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|  | Right Wing Extremism in German Media |
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| 12/22/2016 | How do German tabloids use right wing extremist ideology to report about migrants nowadays compared to ten years ago? |
|  | Lara Stoorvogel (12081086) – ES4e 4g  Supervisor: Ms. N. Schwan  The Hague University of Applied Sciences  Faculty of Management & Organisation – European Studies |

# Executive Summary

As one of the most attractive Western European countries for refugees, Germany has experienced a large influx of migrants since the beginning of the Syrian Civil War in 2011. It has the highest influx number of migrants in 2014 since 1992. Since Germany is not prepared to deal with this unexpected situation, there are some difficulties and tensions within society.

Besides that, there is still a presence of right wing extremism in Germany nowadays. In a study of political scientist Christoph Butterwegge of 2006, research findings have shown that there is right wing extremism in the media reporting of several German tabloids. In general, it is found that the articles analysed by Butterwegge contain right wing extremist language, including xenophobic language and anti-migration ideologies. However, it is likely that the migration background of 2006 differs from that of nowadays. Therefore, it is interesting to find out whether or not, in the actual tabloid reporting, right wing extremism in relation to migration is still present. To find this out, the following research question has been formulated: “How do German tabloids use right wing extremist ideology to report about migrants nowadays compared to ten years ago?”.

The year of 2006 was characterised by having the lowest migration inflow since 1987. Although the migration situation is quite stable, the calm in Germany society was threatened by the hate against migrants of right wing extremists. In the study of Butterwegge of 2006, it is found that the media can play a big role in shaping one’s reality. Because of the xenophobic language of some analysed articles, it may ruin the social climate as ethnic minorities do not gain respect within society. Especially tabloids dramatise, scandalise and exaggerate their messages, which are known as manipulations. Additionally, right wing extremist campaigns against “foreigners ” gain support by the media, although violence against migrants is rarely to be found in articles.

However, ten years later, different results have been found after applying the method of content analysis on two German tabloids, *Bild* and *Morgenpost*. The actual migration background is completely different from that of 2006 as Germany is experiencing the highest influx number in 2014 since 1992. This research suggests that there is no right wing extremism present in German tabloids of nowadays. They seem cautious in their reporting and even refute any activity of right wing extremists. The tabloids mostly report about the still ongoing refugee crisis, how refugees suffer from the situation and the stricter asylum policies. Because of the high numbers of refugees coming nowadays to Germany, it is likely that the media are more neutral in their reporting since it is a problematic crisis and the country has to find solutions rather than creating more hate against the increasing influx of refugees. However, these research findings do not represent the whole German media. Therefore, more research is needed on this subject.

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# Introduction

Right wing extremism has been a sensitive topic in Germany for decades. After the Second World War, Germany wanted to forget about its past and to ban right wing extremism. It also constituted a law that would prevent that a single politician could take over the control of the state easily. Through their arts, music, paintings and movies, for instance, Germany wanted to show that it is no longer a Nazi-country, but a free Western country, such as most Western European countries. However, in practice it seems that it is not easy to ban the right wing extremism ideology out of the country. Still, right wing extremism is a difficult topic in Germany, as there have been recently several attacks of Nazis and right wing groups against foreigners and Jews, for example. Moreover, the study of political scientist Christoph Butterwegge stated that,

*‘Racism does not only occur by the right wing, but it is also a problem of the whole society. The right wing extremist’s hate towards the multicultural society has an impact on the political culture of the Bundesrepublik. Right wing extremist´s campaigns against ‘foreigners’ also get positive response of the main stream media. Nationalist reasoning, racial stereotyping and ethnic descriptions of societal problems are the dominant discourse’ (Butterwegge, 2006, p. 112).*

Therefore, there are, according to Butterwegge (2006), right wing ideologies to be noticed at the political centre. Moreover, even the media are influenced by right wing extremism. This is quite problematic because the media have a significant impact on society. The focus is on media climate, in which is explained in what way the powerful media influence society. Although it is hard to define right wing extremism, a recent definition shows that there has been a change of the definition of right wing extremism. Especially right after the Second World War, right wing extremism was strongly associated with anti-Semitism. Nowadays, Pfahl-Traughber, author of the book *Rechtsextremismus in Deutschland und Europa: wissenschaftliche Analysen und journalistische Beobachtungen*, defines right wing extremism as following, ‘right wing extremism stands for an "ultranationalist concept"’ (2014, p. 499). Furthermore, another definition has been given by Kowalsky & Schroeder. They argue that, ‘on the individual level, right wing extremism can be associated with authoritarianism, nationalism, racism, antisemitism and a demonstrative and violent attitude’ (Kowalsky & Schroeder, 2013, p. 27). A more detailed definition of the concept right wing extremism can be found in chapter 1 (p. 10). The current debate of right wing extremism in Germany is particularly associated with migration. Hate against “foreigners”, “migrants” or “refugees” by right wing extremists is a very sensitive topic these days in German society. Migration plays a significant role in Germany nowadays. Especially the recent crisis in Syria of 2011, which is still ongoing, has caused a great influx of refugees in Germany. As stated by Marschke and Brinkmann, “from the start of this decade, about half of the children who were born in Germany have a partial or a full migration background” (2015, p.11).

The influx has a significant impact on society as well, as the refugees come in high numbers. It is hard for a country to cope with such an influx, since authorities are not used to the work it takes to manage and shelter all refugees. This crisis has started only a few years ago, so it is likely that today´s migrant situation compared with 2006 is quite different. How does the media react to the influx? Do they still use controversial, stereotyping language in their articles? This study has analysed the presence of right wing extremism in German tabloids. The interesting change in migration combined with the controversial topic of right wing extremism have lead the author to formulate the following research question: *“How do German tabloids use right wing extremist ideology to report about migrants nowadays compared to ten years ago?”.*

First of all, data have been collected through desk research as well as through case studies. Migration reports of the German *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (*Ministry for Migration and Refugees*) gave an insight into the migration backgrounds of 2006 as well as of 2015. These are likely to be reliable, since the source comes from the government department. It is expected that a German governmental department would publish transparent and reliable reports. Furthermore, the report of Butterwegge (*Massenmedien, Migration und Integration. Asylbetrug und Ausländerkriminalität: Missbrauchen die Zuwanderer „das deutsche Gastrecht“?,* 2006) has provided a clear overview on the media reporting on migrants in 2006, which has been used as reference material for the research of right wing extremism in German media nowadays. The study of Butterwegge is of particular interest, because he is an expert on the topic and has specialised in social and political issues, such as poverty and right wing extremism. Since Butterwegge has already published papers, such as: ‘”Media and multicultural society” and “Right wing extremism”’ (Prof. Dr. Christoph Butterwegge Universität zu Köln, Humanwissenschaftliche Fakultät – Politikwissenschaft), he seems to be an expert on the topic of this paper. Therefore, Butterwegge’s (2006) paper has been a good starting point. Besides that, the authors Gudrun Hentges and Bettina Lösch of the book *Die Vermessung der sozialen Welt: Neoliberalismus – Extreme Rechte – Migration* wrote about Butterwegge, ‘Butterwegge, with his political position as a political scientist has proved to be a socially committed citizen. He stands within the tradition of a political scientist that feels committed to democratic society - a scientific tradition that wants to intervene in social and political processes’ (2011, p. 10). Thus, the authors describe Butterwegge as a highly involved author, who meets the expectations of a real committed political scientist.

In order to do this research, two case studies have been designed in which it has been chosen for the method of content analysis to investigate the presence of right wing extremism in two German tabloids, *Bild* and *Morgenpost*. The method of content analysis has been chosen since this method is a conventional approach and the most used approach in doing media content analysis. After a meeting with lecturer Nyirubugara of the Faculty Management & Organisation/Communication of The Hague University and using literature on content analysis, this method has been applied to the two tabloids in two case studies. The hypothesis is that there is an increased presence of right wing extremism in the media reporting on migration of German tabloids, since migration has an increased impact on society. Therefore, it might be that right wing extremism has been triggered by the high influx of migrants that have led to tensions between different social groups in German society. The conclusion has shown whether or not these assumptions have been right.

