

A striking language aspect of the 'refugee crisis' discourse is – as the name already implies – the rhetoric of crisis. In this case it goes hand in hand with terms that imply the presence of an uncontrollable 'crowd' of

people, summarized in “Menschenmassen[, die] unkontrolliert in Bewegung geraten” (68). Different nature analogies are used. Dominant is the use of water metaphors as wave of refugee (e.g. Asylwellen (64)) and stream of refugees (Flüchtlingsströmen (115)) who bring the “Fass zum Überlaufen” (137). These nature references do not take into account the diversity of the group and the individuals. This is, even in the legal context of refugee law, very important, as according to the Genève convention of the refugee every case has to be regarded individually and examined. Other nature metaphors hit another level of designation: inferiority of migrants compared to the reader’s position. When talking about a group of young migrants as appearing “in Rudeln” (142) they are put on a level with wolfs and other animals that appear in packs. A similar degradation happens by calling the Calais refugee camp ‘The Jungle’ (Dschungel, 104). Two articles (66, 70) talk about the national “Spieregeln” which migrants have to learn and adapt to. This association with a game brings down laws to a level of childish playing. Like children, migrants are described to believe fairytales: „Es ist das Märchen von einem Land, in dem alle Menschen reich und glücklich sind: DEUTSCHLAND!“ (4). This sentence is used to explain why refugees come to Germany. All these metaphors contribute to what Spivak called symbolic degradation of the ‘other’ (Jensen, 2011).

It is striking that although migration is a persistent phenomenon worldwide, but also explicitly in Europe, in the recent phase of this discourse it is perceived to start out of a sudden (plötzlicher Zustrom, 103). In many ways the extraordinary situation is emphasized. In general, by the use of the word crisis. But in this, again, the topos of numbers is used. The numbers of refugees are not only high but mark records (Rekordmarke, Rekordansturm (84)). These observations lead to the perception, that migrants are an abnormal phenomenon. They are not seen as natural part of a society but as spontaneous, unexpected challenge to society.

Although collective terms are very dominant, some articles talk about individual persons or smaller groups of people. In that case, the status quo of a migrant is: male, young, Syrian, uneducated (64, for more evidence see extra document: table of quotations). In plenty cases, names are mentioned, but then usually only the first name except for six articles (35, 89, 105, 144, 147, 148). A certain diversity in depiction is marked by the words used: Flüchtlinge; Schutzsuchende, Asylsuchende; Ausländer; Migranten; Neuankömmlinge; Ausländer. But again, some of these words have inbuilt mechanisms of ‘we, the superior’ who grant asylum (or not) versus ‘them, the inferior’ who need protection and are petitioners. Especially the dependency of migrants seeking shelter and the degradation by the German ending ‘-ing’ which is used for reduction of somebody or something. This, together with the fairytale metaphor leads to the infantilization of the group of refugees.

A central metaphor of the discourse is the reference to the 'Festung Europa'.

„Wir müssen Österreich und Europa zu einer Festung ausbauen. Wir haben Beschlüsse, aber das muss auch funktionieren, und wenn es zu hundert Prozent funktioniert, müssen wir tagtäglich wachsam sein, weil es Ausweichrouten gibt.“ (129)

The comparison of Europe with a medieval lord's residence is interesting in many ways especially with an interest in 'othering', as the image of a fortress is a very powerful one, creating a clear in- and out-group. The EU is supposed to function as the fortress. A fortress usually has thick walls to protect itself against attacks from outside. But in the print media, the EU is depicted as not being able to control the walls of the fortress (see code: chaos in extra document: table of quotations) and therefore everyone inside relies on those who live closer to the walls. The analogy of the fortress implies a higher standing of those inside the fortress. Usually only rich and mighty people had the opportunity to protect themselves in a fortress while the peasants outside were at the enemy's mercy. A fortress is built to try everything possible to protect the own people in case of an attack. Continuing this narrative, the discourse uses words as "Grenzsturm" (border attack) and "Ansturm" (onslaught; 68, 84, 88, 103, 104) when talking about the incoming refugees. This reads as a form of organized, armed attack. The image of an invasion is created. This image is nurtured by the different facets of the discourse described above: the cultural 'other', the criminal 'other' etc. The category of the undeserving 'other' is used to legitimize the walls of the fortress (see code abuse of social system in extra document: table of quotations). A fortress without guards is useless. That justifies why in the context of the fortress Europe the militarization of borders is discussed. Although theoretically the military is not responsible for the borders, in this scenario of crisis the use of the army is emphasized in the case of controlling borders and administrating camps. The border is put forward as a way of structuring the situation by registration and rejection of refugees.

