

Immigrant Representation in German Print
Media During Selected Periods from 2015 to
2019

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for MA in Journalism & Media
Communications (QQI)

Faculty of Journalism & Media Communications
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August 2019

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the way in which immigrants are represented in German print media since the beginning of the European “refugee crisis”. It seeks to answer the question of how immigrants are represented and if there are differences among different groups of immigrants with regard to their origin, gender, age, and religion. In addition, this dissertation also looks at texts that focus on broader themes of immigration and identifies trends within general immigration reporting.

The research design followed a content analysis with quantitative and qualitative elements. The specific design was that of Mayring’s deductive category application, based on previous studies of immigrant representation in German media, mainly Haller’s study published in 2017. In contrast to previous studies, this dissertation looks at all immigrants and considers recent developments.

The analysis focused on three newspapers, one tabloid (*Bild*) and two broadsheets (*Welt* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*), with different political alignments. It looked at three two-week periods from 2015, 2017, and 2019 which together represent the development over the four-year period. A pilot study was conducted after which a key word category was added to the coding schedule, and a list of search terms was compiled.

The analysis revealed 576 articles containing explicit immigrant representation. The total number of articles that included the topic of immigration was much higher. Immigrant representation was not balanced. Young male Muslims from the Middle East were overrepresented. Women only appeared in a fifth of all articles. Immigrants were rarely contributing actively to immigrant representation.

Overall immigrant representation was neutral with the conservative papers *Bild* and *Welt* including equal amounts of positive and negative coverage. The liberal *Frankfurter Rundschau* featured more positive mentions of immigrants, more mentions of women, and more mentions including active immigrant participation.

Immigrants were mostly mentioned in the contexts of sports, crime, and integration and assumed roles as sports stars, criminals or victims, and refugee, asylum seeker, or immigrant. The most dominant group of immigrants also had the highest number of negative mentions.

Those trends were enforced by general mentions of immigration which also revealed an ongoing struggle in Germany to come to terms with being an “immigrant nation” and in relation to Germany’s history as a divided nation. Old conflicts between East and West Germany resurface in the context of the “refugee crisis”. Furthermore, the immigrant background of a person is often not mentioned when it could be classified as positive representation. Instead, mentions are tied to stereotypes and prejudice. All these trends should be addressed to improve immigrant representation.

Future research should consider more newspapers and timeframes and look at the East-West divide.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Brian Maye, for his reassurance, fast replies and advice. I also want to thank Griffith College and all the staff in the Media Department. I learned so much over this past year and grew as a person and Griffith helped so much with that.

I also really must thank my parents for supporting me along this way and for accepting my seemingly out of the blue decision to move to Ireland for my Masters. I promise, I thought this through, and it was a decision that paid off.

I also want to thank my friends for their love and support through all of this. Our Skype calls kept me sane during this year. Special thanks go to Sonja, Eugenia, and Tamara for well-timed breaks and distractions during the writing of this dissertation and for listening to my rants while I tried to structure my data.

A big thank you to my boss and the marketing team at PAF. I know that you all had to compromise with my college hours, time zones, and workload. Thank you all for your understanding.

Another thank you goes to Mr. Ritzler from the Axel Springer Research Centre who was a huge help in getting my hands on those missing *Bild* issues.

Final thanks go to Ms Boller, Ms Bauer, Ms Pullen, and the Team of Radio Unerhört Marburg who all assured me in pursuing a path in media and without whom I would not be writing these acknowledgements right now.

1.0 Introduction

When Chancellor Angela Merkel opened the German borders for refugees during the refugee crisis, the country of Germany was divided into those who welcomed refugees and those who feared them. In the beginning the German “welcoming culture” (Willkommenskultur) was celebrated and upheld as a positive example around the world. In late 2015 the situation began to change. The numbers of refugees heading towards Germany were higher than anticipated. The state was unprepared to deal with the influx of people and many voluntary helpers felt left alone. Then, New Year’s Eve 2016 came and brought with it the mass assault of women in Cologne (Deutsche Welle, 2016). The assaulters were refugees.

Public image shifted further towards the negative. In 2018 the magazine *Der Spiegel* published a feature on Merkel’s own change in policy - a shift from opening borders to introducing an upper limit for the number of refugees Germany would take in, as well as for the number of family members who could join their relatives among the people who had received asylum in Germany (Kurbjuweit, 2018). The celebrated welcoming culture ceased to exist and was replaced by a more hostile environment

Current public discussions are driven by anti-immigrant attitudes while the far-right anti-immigrant and anti-Islam party AfD (“Alternative für Deutschland”/ “Alternative for Germany”) is gaining support. Within this public discussion the media play an important role. Media depiction of events shapes and contributes to public perception. In late 2014 and early 2015 the pictures of people welcoming refugees dominated media coverage. Since then, no new study has been conducted on the portrayal and representation of immigrants in the German media landscape.

A study by Entorf and Lange released in February 2019 explores the development of anti-immigrant hate crimes in Germany. The study finds that hate crimes against asylum seekers have jumped from almost non-existent in 2011 to 923 reported incidents in 2015. In a later chapter of the study the number is listed as 925 incidents with 74 arson attacks and 63 assaults. The number of unknown cases is estimated to be much higher as only those crimes committed in close proximity to refugee shelters are classified as anti-immigrant hate crimes. The study also finds that the number of incidents was much higher in East German regions compared to the West and that the number of hate crimes per county was also linked to votes for far-right parties such as the neo-Nazi party NPD, and the AfD which is not grouped together with other far-right parties in this study.

Another study by Haller, published in 2017 examined media coverage and public perception during the beginning of the “refugee crisis”. Haller found that in the early stage of the crisis media coverage focused on the helpers who were welcoming refugees at German train stations. The media failed to address legitimate warnings and fears that were uttered by politicians, experts and citizens alike during that stage. This coverage was turned around in a later stage of the crisis with a shift to problems of

immigration, immigrant crime, and public disorder. In this stage positive examples of integration and the voice of the voluntary workers were not considered in media coverage.

1.1 Background

Neither the issue of crimes against immigrants nor the issue of immigrant representation is new in German public discourse. However, with the beginning of the “refugee crisis” in Europe, the topic of immigration took on a new dimension. In contrast to other major topics like the economic crisis in Greece, that were relatively short trends in media coverage in Germany, the issue of immigration and refugees has been an ongoing and dominant topic for the last four years.

Since the beginning of the crisis, opposition to refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants in general has grown in Germany and given rise to far-right movements such as the Pegida (“Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes”/ “Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident”) movement and ultimately the AfD party which was originally formed as a Euro-sceptic party but overtaken by anti-immigrant resentments. Now, the party focuses on immigration and gains votes with anti-immigration rhetoric. Other aspects of the party programme are not publicly discussed by party members unless they are forced to do so. The topic of immigration has thus become extremely politicised and opposing parties have grown among citizens. An increasing number of their conflicts end in violence. With this background in mind, it is extremely important to understand if and how the media contributes to this conflict through their representation of immigrants.

The press has a special role in this situation, as it has the potential to cover the topic and surrounding issues in much more detail as short sections on television or radio news. Thus, this dissertation focuses on a thorough analysis and research on the topic *Immigrant Representation in German Print Media During Selected Periods from 2015 to 2019*.

1.2 German press regulations

Like many other democratic countries, Germany has a press code. This Pressekodex was established by the German Presserat, an organisation that unites publishers and journalist unions, in an effort to prevent press regulation by a national law. Section 1 of the revised Pressekodex (2017) opens with a powerful statement: “Respect for the truth, preservation of human dignity and accurate informing of the public are the overriding principles of the Press.”

In general, the German press and other media follow this statement. But previous literature on the portrayal of certain groups of immigrants or members of specific religions suggests that the media fail to meet their own standards with regards to reports about immigrants and especially refugees.

The ongoing, and increasingly hostile, debate about the topic in media, political and public spheres in Germany suggests that this is a subject worthy of investigation as media provide the meeting ground of political and public spheres and shape public opinion.

The problem lies with accuracy as the German media are not providing false but often unbalanced information about immigrants. There is no doubt that the topic of refugees and immigration is of great interest to the public, so the media have a duty to cover it in detail. In their coverage, they should always keep section 12 of the Pressekodex (2017) in mind that says that “there must be no discrimination against a person because of his/her sex, a disability or his membership of an ethnic, religious, social or national group”.

A subset of this section is focused on crime reporting saying: “When reporting on crimes, it must be ensured that any reference to a suspect’s or perpetrator’s membership of ethnic, religious or other minority groups does not result in a discriminatory generalisation of individual misconduct. As a rule, membership of a minority group shall not be mentioned, unless this is in the legitimate interest of the general public. In particular, it must be borne in mind that such references could stir up prejudices against minorities” (Pressekodex, Section 12.1, 2017). This does not mean that the press cannot mention the immigrant history of a criminal or suspect under any circumstances. If the origin of a person in question is relevant to the crime for example as a member of a criminal clan, it is perfectly fine for the press to include this in their coverage. What is remarkable about this section is the fact that it was only introduced in March 2017 (“Der Pressekodex”, presserat).

This indicates a growing awareness of the presence of discrimination in the German press which warrants regulation.

Earlier versions of the Pressekodex already included section 8.2 (PROTECTION OF THE PERSONALITY) saying: “Victims have the right to special protection of their identity. Knowledge about the victim’s identity is generally irrelevant for understanding an accidental occurrence, the circumstances of a disaster or crime [...]” (2017) and section 10 (RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, CUSTOM) saying: “The Press will refrain from vituperating against religious, philosophical or moral convictions” (2017).

Both sections provided a base level of protection but the inclusion of section 12 in 2017 shows that explicit guidelines regarding discrimination against specific groups were needed. This is especially important considering Entof’s and Lange’s (2019) definition of hate crimes as motivated only by prejudices against certain minorities based on their race, religion, or sexual orientation. The inclusion of the new section 12 in the Pressekodex indicates that sections 8 and 10 were not enough to prevent biased reporting against minorities. In the context of hate crimes, section 12 can also be seen as a means of battling prejudice in the press and in the public.

1.3 Aim and target group

The main aim of this dissertation is to explore how immigrants are portrayed in German print media and if there are themes applied to all immigrants or only those of specific regions, religions, age or gender. A comprehensive analysis of immigrant representation in the German press can help to understand if and how journalists and publishers covering immigration are contributing to the shift in public attitude.

If certain trends emerge during the analysis this dissertation can also act as the base of a guideline for journalists on how to improve immigrant representation in the German press. A guideline is already established in the Pressekodex but there are outside factors that are not covered by the Pressekodex. Those factors are centred on balanced and diverse reporting. Immigrants are a diverse group so this should somehow be reflected in the coverage of immigration.

If one group of immigrants or a specific religion is covered more often than others, it is likely that the public will have stronger opinions on this group and will perceive it as more dominant and important. Most of the immigrants who came to Germany in 2014 and 2015 were young men from Middle Eastern countries shaken by war (Entof and Lange, 2019). It is likely that this group will predominate the press coverage, but they should not over-dominate it.

In a similar fashion, the role an immigrant assumes in the press can have a big influence on the general perception of immigrants. If immigrants are often mentioned as perpetrators or victims of crime but only rarely mentioned as business people or politicians, this will shape the idea of a typical immigrant and perpetuate stereotypes. Furthermore, it will indicate that immigrants lack positive role models who could positively influence someone's integration journey.

Within this context, it is also important if and how actual immigrants contribute to immigrant representation. If the majority of the articles including immigrant representation does not include immigrant voices, the press should strive to include them more in the future to achieve actual representation.

The findings of this dissertation might be of use to my target group to see how media representation and public opinion influence each other, especially in such sensitive topics as immigration. The media do not exist in an isolated bubble and journalists take on an important role in informing and educating the public. If journalists give in to outside pressure or are unaware of their own internalised biases and prejudice this can result in too one-sided reports on complex topics and issues. This means that journalists would fail to fulfil their duty. In Germany this has happened in the past, for example in the framing of the Greek economic crisis.

The framing of immigration in German media can have a huge impact on public attitude and behaviour. In recent years crimes against immigrants have risen. It is important to know if mainstream media has contributed to that.

This is also linked to the degree of politicisation of immigration. There is no doubt that immigration plays an important role in politics but up to now, there is no study that looks at papers of different political alignment regarding immigration. This topic is particularly interesting in the context of the AfD.

Some documentaries suggest that people who stopped looking for news in traditional media and turned to Facebook and online forums are likelier to agree with AfD policies and rhetoric. However, mainstream media was unprepared for the party and its topics and, leading up to general elections in Germany in 2017, its candidates managed to lead media and public debate with the topic of immigration and claims about its (perceived, exaggerated and afterwards debunked by experts) negative consequences.

Within this political climate, it is important to understand if and how mainstream media contributed to this negative perception of immigrants and how immigrant representation today differs from immigrant representation pre “refugee crisis” and pre AfD.

1.4 Methods and structure

The second chapter will discuss relevant literature on immigrant representation on a general, European and German level identifying trends and gaps in the existing research.

Chapter three will describe and discuss the methodology of a content analysis, which was chosen for the gathering and evaluation of data, and the underlying theory. In addition, this chapter will explain why the specific methods were chosen and highlight the benefits of Mayring’s deductive category application in relation to the research design and previous studies.

In the fourth chapter, the topic of immigrant representation will be examined by the means of a content analysis featuring both quantitative and qualitative elements. Immigrant representation will be defined in a code book and listed in the coding schedule. The following analysis of data will seek to answer the question of how immigrants are represented in German print media with regard to the quality of immigrant representation, variations among different groups of immigrants, changes and trends over the four-year period from 2015 to 2019, and the political dimension of immigrant representation.

The analysis will focus on three papers which provide a good overview of political alignments and types of newspapers. The *Bild Zeitung* is a tabloid newspaper which targets more conservative readers. The

Welt is a conservative broadsheet. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* is a more liberal broadsheet aimed at a younger group of readers.

The analysis will examine three two-week periods, one in summer 2015, one in September 2017 leading up to the German elections on 24 September 2017, and one in spring 2019. Those periods cover the beginning of the refugee crisis reaching Germany, the political discussion surrounding immigration during the election campaign, and an up-to-date impression of immigrant representation in the newspaper coverage of 2019.

The additional chapter five will discuss general phenomena and issues with regard to immigration coverage in the three papers and the three two-week periods. The trends discussed in this chapter do not qualify as explicit immigrant representation, but they do contribute to the public image of immigration in subtler ways. There are a few factors which are important to consider in terms of immigrant representation in Germany, namely the persisting dominance of the topic over four years, the East-West German history and its impact on Germany today, and the history of “foreign” names in Germany and relating issues which impact the public perception of immigrants and immigration. Those issues will also be discussed in chapter five.

The last chapter will report the findings, set them in context of the social and political background described in this chapter, provide measures on how to improve immigrant representation in the German press, and discuss potential future research.