Five chapters have been designed in order to go deeply into the topic. The first chapter defines and outlines the concept of right wing extremism. Two chapters analyse the migration background of 2006 and 2015 in order to compare statistics and to find out whether or not clear differences can be found. Subsequently, another chapter presents the research findings of the study of Butterwegge (2006), with the most important results and conclusions about right wing extremism in German media. The fifth chapter consists of two case studies which include analysis of two tabloids, using content analysis, in order to analyse actual information about how German tabloids have reported about migration and migrants, which can be used to conclude how these findings differ from the research findings of Butterwegge. Finally, a conclusion is made based on the research.

# Methodology

This research has used desk research as well as two case studies. Governmental reports provided much information on the migration background of 2006, as well as that of 2016. Mostly, migration reports of the German Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (*the German domestic intelligence service*, or: BAMF) were used. Moreover, the report of Butterwegge (*Massenmedien, Migration und Integration. Asylbetrug und Ausländerkriminalität: Missbrauchen die Zuwanderer „das deutsche Gastrecht“?,* 2006) has been used in order to obtain information about right wing extremism in German media in 2006. In addition, in order to find out what the current situation of German tabloid reporting on migrants is, two case studies have been made, in which two German newspapers have been analysed. This case study approach goes deeply into the topic and investigate a very particular topic as well. This was helpful, since only two German newspapers were researched extensively on right wing extremism language. Such an in-depth study provided detailed insight about this specific subject on the presence of right wing extremism ideologies in these two newspapers. In the following paragraphs, it is explained how the newspapers have been analysed by which methods.

Case study: what is it?

Two case studies have been designed, in order to go deeply into the topic. According to Hammersley and Gomm, “(…) ‘case study’ refers to research that investigates a few cases, often just one, in considerable depth” (Hammersley & Gomm, 2000, p.3). Although the case studies of this paper do not cover the whole media landscape of Germany, they can give at least some insight information for a few specific tabloids. As Nyirubugara states, ‘case studies do not always aim to produce generalizable results. Generalisation is even out of question when one is dealing with case studies’ (2012, p. 117). Therefore, one cannot expect that these case studies will provide generalising results.

For this paper, two German newspapers *Bild* and *Morgenpost* have been selected. Jochems and Joosten wrote about applying a case study on newspapers, ‘documentation material, such as newspapers, are mostly easily accessible. Such a case study is often used in order to gain more insight into the issues examined, the theoretical model, the situation in a particular field’ (no date, p. 17). Therefore, a case study is a proper method for analysing newspapers. How is this case study designed, however? Jochems and Joosten state that, “the researcher is not exclusively focused on collecting qualitative, unstructured material, but also uses quantitative, standardised techniques” (no date, p. 16). The technique, or method, of content analysis has been used for this paper. The following sections will explain more about this method.

Content analysis

Content analysis is found to be the most appropriate method for analysing newspapers for this research paper. It is known as the most appropriate method for analysing media content. As Pleijter argues, ‘content analysis is generally known as a research model for studying media content with questions intended to investigate the reporting of the mass media itself. Qualitative studies focus extensively on the image that the media give to certain events or phenomena’ (2006, p. 11). Thus, more specifically, content analysis is used for this paper in order to investigate how media reported about migrants and how migrants were portrayed. So, this method has also been used to find any presence of right wing extremism ideologies in the media reporting.

As Pleijter states, ‘the main characteristic of content analysis as a research model is the observation object. Unlike other types of research in communication science such as experiments, observations and interviews, the observation object does not consist of people, but of the products that people produce, such as letters, leaflets, newspapers’ (2006, p. 8). Therefore, this is a method that can be applied to newspaper articles as well, which is relevant for this study. However, there has to be a focus on particular newspapers. German tabloids formed the object of this content analysis.

Sampling

The first step was to determine which sources had to be used and why. This is called sampling. Pleijter states that, ‘first of all, one determines which media types (newspapers, television channels) are going to be researched. After that, the period of publishing is going to be selected’ (2006, p. 37). Therefore, this section justifies which articles have been used in what time period. This was important to narrow down the number of articles that had to be analysed. Two tabloids have been analysed: *Bild* (Berlin) and *Morgenpost* (Saxony, Dresden). Butterwegge has also analysed these two tabloids. Tabloids are particularly interesting to analyse, since they are known to use a lot of dramatising language and sensation in their articles. *Bild* is known as Germany’s most popular tabloid newspaper, and therefore interesting to analyse because it reaches a large public. Therefore, it is important to know which articles they wrote. It is more or less centrally located, in the city of Berlin.

Secondly, *Morgenpost* is analysed because this is located in the East of Germany and specifically, nearby Dresden where the Pegida-movements and anti-foreigners movements were organised. In this area, the topic of the refugee crisis is sensitive because of the controversial demonstrations against non-Germans by Pegida, but also by other right wing movements. Therefore, it is interesting to analyse whether or not *Morgenposts’* reporting is influenced by right wing extremism. Moreover, articles in a period of three months are analysed from October 2015 until December 2015. In this period, there was a peak of refugees coming to Western Europe and the winter made the circumstances in asylum centres more difficult. In this period, newspapers reported a lot on the issue. All in all, 100 articles have been analysed, 50 articles of *Bild* and 50 articles of *Morgenpost.* Relevance sampling has been used for this research. As been defined by Krippendorf, ‘relevance sampling aims at selecting all textual units that contribute to answering given research questions’ (2013, p. 120). The number of results is narrowed down by a specific time period and specific key words. In line of what Krippendorf (2013) did, the first step is to think about the possible key words which the articles one is looking for may contain (p. 120). The articles for this paper have been found by keywords, such as “foreigner” (“Ausländer”), “refugees” (“Flüchtlinge”) and “migration” (“Migration”) in combination with the name of the concerning tabloid. Online articles have been found by *Google Search,* using a filter to select the determined time period and typing in different keywords in the search section. The first 50 results of articles of *Google Search* for each newspaper have been selected.

As this study is focused on how the media report, rather than on how much a certain topic is reported (the frequency of a certain topic), it uses the qualitative content analysis approach. Pleijter states that, ‘quantitative research focuses on the production and analysis of numerical data, while the qualitative form relates to the production and analysis of descriptive data’ (2006, p. 14). A qualitative approach is focused on interpretations, rather than on numbers. Moreover, Jochems and Joosten state that, ‘not quantitative, but qualitative data are usually prevalent in the case study strategy’ (no date, p. 16). Now the question is how to collect data in order to apply content analysis. The following section clarifies how to further proceed with the actual content analysis procedure.

Data collection and coding

According to Pleijter, ‘with collecting data, the research process is meant of conducting data units that can be subjected to analysis’ (2006, p. 36). First, according to Pleijter, ‘one has to *read* the observations. Reading has a central role’ (p. 38). This can be simply reading newspapers. To expand, Pleijter states that, ‘reading means basically observation of words, letters, symbols, but also selecting certain words, phrases. Also, one has to pay attention to the characteristics of the researched material. The third step is about interpretation. Results get meaning within a certain analysis framework’ (2006, 39). The analytical framework for this specific content analysis is right wing extremism. Therefore, it had to be specified on how right wing extremism can be extracted from a text. In order to do so, it was focused on the definition of right wing extremism as is explained in chapter one. It was very important to find characteristics of right wing extremism, since this report is specifically focusing on right wing ideology in German tabloids. The first definition is given by the German Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (German domestic security agency): “right wing extremism contains different elements of nationalist, racist and anti-Semitic ideology, resulting in different objectives. It is governed by the idea that belonging to an ethnic group, a nation, or a race determines the value of a human being” (2016). For example, this is expressed in chalking anti-Jew slogans on the wall, or physical violence against migrants. Moreover, right wing extremism is characterised by Pfahl-Traughber as, ‘an "ultra-nationalist concept" (2014, p. 499). Therefore, this research had to focus on ultra-nationalistic statements, in which the media expresses a nationalistic view. This nationalistic view in detail, is the focus on the “own” country, “own” people (national Germans) and the “own” language, etc. In addition, right wing extremists favour the own people of the state, who have been determined to be the “real” people by their biological characteristics (white skin for example), of which xenophobia derives. They have also an aversion of others, which are for example the “other ideologies”, such as liberalism. Also, according to Bailer-Galanda and Neugebauer, right wing extremism is highly associated with their anti-foreigners attitude, ‘“foreigners” are forced into the role of “scapegoats,” responsible for society’s ills such as crime and unemployment’ (1996, p. 10). This is for example the blaming on refugees for the bad economy in the country (see chapter 3, on what right wing language Butterwegge has found in the media).