This image of the fortress does not invite a discussion of strategies to deal with the arriving migrants but imposes the rebuilding of strong walls (borders) as the only way of 'crisis' management. That leads to the assumption that the exclusion of the 'other' is the only way to deal with refugees. It is interesting how the metaphor of the fortress is used now as it was originally used by critical journalists and activists to raise awareness for the border politics of the European Union (Zandonella, 2006). This shows that in this time of perceived crisis, even the rhetoric of those fighting against 'othering' is used in a way which increases 'othering'.

Limits of the fortress are also stated: "Man werde sich auf Dauer nicht in einer "Festung Europa" einmauern können." (101). As in medieval times, there is no way to stay inside an isolated fortress forever. While in the middle ages food and water became rare, nowadays economic relations and trade as the nurturers of the nations need to continue. Therefore, especially the re-opening of the borders is essential for the Single

European Market. Otherwise the economies will face a break down (103). Still for now, the politicians should be "eisern" and "standhaft" in protecting the country (101).

The insight into the discursive and linguistic means supports the process of 'othering' in the media discourse.

4.5 Conclusion

Summing up, the image of the migrant has changed under new societal conditions of a so called 'refugee crisis'. The image includes various characterizations of refugees. Categories of describing migrants that were constructed in previous phases of the discourse on 'othering' since the 1980s are constant lines of argumentation. But the focus within the categories has changed. When talking about the migrant as criminal 'other', a new aspect is the illegal border crossing which adds another aspect to the criminal image which was and still is referring to various sorts of crime which are mentioned in the context of refugees. Continuing this point, the image of the cultural 'other' is also connected to the criminal 'other', when abnormal sexual behavior is addressed. Value courses by the state for the refugees are proposed to avoid sexual crimes. The idea that the migrant is a threat to public integrity and security also receives a lot of attention, probably due to the recent terrorist attacks in Europe. This is not new, but the way in which security is played out against humanity seems to be a new phenomenon, when articles state that national security will be endangered through helping migrants. In a smaller number of articles migrants are regarded as potentially useful factor for society. In those cases, a cost-benefit-logic is implied that treats refugees as object rather than human beings.

In addition to those categories, the expected new categories could be confirmed to different extents. Most prevalent is the topos of numbers and the related perception of the migrants as uncontrollable mass. The categories undeserving and undermining 'other' can be seen to be contributing to the image of the refugees as threatening mass. Interesting is, that the living situation of the migrants plays a role in almost half of the articles but that does not lead to a more sensitive atmosphere or solution. Instead, borders are enforced as mechanism to keep the pity out. This is supported by the mass terms used for the refugees and the metaphor of the fortress Europe which needs to be defended against the 'Ansturm' of refugees.

These observations contribute to the 'othering' of the group of migrants, as distinctions between nationals and migrants establish a hierarchy and do not further a heterogeneous society but try to preserve and protect a homogeneous national society.

5. Concluding Remarks and Prospects

Summarizing the paper, it can be stated that the European news media discourse on migrants has reached a new peak of 'othering'⁹. Migration has a medial attention it did not have in the years before. In this highly attentive times, the analysis has shown that media promote the following message: migrants are perceived as an uncontrollable 'other' that needs to be controlled by borders. This message is build up by categories that form the image and terms and metaphors used to describe the migrants.

The importance of borders to control migration is put forward. The discourse reveals promotion of militarization due to perceived threat as measure of security, which is paradoxical as it is known that European societies are 'home growing' their terrorists (Hafez & Mullins, 2015; Precht, 2007). Instead of looking at own failures and taking a self-critical view, refugees are blamed for the situation. In the tradition of the hegemonic narrative of the superior European culture, refugees are discriminated by generalizing single incidents to the group of migrants.

This is important to notice as most of the refugees that arrived in the period of the 'refugee crisis' are going to stay in Europe, at least for the next few years. To avoid parallel societies which were already blamed in the 'multiculturalism is dead' discourse, forming a new common society is needed instead of deepening the ditch by a media discourse that endorses 'othering'. But so far, the 'end of multiculturalism' is even further enforced by promoting 'value-courses' that aim for a single culture. The discourse on cultural incompatibility can be seen as a revive of the 'political myth' of the 'clash of civilizations' which Bottici and Challand (2010) worked out. Maybe it has indeed become a 'self-fulfilling prophecy', as they called it.

From the results of the analysis follows that there is a clear relation between the image displayed, how it is displayed and the 'othering' of migrants. This happens through the hierarchy between national in-group and migrant out-group which is established through the images that prevail in the media. Migrants are not only seen as out-group but also very much as a group that should **remain an out-group for the sake of security**.