2.0 Literature Review

Research on immigrant representation in print media identifies three major themes: the “Othering” of immigrants in media in general, immigrant representation in Europe and immigrant representation in Germany. Furthermore, the questions of refugee representation and the representation of Muslims and Islam emerge as specific topics of concern within the context of immigrant representation.

2.1 Othering of migrants

Edward Said (1978) built the foundation of how we talk about “Othering” in terms of non-European cultures. While Said’s approach is rooted in post-colonialism, Triq Amin-Khan focuses on the “war on terror” in his *New Orientalism, Securitisation and the Western Media’s Incendiary Racism* (2012). Amin-Khan proposes that at the moment Muslims and Islam are targeted by “New Orientalism” whereas black and aboriginal people are not. Where Said focuses on the perception of a Western civilised world against an uncivilised world, Amin-Khan focuses on a civilised Western world against the Muslim terrorist world as the new perceived binary.

The Role of the Mass Media in the Integration of Migrants (2012) by Vanessa Christoph applies Amin-Khan’s observations to a media context. She notes that social minorities rarely have a chance to express themselves in the media. She also raises the issue of how the focus in reporting on immigrants usually lies on what problems they create and how immigrants are usually grouped together in one ethnic group. A paper by the International Communication Association (2011) adds that crime reporting is biased when it comes to immigrants as the two frames of victim and culprit are “explained” by perpetuating harmful stereotypes about immigrant cultures. Wieskamp (2007) and Cheregi (2015) stress the importance of framing for immigrant representation especially in reporting on immigrant crime as the frame contributes to a perceived reality. Bailey (2005) adds that there is a discrepancy between journalist ethics and the framing of immigrants as the “Other” based on their ethnicity and nationality. This is particularly problematic as the idea of the “Other” constructs meaning instead of simply reporting facts.

J. David Cisneros illustrates this in his *Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of “Immigrant as Pollutant” in Media Representations of Immigration* (2008). He analyses metaphors used to describe immigrants and how this influences public opinion. He observes two types of metaphors: immigrants as a class of people and immigration as a phenomenon. In both groups he finds images of community disruption and disarray.

2.2 Portrayal of immigrants and refugees in European media

In *Refugee Representations across European Media: Discursive Constructions of Immigration* Cristina Pătrascu observes a difference in immigrant representation based on origin. Immigrants from EU countries are positively represented, immigrants from Ukraine and Belarus are framed neutrally, immigrants from other countries are portrayed the most negative and the most different from a perceived European culture (2015).

Karina Horsti also focuses on origin in *Hope and Despair: Representations of Europe and Africa in News Coverage of the "Migration Crisis"*. Horsti finds that three themes are used to describe Africans in European media: "illegals", objects of control and victims. Through this framing Europeans assume either the role of hero, victim or helper (2008).

Pătrascu (2015) strengthens this notion in her analysis of themes in European media. In British media water metaphors are associated with immigration like people "flooding" the country. In France the coverage is focused on poverty and unemployment. In Spain the issue is immigrants as a threat to public health and an increasingly negative media coverage on immigration resulting in immigration being considered as one of the five most pressing problems by the public (Sanders, 2015). Trebbe and Schoenhagen (2008) made two important observations in their analysis of immigrant representation in Switzerland. First, the group of well-integrated immigrants is extremely under-represented in media. Second, immigrants are only of interest if they serve a political interest, show negative behaviour or are celebrities with an immigrant background.

In both France and Spain, media tend to link social conflicts with immigrant youth (Retis and García, 2011). In both countries a study of media coverage of social conflicts in the capitals revealed that the major coverage in the press focused on ethnicity and social minorities. In France, the press created the image of organised gangs in suburban areas, which were the result of the social situations in specific areas. In Spain, the problem was treated as imported from Latin American immigrants. In both cases the press, especially tabloids, focused on a conflict between Europeans and outsiders, simplified the context and failed to include both, voices that could explain the situation and the underlying conflict and voices belonging to the immigrant youth. In contrast, voices from political parties and authorities or law enforcement institutions played an exaggerated role. In contrast to this Meer et al (2010) observe a diversification of Muslim voices in British media, primarily through Muslim actors who are speaking up in public discourse. They change the way media report on and include Muslim voices in news reporting. In the late 1980s Muslims were talked about but had no voice in the language used to describe them. This is changing now which results in a more diverse picture of Islam and Muslims and helps to dissolve the image of otherness created in earlier days.

Cmeci (2017) observes a change in visual representation from the beginning of the refugee crisis to now. In the beginning, visuals showed refugees mainly as victims needing help. Since 2015, the public has also entered and changed the visual representation as demonstrators, helpers and negotiators, resulting in a more conflict-oriented coverage between the different factions arguing for and against immigration.

In addition to visual representation, Khosravinik (2010) highlights the importance of language and meaning. In the British press immigrant, migrant and emigrant have different connotations, with immigrant being the most negative to the reader. Raja and Alotaibi (2018) observe two shortcomings of the British and general Western press. One is the large focus on the Western perspective. The other is the failure to acknowledge how Western governments are entangled in the war in Syria. Poole (2014) adds that the British press in general fails to accurately portray Muslims and Islam and to include Muslim voices.

2.3 Immigrant representation in German media

Germany has a special relationship to immigration within Europe. Post World War II, many Germans returned to their “motherland” from former Third Reich territory and colonies such as Romania (Rotaru, 2016). After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a second wave of immigrants from those countries came to Germany for mostly economic reasons and with them, the attitude of the media changed to a more negative form of reporting on them, which caused an increase in racial attitudes and xenophobia and also failed to differentiate between Romanians and Roma. Where the topics showed mostly (perceived) negative effects of Romanian immigrants, the tone of the articles, was balanced.

Germany also held a unique position at the beginning of the “refugee crisis”. In contrast to many other European countries, political and public discourse were welcoming refugees to the country. In a study from 2017 Michael Haller describes this phenomenon as an “invented welcoming culture” (p. 70, 2017) in which media coverage was overwhelmingly positive.

But it failed to acknowledge problems and underlying fears in the public. Over the course of the crisis the coverage shifted from one extreme to the other (Haller, 2017). The welcoming culture was replaced with themes of national and economic security, threatened by migrants. Ruhrmann and Sommer (2004) confirm a change in news framing in Germany. Terrorism has become a major topic in reports on immigrants long before the beginning of the refugee crisis.

Within this context the analysis of Richter and Hafez (2009) on the image of Islam in German television is also important. They found that for their analysed time period, 81 per cent of mentions of Islam were within a negative context of either extremism and terror or other conflicts focused on migration and

integration. They also found that the topic of Islam appeared in waves related to current events and became increasingly linked to politics and the idea of clashing civilisations. This shows that before the crisis, Islam was already negatively connotated and linked to extremism and terror, but this image was temporarily overshadowed by the dominant discourse.

A possible reason for such shifts in the way German media talks about immigrants is provided by Eleni D. Tseligka in *Becoming the Other – Stereotyping of Greeks by the German Press (2016)*. She describes Greeks in Germany as “the invisible minority” which has reached the highest level of integration in German society. Greeks were perceived as part of the German “us”. But during the financial crisis and the resulting breakdown of the Greek economy, German media started to blame Greeks for their own misfortune, shifting the narrative to the perceived individual shortcomings of the Greek people. Greeks were excluded from the “us”, triggered by one event. Similarly, the uncovering of attempted terror attacks, successful terror attacks and immigrant crime contributed to shift the narrative around the “refugee crisis”.

Witteborn (2011) makes two observations regarding the German media. One is the use of labels that distinguish between political refugees and economic refugees and implies that the former group’s claim for protection is more valid. The other observation is linked to descriptions of refugee accommodation. They invoke associations of threats, poverty and illnesses.

In their study on immigrant representation in Germany from 1993 to 2005 Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2008) find that there is a measurable link between immigrant representation by the media and the public debate. The more positive the coverage, the less problematic the public view and vice versa. This is somehow echoed by ex-German national football player Mesut Özil, who left the team with claims of racism, saying that he only was German if the team won but an immigrant when they lost (Stanley-Becker, 2018). Michael (2018) suggests that regular news coverage is too impersonal to evoke empathy and understanding in a reader. He argues for providing minorities with a voice to tell their tale and highlights three examples by German journalists.

2.4 Problems

The literature on this topic provides a good overview of underlying problems and themes. But a current analysis of immigrant representation in German print media is missing. Previous studies focus on different media, other countries, a specific group of immigrants or fail to take recent developments into account.

Furthermore, immigrant representation in Europe is a matter of constant change as the examples of Spain, France and the UK show. German media have been prone to change their reporting in the past, based on specific events or developments such as the European financial crisis.

Two major events occurred after Haller's detailed study: the German general elections in September 2017 and the rise of the far-right party AfD, which is, as of 28 October 2018, a member in all German federal state parliaments and the national parliament. Both events had an impact or were influenced by immigration discourse. Thus, it is likely that immigrant representation has undergone further changes which need to be analysed.

In addition, previous studies were concerned with refugees, or immigrants from a specific country or region. It will be interesting to see if changes in immigrant representation differ among groups or if there are certain trends that apply to all immigrants regardless of origin, religion or status.

One last factor is linked to the observation that immigrant representation differs depending on media and even among the same type of media aimed at different target groups. Within the British press there is a difference between tabloids and broadsheets. In Germany the big national papers do not cover a very broad political spectrum but rather a middle ground with some leaning more towards right-wing, conservative parties and others leaning to more left-wing social and liberal parties. But the coverage in general is not as diverse as in other countries. Within this background it will be interesting to see how different papers approach the topic of immigrant representation and if the target group and political leaning of the paper impact the covered stories, language used, assigned roles and news frames, and if there are bigger differences in immigrant representation than in other areas.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Overview

A report by the World Association of Newspapers from 2005 lists Germany as fifth in place for newspaper sales in the world (BBC, 2006). Newspaper audiences in Germany make up about 70 per cent of the German population over the age of 14 (*German Newspapers and Print Media*, no date). The newspaper landscape in Germany is diverse but only a small number of papers are distributed nationwide and abroad, and many of those papers' main offices are located in big regional cities such as Frankfurt (Main), Munich, and Hamburg (BBC, 2006).

This creates an interesting mix of coverage as those papers usually cover national and international news but also have a section dedicated to local news and issues. Print media in Germany is thus a reflection of topics that concern a wide group of people on local and national levels. This makes it an interesting topic of investigation, which is the reason why print media was chosen as the medium for this research.

This dissertation seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How are immigrants represented in German print media?
2. Is news coverage on immigrants more positive or more negative?
3. Does the quality of immigrant representation vary over different groups of immigrants?
4. Has immigrant representation changed over the last four years?
5. If and how does political discourse influence immigrant representation?

In order to investigate immigrant representation three German newspapers *Bild*, *Frankfurter Rundschau* and *Die Welt* are subjected to a content analysis mixing quantitative and qualitative elements. Building on the existing literature and studies on the topic, three two-week time periods were chosen for the analysis. Date 1 (6-20 July 2015) was chosen as it falls into the timeframe of the beginning of the "refugee crisis"; Date 2 (11-24 September 2017) marks the two weeks prior to the major German general elections in September 2017; Date 3 (25 April-4 May 2019) is a randomly selected contemporary date. Those three periods combined are intended to provide a comprehensive overview of the development of immigrant representation with regards to time but also in the light of main events such as the election, which bring a political aspect to newspaper coverage that is not necessarily present in daily coverage independent from those events. The chosen papers are available in full online (*Die Welt*, available at <http://epaper.welt.de/archiv/#> and *Frankfurter Rundschau* available on LexisNexis) or partially (*Bild*, only available on LexisNexis from February 2017 onwards, the missing 2015 copies were provided by the Axel Springer research centre and can be found in ANNEX 3).

3.2 The sources

The *Bild-Zeitung* or *Bild*, as it is usually called, is Germany's most popular newspaper with 1.5 million copies sold daily in Germany (*National Newspapers in Germany*, 2018) and about 4 million copies sold worldwide (*The Media in the German Speaking Countries | Germanic Studies*, no date). It is a tabloid newspaper printed in broadsheet style (*BBC*, 2006). Despite its popularity many people criticise the sensationalist style of the paper (*German Newspapers and Print Media*, no date). The political alignment is on the right-of-centre position (*BBC*, 2006). *Bild* articles usually have a lower wordcount compared to other newspapers and the style of the paper is picture heavy and focuses on emphasising headlines. *Bild* is published by the Axel Springer Verlag.

Die Welt is another newspaper published by Axel Springer Verlag. It sells far fewer copies than *Bild* but with 270,000 daily copies it is still one of Germany's biggest broadsheet newspapers (*BBC*, 2006). It is also a centre-right paper that is sometimes described as conservative but liberal (*German Newspapers and Print Media*, no date). The paper is available in over 130 countries (*BBC*, 2006).

Frankfurter Rundschau, despite its name, is also a nationwide broadsheet that sells between 156,000 to 190,000 copies per day (*BBC*, 2006) and (*The Media in the German Speaking Countries | Germanic Studies*, no date). It is published by the Druck- und Verlagshaus Frankfurt am Main GmbH and has a "sister-paper" in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. While the latter sells more copies (*BBC*, 2006), the *Frankfurter Rundschau* was specifically chosen because it targets younger people with a high level of education. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* runs annual promotions at universities giving away trial subscriptions, free papers and special offers aimed at student budgets. In addition, its design is also slightly more modern than that of the other papers (*BBC*, 2006) and its left-centre and liberal position is reflected in German student unions which are traditionally linked to the left-wing movement (*The Economist*, 2018).

3.3.0 Content analysis

"Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff, 2004, p 18). The term came into use in the middle of the 20th century (Krippendorff, 2004). Content analysis as a scientific method was developed in connection with the evolving mass media and growing level of international politics of that time and is linked to the phenomenon of mass communication (Kohlbacher, 2006). Within the field of communication studies, content analysis is used, among other things, to identify and describe communication trends, to determine international differences, to compare how different media use communication, to identify and reflect cultural differences, and to find different focuses of attention (Krippendorff, 2004)

Even though the term stems from the 20th century, the method is older. One of the first documented cases of a content analysis was conducted in Sweden in the 18th century and was concerned with a collection of hymns by an unknown author (Krippendorff, 2004). One of the first content analyses of a newspaper was published in 1893 (Krippendorff, 2004).

Since then, the term and its meaning have been further developed under the influence of psychology, adding categories to content analysis that possess an evaluative element such as the idea of pro or con (Krippendorff, 2004).

According to Krippendorff (2004) contemporary content analysis is defined by its link to empirical data and its ability to exceed the ideas of simple content, symbols or intentions which is also linked to the changing understanding of communication, the role of society and culture in communication, and changes in the way humans can and do communicate.