Consequently, by analysing the articles, this paper has been focused on nationalistic concepts, such as favouring the “own” people, who are biologically determined, as well as on the aversion of the “other”, who can be groups or individuals, but especially for this paper: the migrants. Within this context, the focus is on right wing extremism in the media articles of *Bild* and *Morgenpost.* Thus, a central concept, right wing extremism is explored (in chapter one) and described, this ideology will be taken into account as well as the context in which the articles have been written. By doing this, this paper has investigated right wing extremism in the reporting of two tabloids according to the definition of the concept.

Subsequently, as has been stated by Pleijter, ‘data has to be collected, so that a more detailed analysis can be made. In order to collect relevant findings, one reads the material and searches for parts that are relevant for answering the research questions’ (2006, p. 39). This research paper has been focused on the migrant reporting. Collecting data has been done by searching for fragments that portray the migrant. While reading, both statements about migrants, as well as foreigners have been highlighted. After reading all 100 articles of *Bild* and *Morgenpost*, data collection has been finished. A procedure has been developed within content analysis in order to analyse the data. According to Pleijter, ‘generally logical, reasoned principles and methods can lead to founded conclusions’ (2006, p. 41).

Various procedures have been mentioned in the methodological literature for analysing qualitative data. As Pleijter states, “the aim of these procedures is to create arrays (classifying, divided into categories) and the search for structures (relations between arrays in the form of processes, phases, trends, correlations, causes, conditions and circumstances in which phenomena occur)” (2006, p. 41). *Coding* is considered to be the most common procedure in order to analyse data.

According to Pleijter, ‘*coding* is a procedure to analytically name the data. Data will be ordered within an analytical frame. This happens through assigning keywords, or *codes* to the data. This can link the data with the theory of the research’ (2006, p. 41). While reading, codes were collected out of the highlighted fragments of the articles. Pleijter states, “data which refers to the same relevant phenomena obtain the same codes” (2006, p. 41). Categories emerged after analysing all of the collected data. When all fragments are gathered, a coding scheme has been made. On the one side, codes were listed. On the other side, different codes were described and how they portray the refugee in which tabloid. This coding scheme (see Appendix 1) shows how frequently the codes occurred in the analysed articles. The most frequent and important codes that occurred after analysing data collection are:

* *policies due to fear of mass influx*
* *social and cultural discontent*
* *how the facilities for refugees are structured*
* *integration*
* *the economic advantages refugees have for the country*

For this research paper, *open coding* has been used, which is a specific coding method in which the author has not made codes beforehand, but while reading. Pleijter states that, ‘within the qualitative approach, an analytical framework is often not designed in advance, but develops while analysing the collected data’ (2006, p. 41). Therefore, coding scheme has been developed after reading all articles and collecting the highlighted fragments. According to Pleijter, ‘after all codes are collected, a complete structured data base will exist, on which the researcher can base his conclusions’ (2006, p. 41).

Results

In order to come to a conclusion, one has to analyse the results of the coding scheme within the context of right wing extremism. Do the results of the coding scheme contain any features of right wing extremism according to the definition? An analysis has been made of the results within the coding scheme. How do these fragments represent the refugee or migrant? Chapter 5 shows the most striking outcomes of the content analysis. In this chapter, only five codes are presented, since the list of codes was long and only the most frequent codes are relevant enough to find out whether or not right wing extremism is present according to the content analysis method. Finally, a conclusion could be drawn based upon the research findings.

# Right wing extremism in Germany

The following paragraphs outline and discuss the concept of right wing extremism. How is right wing extremism defined nowadays? How is it perceived in Germany and is it widely represented by Germans? First, an actual definition is given. Secondly, some trends regarding right wing extremism in Germany are outlined. The situation of around 2006 has been compared to the current situation regarding right wing extremism. Thirdly, some factors were given that have tried to explain the increasing popularity of right wing extremism in Germany.

Right wing extremism is a well-known phenomenon in Germany, especially since the Second World War. However, the exact definition of right wing extremism has changed through times. In the past, especially during the Second World War, it was something exclusively of the far right wing within politics and right wing extremists could be noticed by their appearance (uniform, skin heads, swastika sign). Nowadays, right wing extremism is hard to be defined because it occurs in all layers of society. However, in this paper it has been tried to define right wing extremism by giving some definitions. First, right wing extremism in Germany is defined by the German Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (German domestic security agency) as:

*‘In terms of ideology, right-wing extremism in Germany is not a homogeneous movement but displays different elements of nationalist, racist and anti-Semitic ideology, resulting in different objectives. It is governed by the idea that belonging to an ethnic group, a nation, or a race determines the value of a human being. This right-wing extremist notion is fundamentally inconsistent with the Basic Law, the focal value of which is human dignity’ (What is right-wing extremism?, 2016).*

Moreover, another aspect of right wing extremism was provided by Pfahl-Traughber, author of the book *Rechtsextremismus in Deutschland und Europa: wissenschaftliche Analysen und journalistische Beobachtungen*, who stated that, ‘right wing extremism stands for an "ultra-nationalist concept"’ (2014, p. 499). They link right wing extremism to the nationalist feelings of favouring the own state above others. Furthermore, another definition has been given by Kowalsky & Schroeder who argued that, ‘on the individual level, right wing extremism can be associated with authoritarianism, nationalism, racism, antisemitism and a demonstrative and violent attitude’ (2013, p. 27). Moreover, Kowalsky & Schroeder mentioned a more specific definition which they have used for their own research, ‘right wing extremism includes all public manifestations that are against the fundamental principles of a democratic state’ (2013, p. 212). Moreover, right wing extremism, according to Bailer-Galanda and Neugebauer, contains two central elements, “*Volksgemeinschaft* and ‘integral nationalism’”(1996). To expand, Bailer-Galanda and Neugebauer explain that, ‘*Volksgemeinschaft* is fictional idea of a natural, harmonious order set in a patriarchal mould. Other ideologies, or any attempts to disturb this – sometimes enforced – harmony, are rejected as being harmful and “unnatural”’ (1996). These “other ideologies ” include for example liberalism, the labour movement and movements to support gender equality (Bailer-Galanda & Neugebauer, 1996). They rather favour the state, but also, according to Bailer-Galanda & Neugebauer (1996), ‘the community of one people and one culture, which is based on “biological” and racist premises (integral nationalism)’. In other words, right wing extremists favour the own people of the state, who have been determined to be the “real” people by their biological characteristics (white skin for example). They have also an aversion of others, which are the “other ideologies” but also groups or individuals who are against right wing ideologies or extremists. Xenophobia derives from such an idea of the biologically determined “own people”. Also, right wing extremism is highly associated with their anti-foreigners attitude. According to Bailer-Galanda and Neugebauer, ‘“foreigners” are forced into the role of “scapegoats,” responsible for society’s ills such as crime and unemployment’ (1996, p. 10).

In addition, several trends can be noticed regarding right wing extremism. Right wing extremism is often linked to the political centre. In other words, right wing extremism is not something exclusively of the extreme right as it was during the Second World War. Right wing extremism does occur in the middle as well. This means that right wing extremism is also infiltrated within the more socio-political middle. The political middle aims to gain votes of all groups of people, whereas the left of right aims to gain voters of a more specific group. Therefore, people get more and more involved in right wing ideologies. Since ten years ago, right wing extremist ideologies get more and more support. Already in 2006, one could see a significant increase of right wing extremism. According to Decker, Brähler and Geißler, who have studied the presence and trends of right wing extremism in Germany, ‘there is a high and steadily increasing number of politically motivated crimes with an extremist background. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution estimated an increase in right wing extremism motivated crimes with 27.5% in the preliminary report for the year 2005 and 23.5% of the violent crimes’ (2006, p. 7).

A significant trend to be noticed is that of the increasing violence of right wing extremist groups. As is stated by Decker et al. in their publication of “Vom Rand zur Mitte Rechtsextreme Einstellungen und ihre Einflussfaktoren in Deutschland”, ‘the so-called "anxiety areas", where a right-wing scene determines the freedom of movement of "strangers", no longer only affect migrants. In fact, campaigners of democratic parties were violently attacked by right-wing extremists during the Berlin parliamentary election campaign’ (2006, p.7). Thus, in areas which are dominated by right wing extremist groups, right wing groups do not only attack foreigners, but all ‘enemies’ who have opponent positions to right wing extremists. That means that violence by right wing extremists is more widespread, more and more addressed to a multiple groups, regardless of their origin.