Following this paper, there should be an understanding of this 'migration crisis' as a crisis of the (re)presentation of migrants in the media. This implicates that solutions should also be addressed to the media or to media makers and people who influence the public perception on the topic of migration.

The European institution that can have an impact on the perception of migration is the Directive General for Migration and Home Affairs. Looking at their current policies, they rather reproduce the discourse displayed. The main policies so far are title: Migration, Security, Borders. This enforces the image which is displayed in

⁹ The study is limited on various accounts: it displays the conservative side of the media discourse; other studies could include a more complete picture with a variation of political leanings.

the discourse. Knowing that language has an impact on reality, the DG should try to practice sensitive language when talking about migration in its publications. This means a critical reflection of the own policies which could manifest in internal language-guidelines that help avoid discrimination. The internal component can be replenished by the empowerment of initiatives that try to further language sensitization. To do so, the DG for Migration and Home Affairs could cooperate with the DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion and the DG for Education and Culture. Together, they could provide grants for initiatives that work on the sensitization of language. Initiatives that could apply for the grants could be e.g. educational programs, creation of newsrooms for migrant-centered news etc. Additionally, they could work together and build a platform-website on which they provide citizens with facts on the current migration situation. That would create transparency and the possibility for people to inform themselves independently from the political leaning of newspapers. On that platform, they would have the possibility to clarify facts, shed light on prejudice and offer a contextualization of for example the numbers that are used in the news media. The website could also include a 'fact check migration', where facts given in newspaper articles are verified or rectified.

All this would help the EU enforce the integration of the newly arrived people by creating equal conditions for everybody. Therefore, if equality of people in the EU is an aim of the work of the commission, it is important that integration is not based on 'courses' and hegemonic knowledge but on interaction between migrants and nationals in daily life. The potential in the commitment of citizens in supporting migrants can be used to find manageable ways of transforming the situation together.

In addition to the DG, Press councils should get active. Austria, Germany and Switzerland each have ethical codes for the press who are situated between freedom of speech and human dignity/non-discrimination (Presserat, 2015; Ö. Presserat, 2016; S. Presserat, 2016). The German code includes a guideline on the reporting on minorities in the context of crime: „In der Berichterstattung über Straftaten wird die Zugehörigkeit der Verdächtigen oder Täter zu religiösen, ethnischen oder anderen Minderheiten nur dann erwähnt, wenn für das Verständnis des berichteten Vorgangs ein begründbarer Sachbezug besteht. Besonders ist zu beachten, dass die Erwähnung Vorurteile gegenüber Minderheiten schüren könnte.“ (Presserat, 2015). The results of the analysis suggest that those codes are not carefully abided. If journalists would be further briefed on those guidelines, they might have better focus and more relevance for them when writing and reporting about migrants. A sensitization for the vulnerability of minorities is essential for a self-critical assessment. The guidelines cannot be compulsory or legally enforced, as the freedom of press is also one of the central rights in European democracies (ECPMF, 2016).

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Appendix

I. Tables

Table 1: Number of Asylum Applications August to December 2014 and August to December 2015.

Country	Asylum Applications August to December 2014	2014 in total	Asylum Applications August to December 2015	2015 in total
Austria (Bundesministerium für Inneres, 2015)	19.017	28.452	59.673	88.912
Germany (Bundesagentur für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2014, Statista 2016)	119.907	202.834	263.728	476.649
Switzerland (Staatssekretariat für Migration, 2016)	11.088	23.765	27.650	39.523

Table 2: Article Selection by titelarea including *flüchtling*.

Zeitung	November	März
FAZ (political resort, otherwise more than 250)	71	47
Bild (federal edition/ Bundesausgabe)	27	31
NZZ	70	42
Blick	14	7
Die Presse	84	61
Kronenzeitung	150	139

Table 3: Articles in the pre selection.

Newspaper	November	März	Total
FAZ (political resort, otherwise more than 250)	24	8	32
Bild (federal edition/ Bundesausgabe)	5	8	13
NZZ	22	12	34
Blick	8	6	14
Die Presse	12	10	22
Kronenzeitung	17	18	35
Total	88	62	150

Table 4: Final Selection of articles

Newspaper	November	März	Total
FAZ (political resort, otherwise more than 250)	11	6	17
Bild (federal edition/ Bundesausgabe)	5	8	13
NZZ	10	7	17
Blick	8	5	13
Die Presse	11	9	20
Kronenzeitung	14	14	28
Total	59	49	108

Table 5: Distribution of categories (own graphic)