The method itself follows the basic pattern of describing, classifying and connecting content (Dey, 1993). This is done via a systematic reading of a set of content which can be text or images (Krippendorff, 2004). At the core of the analysis is the coding schedule that defines the categories that are up for analysis, based on the research question and either existing literature on the topic or pilot studies of the text, and revised throughout the analysis in feedback loops (Mayring, 2000). This is an important step in the analysis as it helps to filter the data into relevant categories (Dey, 1993).

3.3.1 Quantitative or qualitative

When analysing data, researchers usually mix quantitative and qualitative methods to answer their research questions (Kohlbacher, 2006). On a very basic level quantitative methods collect and count data based on numbers while qualitative methods look at words or pictures (Kohlbacher, 2006). Classical content analysis is essentially a quantitative method with the core and central tool being its system of categories (Kohlbacher, 2006). In classic content analysis the quantitative method is applied to count entries per category (Kohlbacher, 2006). Critics argue that a focus on only quantitative elements ignores the quality of the content with regards to context, individual cases, implications and hidden meanings (Kohlbacher, 2006).

Those critics view qualitative content analysis as a “superior” form of content analysis that preserves the strengths of quantitative content analysis, namely the connection to theories, the step-by-step procedure, categories, and control elements of reliability and validity, but adds what is missing from that analysis (Mayring, 2000) while also providing a ground to generalise results (Kohlbacher, 2006). Kohlbacher (2006) argues that quantitative content analysis does not show how the relevant categories are derived and developed whereas in qualitative content analysis the categories are developed in close connection to the source material.

However, Krippendorff (2004) argues that all content analysis is qualitative at its core and only in later steps of the analysis process are some criteria counted and turned into numbers. He thus concludes that a strict distinction between quantitative and qualitative content analysis is neither particularly useful nor valid.

Kohlbacher (2006) agrees with this notion and argues further that quantitative and qualitative methods should be regarded as complementary and a mixing of both methods has the potential to further advance social research.

3.3.2 Problems

Any research is confronted with problems, especially in social sciences where interpreting results can be influenced by the personal world view and experience of the individual researcher. As this paper is a Master's dissertation and as such, the research is done by a single person, it is a mandatory step to define potential problems and to take precautions against the identified problems.

3.3.2a Ethical

As this research is focussed on a content analysis of newspapers and no interviews nor similar methods that include recording people were conducted or applied, ethical concerns and problems should be minimal. However, the topic of immigration is a very delicate topic in Europe at this moment. It is thus of great importance to be careful with the analysis and the language that is used to describe the findings. It is also important as a researcher to monitor one's own preconceptions when deriving categories, so the results are objective and not shaped by carelessly defined categories or unclear research questions.

To ensure that the categories are useful, the first set of categories was derived using previous studies as examples. Over the course of the analysis these categories were refined to capture the content of the present paper, as described below.

3.3.2b Methodological

According to Kohlbacher (2006) all types of research in the social sciences needs to fulfil three criteria of quality to be considered valid. Those criteria are concerned with the methods of measuring data which need to be objective, reliable and valid. This applies to the whole process and the individual steps of sampling, reading, and analysing the content (Krippendorff, 2004).

The problem with these criteria is that replicability can be measured and validity can be tested whereas none of that is possible with objectivity (Krippendorff, 2004). In the arguments about quantitative and qualitative content analysis one of the points raised by supporters of the qualitative method is that a content analysis requires reading between the lines to be reliable (Krippendorff, 2004). However, the quantitative aspect of an analysis can be tested while the qualitative aspect is concerned with meaning derived from language which is harder to grasp, as language itself is objective but meaning is not (Dey, 1993). Dey (1993) further explains this problem of the nature of meaning as essentially being about distinctions and contrast linked to what is affirmed or denied or at least implied. Krippendorff (2004) adds on to that with the observation that meaning always depends on context. Thus, it is relatively easy to fit the analysed text into the defined categories, but special care has to be taken with the attribution of quality. The criteria for the quality of immigrant representation in the present body of text is defined as negative, neutral or positive. The German “Pressekodex” that defines the rules and guidelines for the German press and contains sections on immigrants, religion and other areas that might be cause of discrimination was used in the analysis to achieve the greatest objectivity possible. It can also be found in Annex 4.

3.4 Method deployed in this dissertation

3.4.1 Defining immigrant representation

Before any criteria were devised or the analysis began, it was important to set the boundaries of the analysis by defining immigrant representation. This was a complicated process, as the language used in the German print press is not always clear about what it means. For example, the term “Russland-Deutscher” is usually used to refer to a person that lived on Russian territory but has German roots and moved back to Germany. But as language is changing it is now also used when talking about people whose parents are from Russia on one side of the family and Germany on the other side. Another problem with the German language is the fact that German does not distinguish between first generation immigrants and second or third generation immigrants. Thus, if it is mentioned that someone has roots in another country, it is unclear if that person came to Germany two weeks ago or was born and raised in Germany with their grandparents being first generation immigrants. Furthermore, the German “Pressekodex” strongly advises the press to refrain from publishing any information regarding a person’s background that could be used to discriminate against them, including where they are coming from.

Using foreign sounding names as a ground for determining the immigrant status of someone would invalidate the findings, as many common and less common names in Germany, first and last names

alike, have foreign origins but are not linked to the person’s citizenship, origin or any other criteria that would justify counting them as an immigrant. This method would be mere speculation.

Lastly, the factor of religion plays an important but difficult role in defining immigrant representation. As religion is usually not mentioned unless the text refers to an important person within a religious group, every time religion is mentioned automatically becomes noteworthy. Religion has to be included within the analysis, but it is important to note that religion itself is not a defining factor of an immigrant.

Immigrant representation, as used in this analysis thus includes all texts that specifically refer to the origin of a person; mention any religion in combination with issues of immigration or integration, or imply that one or more of the subjects in the text have foreign roots; imply that one or more of the subjects in the text have foreign roots for example by describing their looks as “Southern European” or “African”. If a text only implies the immigrant status of a subject, the details must be noted in the coding schedule. The same applies to the term that indicates the foreign origin of a person and the religion of the subject. Furthermore, immigrant representation is only counted if the article has a connection to Germany; articles dealing with immigration in other countries are excluded from this analysis. This is due to the reason that the situation in other countries might be very different from the German situation and thus the discussed topics would not reflect the lived reality of Germany.

3.4.2 Individual steps

The content analysis of the three newspapers follows the structure of an analysis with deductive category application:

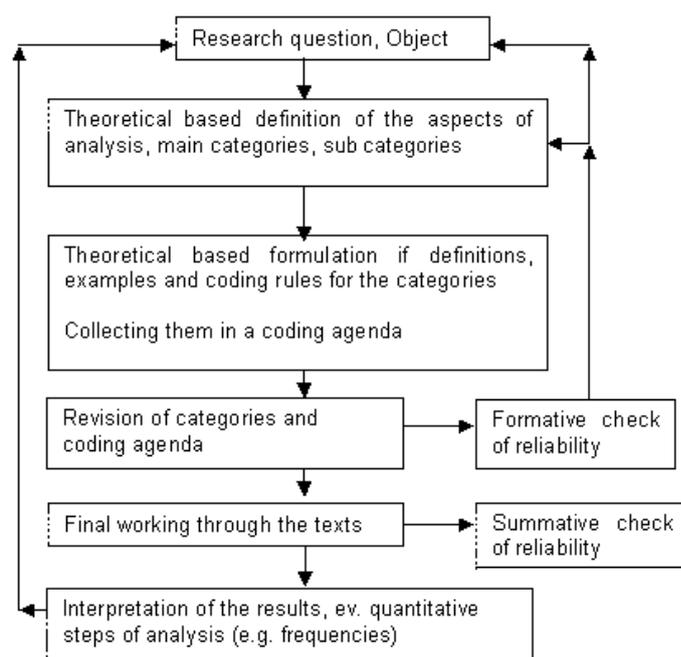


Fig. 1: Step model of deductive category application (Mayring, 2000)

This method was chosen because it bases the categories of the coding schedule in the existing theories and literature on the subject but also focuses on revising those categories to fit the needs of a specific analysis and to ensure reliability.

Following the structure, the research questions were defined, followed by the coding schedule. The categories were based on the categories in Haller's study as discussed in the previous section, as well as criteria from Rotaru's analysis on representation of Romanian immigrants in Germany. The categories were tested in a pilot study, using papers from Wednesday 19 April 2017 and Wednesday 12 September 2018. Both dates were chosen randomly but on the basis that the texts would be available on LexisNexis and that the dates would fall within the timeframe of the analysis. The results from this pilot were used to refine the schedule, resulting in the following list of categories:

Text:

- Publication: The name of the paper
- Date: The day of publication, weekday, date DD/MM/YYYY
- Page: The page in the publication
- Category: The section of the publication
- Type: The type of text (news report, comment, letters to the editor, etc.)
- Topic: The main topic of the article
- Author: Author of the text, if applicable
- Sources: Sources mentioned in the text (interviews, studies, politicians, etc.)
- Length: Word count

Subject(s):

- Number of Subjects: Total (in article), Individual (list itemised by alphabet: a, b, c, ...)
- Gender: Gender of the subject if mentioned
- Age: exact age in years or indicators such as child, youth, etc.
- Role: The role of the subject
- Religion: The religion of the subject
- Origin: The origin of the subject; mentioned or implied
- Quality: The way immigrants are presented, positive/negative/neutral

Images were purposefully excluded from the analysis as they are not available for all newspapers and would thus distort the findings of this analysis. Some of the categories listed above were further refined during the analysis of the source material. A comprehensive list and explanation of all categories and limitations can be found in Appendix 1: Code Book.

First a keyword search of the following list of keywords was conducted, followed by a skimming of the remaining articles to filter out all relevant material.

Keywords:

- Immigrant
- Einwanderung (immigration)
- Integration
- Herkunft (origin)
- -deutsch (Used as a suffix or compound to indicate people with either German origin who moved from former Soviet Union territory to Germany, e.g., russland-deutsch, or people with one German and one non-German parent, also mostly for Eastern European areas.)
- Islam
- Muslim
- Aussehen (the look of someone, used to describe people who look “non-German”, often in a criminal context, e.g. “mit südländischem Aussehen” refers to someone looking “Latin” or “Mediterranean”)
- -ländisch (A suffix used in many contexts to indicate the foreign origin, look, way of speaking, etc. of a person)
- Flüchtling (refugee)
- Asyl (asylum)
- Stämmig (Used to refer to the roots of someone, e.g., “Türkisch-stämmig” means someone with Turkish roots. This can also be used for second or third generation immigrants.)
- Gebürtig (refers to the birthplace, e.g., “Gebürtiger Frankfurter” means a man born in Frankfurt)
- Ausländer (foreigner)
- Ethnisch (ethnic)
- Minderheit (minority)
- Fremdenhass (used in the context of hate crimes against immigrants)

In the following detailed analysis further keywords were noted and the category keyword and date were added to the text area of the coding schedule. This category takes note of the first appearance of a keyword to track keyword trends and developments.

In the final step of the analysis the findings were grouped together for description and comparison.

4.0 Analysis and Findings

The following section contains a breakdown of the analysed data. In the subsequent section observations, problems and remarks will be discussed.

4.1 General numbers

Within the analysed time frame of two weeks per year a total of 576 articles referred to immigrants based on the definitions laid down in the code book and the key term search described in the previous section. Of this total *Bild* holds 25 per cent of the share with 141 articles, *Welt* holds 29 per cent of the share with 169 articles, and *Frankfurter Rundschau* holds 46 per cent of the share with 266 articles.

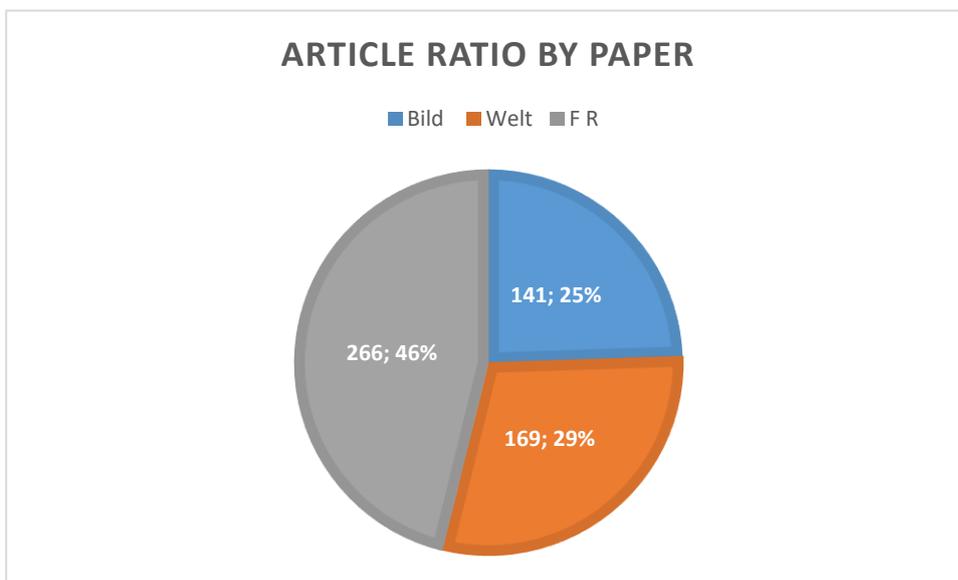


Fig. 2: Article distribution among the newspapers

The articles were spread out over several sections in the newspapers. The most common were Sport, Entertainment, News, Politics, Letters and Feuilleton. Within this group the Sport section was the most frequent accounting for more than 50 per cent of articles. Politics makes up almost a quarter of the share, followed by general news.

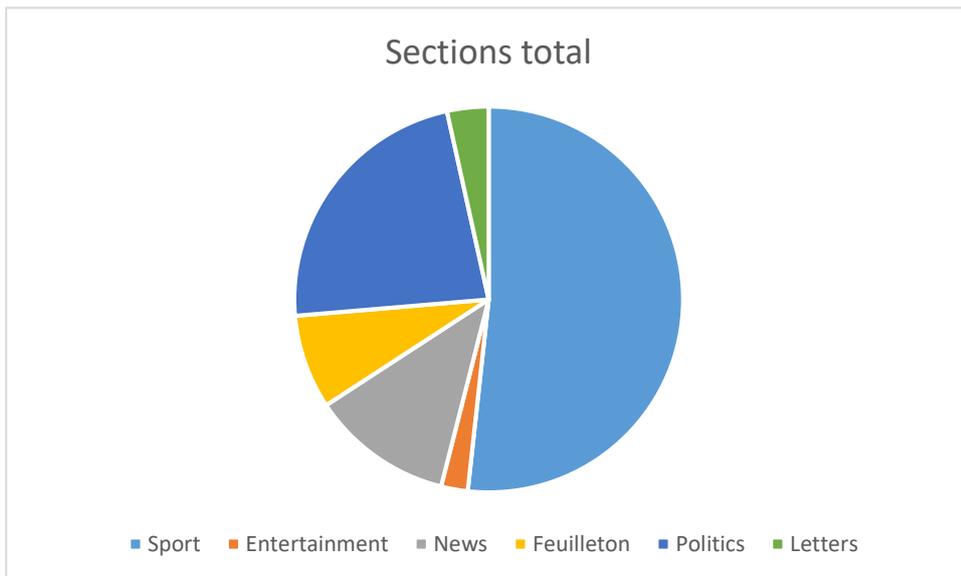


Fig. 3: Total immigrant representation per newspaper section

However, the individual papers only partially reflect this general picture. In *Bild* Sport and News are the most common sections, but Politics and Feuilleton are not present. This is not to say that they are not present in the paper at all. Entertainment can be considered somewhat similar to a Feuilleton section, while Politics exists but did not feature any material relevant to this study.