Another trend is the dissemination of right wing extremism within German society. According to Decker et. al., ‘a widespread dissemination of right-wing extremist attitudes is found in Germany. Especially xenophobia is widespread and provides right wing extremists convenient possibilities for their propaganda’ (2006, p. 8). As already has been mentioned within the definition section, right wing extremism is not exclusively something of the far right, as it was during the Second World War, but has shifted to the political centre. Therefore, this makes it also more difficult to define the phenomenon. As has been stated by Decker et al., “right wing extremist attitudes are highly represented by all social groups and in all federal states. We have found that the term "right wing extremism" is misleading because it describes the problem only as an edge phenomenon” (2006, 158). The authors however, described it as a political problem of the political centre (Decker et al., 2006, p. 159). Therefore, right wing extremism is a phenomenon, that occurs in all groups of people, regardless of their background or location. Right wing extremism was increasing in its popularity in the sense that it attracts many others, not only the ones that are involved at the far right political side. That right wing ideologies became more popular in society, could be noticed at the regional elections of Germany of September 2016 in which the far-right party AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) came with surprisingly successful results. As is stated by Justin Huggler of Telegraph UK, “the anti-immigrant Alternative für Germany party won the highest share of the vote for the far-Right in Berlin since the Second World War (…)” (2016). Another research has also explained right wing extremism as being not exclusively at the far right. According to Pfahl-Traughber, author of the book *Rechtsextremismus in Deutschland und Europa: wissenschaftliche Analysen und journalistische Beobachtungen*, ‘right wing extremism is not necessarily directly and explicitly opposed to liberal democracy’ (2014, p. 499).

In addition, another trend is that of the political preference. As Decker et al. state, ‘although less people support a right wing dictatorship, the number of people who support nationalist ideologies increases. This increase is equally supported by people of all states, women and men, and at all educational levels, and is therefore a general social trend’ (2006, p. 158, 159). Nationalism does relate to right wing extremism, in the sense that it includes the characteristic that it is about strongly favouring the own national people (people who were born in Germany), country and language.

Moreover, Decker et al. provided an example of factors that may explain the increasing popularity of right wing extremism. Namely, they stated that, ‘the European integration process, the modernization and several crises, such as the so-called Eurocrisis, seem to be the catalyst for right wing populations in many countries’ (2014, p.8). These were some recent trends, as they mainly happened in the last ten years, which might explain why more and more people support right wing groups.

Germany struggles with the question on how to deal with the radical and right wing extremist ideologies. Obviously, right wing extremism is much present in today’s German society. According to Decker et al., “the current strength of the NPD (right wing party), as shown by its recent election success in the state elections in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in 2006, and the widespread use of right wing extremist attitudes in the German population, raises the question on how to deal with radical anti-democratic, right wing movements politically” (2006, p. 8).

Obviously, there have been several changes within the right wing extremist scene. According to scientist Anna Verena Münch, who is specialised in European Ethnology and Gender Studies, ‘the right wing extremist scene has been "modernized" and differentiated: right wing extremist parties obtain successes repeatedly and newly created right wing populist parties point out the danger of "Islamization" in Germany’ (2012, p. 2). In the last few years, in the subcultural right wing scenes, which are quite attractive to youngsters, some recent changes have taken place. Namely, as Münch states, ‘until the middle of the 2000s, one could recognize right wing supporters by skinhead typical features: sheared hair, bomber jacket, tattoos, wearing t-shirts with nationalistic slogans. Meanwhile, these youngsters have copied clothing styles of other youth scenes, such as the hardcore scene and hiphop’ (2012, p.1).

Research has shown that there is still a widespread presence of xenophobia in Germany, as being a typical feature of right wing extremism. Namely, Decker et al., conclude out of their research that, ‘every fifth German is still xenophobic’ (2014, p. 59). The results of these authors are based upon a questionnaire, that has been conducted in all German states, mostly represented by full-time workers, especially by the age of around 45-64. The questionnaires have been answered in spring 2014 (Decker et al., 2014, p. 30).

All in all, right wing extremism is still present within many German societal groups. Today, it is hard to define right wing extremism as the political centre shares some right wing ideologies in their policies on migration of example, and because it is represented by many societal groups in all federal states. Then, right wing extremism increases in its popularity. One could notice this at the elections in which right wing extremist parties have been more successful in recent years. Furthermore, the number of people who support nationalistic ideologies has increased, an ideology which has a few significant similarities to right wing extremism. This means that right wing extremism has far from completely disappeared from society.

# Migration in Germany 2006

Migration is a fluctuating phenomenon. People migrate for various reasons which depend on multiple factors. The reasons can be economic, political or war-related, for instance. Since these factors change from time to time, the migration backgrounds of migrants change as well. Since the study of Butterwegge dates from 2006, it can be interesting to investigate the migration situation of that year since Butterwegge´s findings are related to the migration background. The migration background of ten years ago can be very different of that of nowadays and may have played a role in the media reporting about migrants. Thus, this section is going to outline the migration background of 2006. What were the main reasons people migrated to Germany? What were the main countries of origin? Were the migration numbers relatively high or low? Could this eventually lead to further conflicts or tensions within society regarding migration?

2.1 Migration in Germany

The German *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (*Ministry for Migration and Refugees,* or: *BAMF*) publishes a Migration Report on behalf of the *Bundesregierung* (German Federal Government) every year. This report discussed in detail migration in Germany of 2005-2006. The report concluded from the overall findings that, ‘in 2006 around 662,000 inflows were registered, the lowest rate since 1987’ (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2006, p. 12). The trend of declining influx migration numbers therefore continues. Moreover, the report explained that, ‘family reunification migrants, immigration asylum seekers and the influx of repatriates and Jewish immigrants declined this year. However, since the EU enlargement of May 2004, an increasing number of migrants came from Middle and Eastern-Europe, especially Poland, to Germany’ (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2006, p.9). Moreover, the BAMF report stated that, ‘the migration balance number of 2006 was +22.791, and is at the same time the lowest balance number since 1984’ (2006, p. 16). The migration balance number is a calculation of the total number of the migration influx minus emigrants.

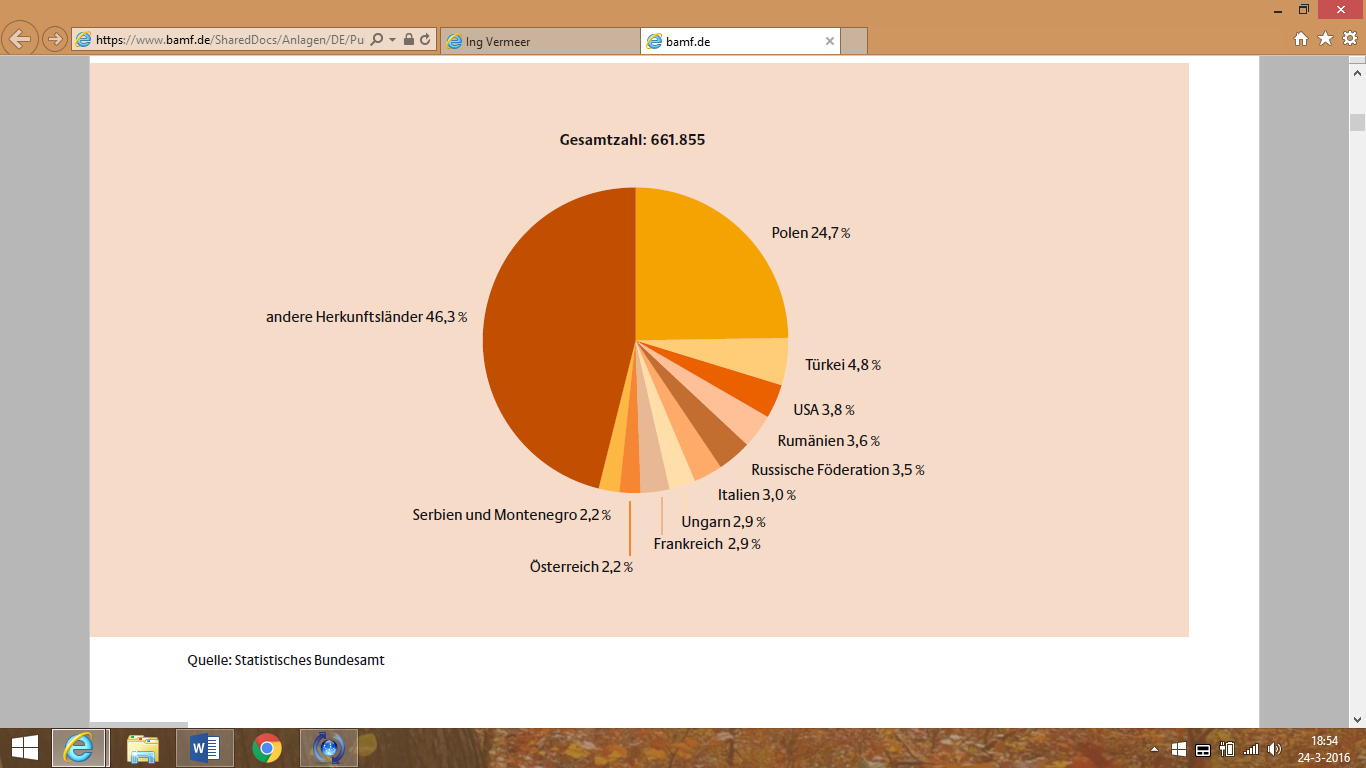
The EU enlargement of 2004, which included a membership for Poland, Czech Republic, and Hungary for instance, provided the opportunity for their citizens to move easily to another EU for labour. The report of the BAMF states that, ‘the majority of migrants came from the EU: 72%. Whereas 32% came from the seven new EU member states, 19% came from the first EU ten member states’ (2006, p. 17).