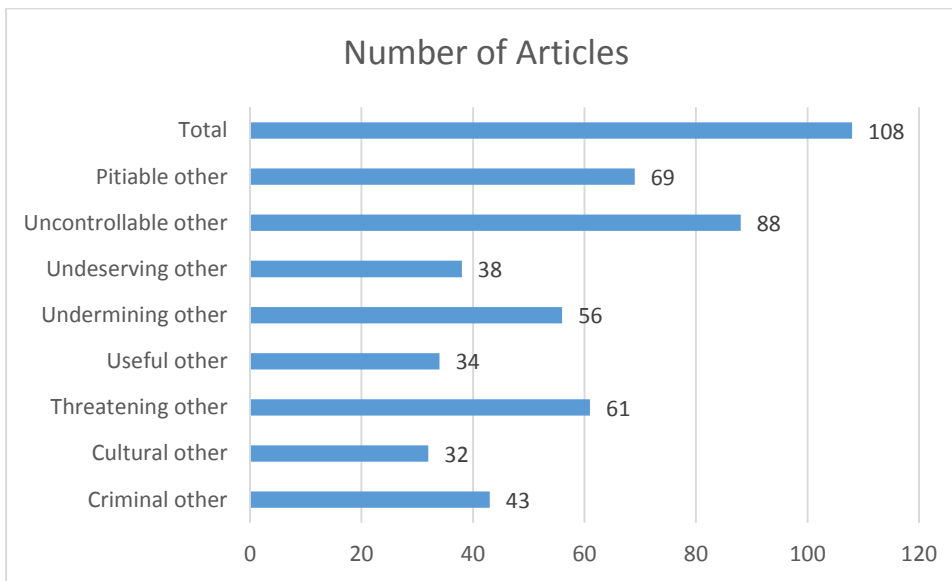
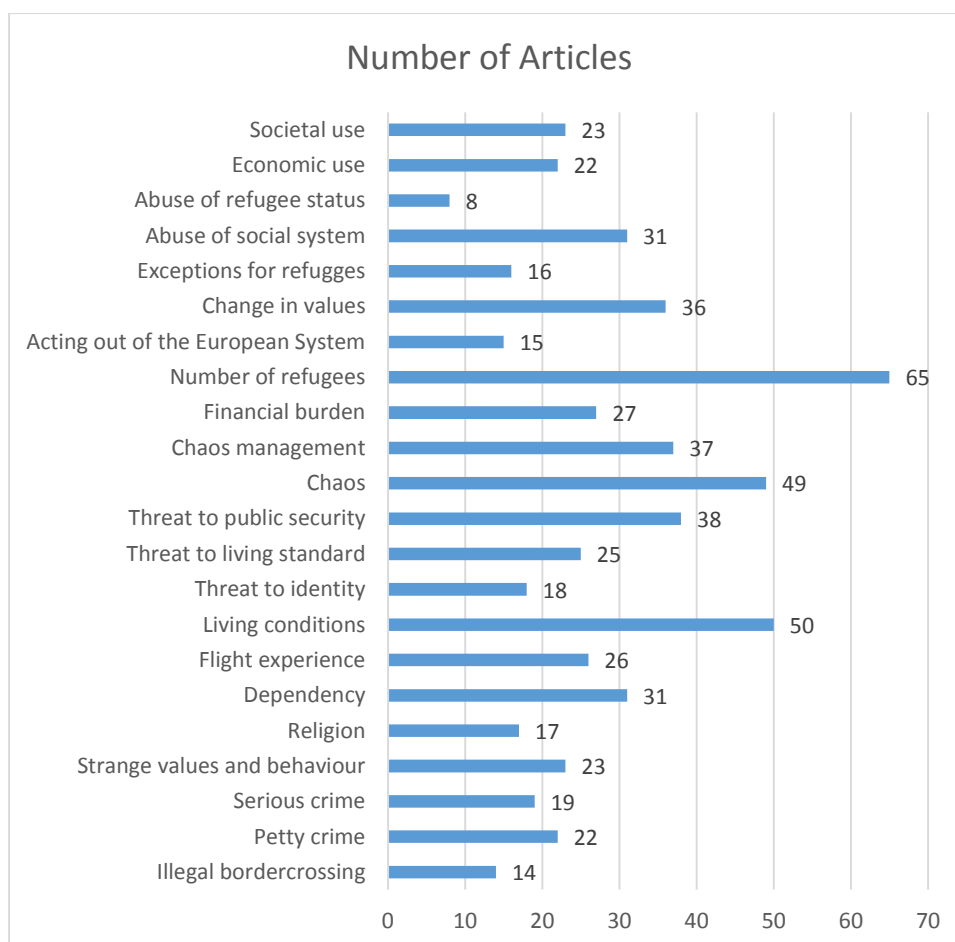


Table 6: Distribution of codes (own graphic)



II. List of Data Used

If the box on the right is empty, the article is part of the analyzed data. The [–] signals that the article was dropped in the process of selection.