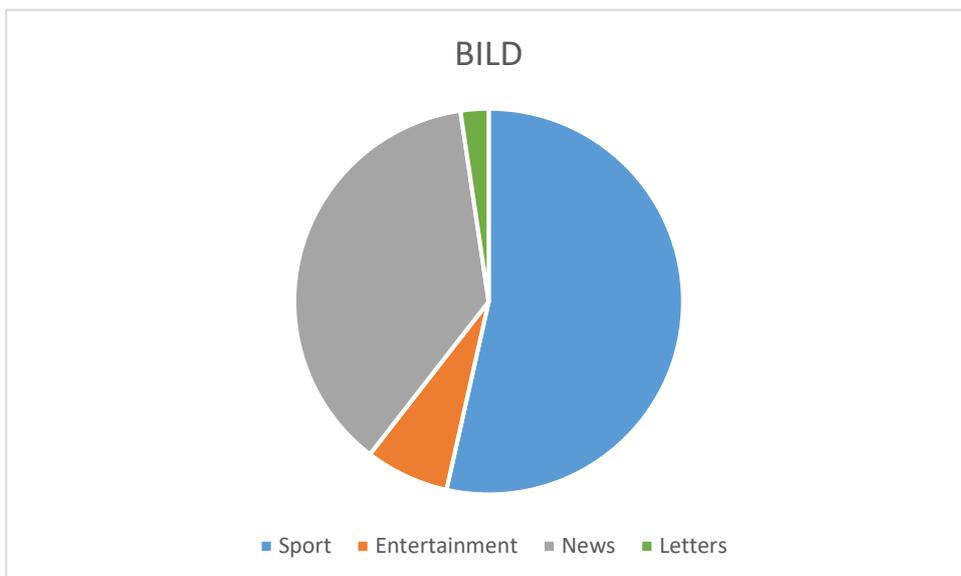


Fig. 4: Immigrant representation per section in Bild

In *Welt* Politics makes up the biggest share of articles followed by Sport. This ratio reflects the function of the paper as a serious broadsheet and indicates an older readership interested in politics.

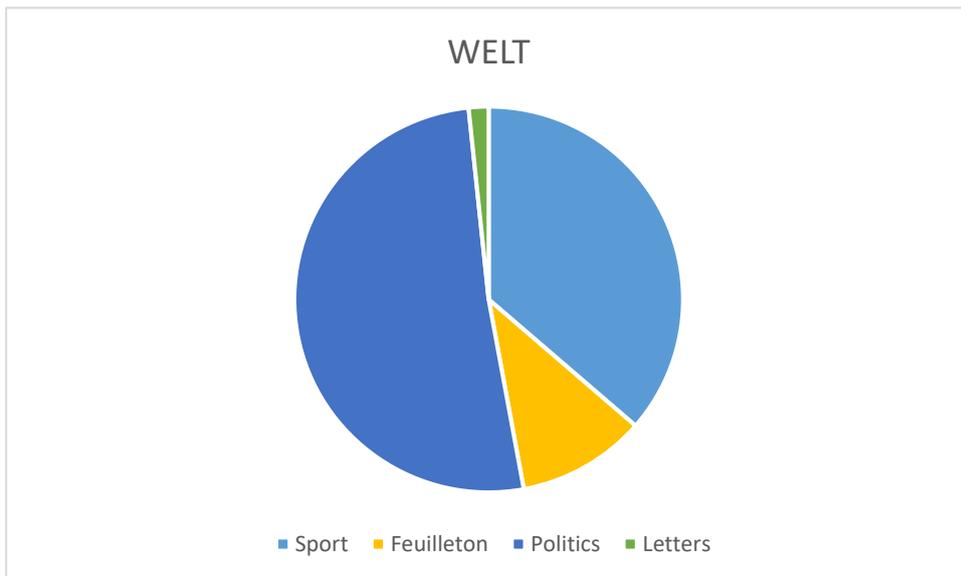


Fig. 5: Immigrant representation per section in Welt

Frankfurter Rundschau is an interesting case as Sport is the most prominent section followed by Politics. The share of Sport is the highest within the group. This is partially due to an extra regional section of the paper which is not present in the other papers. This section also contributes to the high percentage the *Frankfurter Rundschau* holds of the total number of articles. However, it is not the only factor which is pushing up the article number.

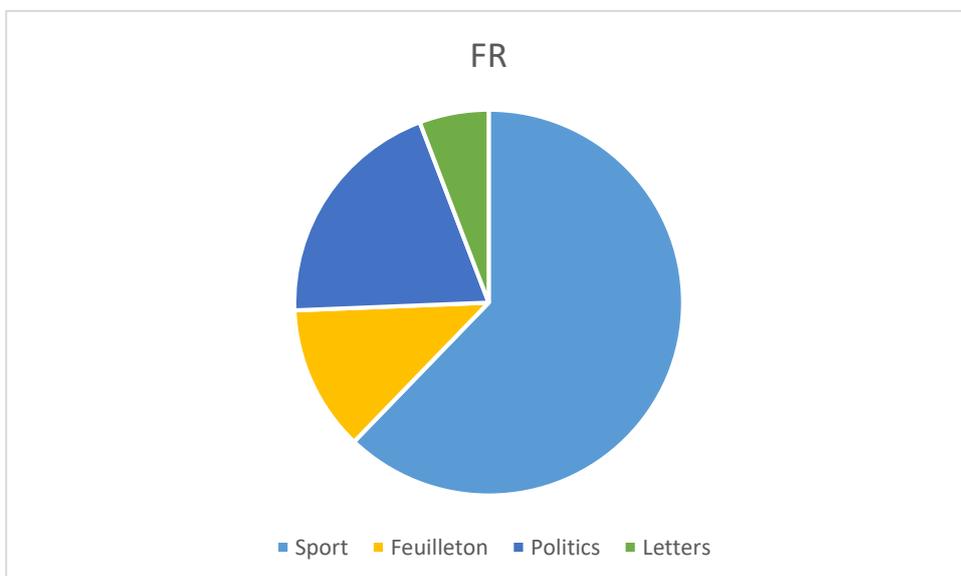


Fig. 6: Immigrant representation per section in the Frankfurter Rundschau

Another important factor is the number of articles per year. For *Bild* and *Welt* the numbers rise from 38 to 60 and 45 to 62 respectively from 2015 to 2017. Then the numbers drop again to 41 and 40 and 2019. In contrast the numbers for *Frankfurter Rundschau* remain steady from 2015 to 2017, dropping only by two from 93 to 91. In 2019 the number drops to 80. Considering that the two-week period of 2019 includes a bank holiday with no newspapers published it can be said that the number of relevant articles remains steady in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

These differences indicate that *Bild* and *Welt* published more articles relevant to immigrant representation during the election campaign of 2017. This implies that the readership of the conservative papers considered immigrants an important topic during the elections which led to more coverage containing immigrant representation.

On the other hand, the liberal left-wing readership of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* seems to have a steady need for coverage regarding immigrants.

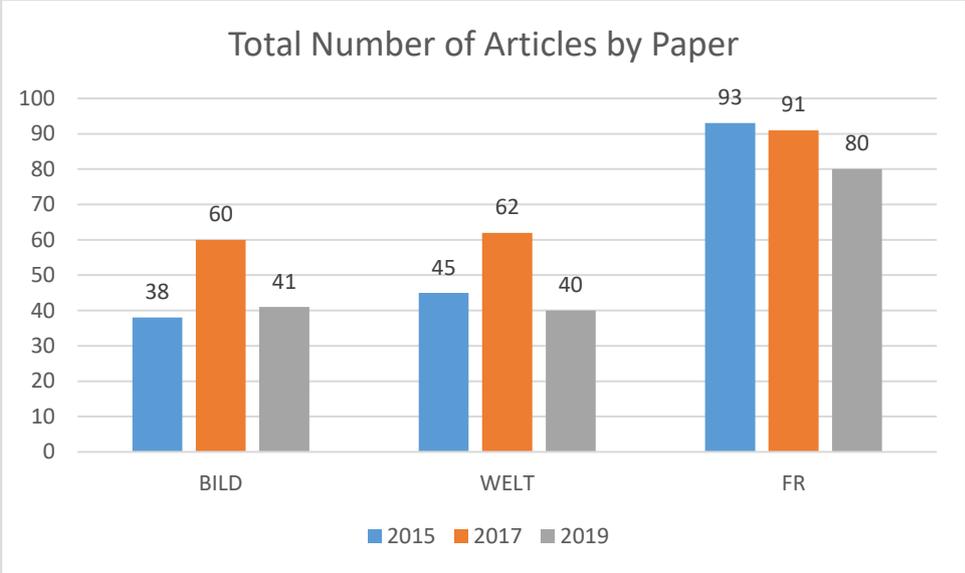


Fig. 7: Total number of articles per year by paper

Among the topic of articles and roles of immigrants the top three are football, the refugee crisis, and integration as well as sports star, immigrant/asylum seeker/ refugee, and criminal or victim. Roles such as politician, business person or volunteer were much less frequent, although there were a variety of instances where the immigrant status of a person in such a role could have been mentioned.

As for article length *Bild* has short articles in general. The wordcount of the identified articles was between 30 and 350 words with most articles falling into a range of 150 to 300 words. In comparison the broadsheet papers *Welt* and *Frankfurter Rundschau* have a greater variety in article length with a range of 50 to 2000 words. For both newspapers the majority of articles has a length of 400 to 800 words.

Welt and *Frankfurter Rundschau* also show more variety in the different types of texts containing immigrant representation. Both papers feature news reports, interviews, comments, letters, essays, crime reports and features. *Bild* features short news, editorial notes and short features.

This difference in text length and type results in broader areas of immigrant representation in the broadsheet papers as the variety allows both papers to include different topics and roles. In contrast *Bild* relies on established roles and running stories.

A general pattern of a running story in *Bild* is spread out over three to five days. The first article is the shortest, often not reaching 100 words. Within one or two days a longer article is then published, focusing in more detail on one aspect of the story. This is then followed by a third article that builds onto the general topic of the two previous ones.

One example of a running story would be the deportation of Afghan criminals. The first article was a short news bulletin mentioning eight Afghan men were deported to Kabul. This was followed by a longer article explaining that only asylum seekers who committed serious crimes were deported and mentioning some of those crimes. The last article introduced all eight men and their crimes. The same story was published in *Welt* and the *Frankfurter Rundschau* following the pattern of a typical news report.

4.2 Region

Another important factor is the variety in origin of immigrants. In the greater area of Frankfurt (Main) 180 nationalities are present (Opp, 2016). Immigrants in Germany thus reflect almost all nations.

4.2.1 Identified regions

The papers mention people from all parts of the world with Asia, Eastern Europe and the Middle East appearing the most frequent and Australia appearing only once. The Middle East is mentioned 107 times, followed by Asia (99), Eastern Europe (98), Africa (65), Central Europe (60), Southern and Western Europe with 58 mentions each, Northern Europe (32), South America (30), North America (22) and Australia (1). Added together, Europe is mentioned 306 times.

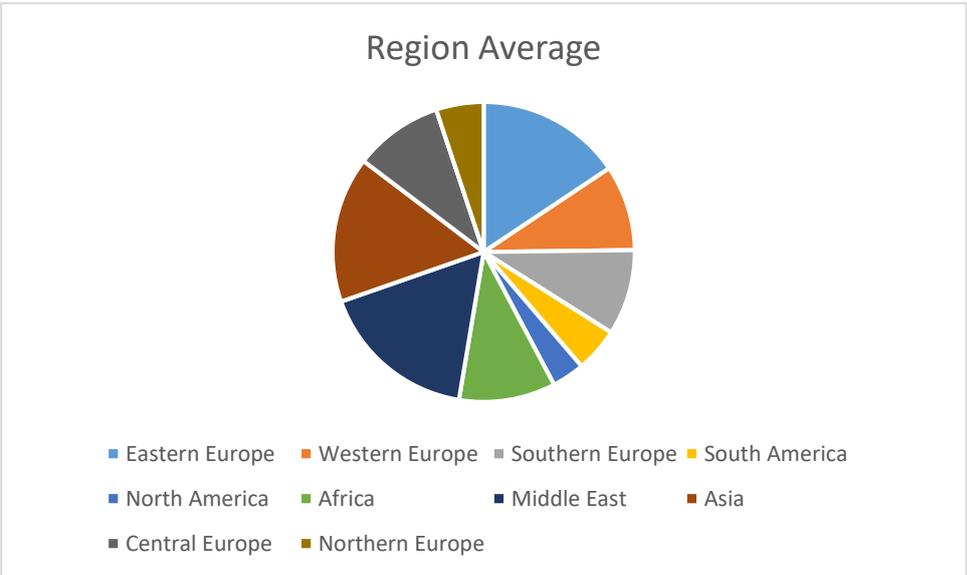


Fig. 8: Region distribution average

The total number of specifically named countries is 81. Turkey is mentioned the most (58 times), followed by Afghanistan (37), Italy (29), Switzerland (27), France (26), and the Netherlands (21). The high number of Afghans in this list is surprising considering the other countries on this list. Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands are neighbouring countries of Germany which suggests that people of those nations are more present in Germany. Turkish people represent the largest group of immigrants in Germany which is reflected in Turkey being mentioned the most frequently. The same applies to Italy, with Italians also having a long tradition of immigrating to Germany. None of this applies to Afghanistan which suggests that the interest in this country is linked to other factors.

4.2.2 Region representation by paper

The individual newspapers show some variation in their distribution of mentioned regions. In *Bild* the largest groups are still the Middle East followed by Eastern Europe. But in comparison to the average Asia makes up a much smaller percentage while Africa and Western Europe are mentioned more frequently.