Most of the labour migrants came from Poland. According to the BAMF, ‘the main country of origin of the migrants in 2006 was Poland with 163,643 migrants. Two-thirds of them are men. Polish migrants represented 24.7% of all migrants to Germany in 2006 (2006, p. 17). Therefore, Poland was the main country regarding migration in 2006. Because the EU enlargement made it easy for Poles to come to Germany for labour, many took advantage of this new opportunity. Germany, as a wealthy country with a highly developed industry, seemed to be attractive for workers of the new EU-countries. The BAMF also stated that, ‘in three years after the EU membership of Poland, a 56% increase of migration to Germany was calculated. Many of them came for temporary work’ (2006, p. 17-18).

According to N. Wolfeil, professor of the Brandenburgischen Technischen Universität, who has specialised in the Central European culture area, ‘the Polish migrants differentiate themselves from other migrant groups. They are a relatively young group (average age of 37.9). They also stay for only 13,1 years on average, the lowest length of stay’ (2012, p. 145). This can be explained by the fact that the main reason for their migration was for labour. This was mostly a temporary stay and attracted relatively young people since several sectors demanded young workers for heavy work. Moreover, Wolfeil stated that, ‘the Polish migrants have by far the best education of all migrant groups. 38.9% percent of them have obtained a higher education (university degree), whereas 18.9% of the Greek and 9.9% of the Turkish have a high education’ (2012, p. 145). Therefore, the Poles have brought their knowledge to Germany, which can have a positive influence on the knowledge-based jobs in Germany. They often came with a high education to Germany.

Besides that, Turkey is counted as the second country where the most immigrants came from. According to the BAMF, ‘Turkey takes part with 31,449 registered migrants and 4.8% of the total number of migrants to Germany. The migration of Turkey was characterized by family reunification and asylum seekers’ (2006, p. 19). Germany has a large Turkish population. The Turks are also the largest minority in Germany. They came first after the Second World War to Germany as labor workers. Because they wanted to stay permanently in Germany, the families of the workers are still coming over from Turkey nowadays in order to reunite the family. Therefore, there is still migration from Turkey and this explains why it is still prevalent today.

The graph on the next page indicates the total number of migrants to Germany (661,855 migrants) and the corresponding countries. Obviously, it illustrates Poland as the country with the largest share, followed by Turkey and the USA.



*Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2006, p. 18)*

2.2 Asylum applicants

This chapter also looked at the asylum applications of 2006 as asylum seekers are also an important and potential migrant group. Germany, as a West-European country, is one of the most attractive countries for asylum applicants. For instance, after the Second World War, during the 1960’s, Germany called for guest workers, which attracted many Turks to Germany. Consequently, the fall of the Berlin Wall created a better possibility for migration inside and from the outside of Germany. However, the report of the BAMF stated that, ‘since 1993, the number of asylum applicants has been in continuous decline’ (2006, p. 90). Various factors and international developments have been the reason for this decline. Namely, the report stated that, ‘the decline is caused by the changed basic rights for asylum, the stabilised East-European countries, the end of the war conflicts in former Yugoslavia, reforms in Turkey and the fall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the totalitarian regime in Iraq’ (BAMF, 2006, p. 90). The changed basic rights for asylum included, for instance, the refusal of an asylum seeker who comes from a safe country by the German authorities as well as the Dublin Regulation, which states that the European Union member state, in which the asylum seeker has first applied, has to take care of the application. That enabled Germany to send the asylum seeker back to another European country.

The numbers by the BAMF report confirmed this decline. The report stated that, ‘whereas the number of asylum applications of 2005 was 28,914, the number dropped to 21,029 in 2006. This is a decline of 27.3% and besides that, the lowest number since 1983’ (BAMF, 2006, p. 90). If one has analysed the long term asylum application development, especially the number of asylum applicants of European countries has decreased. According to the BAMF report, ‘310,529 persons in 1992 were from European countries, whereas in 2006 it were only 7,447 persons. Also the Asian applications have decreased from 56,480 in 1992 and 8,997 in 2006, as well as the African applications (1992: 67,408; 2006: 3,885)’ (2006, p. 90).

Generally, if one looks at the continental level of the countries of origin of the asylum applicants, Asia was the continent with most applicants. The report of BAMF stated that, ‘the largest share of total asylum applicants of 2006 comes from Asia (42%), the second group comes from Europe (35.4%) and 18.3% are from Africa’ (2006, p. 90). On national level, the main country of origin of asylum seekers of 2006 was Serbia and Montenegro. The BAMF report states that, ‘3,237 asylum seekers came from Serbia and Montenegro whereas the number was 5,522 in the previous year, which means a decline of 41,4% compared to 2005’ (2006, p. 91). The asylum seekers came mostly for economic reasons. Moreover, BAMF states that, ‘Iraq occupies the second place in the ranking of the countries of origin. Third highest country of origin was Turkey with 1,949 Turkish applicants (2005: 2,958 people). This trend of a significant decrease of asylum applicants continues’ (2006, p. 91).

The statistics of the migration report of 2006 show a relatively stable migration background as the number of migrants and asylum applicants were in a continuous decline. The decreasing numbers indicated, as has been stated in the report, that the international situation is more or less stable (without many conflicts) which lead to relatively low migration numbers. With Poland being the main country migrants came from, these are mainly migrants that were coming to Germany because of economic reasons. This also applies to the main country of asylum seekers: Serbia and Montenegro. However, the number of asylum applicants was in continuous decline.

# What were the main findings of Butterwegge about right wing extremism in mass media, specifically tabloids?

The introduction of Butterwegge’s study begins with, ‘“Now the battle of cultures is threatening”, this has been a phrase one could find in nearly all newspapers in the beginning of the 2000’s” (Butterwegge et al., 2006, p. 7). This reflects the way the media report about the tensions between the “Germans” and migrants of around 2006. This view has changed over time in the German migration history since the Second World War. Germany has been a country asking for migrants to build up the country after the Second World War because of a large deficit of workers. First, the labour migrants were needed in Germany. A positive view on migrants existed since they were welcome in order to contribute to the German economy. However, Butterwegge et al. state that[[1]](#footnote-1), ‘migration became a problem in the beginning of the ‘70’s and from 1980 on, there were deadly attacks on “foreigners” in West-Germany’ (2006, p. 14). Although there were many arguments against migration, there were also some pro-migration arguments to be noticed in the seventies and eighties of Butterwegge’s study. They were mainly based on humanitarian grounds. For example, Butterwegge states that, ‘churches, human rights organisations and welfare associations fought for the migrants, arguing that labour migrants are also human beings’ (2006, p. 22). However, in 2001 the Green Card attracted many educated workers from outside Germany, but many politicians and insiders held the opinion that Germany did not need the foreign workers. Butterwegge provided an example of an argument that was dominant in public debate, ‘since there are millions of Germans unemployed, migration must be at the lowest level in order to guarantee Germans a job first*’* (2006, p. 21). Furthermore, especially after the attacks of 11 September 2001 the view towards migrants has changed in German society.