List of preselected articles November 2015

No.	Newspaper	Date	Titel	Data
1	Bild	13.11.	POLIZEI-PROTOKOLL FLÜCHTLINGSHEIM	
2		9.11.	Das kann die Bundeswehr in der Flüchtlings-Krise tun!	
3		5.11.	Hier feiern 5 Spitzenpolitiker die Umsiedlung von 30 Flüchtlingen	
4		4.11.	Die MÄRCHEN DER SCHLEUSER	
5		3.11.	Taliban verkaufen diese Todes-Drohungen an Flüchtlinge	
6	FAZ	27.11.	Die europäische Agenda 2016	-
7		27.11.	Wind, Wetter und Gipfeltreffen	-
8		27.11.	Merkels Drohung	-
9		26.11.	Ungleiche Flüchtlinge	
10		24.11.	Ihr habt mich aufgenommen	-
11		24.11.	Bitte draußen bleiben!	-
12		23.11.	Balkanische Kettenreaktion	-
13		22.11.	Geht bloß nicht fort!	
14		21.11.	Integrationsvereinbarung für Flüchtlinge	-
15		19.11.	Franzosen lehnen Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen ab	-
16		18.11.	Kalaschnikow im Kofferraum	
17		17.11.	„Migranten bringen Gefahr“	
18		13.11.	Jesuiten loben Flüchtlingsarbeit	-
19		11.11.	Flüchtlinge als Devisenquelle	

20		10.11.	Drohung ohne Kulisse	-
21		10.11.	Streng, aber fair?	-
22		9.11.	Was tut die Bundeswehr?	-
23		9.11.	Zu viele neue Nachbarn	
24		5.11.	Immerhin nicht obdachlos	
25		5.11.	Morastige Balkanroute	-
26		5.11.	Segregation schadet den Flüchtlingen	
27		5.11.	Das Grundgesetz gilt auch im Lager	
28		4.11.	Schmalhans an den Tafeln	
29		3.11.	Unausgesprochene Assoziationen	
30	Blick	27.11.	Es kommen mehr, es bleiben mehr, sie kosten mehr Bund rechnet mit 30 000 Flüchtlingen	
31		21.11.	Flüchtlings-Chaos in Deutschland Und jetzt kommt auch noch die Kälte!	
32		19.11.	Sommaruga markiert die kühle Krisenmanagerin «Die Flüchtlingszahlen gehen zurück»	
33		19.11.	BLICK-Reportage aus dem Tessin So lebt Losone mit 270 Flüchtlingen	
34		12.11.	Prognosen laufend nach oben korrigiert Wie viele Flüchtlinge kommen denn jetzt?	
35		5.11.	Österreicher knöpfen den Angehörigen der erstickten Flüchtlinge Tausende Euro ab Die teure Rückkehr der LKW-Toten	
36		3.11.	Franz Hohler (72) über sein Leben, seine grössten Erfolge und Flüchtlinge «Im Alter erschrickt man nicht mehr so leicht»	
37		2.11.	SP fordert Sex-Kurse für Flüchtlinge	
38	NZZ	28.11.	Lage für Flüchtlinge spitzt sich zu	
39		28.11.	«HIV-Zwangstests sind entwürdigend» Nicht jeder infizierte Flüchtling bekommt Therapie	
40		27.11.	Die Flüchtlingskrise im Brennpunkt der Sozialhilfe Wahl der Co-Präsidentin der Sozialkonferenz im Schatten drängender Fragen	-
41		26.11.	Nichts geht ohne Europa Flüchtlinge und Terrorbekämpfung im Bundestag	-
42		25.11.	Deutschkurse werden knapp Folge der Flüchtlingswelle	-
43		25.11.	Das neue Zauberwort in der Flüchtlingsdebatte Deutschland streitet um Modelle der Entschleunigung und Begrenzung der Migration	-
44		21.11.	Balkanroute nicht mehr für alle offen Pauschale Zurückweisung von Flüchtlingen aus Afrika und asiatischen Ländern	-
45		18.11.	Eine Debatte, die es nicht geben darf Deutsche Politiker wehren sich gegen eine Verbindung der Terroranschläge mit der Flüchtlingspolitik	
46		16.11.	Im Einsatz für die Würde von Flüchtlingen Der Chef des Uno-Hilfswerks für Palästinaflüchtlinge, Pierre Krähenbühl, wirbt für Finanzmittel und Verständnis	
47		14.11.	Zivilschützer als Flüchtlingshelfer Nicht nur bei den Unterkünften, sondern auch beim betreuenden Personal zeichnen sich Engpässe ab	
48		14.11.	Flüchtlinge in der «Inaktivitätsfalle» In Österreich überlegt man sich Änderungen an der sozialen Grundsicherung	
49		13.11.	Die Jobs sind nicht das Problem Sorgen über die Folgen der Flüchtlingswelle für den Schweizer Arbeitsmarkt scheinen übertrieben	