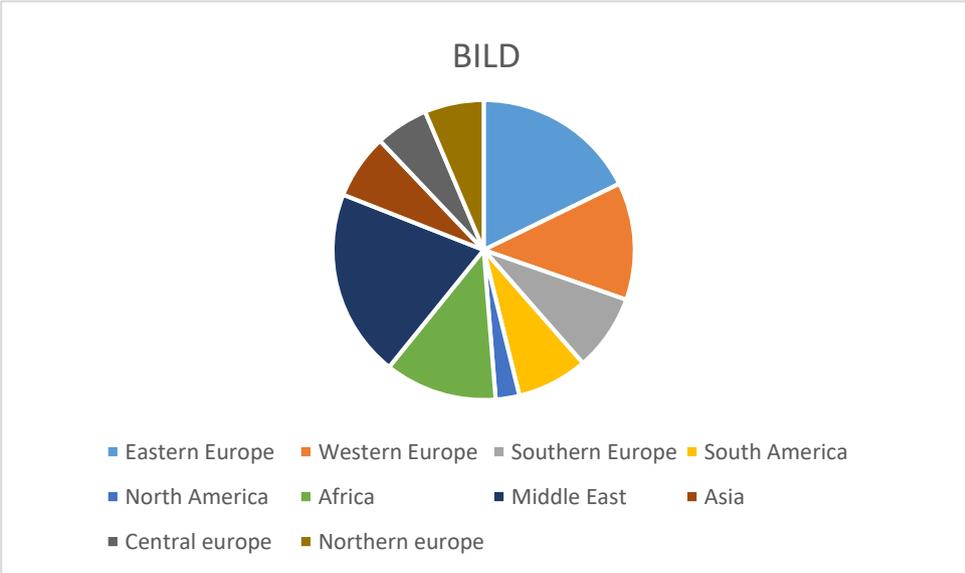


Fig. 9: Region distribution in Bild

In *Welt* Asia forms the largest group, followed by Eastern Europe and the Middle East. But in comparison to the average, the Middle East appears less frequently.

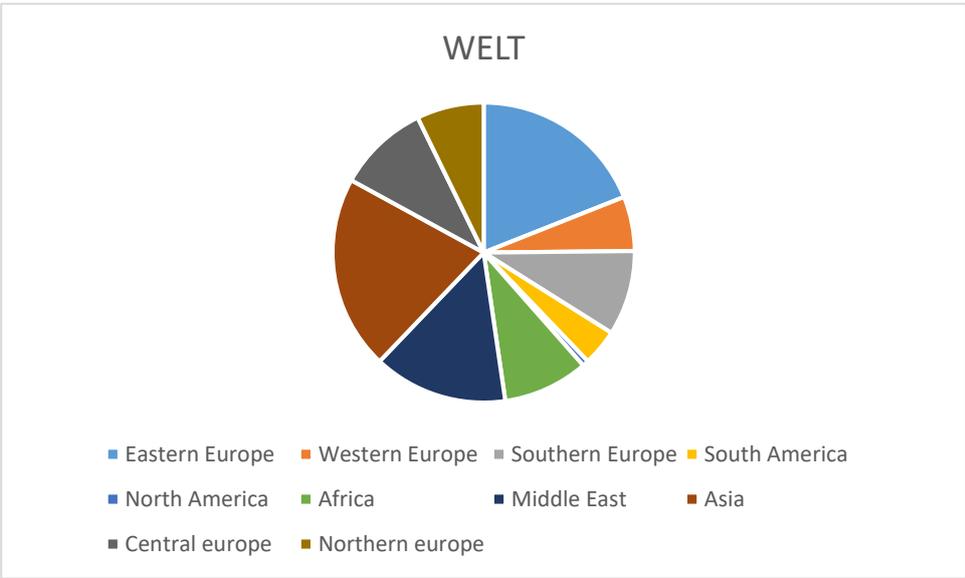


Fig. 10: Region distribution in Welt

In the *Frankfurter Rundschau* the share is distributed similarly to *Welt* for the top three, but Central and Western Europe are mentioned more frequently. This might again be linked to the regional section of the Newspaper and the status of Frankfurt as a business and finance city, attracting EU businesses and partners.

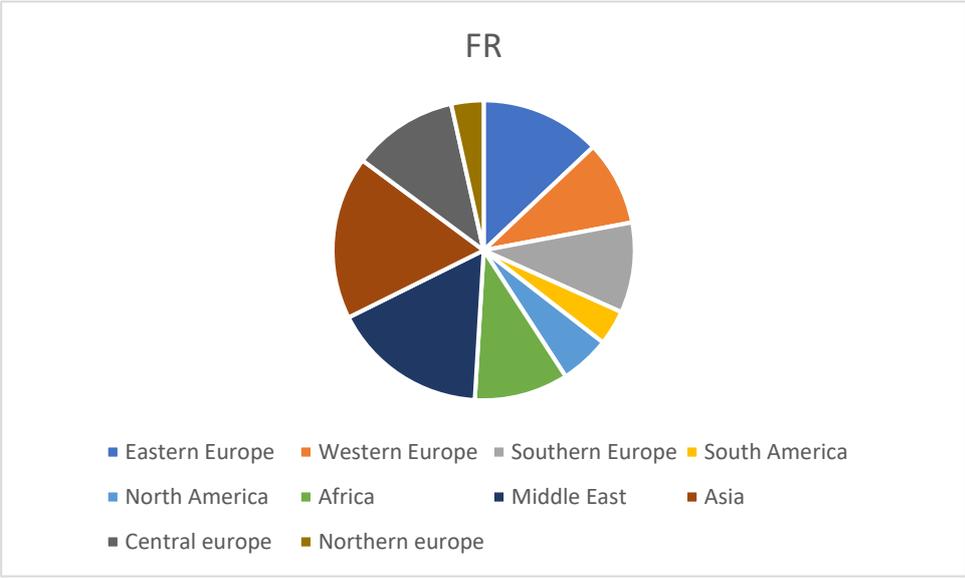


Fig. 11: Region distribution in the Frankfurter Rundschau

The distribution of regions also correlates with the top three topics and roles. All three regions are mentioned with regards to integration. The Middle East and Asia are linked to the refugee crisis while Eastern Europe is on the one hand mentioned in relation to crime and on the other hand frequently mentioned in sports. To a lesser extent, Asia also features in sports as does Europe in general.

4.3 Religion

Religion also plays a role in immigrant representation as it is an easy identifier of otherness. The four religions mentioned in the newspapers are Islam, Judaism, Christianity and Buddhism. Islam makes up 81 per cent of all mentions with 58 entries followed by Judaism with 11 entries. Christianity is mentioned three times. Buddhism appears only once.

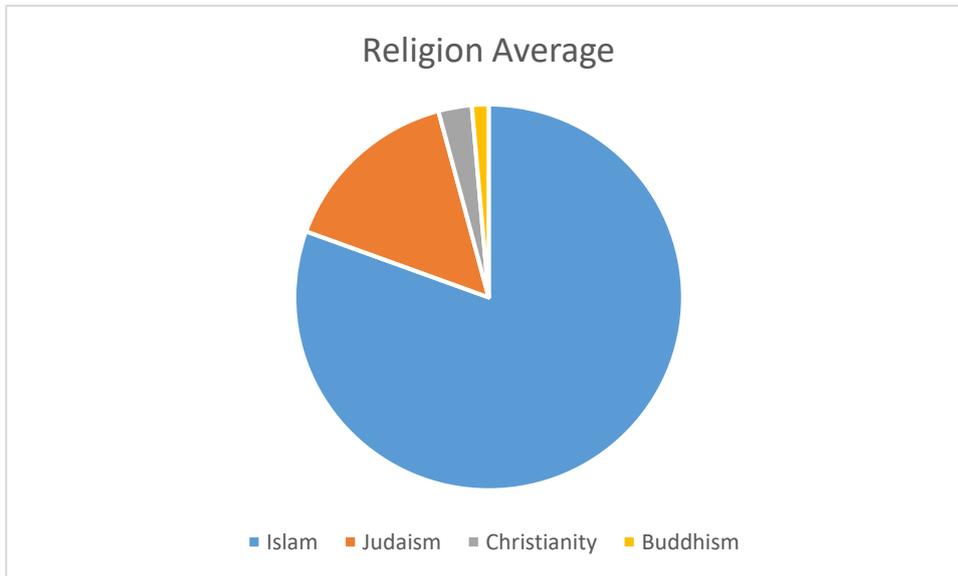


Fig. 12: Average distribution of mentioned religions

In the individual publication religion appears quite differently. *Bild* only mentions Islam and Judaism and does so on only three occasions. *Welt* refers to Islam, Judaism, and Christianity and makes up half of the mentions of religion. It is also the paper that refers to Judaism the most frequently (seven entries). The *Frankfurter Rundschau* mentions all four religions and comprises the other half of mentions. It also mentions Islam most frequently with 29 mentions. However, *Welt* is close behind with 27 mentions.

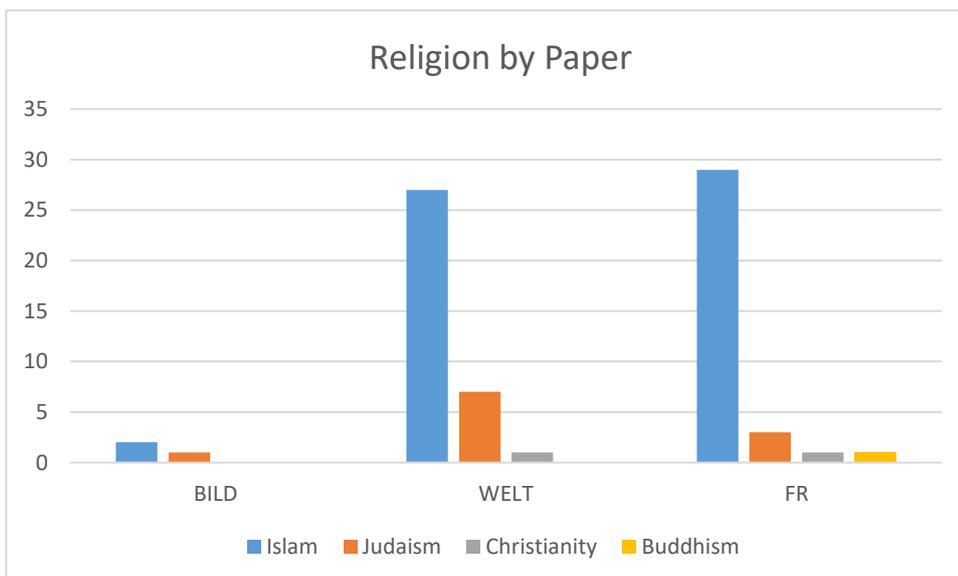


Fig. 13: Distribution of religions by paper

These numbers show the high interest in Islam and suggest that it is a matter of importance when it comes to immigrant representation. The numbers also correlate with the regions and topics identified above. Muslims and Islam were mentioned most frequently within the context of immigration, integration, the refugee crisis, and crime as both victims and criminals. Judaism and Christianity were mentioned in the context of integration and crime as victims. Buddhism was mentioned in the context of integration. This shows that Islam is linked to issues of integration and violence whereas other religions are linked to integration and victim status. Furthermore, mentions of Islam occurred less frequent in 2019. This indicates that Islam was linked to the refugee crisis in 2015 and was a topic during the election campaign season of 2017 which is assigning a political dimension to Islam that other religions do not possess.

4.4 Demographics

Demographics is concerned with the makeup of immigrant groups regarding age and gender. Sexuality was mentioned only once and thus does not play a large role in immigrant representation.

4.4.1 Gender

Gender matters in immigrant representation as it shapes the notion of immigrant groups and can enhance the perception of otherness. Furthermore, immigrants are a heterogenous group thus, the variety within the group should be reflected in the media. Both women and men were mentioned in the papers along with a third group for which the gender was not specified.

A huge gap in gender representation is evident. Men are mentioned 488 times, while women are only mentioned 120 times. So, the representation of male immigrants is more than five times higher than that of female immigrants (19.7 per cent).

4.4.2 Gender by paper

The difference within the papers is even bigger. In *Bild* men were mentioned 137 times while women were mentioned 21 times, which is a share of only 13.29 per cent. *Welt* fairs only slightly better with men being mentioned 113 times and women being mentioned 26 times (18.72 per cent). The *Frankfurter Rundschau* is slightly above average with women having 73 mentions, giving them (23.47 per cent) in comparison to 238 mentions of men.

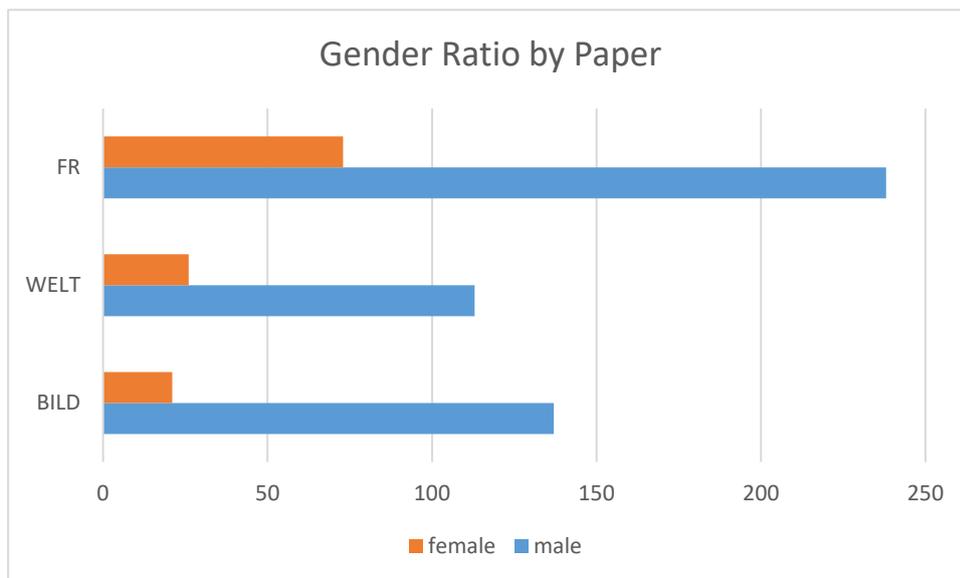


Fig. 14: Gender mentions by paper

In addition, women are assigned the role of victim more frequently than men. At the same time men are assigned the role of sports star, celebrity or politician much more frequently than women. In relation to crime men are also much more likely to be linked to illegal activities, assault, rape, and murder.

4.4.3 Age

Immigrant representation occurs for all age groups starting with children and ending with elderly people. However, the age groups of teenagers and young adults make up the largest share. Children and elderly people are mentioned the least frequently. Middle aged people appear more often. Teenagers and young adults are most frequently mentioned in the context of integration, crime and sports. The latter assigns the role of sports stars and coaches while the former two assign roles of (illegal) immigrant, refugee, criminal, and victim. Teenagers and young adults from the Middle East and Asia are more likely to appear in the context of integration and crime. Teenagers and young adults from Europe and the Americas are more likely to appear in the Sports section. For Africa and East Asia, the results are mixed and seem to depend on specific countries. For example, Ghana is mentioned in the context of sports whereas Nigeria is mentioned in the context of crime. Respectively, Japan is mentioned in the context of sports and China is mentioned in the context of immigration and integration.