3.1 Changing society

The authors of the study *“Massenmedien, Migration und Integration. Asylbetrug und Ausländerkriminalität: Missbrauchen die Zuwanderer „das deutsche Gastrecht“?“* also wrote about a changed society. There were many societal factors that could influence the view towards migrants. According to Butterwegge, ‘comments and reporting about the immigration of refugees and the deferred change of the Basic Law article about asylum right forced the growing displeasure of the population’ (2006, p. 193). Moreover, the Western-European world became more a “cosmopolitan society”. According to Butterwegge, ‘not the national states, but rather world society shapes our everyday activities’ (2006, p. 37). This development has to do with a globalised world, which makes it possible to easily interact globally with each other and travel more easily from one place to another. However, there were still people who are afraid of losing their national identity. According to Butterwegge, ‘the global developments can be seen through the eyes of some people as a loss of their national identities’ (2006, p. 38). This view differs from place to place. Politics, for example, can reflect the tolerance of a government. Within Europe, some countries, such as the Netherlands, had a relatively tolerant migration policy around 2006. However, Butterwegge argues that, ‘countries such as Germany do have a restrictive migration policy. This has influences on the society. The society in Germany is still not seen as very constructive for societal development’ (2006, p. 39). This could have an impact for the whole German society and how this society thinks about migration. The restrictive policy of the government reflected the view people had on migration; it represented the tolerance of society. Also, because of this strict policy, it seemed that refugees are not that welcome in society. Therefore, the impression existed that migration is not positive and Germany did not want all refugees. Otherwise the government would have welcomed them. But why do people often portray migrants in a negative manner? Butterwegge explains this by stating that, ‘one concentrates on negative descriptions of others, to position himself in a positive way and to legitimate his own thinking and acting’ (2006, p. 82).

3.2 The impact of the media on German society

The authors of the study also wrote about the impact the reporting of different media sources has on society, particularly within German society. Butterwegge states that, “journalists often influence the public opinion. (…) Because of a questionable word choice and insensitive, sometimes dubious reporting, one ruins the social climate. Therefore, ethnic minorities do not gain respect by the public” (2006, p. 9, 10). In other words, the media can build or bring down a phenomenon. Something that is described as being positive by the media, influences the readers as they could interpret it as positive too. As Butterwegge states, ‘the media play a big role in intensifying, normalising and over-colouring certain meanings and images. It even shapes our perception’ (2006, p. 39). Thus, the media can determine what is “normal” and what is important. They can influence the whole public debate and tell one what he sees. Maybe one’s eyes see something else; still the media can influence one’s perception to such a degree, that eventually one’s perception is what the media tells one. Butterwegge adds that, ‘the media do not create a new reality, they impart and strengthen the societal constructions’ (2006, p. 40). It always has a connection with society, and is not entirely separated from society. Butterwegge also states that, “the media contribute, that some discourses become the dominant discourses (…)” (2006, p. 40). They therefore, contribute to the formation of the reality, what one sees and what matters in society. For instance, if something is on the front page of the newspaper, it is considered by the media as being one of the most important topics of the day. Therefore, society also considers it as an important topic as well. Also the words the media use to talk about a certain topic can be taken over by society.

But surprisingly, Butterwegge stated that, ‘right wing press and tabloids are xenophobic, but also the most reputable newspapers and magazines, such as *Der Spiegel’* (2006, p. 132). Especially tabloids used dramatic terms. According to Butterwegge, ‘refugees were called “cheaters” and “peace disrupters”, since they were a threat to the peaceful coexistence within the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland’* (2006, p. 194). Additionally, Butterwegge assumed that, ‘especially in tabloids there are dramatisations, scandalising, exoticism, sensations, distortions and false messages to be noticed that are called “manipulations”’ (2006, p. 194).

Moreover, Butterwegge stated that, ‘especially in tabloids, the idea existed that migration appeared as a threat and harassment for “the Germans”’ (2006, p. 207). For instance, a dominant view on migrants existed that they would abuse state aid. Some journalists also reported regularly about this topic. According to Butterwegge, ‘migrants who need state aid or financial aid, were ignored by most journalists, or simply called “welfare migrants”’ (2006, p. 209). An example is provided by a citation of an article of *Bild*, the largest tabloid of Germany about this topic, which reaches a large public. According to Butterwegge, ‘*Bild* published in 2005 an article with the title: “The ugly tricks of the Hartz-IV-freeloaders! … and we have to pay”’ (2006, p. 210). This indicated that the author did not agree with the Hartz IV reforms, which had to give Germany an economic boost. The migrants have abused state aid according to the author, and states that “we” have to pay, indicating that the readers are victims of the migrants. By stating this, the migrants were positioned as criminals and that caused a negative view on them. On the other hand, if crimes are committed against migrants, this is portrayed much differently by the media. Namely, Butterwegge states that, ‘experiences of racist behaviour in everyday life and the consequences for the affected ones are rarely schematised’ (2006, p. 227).

Additionally, journalists have grown-up with certain ideas and a belief of what is good and bad (ethics). These personal beliefs and background play a role in their reporting. They are not objective, but subjective, as everyone else. They have been influenced by their environment. As Butterwegge states, ‘journalists are also involved in the societal migration discourse and were raised with a Eurocentric world view’ (2006, p. 60). This influences their reporting and mostly they are unaware of it. They have automatically accepted the ethics, environmental influences and their Eurocentric world view in which they have been raised. Moreover, it shapes their thinking and acting. Therefore, it is difficult to look outside these beliefs. However, Butterwegge made a few recommendations, ‘the media cannot be held responsible for the Eurocentric vision alone, but it would be wise to reform the dominant views on migrants and position them among the “Germans” and create a wide acceptance for migrants’ (2006, p. 82).

The study provides an example of why people are easily influenced by the media. Butterwegge states that, ‘if one considers that the readers of tabloids do not have much knowledge of foreign politics, terror, propaganda or war, the media can play a significant role in shaping their prejudices’ (2006, p. 155). If people do not have much background knowledge of the topic, they can easily take over the information of the media. Therefore, it is important to realise the extent to which the media is able to construct one’s reality.

The terms that are used by the German media also determine the impact and interpretation of news on their readers. According to Butterwegge, ‘migrants and ethnic minorities are often labelled as “foreigners”. This use of language can be a manifest for exclusion of these groups’ (2006, 190). Because of this term, migrants can be interpreted as being “strangers” to society. Especially tabloids use loaded terms to deliver their message. Butterwegge states that, ‘tabloids often connect the “foreigner problem” with a danger for the domestic security’ (2006, p. 190). Namely, Butterwegge has found some news articles in which foreigners are being portrayed as a threat to domestic security. According to Butterwegge, ‘migrants are especially portrayed as criminals as well as people that cost money and/or are dangerous’ (2006, p. 190). Furthermore, journalists also report differently about Germans and migrants. Butterwegge stated that, ‘Germans are often positioned as individual criminals, whereas migrants are more positioned as a community, also when migrants do not operate within a criminal group, for example’ (2006, p. 192). Therefore, if a migrant commits a crime, the person will automatically be linked to the whole group so it seems that the “foreign group” as a whole is criminal too, or a bad environment, of where criminals come from. Furthermore, criminals are often being linked with their ethnic origin. As Butterwegge stated, ‘the mentioning of the non-German origin of a criminal is quite problematic, as this gives the impression that the crime is linked to the ethnic origin’ (2006, p. 192).