50		13.11.	Einwanderung Verstrickungen in der Flüchtlingsdebatte	-
51		12.11.	Arbeitshürden für Flüchtlinge herabsetzen Engagierte Unternehmen bieten Hand für berufliche Integration	-
52		9.11.	Aktivierung des Notfallkonzepts ins Auge gefasst Bund und Kantone bereiten sich auf Zunahme der Flüchtlingszahlen vor	-
53		9.11.	Zwischen Anteilnahme und Abwehr Die Flüchtlingskrise polarisiert und fordert auch die Zivilgesellschaft	
54		7.11.	Schweigen ist schädlich Mangelnde Souveränität in der Flüchtlingsdebatte	-
55		6.11.	Flüchtlinge stärken Wachstum EU-Herbstprognose stellt einen anhaltenden, aber zähen Aufschwung in Aussicht	
56		5.11.	Athen siedelt Flüchtlinge um	-
57		4.11.	Versäumnisse und Misstrauen Das EU-Programm zur Umsiedlung von 160 000 Flüchtlingen kommt nur schleppend in Gang	-
58		3.11.	Die Ägäis - ein Grab für Flüchtlinge Lösungen für die Krise verzögern sich auch wegen des Unwillens der Beteiligten	-
59		2.11.	Aufgefallen Macht Bayern Politik mit Flüchtlingsbildern?	
60	Kronen	27.11.	„Es gäbe schon Arbeit für Flüchtlinge“	
61		26.11.	Privates Dorf für 48 Flüchtlinge	
62		24.11.	Flüchtlings-Häuser kosten 12 Millionen	
63		22.11.	Boots-Flüchtlinge trafen sich in Asylheim wieder	
64		22.11.	6 Fragen zu den Flüchtlingsströmen... ... nach dem Terror in Paris	
65		20.11.	Flüchtling schlug Alarm: Anschlagspläne für Wien	
66		18.11.	Ausgebüxt: Flüchtlinge legten Karwendelbahn teils lahm	
67		15.11.	Oberösterreich braucht neue Plätze für 4500 Flüchtlinge	-
68		12.11.	Gespannte Ruhe vor Flüchtlingsansturm	
69		12.11.	Flüchtlingscamp: „Wenn Wetter umschlägt, wird's kritisch“	
70		11.11.	6 wichtige Fragen und Antworten zur Flüchtlingskrise	
71		10.11.	Flüchtlinge dürfen sich nicht an Lagerfeuern wärmen!	
72		8.11.	Flüchtlingskrise: Kufstein baut auf mehr Bürger-Information	-
73		6.11.	Flüchtlinge als Wirtschaftsfaktor	
74		5.11.	Unter den Flüchtlingen sind immer mehr kleine Kinder!	
75		5.11.	Flüchtlings-Krise: Die Lügen der Schlepper-Mafia	
76		3.11.	Deal: Pro Stunde dürfen bis zu 50 Flüchtlinge über Grenze	-
77	Die Presse	23.11.	Weniger Ankünfte von Flüchtlingen	
78		19.11.	"Kühler Kopf" beim Schreiben über Flüchtlinge	
79		16.11.	Reiste Attentäter als Flüchtling getarnt über Österreich ein?	
80		15.11.	Heiße Spuren: Ein Auto aus Belgien und ein syrischer Reisepass	
81		15.11.	Grenzpatrouillen in der Steiermark verstärkt	-
82		13.11.	Fertigteilhäuser: NGOs sollen an Flüchtlinge vermieten	
83		11.11.	Warum es sich gut anfühlt, über Flüchtlinge Lügen zu verbreiten	
84		9.11.	Terrorist auf Flüchtlingsboot	
85		6.11.	UNHCR: 5000 Flüchtlinge pro Tag im Winter	
86		1.11.	Die Idealisten, die Realisten und die Ressentiments	
87		2.11.	Wie Legenden über Flüchtlinge entstehen	
88		1.11.	Culture Clash	