These observations apply to all newspapers with some implications for immigrant representation. The underrepresentation of children and elderly people in combination with the large number of mentions of teenagers and young adults creates an image of immigration that focuses on a specific age group. In combination with region and gender the picture of young male immigrants from the Middle East and Asia as a threat emerges.

However, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* lessens the impact of this image slightly by including mentions of voluntary workers, festivities, and women.

4.5 Involvement

Involvement is concerned with the question if immigrants contribute to the text in question. This category plays an important role in immigrant representation, as it looks at how representation is created and if actual immigrant voices contribute to the discourse. This analysis differentiates between active and passive involvement.

4.5.1 Active or passive

Active involvement means an active contribution by immigrants. This can either be as an author, as a source, or as an interview partner. Direct quotes and paraphrased quotes by individuals are considered active involvement.

Passive involvement means the text was written without the active contribution of one or more immigrants. This is the case when experiences by more than one immigrant are combined or summarised, or when information about the group or individual only comes from outside sources. Outside sources can be individuals such as politicians, scientists or other experts, or texts such as studies, letters, essays, etc.

4.5.2 Involvement break-down

As with gender, the involvement or participation of immigrants in immigrant representation shows a big gap. Of all counted 754 mentions of immigrant representation only 187 were based on active involvement. This makes up a quarter of all mentions. In *Bild* 181 mentions were counted with only 31 being active. *Welt* had 214 mentions with only 44 being active. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* fared better with 359 mentions, 112 of them active.

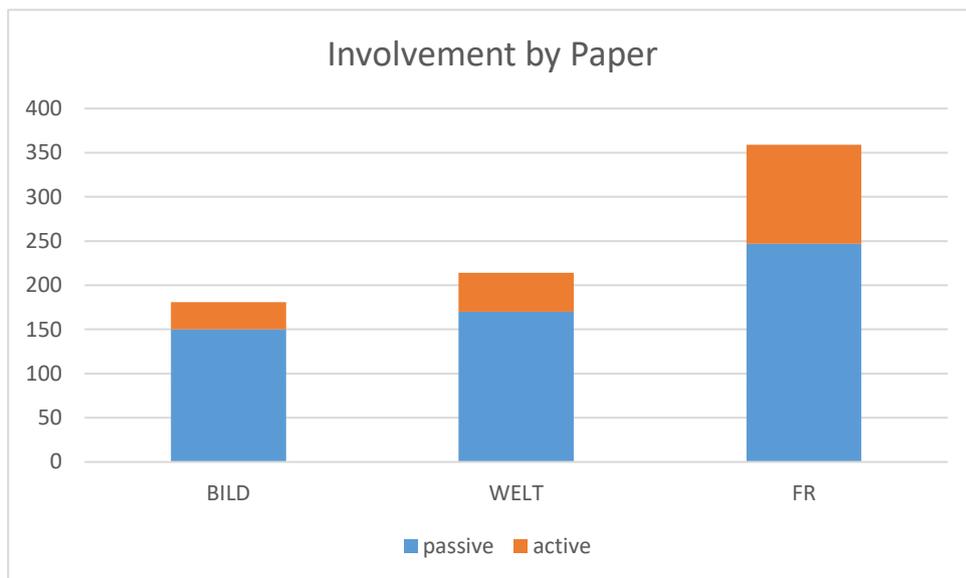


Fig. 15: Immigrant involvement by paper

Another problem regarding involvement is linked to the roles of immigrants. The largest share of active involvement is held by sports stars, as they are frequently interviewed. Refugees, asylum seekers and people linked to integration issues have only a small chance of shaping media discourse and public perception. This is especially true for women and people falling into the regions of Asia, Africa and the Middle East. In contrast immigrants from European areas and the Americas have bigger chances to contribute to the discourse and shape representation.

4.6 Quality

Quality refers to the way immigrants are represented in terms of positive, negative and neutral. This aspect is part of the qualitative analysis and considers the influence of an article on immigrant perception in society.

4.6.1 Quality definition

Positive immigrant representation focuses on good deeds, highlight the positive impact of a person such as voluntary work, show an effort of integration, talk about an achievement such as an award or degree, or use positive descriptors.

Negative immigrant representation highlights the negative impact of a person, focuses on negative influences of immigration, uses negative descriptors or mentions immigrant status in crime reporting when it is not relevant to the crime or public interest. This latter part is based on the guidelines of the German Pressekodex. This analysis thus does not consider crime reporting negative immigrant representation by default but examines the details of the individual report.

Neutral immigrant description applies to any text that does not fall clearly into the negative or positive category including texts that have neither positive nor negative elements as well as texts that contain both elements in balance. Furthermore, this category applies to crime reporting for which the immigrant status plays a role and which is relevant to the public interest.

4.6.2 Quality of immigrant representation

The majority of articles in this body of texts have a neutral quality, followed by positive and then negative. The high number of texts with neutral quality indicates balanced articles and overall high-quality research and journalism that follows standards and the guidelines of the Pressekodex.

Most of the articles falling into the positive category are concerned with sports, entertainment or food. Meanwhile articles falling into the negative category are focusing on crime, integration, and immigration but also sports.

Again, the distribution among the newspapers varies. *Bild* can be considered the most balanced in terms of distribution. Positive and negative mentions are almost equal in numbers while neutral mentions make up the largest share. *Welt* is similar with slightly more mentions on the positive side than on the negative. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* is again an outlier in this trend. It has the least amount of negative mentions and the highest ratio of positive to negative mentions. It also has the highest ratio of neutral to positive and neutral to negative mentions by per cent.

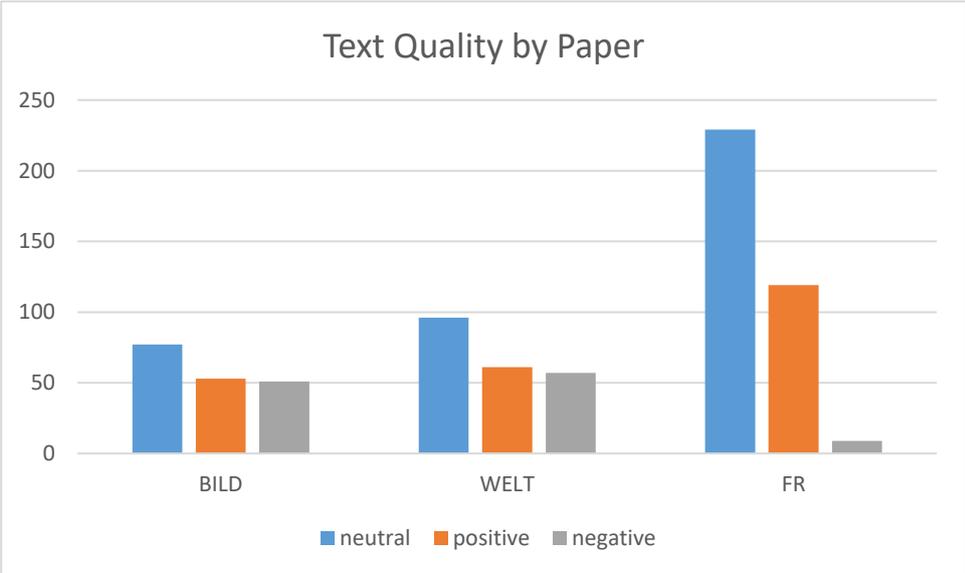


Fig. 16: Quality of immigrant representation in texts by paper

The differences in share correlate with the most popular topics and roles. *Bild*, as a tabloid paper, focuses on sports and crime, which is reflected in the almost equal share of positive and negative mentions. *Welt* includes arts and culture next to social analyses, discussions and essays which is also

reflected in the positive to negative ratio. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* is concerned with sports but also mentions local projects and volunteers in its regional part which contributes to the number of positive mentions.

The quality of an article is also linked to specific keywords that appear over the period. Those words mark immigration as problematic, invoke images of chaos and paint refugees and immigrants as fraudulent, lazy and a burden. Those words appeared more likely without explanation or context in *Bild* and *Welt* which further contributes to the number of negative mentions.

4.7 Discussion and conclusion

Immigration and following this immigrant representation are important topics in German print media. The huge number of articles featuring immigrant representation indicate great public interest. However, immigrant representation is not distributed evenly among the diverse group of immigrants.

Within the analysis seven trends emerge:

- Underrepresentation of women
- Huge share of teenagers and young adults
- Prevalence of Islam in comparison to other religions
- Dominance of specific regions
- Dominance of specific roles
- Passive involvement
- Difference between conservative and liberal papers

Women are severely underrepresented in the group of immigrants. When they appear, it is often as weak victims in the context of crime, as refugees or in relation to violence against women. As a group, women play no role in immigrant representation which results in the public image of immigrants as mostly male.

This is linked to an unequal distribution of mentions in terms of age. The group of teenagers and young adults is dominating this area. In comparison elderly people and children are underrepresented and middle-aged people also appear seldomly. This narrows the frame of immigrant representation to young male immigrants.

This frame is further narrowed down through the prevalence of Islam. Religion is not mentioned that often but when it is, it is most likely Islam which is mentioned. Furthermore, Islam is mentioned in contexts that depict Muslims as a threat. The resulting imagery is one of a dangerous young man coming to Germany.

This image also applies to young male immigrants from Eastern European countries. However, overall Europe is dominating immigrant representation in the areas of positive representation and active involvement. The fact that Eastern European countries are more frequently linked to crime than other European countries shows that old prejudices continue to find their way into the narrative. But this group is also frequently included in the sports sections so there appears to be an ongoing change to a more positive or neutral perception of Eastern Europeans. In contrast the Middle East and Asia emerge as new problem areas and troublemakers. Both regions occur frequently in articles and are likely to appear in the context of conflict and crime. This impacts public perception furthering the image of dangerous young Muslim men coming to Germany from these areas.

The dominance of sports star, immigrant, and criminal or victim as roles of immigrants in print media further strengthens these images. It appears as if immigrants can take on only one positive role in the area of sports; otherwise they are condemned to a passive status as immigrant or asylum seeker or to the status of a criminal or victim.

Business owners, politicians, social workers, employees and employers, and even celebrities outside of sports are severely underrepresented in immigrant representation. This places immigrants outside of society. They are either unattainable sports stars, people in liminal spaces waiting for others to decide their future, or people operating outside established laws.

The problem with this imagery is that it is constructed from the outside. Immigrant representation is predominantly created with only passive involvement of immigrants. It is not the actual group of immigrants that shapes the narrative and imagery. Sources are predominantly elsewhere taking on the form of reports, studies, politicians, and experts. Immigrant representation lacks immigrant voices and immigrant interests. This poses the question if immigrant representation is, in fact, representative.

Within the newspapers this question is up for discussion as well. *Bild* and *Welt* feature more negative immigrant representation than the *Frankfurter Rundschau* although the overall dominant area is neutral immigrant representation. They also show a political aspect seen in the rise of articles with immigrant representation during the election campaign.

In comparison the *Frankfurter Rundschau* shows a steady coverage of immigrant representation. It is also leaning towards positive representation and concerned with the inclusion of immigrant voices. It lacks the clear political aspect present in the conservative papers.

When comparing *Bild* and *Welt*, both papers published by the Axel Springer conglomerate, it becomes obvious that both papers share a lot of qualities. Both balance negative and positive representation in a similar fashion. Both show the same pattern in article numbers. But there are also differences. *Welt*, as a broadsheet, puts a great emphasis on politics with regards to immigrant representation which

impacts the region share of the paper pushing Asia to the top. In contrast *Bild* focuses more on sports. Asia is less dominant as a region; instead the Middle East, Eastern Europe, Western Europe and Africa become more prominent. This reflects the focus on sports, as well as the political dimension of immigration. *Bild* also has the highest number of negative mentions in relation to total article number. This is due to *Bild* repeatedly going against the Pressekodex when talking about immigrants and crime. It is the only newspaper among the three that does so. This indicates that this is a tabloid specific problem while further contributing to the negative image of dangerous immigrants.

Overall immigrant representation focuses on specific groups and lacks immigrant voices. Liberal papers appear to include more immigrant voices than conservative papers while also pushing a more positive image of immigrants. Conservative papers include the political dimension of immigration and tend to feature more negative images than liberal papers. There are also some observations with regards to the special situation of Germany in relation to immigration. Those will be discussed in the next section.

5.0 Observations

In addition to the clearly defined immigrant representation analysed in the previous section, there are three phenomena which influence public immigrant perception but cannot be classified as direct immigrant representation. These phenomena are the dominance of immigration related topics covered in the media, the peculiar East-West German relationship and history, and the issue of names as indicators of immigration history. It is important to consider these topics in relation to immigrant representation because they contribute to the general perception of immigration even though it is much harder to quantify the impact of those topics in terms of immigrant representation.

5.1 The dominance of immigration related topics

The number of articles containing immigrant representation was already quite large. But in addition to those articles, there are many more that do not qualify for immigrant representation under the definition of the code book but are concerned with immigration in general terms. For the whole period under observation, immigration dominates media coverage.

5.1.1 Changes in immigration depiction

The topics change over time. In 2015 border control, the chaos during the mass immigration of the refugee crisis, political discussions about which European country is supposed to take in refugees, political discussions on how to prevent mass immigration to Europe, and sea rescue of refugees crossing the Mediterranean Sea to Europe dominate the papers. Those topics are covered by all three papers under observation with *Welt* and *Frankfurter Rundschau* providing more articles on the political discourse and *Bild* focusing on publishing numbers on how many refugees crossed the German borders on an almost daily basis.

None of the papers blames immigration for any problems but the image they create is one of chaos. The German state is losing control over its borders. Border control personnel are understaffed and unable to follow the correct proceedings of registering people at the border. The member states of the European Union are also at odds with each other. Southern European states are on the verge of breaking down under the number of people in their refugee camps, but the remaining member states cannot agree on a fair system to take in refugees.

Within this discussion, immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers become an undefined mass of people. They are numbers that need to be calculated and brought under control. This image, although it is more of a general impression than actual immigrant representation, adds to the more concrete image of immigration as a threat that was established in the previous chapter.

From 2015 to 2017 and onwards the discussion shifts to crime statistics including immigrant crime but also crimes against immigrants and refugee shelters. There is also an increasing coverage of anti-immigrant and anti-Islam rhetoric by members of the far-right party AfD. There are no obvious differences in this coverage among the newspapers aside from the difference in crime reporting in *Bild*, established in the previous chapter. What is different here is that immigrants again form a vaguely defined group that disrupts public order either by committing crime or by dividing communities into those that welcome and want to help refugees and those who are anti-immigrant and attack shelters and people. There is also an increasing amount of anti-Islam discourse in political discussions, adding to the picture of particularly Muslim immigrants as a threat.