The study of Butterwegge has also tried to provide alternatives for reporters to write on a more objective way. Butterwegge states that, “we hope to give a good view on how journalists report on a scandalising and defamatory way and at the same time, to provide alternatives for their reporting” (2006, p. 9). The problem is that emotions can influence the reporting. Butterwegge assumed that, ‘we are not aware of the emotional problems of our society and the media. Exaggerating, sensationalism and emotionalising are not rare in media reporting’ (2006, p. 131). However, if one knows what is behind the media reporting, one could better see through what journalists really write. Butterwegge stated that, ‘having a critical view on media is urgent. To obtain this, one has to know the function mechanisms and manipulation techniques’ (2006, p. 222). One has to look further than what is stated by the media and not easily accept everything that has been written. Moreover, because of the low representation of migrants in the media, Butterwegge advises that, ‘if more migrants work in German newspaper editorial offices and give their own accents, a change of the opinion climate may happen’ (2006, p. 229). Therefore, it is important to stimulate migrants to work in the editorial offices and to contribute to a better, more objective media climate.

3.3 Commercialization of the media at the expense of quality of journalism and ethics

The media in Germany and all over the world are in a different situation than 20 years ago, for example. More and more pressure can be noticed behind the offices of newspapers and magazines. This presumably has to do with the booming and competing Internet websites, of which some do also provide (free) news articles. The trend was that the popularity of newspapers and magazines were declining since many find (free) news websites as their alternatives. According to Butterwegge, ‘media are under significant pressure, and that will remain in liberal societies. Especially the commercial media have to work without many resources. Employees are rather fired than hired’ (2006, p. 134). Less people have to provide more work within a limited amount of time. Therefore, the quality of their articles decreases because of this situation. Furthermore, there was another trend to be noticed. Since especially the commercial media try to find many ways to earn money, they use some techniques that make them sell more of their products. Butterwegge explained that, “(…) sensation, polarisation and emotion sell more than sober background reports which are perceived by a substantial part of the media users as disturbing or boring” (2006, p. 134).

3.4 After 9/11

The impact of the media on society is significant. Because the media create a certain reality, one’s opinion is largely determined by the media. Especially on topics that are not close to one’s environment, such as conflicts overseas, the media largely influence society. A good example of such a conflict is that of the attacks of September 11th, 2001. As Butterwegge stated, “what we know about Islamic terrorism, we know nearly exclusively by the media. Their reporting constructs our view and provides us with certain assumptions” (2006, p. 142). Thus, the public opinion is therefore based on what the media tell us. The news is the reality. Moreover, the attack on the two towers had an impact on many people that saw the images on television. These shocking images raised fear among the people. Therefore, according to Butterwegge, ‘many accepted the security reforms of the government in order to combat terrorism. At the same time, they accepted their limitations of their freedom’ (2006, p. 149-150). However, this caused a view of “we” against “them”. Moreover, Butterwegge assumed that, ‘the anti-terror measures were in the view of the majority of the population primarily against the “strangers”. Migration was being thematised as a security problem and as a threat for society and the media had a great contribution in that’ (2006, p. 150). Thus, the media equalised the measures resulting from 9/11 to migration as being a threat for security. The power of the media resulted in fear among the citizens as well as anti-migration thoughts. Butterwegge adds that, “the narrative behind the reporting and reactions from the politics is: migrants and especially Islamic people are to be feared” (2006, p. 151). The medial influences are much apparent in society. Also the tabloid newspaper Express has published an article with terms that could raise fear among people. Butterwegge stated that, ‘the article with the title: “Citizens of Cologne want gas masks”, caused panic reactions’ (2006, p. 154). The article also included that the demand of gas masks has increased significantly after the 9/11 attacks (Butterwegge, 2006, p. 154).

Moreover, Islamic terrorism already had become an important topic since the fall of communism. Butterwegge explained this by stating that, ‘NATO had to find a new enemy, within the framework of self-legitimacy. The term “Islamic fundamentalism” had to close the gap after communism by propaganda’ (2006, p. 157). In other words, another enemy had to be found and media is a good channel to make propaganda about the new enemy.

Furthermore, Butterwegge stated that, ‘because of the media, Islam is robbed from its spirituality and is placed in a profane context’ (2006, p. 170). This makes people think that Islamic terrorists are equal to Muslims. According to Butterwegge, “still, the reporting about 9/11 is characterized by personalisation and emotionalisation” (2006, p. 170). Because it is difficult for people to construct their own objective view about the attacks, people still attach to the reporting of the media.

3.5 The Ghetto discourse

Migration is quite a complex topic in Germany. Butterwegge stated that, ‘although migrants are an integral part of society, that part is ignored for political reasons. Instead, the reality of the migration issue often includes political discourses about ghettos or parallel societies’ (2006, p. 41). It is likely therefore, that the media reporting on migrants was not done in a realistic and objective way. Furthermore, according to the study, ‘the media present migrants rather negatively than positively. They are often positioned as strangers living in ghettos, and as tradition-oriented and not integrated people. So, the media strengthen racist trends in society’ (Butterwegge, 2006, p. 41). Thus, the media created a new view on migrants that positions them in a negative light. Moreover, migrants were often associated with negative terms as well. This does not contribute to the acceptance of migrants in society, but rather supported racist behaviour against them. Butterwegge adds that, ‘words that are often associated with migrants are *ghetto* and *foreigners criminality’* (2006, p. 41). The so called “ghetto discourse”reflected the dominant discourses in society. This negative association is very much present in German society. The discourse included that the multicultural neighbourhoods are often seen as underdeveloped areas, or ghettos. As Butterwegge stated, ‘the connection of migration with their country of origin is interpreted as a blockade for the integration in German society’ (2006, p. 42). An example which Butterwegge provided extends on this issue. In his study it is stated that, ‘in an article of the Süddeutschen Zeitung, a social worker was cited, who said that, “more and more men search for a woman in their own Turkish community.” The reporter agrees with that, and adds, “Integration? It is a distant goal”’ (2006, p. 43). This example showed that the reporter has drawn a conclusion in the scope of the ghetto discourse. Butterwegge concludes that, ‘the everyday experiences are being hidden or interpreted within a specific ghetto discourse’ (2006, p. 43). Therefore, the media could play a significant role in shaping the dominant discourse. If there are problems, this was often linked to the culture of a certain group. As Butterwegge states, ‘structural problems are often presented as cultural and ethnic conflicts’ (2006, p. 45). The focus was on the cultural or ethnic sphere, instead of on economics or politics. The media took over this focus on culture or ethnicity in their reporting. This only intensified and strengthened the focus of society on cultural or ethnic reasons of conflicts. According to Butterwegge, ‘dramatised and scandalised news about migrants shape the press landscape’ (2006, p. 46). The press took over the already existing prejudices about migrants and strengthened these prejudices. This is part of the commercialisation of the media, in which the media try to sell their news articles by making them interesting and sensational, so people will buy their newspapers.

The authors also provided an example about a neighbourhood in the city of Köln, in the West of Germany. Often, this neighbourhood, Keupstraβe, has been in the news because of all the problems caused by, as is stated in the media, ethnic groups and cultural conflicts. The example illustrates the ghetto discourse and how the media can affect the perception of society on everyday life well. According to Butterwegge,

*‘When it comes to drugs sale, fundamentalism, life in ghetto, the Keupstraβe appears in the news often. Although many people have not been in the area, they seem to know precisely what is going on there and call it a “Turkish ghetto”. One calls it a “cultural fire” and this seems to legitimize certain preventive measures. When certain groups behave different than the dominant group, they are automatically labelled as problematic. The media play a big role in labelling groups and create a “parallel society”. Originally, many labour migrants lived in the Keupstraβe and because of deindustrialisation, they got unemployed. Therefore, they opened their own stores, selling traditional products from their home country. In contrast to other areas, where people remained unemployed, they could earn money on their own way. If one looks around in this neighbourhood now, one could see an “oriental flair”, in which traditions are re-invented. The shops reflect a “global” shaped cosmopolitan everyday reality. An interview shows, that the residents of the neighbourhood do not understand, why the ghetto image is dominant in the media’ (Butterwegge, 2006, p. 48 – 50).*

Thus, this example shows clearly that the media could shape the dominant view on everyday realities. However, if one sees it with one’s own eyes, the reality might be completely different from what the media present. This can be confirmed by the authors Eilders et al., who state in their book *Die Stimme der Medien: Pressekommentare und politische Öffentlichkeit in der Bundesrepublik, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften,* that, ‘the accommodations of asylum applicants are rarely located near neighbourhoods where mostly skinheads live. The attitudes of society against migrants, and the ones who violate them, depend on “hearsay”. Media do have a strong influence to this’ (2004, p. 337). Therefore, the reality of this certain situation was mainly constructed by the media.