List of preselected articles March 2016

	Newspaper	Date	Titel	
89	Bild	31.3.	BILD im Flüchtlings-Knast von Lesbos	
90		23.3.	Flüchtlinge retten NPD-Politiker	
91		19.3.	Ysra (18): Als Flüchtling zu Olympia!	
92		18.3.	"Mauern sind keine Antwort auf die Flüchtlingskrise"	
93		16.3.	Wer hat die drei toten Flüchtlinge auf dem Gewissen?	
94		12.3.	Das Drama der Flüchtlinge von Idomeni	
95		4.3.	Leeres Flüchtlingslager in Griechenland	
96		3.3.	Europa braucht einen Plan - wie beim Lego-Bauen	
97	FAZ	23.3.	Erst der Körper, dann die Seele	
98		19.3.	„Insgesamt werden die meisten Flüchtlinge bleiben“	
99		18.3.	Hohe Haftstrafen nach Anschlag	
100		17.3.	Berlin will „Masterplan“	-
101		12.3.	Schleudertrauma	
102		8.3.	Alles ganz anders als in Ungarn?	-
103		7.3.	An den Grenzen Europas	
104		3.3.	Im Dschungel von Calais	
105	Blick	22.3.	Hala (5) spielt in Schweizer Drama sich selbst : Vom Film-Set zurück ins Flüchtlings-Camp	
106		19.3.	Bundesrat Didier Burkhalter über Syrien, Flüchtlinge und die humanitäre Hilfe der Schweiz: «Alles andere als Frieden wäre katastrophal»	
107		19.3.	«Tatort»-Kommissar dreht Flüchtlings-Drama : Noch nie ging ihm eine Rolle so nahe!	-
108		4.3.	Gewerbeverbands-Direktor Hans-Ulrich Bigler kämpft gegen die Flüchtlingslehre «Sommaruga schiebt der Wirtschaft den Schwarzen Peter zu»	
109		2.3.	9500 Flüchtlinge gestrandet an der griechisch-mazedonischen Grenze - ein Drama für die Kleinsten Die Kinder von Idomeni	
110		1.3.	Nein zur Durchsetzungs-Initiative, Ja zu umstrittenem Asylzentrum Diese SVP-Gemeinde liebt Flüchtlinge	
111	NZZ	30.3.	Lettland befestigt seine Ostgrenze Besorgnis im Baltikum wegen möglicher Flüchtlingsströme	-
112		24.3.	Flüchtlinge am Arbeitsmarkt Bessere Integration mit einfachen Maßnahmen	-
113		21.3.	Holpriger Start für Flüchtlingspakt Griechenland sieht sich mit Umsetzung überfordert	-
114		18.3.	Menschenschmuggel an der Badeküste Flüchtlingsdruck trotz Repression an der türkischen Riviera	-
115		12.3.	Beschlagnahmung von Zivilschutzanlagen bei Asylnotstand Bund und Kantone treiben Vorbereitungen auf eine mögliche Flüchtlingswelle voran	
116		10.3.	Auslieferung von türkischem Flüchtling Vorwurf der Unterstützung einer kriminellen Organisation	
117		10.3.	Flüchtlinge bleiben lange arbeitslos Berufliche Anforderungen sind markant gestiegen	
118		8.3.	Neue Barrieren - neue Wege Die Grenzschießung in Mazedonien führt zu Ausweichmanövern auf den Flüchtlingsrouten	-
119		7.3.	Hilferuf aus Griechenland Der anwachsende Flüchtlingsstau führt zu prekärer Situation in Notlagern	

120		5.3.	«Flüchtlingsbademeister» eingesetzt Zusammenarbeit des Hallenbads Altstetten mit einem Asylsuchenden bewährt sich	
121		4.3.	Zürcher Zöllner stoppen Flüchtlinge Deutlich mehr illegale Einreisen an den Grenzen in Schaffhausen und Zürich im letzten Jahr	
122		1.3.	Mindestlöhne und Flüchtlinge Europa macht sich das Leben schwer	
123	Kronen	30.3.	Immer mehr Flüchtlinge an Staatsgrenze	
124		26.3.	Flüchtlingskind (7) aus dem Irak mischt Kunstszenekräftig auf	
125		26.3.	Tiroler Flüchtlings-Essen hat 1400 Kilometer am Buckel!	
126		26.3.	Flüchtlingslager wird jetzt zum Pulverfass	
127		23.3.	Zelt kommt weg Da Flüchtlingszustrom und Rückweisungen enorm abgenommen	-
128		22.3.	Jetzt riesiger Wirbel um Spenden für Flüchtlinge	-
129		21.3.	400.000 Flüchtlinge wollen jetzt über Bulgarien in EU kommen!	
130		21.3.	Die FPÖ raus und Flüchtlinge rein?	-
131		15.3.	Flüchtlingsrouten nach Österreich völlig dichtmachen	-
132		15.3.	Flüchtlinge ertrinken in Fluten	
133		13.3.	Die Stadt der verlorenen Flüchtlinge	
134		12.3.	581 Flüchtlinge in Spitals-Ambulanzen	
135		12.3.	Neue IMAS-Umfrage zur Flüchtlingspolitik Österreichs	
136		9.3.	Flüchtlinge beeinflussen Wahl	
137		5.3.	Erneut Cobra-Einsatz in Innsbrucker Flüchtlingsquartier	
138		4.3.	Überfüllte Flüchtlingslager: Jeder will weg!	
139		3.3.	Bolzenschneider an Flüchtlinge verteilt	
140		1.3.	Österreich steht gestrandeten Flüchtlingen vor Mazedonien bei	
141	Die Presse	31.3.	Flüchtling-Knigge: "Wie begegne ich Frauen?"	
142		29.3.	Von Flüchtlingen, Bettlern und anderen Wiener G'schichten	
143		27.3.	>Ein gefährliches Gemisch<	
144		20.3.	>Ich bin gezwungen, ein neues Leben zu beginnen<	
145		16.3.	Flüchtlinge im Schichtunterricht	-
146		10.3.	Mehr Kurse für Flüchtlinge	
147		6.3.	Borussias deutsch-syrischer Zidane	
148		4.3.	"Das sind Verbrecher, keine Flüchtlinge"	
149		3.3.	20 Flüchtlinge in Kühlwagen: Fünf Jahre Haft	
150		2.3.	Wifo-Chef Aiginger fordert mehr Minijobs für Flüchtlinge	