Mixed into this mostly negative picture are voices that consider immigration a chance for the economy, especially in areas that struggle to find workers such as elderly care and small trade businesses. This then gives rise to discussions on integration.

5.1.2 Germany as an “immigrant nation”

An overarching theme in these discussions is the question if Germany is an “immigrant nation” (Einwanderungsland) like the USA. There is an ongoing political debate on this topic which appears to be redundant considering the fact that people from at least 180 different nations live in Germany. Germany has a history of immigration which it seems to reject. This started with “guest workers” that came after the Second World War and helped to restart the German economy, continued with German emigrants and their families who had lived abroad for only a few generations and came back to Germany often from Eastern European areas (particularly “Russlanddeutsche” from Russian areas), and is now a mix of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants from all over the world who either come to the country to escape war and persecution or simply to start a new life as expats. Germany even has a blue card system in place similar to the US American green card. Despite this history, Germany still has no law that regulates and defines immigration.

The whole discussion is laced with negatively connotated buzzwords that emerged during the four-year period and form key terms in the debate. There is a distinction between regular refugees and economic refugees (Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge), along with a clear distinction of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants. The latter are depicted as a group that wants to stay and work in the country while the former are considered to leave again. The same idea was applied to the early “guest workers” who never left and are now firmly established members of the German society. There is also the idea of “asylum tourism” (Asyltourismus) that is used to imply that people are not really trying to escape from danger but rather want to come to a country to profit from the social security system.

These distinctions and discussions add to the pool of media content focusing on immigration as a problem that needs to be solved. None of these topics can be defined as immigrant representation but they all contribute to the public image of immigrants. As with immigrant representation, immigrant voices are mostly absent from the debate. This appears to be an overarching trend in immigration coverage, regardless of the topic.

5.2 East-West German issue

Germany belongs to the small and very special category of countries that are or were divided into two separate and independent countries. Since the reunification of Germany occurred only in 1990, people who moved from East to West Germany or to a much smaller extent vice versa are still present. They form a group of their own as they are considered German but also immigrant. Their situation is even different from those of emigrants returning to Germany. Emigrants are perceived as “less German” than people from East Germany who came to the West before the unification of Germany. Still, they are people who migrated from one country to another.

5.2.1 The East-West bias

This raises several issues in the classification of immigrants. Does East-West German migration count as immigration? Does the inclusion of East German immigrants distort the analysis? Are there any trends specific to this group? There are no clear-cut answers to those questions because the situation of a divided country is special.

Despite all the issues of the Cold War era, West German politicians always considered the reunification of Germany an inevitable goal. East and West Germany and their citizens were considered one at least from a Western point of view. At the same time East Germany and East Germans were seen as something very different from West Germany.

This distinction is still made today and from both sides. While the reunification, or unity, as it is usually called was always seen as inevitable, it is still common to make distinctions between East and West Germany. Historically this is due to the big differences in policy, society and wealth of both states, many of which are still visible today.

This results in East Germans who feel like they do not really belong to the German state and as if politicians and the unified Germany do not care about their concerns and well-being. Meanwhile, West Germans look at East Germany as an area that needs aid in terms of unemployment rates, poverty, wages, education and infrastructure. There are still a lot of prejudices on both sides and the othering that is usually applied in an immigration context plays an important role in German-German

perception. Within this construct, the new immigration wave and debate added another dimension that further complicated the issue.

5.2.2 The immigration divide in East and West Germany

East Germany appears to be far more racist, Islamophobic, xenophobic, and generally anti-immigration than West Germany. Of the reported crimes against refugee shelters and people the clear majority occurred in East Germany. The Islamophobic and xenophobic Pegida movement was started in East Germany in 2014. The neo-Nazi terror group NSU was formed by East Germans. And the far-right party AfD has much stronger support in East Germany than in West German parliaments. These topics feature frequently in relation to immigration coverage and political debates in all three newspapers. There are no major differences in the coverage aside from the difference in article length and type discussed in the previous chapter.

This has two effects on public discourse. On the one hand the differences between East and West Germany move to the forefront of the public mind. The divide is strengthened instead of weakened. The narrative frame of “us versus them” is strong on both sides of the debate showing that the ideal of a united Germany is not completely achieved, yet.

On the other hand, immigration receives one more negative connotation. *Bild* even made a story out of the topic describing how the “immigration debate” is driving apart whole families. The topic is dividing the country. Old resentments start playing a role again. Political discourse is picking up the discrepancies between East and West and is turning it into a political problem. The resulting discussion further contributes to the vague imagery of immigration as a threat to society.

5.3 Names

Names in general are not reliable indicators of the origin of a person or their citizenship. This is why names were explicitly excluded as indicators of immigration history in the code book. But names in Germany also have special connotations tied into the East-West history of the country. Besides that, there are many instances in the three newspapers under observation in which an article could have qualified for positive and active immigrant representation if names as an independent identifier of immigrant history were included as determination factors.

5.3.1 “Foreign” names and the East-West situation

In 2009 a teaching student wrote her dissertation on what has become known as “Kevinism” (or “Chantalism” for the female version) – the prejudice against a certain set of names, specifically Anglo-American names, as indicators of low socio-economic background, disruptive personality, less successful life, low education, and East German origin (Zhang, 2012). A follow-up study on the effect of “Kevinism” on online dating confirmed those prejudices with the worst connotations for the names Kevin, Justin, and Marvin for men and Mandy, Celina, and Chantal for women (Mulholland, 2012).

The background for this bias is linked to bias against East German people and a trend that started in East Germany in the years leading up to the reunification. Anglo-American names were popular in the GDR during that time. With the stigma against East Germans firmly in place the prejudice continues up to this day and has spread to other “foreign” sounding names with effects on public perception (von der Mark, 2016), housing (Chazan, 2018), and employment (Donath, 2010). In addition, there is a trend among higher social classes to choose “traditional German” names for children. Jacob, Alexander, Max, Charlotte, Emma, and Hannah are considered as the most positive (Mulholland, 2012).

There are several issues resulting from those biases. First and foremost, variations of those names exist in many languages of the world. The perceived “German-ness” of names puts a stigma on perceived “foreign” names. People with those names face social repercussions on the one hand in the East-West conflict, on the other hand as (perceived) foreigners. The long-time effects of this phenomenon on education, unity, and integration leave people with foreign-sounding names at a disadvantage and add to the image of otherness that resides in both the East-West conflict and immigrant perception.

5.3.2 Names and representation

This is linked to a trend in immigrant representation. There is no identifiable system behind when and how the immigrant history of a person is mentioned. Among the texts that were excluded from the analysis in the previous chapter, there were many which could have qualified for positive and active immigrant representation but failed to actually mention the immigration history of a person. This is a phenomenon that occurs in all three papers but within different sections of the paper. In *Welt* and the *Frankfurter Rundschau* the politicians Cem Özdemir and Tarek Al-Wazir are mentioned several times. Both hold important positions within the Green Party. Cem Özdemir was the party leader until early 2018. Tarek Al-Wazir is the Minister for Economic Affairs and deputy leader of the Federal Government of Hesse. Tarek Al-Wazir has a double-citizenship of Germany and Yemen. Cem Özdemir’s parents are Turkish immigrants. Their personal history was mentioned once in a context unrelated to immigration but was not mentioned when their positions on the immigration debate were covered. It

is not possible to say whether this was done to show that their position was objective or how it was decided when their heritage should be included in the article.

Bild published two articles that featured Fernanda Brandão, a singer, dancer, and TV host. The articles were published within two consecutive days, covered a TV game show in which Fernanda Brandão participated, and emphasised her Brazilian origin in one article, focusing on the beauty of the two female candidates of the show while not mentioning it in the other after she lost the show.

The most interesting case is that of the football stars Jérôme Boateng and his half-brother Kevin-Prince Boateng. Both were born in Berlin and have a German mother and a Ghanaian father. Jérôme Boateng is a member of the German national team and his brother is a member of the Ghanaian national team. Since both were active players in the German football league over the course of the four-year period under observation, both featured frequently in the sports section of all three newspapers. For Jérôme, his German-Ghanaian heritage was not mentioned in any of the papers. In contrast, all three papers frequently referenced Kevin-Prince Boateng's heritage and added that he has a history of being a troublemaker in his former clubs. Only the *Frankfurter Rundschau* mentioned that both players are related.

These examples indicate that the immigrant background of a person is, maybe subconsciously, only considered under specific circumstances tied to stereotypes. For women, the immigrant background seems to be considered in the context of looks, when the woman in question comes from a stereotypically "hot-blooded" country. In the case of Fernanda Brandão, her Brazilian roots were considered in terms of her looks and dancing abilities. When those were not mentioned, her heritage was also not mentioned. However, two articles are not enough to reliably detect a trend and as women are underrepresented in the identified articles in general, this assessment should be investigated further.

In the case of the Boateng brothers, the German national player seems to be considered as German whereas the Ghanaian national player is perceived as Ghanaian even though their heritage is the same. In addition, the mixed heritage background is only mentioned for the "troublemaker" brother. This raises the question if his background is subconsciously associated with trouble and risks. This notion is strengthened by another trend in sports reporting. Many of the entries listed as neutral immigrant representation in the analysis occurred in sports reporting when the origin of a player was used as a synonym for the player's or coach's name. The same stylistic device was used with player position or tricot numbers. One exception was the Italian player *Ciro Immobile* whose Italian origin, similar to Kevin-Prince Boateng's mixed heritage, was mentioned by *Bild* and *Welt* in relation to him causing problems for his club.

5.4 Conclusion

In addition to clearly identifiable and quantifiable immigrant representation there are several topics and trends in German print media that contribute to the public immigrant image in subtler ways. Those trends need to be considered when observing and discussing immigrant representation as they might enhance or weaken the effect of trends identified during the analysis.

Immigration has been one of the dominant topics in German print media coverage at least since 2015. The overall theme of the articles invokes images of immigration as a threat to peace, public order, and the individual. This notion is further strengthened in the context of Germany's history as a divided country which resurfaces in relation to immigration while also raising the question if East and West Germany should be considered as different countries within the context of immigrant representation. On the one hand, East Germans were always considered German by the West German government. On the other hand, the language that is used by both sides mirrors the language that contributes to the othering of immigrants. This is especially true in the context of prejudice based on names which negatively affects both non-German immigrants and East Germans. Those prejudices appear to influence if and how the immigrant background of a person is mentioned which results in an overall lower number of positive and active immigrant representations.

All these phenomena tie in to general trends and differences in immigrant representation that can be observed in the three newspapers. However, with the present set of data it is difficult to assess the actual impact of those phenomena on the public perception of immigrants.

6.0 Conclusion

Since 2015 immigration has dominated media coverage in Germany. The topic has divided the country into different political factions with those who want to help and welcome refugees on one side and those whose growing fears slowly turn into anger and hatred towards immigrants on the other side. Hate crimes against immigrants, while not a major issue at the beginning of the 21st century, peaked during the height of the “refugee crisis”. Old prejudices between East and West Germany are rising again and anti-immigrant movements and parties mobilise thousands of people. With this background in mind, this dissertation tried to find out how immigrants are represented in German print media with regards to quality, coverage of different groups of refugees, trends and changes and political discourse. The analysis covered three newspapers, *Bild*, *Welt*, and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, and three two-week periods in 2015, 2017 and 2019.

The three papers provide a general overview of the German print media market with *Bild* being the most popular German newspaper. The tabloid is considered to take on a right-of-centre position and is published by the Axel Springer Verlag. Axel Springer also publishes the second newspaper, the broadsheet *Welt* which is considered conservative but liberal. The third newspaper, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, is published by the Druck- und Verlagshaus Frankfurt am Main GmbH and targets younger audiences with its left-centre and liberal position.

The selected weeks mark reference points over the four-year period under observation. Date 1, 6-19 July 2015, falls into the period of the “refugee crisis”; Date 2, 11-24 September 2017, covers the two weeks leading up to the German elections in September 2017; Date 3, 25 April-4 May 2019, is a contemporary reference date.

Overall 576 articles with explicit immigrant representation were identified for the six weeks in question. In addition, there were many more articles concerning general topics of immigration. Of the 576 articles, *Bild* covered 25 per cent of the share with 141 articles, *Welt* covered 29 per cent of the share with 169 articles, and *Frankfurter Rundschau* covered 46 per cent of the share with 266 articles.

The newspaper sections which appeared most often in the context of immigrant representation were Sport, Entertainment, News, Politics, Letters and Feuilleton. Sport was the most popular, accounting for over 50 per cent of the articles followed by Politics which covered roughly a quarter of all articles. In *Bild* Sport and News were the most common sections, in *Welt* Politics made up the biggest share of articles followed by Sport, and in *Frankfurter Rundschau* Sport was the most frequent section followed by Politics. The share of Sport in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* was the highest of all three newspapers as the *Frankfurter Rundschau* has an extra regional section that pushed up the number.

Both *Welt* and *Bild* showed a similar pattern for articles per year. The numbers rose in 2017 and were lower in 2015 and 2019. In contrast, the number of articles in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* remained

steady. This shows that the right-centred, conservative papers considered immigration a politically relevant topic during the election campaign whereas the liberal left-centred paper did not.

The most popular topics of articles that featured immigrant representation were football, the refugee crisis, and integration. Within those articles, immigrants were assigned different roles among which sports star, immigrant/asylum seeker/refugee, and criminal or victim occurred the most frequently. In contrast, roles such as politician, business person or volunteer were featured much less frequently.

Article length and types varied. *Bild* featured the shortest texts with 30 to 350 words. *Welt* and *Bild* featured articles between 50 and 2000 words. *Bild* only featured short news, editorial notes, and short features, while *Welt* and *Frankfurter Rundschau* showed more variety in text types, including interviews, comments, letters, and essays. This resulted in a broader coverage of immigrant representation in the broadsheets while *Bild* relied on established roles and frequently featured running stories.

The analysis showed that people from all regions of the world were mentioned with Asia, Eastern Europe and the Middle East appearing most frequently. However, all regions of Europe combined, Europe appeared 306 times. Eighty-one countries were named in total. The most frequent were Turkey, which represents the largest group of immigrants in Germany, Germany's European neighbours, and Afghanistan. Afghanistan forms an exception in this group, showing that the country was considered particularly important over the four-year period.

Within the three papers, region representation varied. In *Bild*, Asia featured less frequently but Africa and Western Europe appeared more often. In *Welt* the Middle East featured less frequently. In the *Frankfurter Rundschau* Central and Western Europe appeared more frequently.

Regions are also linked to topics and roles. Asia and the Middle East are linked to the refugee crisis. Eastern Europe is either mentioned in relation to crime or in connection with sports.

The newspapers mentioned Islam, Judaism, Christianity and Buddhism. Islam featured 58 times which makes up 81 per cent of all mentions. *Bild* only mentioned religion three times; the other mentions are divided almost equally among *Welt* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*. *Frankfurter Rundschau* mentions all four religions while *Welt* features Judaism the most of the three papers.