III. Coding Scheme

Level of analysis	Concept	Code	Keywords
Content	Criminal 'other'	Illegal Border crossing	Grenze, Zaun, illegal
		Petty crime	Vorfall/Probleme, kriminell, Verbrecher, Polizei, Dokumente fälschen, Sachbeschädigung, Diebstahl, Drogen
		Serious Crime	Gewalt, Verbrecher, sexuelle Übergriffe/ Vergewaltigung, terroristische Organisation, Gefängnis
	Cultural 'other'	Values and behavior	Prinzipien, Sex, Frauenbild, anders, Werte, Kultur, Integration, Kopftuch, Erfahrung
		Religion	Islam, Religion, muslimisch, Glauben
	Threatening 'other'	Threat to public security	Armee/Militär/Soldaten, Notlage, Attentat, Sicherheit, Gefahr, Angst, Terror, Radikalisierung, Eskalation, Unbehagen, Katastrophe bedrohliche Szenarien
		Threat to living standard	Wohnungsnot, Arbeitsmarkt, Lohn, BIP
		Threat to identity	Identität, Festung, Minderheit Untergang Europas
	Useful 'other'	Economic use	Positiv, Wachstum, Arbeit, Aufgabe, wirtschaftlich, sinnvoll, Fachkräfte, Steuerzahler
		Societal use	Deutsch lernen, bereichern, Integration
	Undeserving 'other'	Abusing the social system	Sozialhilfe, Arbeit, Leistung, bedürftig, Ansprüche, Verhalten, Wirtschaftsflüchtling, Abschiebung/Rückführung, sichere Herkunftsstaaten
		Abuse of refugee status	Kriegsverbrecher, Terrorist, kriminell, kein Anrecht
	Uncontrollable 'other'	Number of refugees	Mehr Menschen, Zahlen von Flüchtlingen, Bezeichnungen von Zahlen (Rekord-/Höchstwert)
		Financial burden	Kosten, Ressourcen, Gelder, Unterstützung
		Chaos and chaos management	Chaos: unvorbereitet, Chaos, volatil, unbeherrschbar, Ansturm, Zustrom, Welle, Todesfälle Management: Grenze, Zäune, Kontrolle, Stopp, Überwachen, Registrierung, auswählen, Eindämmung
	Undermining 'other'	Acting out of the EU system	Land aussuchen, Grenzen überwinden, wirtschaftliche Faktoren, Regeln, falscher Asylgrund, nicht registriert

		Change of values	Transformation, Bleibequote, Werte, Sex, Medien, IS, Konkurrenz, Unterwanderung, beeinflussen, Humanität/open europe versus Tränengas/Zäune
		Exceptions for refugees	Zuständigkeit, Ausnahme, Tradition, Schwächung, Eilverfahren
	Pitiable 'other'	Living conditions	Schlamm, Hunger, Kälte, Mitleid, Tod, Perspektive, Kinder, Gewalt gegen Flüchtlinge, Trauma
		Flight experience	Krieg, Zelt, Schlepper, Boot, Balkanroute
		Dependency	Hilfe, Spenden, bekommen, Schlepper, Rettung, verteilen, versorgen, Asyl
Discursive Strategies	Nomination	How are migrants named?	
	Predication	How are migrants characterized?	
Linguistic means	Conceptual metaphors	e.g. flood of refugees	