These numbers highlight the interest in Islam and its importance to immigrant representation. Again, the numbers are linked to the mentioned regions and topics. Muslims and Islam were mentioned most frequently within the context of problems as threats either in relation to immigration, integration or crime. The mentions of Islam dropped in 2019, which shows that it was considered more important during the immediate crisis and the election campaign.

In gender representation a huge gap appeared. Women make up less than a fifth of all mentions. Within the papers the representation of female immigrant varied. In *Bild*, women only make up 13.29 per cent of all mentions. In *Bild* it is 18.72 per cent. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* fares slightly better with 23.47 per cent.

Women also assume the role of victim much more frequently than men and appear less in positive roles such as sports star or politician.

There also appeared a gap in the coverage of age groups. Teenagers and young adults were mentioned much more frequently than other age groups. They appeared most frequently in the context of integration, crime and sports but this varied depending on the region. Teenagers and young adults from the Middle East and Asia were likely to appear in the context of integration and crime. Teenagers and young adults from Europe and the Americas were likely to appear in the Sports section. For Africa and East Asia, the results depended on specific countries rather than regions.

These findings highlight a problem in immigrant representation that is not covered by the Pressekodex. The dominance of teenagers and young adults in combination with the large number of mentions of crime and trouble creates a specific image of immigrants. The trends identified for regions and gender add to the picture of young male immigrants from the Middle East and Asia as a threat. While young men from the Middle East comprised the biggest portion of immigrants coming to Germany in 2014 and 2015, the image of the threat that is linked to them enforces fear and prejudice. However, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* provided a slightly more diverse picture of immigration by including mentions of voluntary workers, festivities, and women.

Another problem that became apparent through the analysis is the lack of active involvement of immigrants in the coverage and discourse surrounding immigration. In total 754 mentions of immigrant representation were counted but only 187 included immigrant voices. Again, this varied in the three newspapers. In *Bild* only 31 of 181 mentions were active. *Welt* had 44 active mentions among a total of 214. The *Frankfurter Rundschau*, again, did better with 112 active mentions in a total of 359.

Within active mentions sports stars appeared most frequently while refugees appeared on only a few occasions. People from Asia, the Middle East, and Africa appeared the least of all regions, even though Asia and the Middle East were among the top three of most mentioned regions. Women were also mostly excluded from active participation. In contrast, people from Europe and the Americas actively contributed to articles much more frequently.

The quality of immigrant representation varied depending on the political position of the newspaper. In all three papers the majority of articles had a neutral quality, followed by positive and then negative. But while the number of positive and negative mentions was nearly balanced in *Bild* and *Welt*, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* featured a much more positive coverage.

In general, the high number of texts with neutral quality indicates journalism that follows the guidelines of the Pressekodex. However, most of the articles featuring positive mentions were concerned with sports, entertainment or food. In contrast, articles featuring negative mentions were focused on crime, integration, and immigration.

Differences in coverage can be linked to the type of newspaper. The tabloid focused on sports and crime, which balanced positive and negative mentions. The conservative broadsheet featured arts and cultures next to political essays and discussions which also balanced positive and negative mentions. The liberal newspaper with the regional section mentioned sports and integration projects which pushed the number of positive mentions.

Article quality was also linked to specific keywords that appeared over the course of the four-year period. These words marked immigration as a source of problems and invoked images of chaos with refugees as fraudulent, lazy burdens on society and state. These keywords were more likely to appear in conservative papers which contributed to the positive-negative ratio.

There is a number of trends in the recent coverage of immigrants that results in a distorted impression of immigrants. One group dominates the discourse and the press coverage. The image of this group is shaped by outside sources which raises the question if immigrant representation is representative at all. Immigration has gained a political aspect that is prominent in conservative newspapers. Overall conservative papers include more negative coverage than liberal papers. Liberal papers also include more active immigrant voices.

In addition to the trends that can be put into numbers, many more articles feature the topic of immigration and contribute to the overall impression of immigrants. The topic dominates the media with topics changing over time. In 2015 regulation issues within the EU dominate the coverage; in later years the topic shifts to crime reporting. Within these narratives, immigrants are a faceless group, reduced to numbers that threaten society. This image is facilitated by increasing coverage of anti-immigrant and anti-Islam movements and parties. The voices that view immigration as a chance are few. The discussion whether or not Germany is an immigrant nation features prominently in political discourse.

In addition, the history of the divided nation resurfaces, bringing old problems between East and West Germany back to light in the context of immigration. East Germans feel as if they do not really belong to Germany and anti-immigrant movements rise. This drives the two regions of Germany further apart and adds to the image of immigration as trouble. This idea is pushed further by the issue of “foreign” names which manifests itself in prejudice against East Germans and immigrants alike.

Another issue is the fact that the immigrant background of a person is often not mentioned. This is especially true for positive and active immigrant representation. Celebrities, sports stars, politicians

and other people who could function as both positive role models for immigrants and positive examples of integration and immigrant contribution to society, are not indicated as immigrants. The exclusion of those people from immigrant representation in the press, and most likely from the public perception of immigrants, distorts the public picture.

The findings of this analysis are in accordance with earlier studies discussed in the literature review. Immigrants suffer from distorted immigrant representation and negative stereotypes. This is especially true for certain groups of immigrants. It is also true that the topics surrounding immigration changed over time. But it is not possible to say for certain that the press or other media are solely responsible for the shift in public attitude.

With regards to the original research question, How are immigrants represented in the German press?, the answer varies depending on the paper. Overall immigrant representation was neutral but needed more diversity and active immigrant contribution. Conservative papers featured more articles including negative immigrant representation. Only the tabloid newspaper disregarded Pressekodex guidelines in crime reporting and mentioned the immigrant history of both victims and perpetrators in a context where neither was of public interest. The liberal newspaper featured more articles that include positive immigrant representation. The coverage varied for different groups of immigrants. Women were severely underrepresented. Muslims dominated religious mentions. Teenagers and young adults dominated among the age groups. Certain regions appeared more often than others. The result is a dominant image of immigrants as young, male and Muslim from specific areas who cause trouble in Germany and Europe. While the group of young male Muslims from certain regions makes up the largest number of refugees who came to Germany in 2014 and 2015, they are not the majority of immigrants living in Germany. Thus, it could be said that the press does not feature immigrant representation but immigrant misrepresentation.

6.1 Proposal of improvements

Immigrant representation in the German press should be diversified. For truly representative representation more diverse voices need to be included. This includes, first and foremost, to include more immigrant voices. The next step would be to feature more women and to balance the age spectrum and religious groups. Young Muslim men from the Middle East might make up the biggest part of the refugees who came to Germany during the refugee crisis, but refugees are neither representative of all immigrants, nor is one particular group of refugees representative of the whole group of refugees. In a last step, the topics and roles of immigrants should receive some variation. There are immigrants in all parts of daily life in Germany. This reality should be reflected in the press and other media so people are made aware of it.

The Pressekodex already provides a good guideline for immigrant coverage but it cannot fix the dominance of one group over others. This is something journalists need to be aware of to change it. The topic of immigration is not going to disappear from public discourse any time in the near future. This is why the media needs to find a way to improve immigrant representation.

Immigrants would profit from a more diverse portrayal as it would mean more role models for immigrants of all religions, gender, origin, age, or even (possibly) sexuality. Political and public discourse would benefit from a more diverse portrayal because the public image of an immigrant would be less negatively connotated and restricted.

6.2 Future research

There is a number of steps that could be undertaken in future research. First of all, more papers and more times should be studied to see if the identified trends and issues hold up as representative in a bigger sample. It would also be interesting to start at an earlier point in time and look at the development of immigrant representation before the start of the refugee crisis.

Another direction could be taken with a detailed analysis of crime reporting. In the present analysis, the specifics of the crime were not noted in detail unless the role of an immigrant featured prominently. It would be interesting to break down crime reports further and to see what types of crime are associated with specific groups of immigrants and how this has changed over time. In this context, it would also be interesting to see how crime reporting of hate crimes has developed.

Another interesting aspect would be the comparison between recent trends and those during past immigration waves to Germany. Current immigrant representation can be improved but maybe the current trends are repetitions of the past which should be addressed, as well.

One more interesting take would be a comparison of East and West Germany by looking at local newspapers. This study already discussed some of the issues regarding East and West Germany but there is a lot more to uncover that could contribute to improved immigrant representation and to understand the differences in the German regions. Within this context, the influence of online media should also be considered.

Another thing that should be done is the compilation of a questionnaire aimed at journalists and other media people. This questionnaire should examine if there are any prejudices or assumptions that journalists unconsciously incorporate into their articles. In the end journalists are human and carry their own view of the world. If this view impacts the coverage of an important topic, this should be addressed and tried to be prevented.

As it is, the present analysis only tackles a small part of the topic of immigration and immigrant representation. There remains a lot to be uncovered in the future.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Code Book

Appendix 2: Coding Schedule

~~Appendix 3: Bild Issues, 2015~~

Appendix 1: Codebook

For all newspaper content:

A news story (unit of coding) is an article in a newspaper.

Every article which references the immigration history of a person must be coded.

Do not code advertising.

For consistency, Sunday issues, which appear for some newspapers, are not to be coded as readership and content differs from workday issues. If Sunday issues are included in future studies, they must be counted as separate entries from the weekday newspaper.

Text describing imagery is to be coded, but imagery is excluded if it is not available for all sources.

There is no minimum length for an item to be considered a news story.

If a news article spreads on more than one page, its continuation must be coded, and it will be considered as one story only.

Immigrant representation is classified as follows:

1. The article refers to the foreign origin of a person;
2. The article mentions any religion in combination with issues of immigration or integration,
3. or implies that one or more of the subjects in the text have foreign roots;
4. The article implies refers to one or more subject in the text by describing their looks as “Southern European”, “African”, “Asian” or any other matter that implies the foreign origin of a person.
5. If a text only implies the immigrant status of a subject, the details must be noted in the coding schedule.
6. The same applies to the term that indicates the foreign origin of a person and the religion of the subject.
7. Names alone are not an indicator of immigrant status
8. Texts that only refer to immigration in general terms are not to be counted as immigrant representation

Every text is counted as an individual subject, if one entry confirms the immigrant status of a person and another does not, only the entry that explicitly confirms immigration status is counted (assuming not every reader reads every part of a paper)

Furthermore, immigrant representation is only counted if the article has a connection to Germany, articles dealing with immigration in other countries are excluded from this analysis. This is due to the reason that the situation in other countries might be very different from the German situation and thus the discussed topics would not reflect the lived reality of Germany.

The following key words will be searched for in addition to explicit mentions of a subject's origin:

- **Immigrant**
- **Einwanderung**
- **Integration**
- **Herkunft**
- **-deutsch**
- **Islam**
- **Muslim**
- **Aussehen**
- **-ländisch**
- **Flüchtling**
- **Asyl**
- **Stämmig**
- **Gebürtig**
- **Ausländer**
- **Ethnisch**
- **Minderheit**
- **Fremdenhass**

Coding Categories

C1. Coder ID

Coder ID identifies the researcher undertaking the coding. It should be the full name of the person

C2. Item Number

Every article must receive a number, in ascending order, for identification purposes. If the coder needs to refer to a specific article at any point of the study, the coder should mention the article number.

C3 Date

a. Day

The date is coded in the format DD.MM.YYYY

b. Date (Day of Week)

A code must be applied to the day of the week:

Mon: Monday

Tue: Tuesday

Wed: Wednesday

Thur: Thursday

Fri: Friday

Sat: Saturday

C4. Publication

Newspapers are coded by their full name:

Bild

Welt

Frankfurter Rundschau

C5 Page

The page number upon which the article appears. If the article runs over several pages the whole range must be coded, starting with the first page the article appears on.

C6 Author

The author of an article must be coded by first and last name. If no author is mentioned, the article is coded as "n.a."

C7 Sources

If any are given, the sources used by the author must be noted. Sources can be people or documents (studies, party programs, books, recordings, etc.).

C8 Length

The wordcount of the article must be coded as a specific number, either by counting, or by the wordcount provided by archives such as LexisNexis. Wordcount includes image descriptions and additional information, such as information about the author.

C9. Text Type

The type of text of the article must be coded. Document the text type as words. Text types are:

- a. News Report: the factual report of an event, crime reports are a subsection of news reports but should be coded separately
- b. Opinion Piece: the viewpoint of a specific person or group on a specific topic
- c. Feature article: does not follow the structure of a classic news report but has an element of news to it
- d. Column / Commentary: clearly marked as such by the paper, coming from an outside source
- e. Letter to the Editor
- f. Interview: An interview is marked by the classic interview format of question and answer. Including quotes into an article does not make it an interview. Interviews contain more than one question.
- g. Editor's Note: an introduction to the paper in which the editor addresses the reader and talks about the present issue

C 10. Section

The section of the newspaper in which the article appears. This is usually classified by the newspaper at the top of each page.

C11. Topic

The general topic of the article must be coded. The topics depend on the newspaper section and thus the newspapers themselves. Sports topics further define the type sports (football, tennis, etc.). News Reports must be further defined by the type of news (politics, immigration, development, war, etc.). Entertainment news can be classified by medium (TV, film, book, etc.), event (concert, awards, etc.) or gossip. There are many more possible sections and topics and every coder should take great care to keep track of the sections and topics they identify.

C12. Subject

Each person must be coded individually in the subsection “Number”, starting from 1 in each article. Subsection “Total” notes the total number of subjects in an article. If an article talks about a group with unspecified numbers, the section “Total” must read “Group” and the section “Number” must read “unspecified”.

- a. Age, in numbers, if no age is given, note “unspecified”
- b. Gender, male, female, unspecified
- c. Role (the function of the subject in the article, e.g., sports star, singer, politician, criminal, victim. Etc.)
- d. Religion
- e. Origin, code the country, and in a separate column, the area of origin, indicate “unspecified” if none of the former two is clearly identified
- f. Participation, “active” or “passive”, “active” means, that a subject actively contributed to an article either as writer, source, or interview partner

Classification of participation:

Active: when one or more immigrant actively contribute to the text either as author, source or interview partner

Passive: when immigrant experiences are combined and summarized, when information about the group or individual only comes from outside sources

C13 Quality

The quality of immigrant representation must be coded as “negative”, “positive”, or “neutral”.

Classification of text quality:

Positive: highlights positive impact of a person, such as voluntary work, integration effort, or positive descriptors, or achievement

Negative: highlights negative impact of a person, focuses on negative influences of immigration, mentions immigrant status in crime reporting when it is not relevant to the crime

Neutral: any depiction that does not fall clearly into the negative or positive category is to be marked as neutral, this includes texts that have neither positive nor negative elements as well as texts that have both elements in balance. Furthermore, this category applies to crime reporting for which the immigrant status plays a role.