According to Butterwegge, ‘if something deviates from the dominant culture, it is seen as a threat for the own culture and therefore, these negative associations exist’ (2006, p. 50). Therefore the authors have recommended the media to have a critical view on the dominant discourse. They stated that, ‘it is irresponsible to label certain neighbourhoods that include large migrant groups as ghettos and scandalise this. It is important to accept people that are born in Germany, regardless of their lifestyle, religious orientation or language. Here, the media can contribute significantly’ (Butterwegge, 2006, p. 52).

3.6 Right wing extremism in German media

Right wing extremism has always been a controversial topic in Germany. Especially before and during the Second World War, right wing extremism gained a lot of support. After the Second World War, Germany did not want to have anything to do with it anymore and right wing extremism belonged to its dark past. However, this ideology still has its supporters all around the country and there are still right wing extremist media channels. In some debates, it becomes more apparent that extremists are still in German society. Also in migrant discourses, the extremists are significantly active since they are against all sorts of groups that consist of people that are not the “real Germans”. To what extent is right wing extremism present in the media about migration reporting and is it then an exclusive ideology of the far right?

The study of Butterwegge et al. tried to explain how right wing extremism in the media portrayed the multicultural society as a threat. According to Butterwegge, “the multicultural society is an enemy of the extreme right” (2006, p. 111). Moreover, Butterwegge argued that, ‘culture, race and nation are the basis for the fascist ideology. The German folk community is glorified whereas all “strangers” are excluded’ (2006, p. 111). However, sometimes, right wing extremist groups influence society and try to infiltrate their ideologies in the public discourse. As Butterwegge states, ‘the propaganda of the right wing extremists against migration and against the multicultural society gains support of nationalistic positions in public discourse. Therefore, it is not only a phenomenon of the right, but of the societal centre’ (2006, p. 112). This is exactly what right wing extremists want to achieve: to influence society by their ideologies and to get involved in public discourses. The media also support these anti-multiculturalism ideologies. Namely, Butterwegge states that, ‘right wing extremist campaigns against “foreigners” also gain a positive response from the established media. Yet, nationalism, racist stereotyping and ethnic description of societal conflicts pervade the dominant discourse’ (2006, p. 112). The author warned especially about this infiltration of right wing extremism in society and the media. For instance, the views of right wing extremists were taken over by the media. Also the demography of Germany was in discussion, since there is a trend of an aging population to be noticed in Germany for a couple of decades. This could have negative consequences, since the pensions of the elder have to be paid for, but the working age population is in decline. This means that there are less people who pay pensions. This problem was also discussed in the media, but sometimes with a nationalistic tone. As Butterwegge states, ‘in the past, the declining population of “our own people” was a topic in the right wing extremists media. However, nowadays it is also thematised in the media, as the tabloid Express states, in 2000, “Will the Germans die out (soon)?”’ (2006, p. 215). This trend caused many of these nationalistic phrases in the media, which contained some elements of right wing extremism.

Besides that, right wing extremist media can also influence the public by citing “trustworthy sources”. Butterwegge states that, “right wing extremist media cite politicians and researchers of the societal centre (…)” (2006, p. 200). By involving experts of the societal centre, the information seems to be more trustworthy.

In politics, one could also see the infiltration of right wing extremism in the political centre. Butterwegge explained this by a historical shift in politics, ‘the national revolutionaries and national conservatism intellectuals have tried to shift the value of national identity to the centre around 1980 and have established themselves in the centre as well’ (2006, p. 119). This, of course, was a strategic movement in order to get involved in public and to get more attention if they publish their statements. Butterwegge stated that, ‘an overlap of conservatism and right wing extremism existed, and this so called “New Right” serves as a strategic success of the right wing infiltration in the civil public’ (2006, p. 119). The principle of the New Right is explained by Butterwegge as, ‘being a biological nation unity, as could be damaged by migration and multiculturalism’ (2006, p. 123). In other words, the real Germans belong in Germany, whereas migrants and foreigners cannot join the country, because the biological evaluation determines the people of the nation. Only Germans can be the citizens who belong to the country.

# Migration in Germany nowadays

In the first chapter, the research results showed a relatively stable migration situation in Germany in 2006 with the lowest migration numbers since 1992. However, this has significantly changed and if one reads the newspaper of today, one will find articles about what to do with the large numbers of refugees during this refugee crisis. Large numbers of especially Syrian refugees try to cross the European borders. Already since 2011, when the Arabic spring reached Syria, people are revolting and fleeing, which is named the Syrian Civil War. There is political instability in the country and this causes many conflicts and deaths. According to an online article by the *BBC*, “more than 4.5 million people have left Syria since the start of the conflict, most of them are women and children” (*BBC,* 2016). Also Islamic State, the radical religiously oriented group which also uses violence for its goals, has terrorized the country. The *BBC* article states that, “so-called Islamic State has capitalised on the chaos and taken control of large swathes of Syria and Iraq, where it proclaimed the creation of a "caliphate" in June 2014” (*BBC,* 2016). Especially since the summer of 2015, the number of refugees has increased. *Der Spiegel* states that, ‘in these months, many migrants from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan came to Europe. There are several reasons. The lack of perspective has increased after several years of civil war in Syria, also the situation in the refugee camps in Turkey and Lebanon got worse. Besides that, the smugglers became more professional and the fear of military service grew’ (*Spiegel*, Reimann, 2016). These factors explain why more than 4.5 million people have left the country.

The number of refugees coming to Germany because of humanitarian reasons is continuously growing. So many refugees coming to a country can lead to tensions. After several years of relatively low numbers of refugees, Germany has experienced the largest refugee numbers in years. This issue causes debates on how to prevent the influx of refugees. In *Der Spiege*l it is stated how Germany coped with the issue, ‘the large influx in the summer of 2015 did not lead to commotion, but was accompanied by a big gesture of welcome. At the same time, there was more radicalism against refugees’ (*Spiegel,* 2016). Germany has a divided society. On the one hand, many have accepted the refugees in the country and provided them with a welcome home. *Der Spiegel* states that, ‘behind the great friendliness of the people exists not only the signal of welcome, but also the will to change a society’ (*Spiegel,* 2016). Furthermore, recently Germany has become well-known as a migration country after the statement of the Chancellor Angela Merkel. Merkel has called Germany as having a “welcoming culture”. However, as is stated by Junkerjürgen, ‘politically, in the last few years there has been a clear turnaround to be noticed. Chancellor Merkel campaigned openly in February 2011 to obtain Spanish workers and presented Germany as a country of immigration that is open towards the "young people of Europe"’ (2016, para. 3.1). Moreover, Junkerjürgen even states that, ‘the then Federal Labour Minister Ursula von der Leyen described immigration as a "stroke of luck", making the country "younger, more creative and international"’ (2016, para. 3.1). On the other hand, many Germans are becoming more and more aggressive towards refugees and became politically active in right wing extremism parties. Namely, *Der Spiegel* states that, ‘3,600 crimes related to asylum were counted of which 850 directly against refugee shelters and their inhabitants, four times more than in the previous year’ (*Spiegel,* 2016). The right-wing party, Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) was seen as the big “winner” in the last elections in Germany of March 2016. However, Merkel has lost a lot of voters because of her migration policy, in which she welcomes many refugees. *Der Spiegel* states that, ‘they are not afraid of economic instability, but of losing national identity’ (*Spiegel,* 2016).

The next few paragraphs try to outline the situation of migration in Germany around 2016, and the developments of the last years in comparison with that of 2006. It seeks to outline the numbers of migrants and asylum applicants entering Germany, the main countries of origin and the reasons they migrate or apply for asylum by the use of statistics. This can sketch the situation of migration in Germany of around 2015 with the most striking outcomes.

4.1 Migration report of 2015

The most recent migration report of the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF), containing data of 2014 and partly 2015, showed that the current migration situation in Germany has radically changed over years. Namely, the report stated that, ‘after the lowest migration rate of 2006, a continuous increase of influx is to be noticed’ (BAMF, 2016, p. 14). Moreover, also after a high peak in 2014, Germany is again experiencing a high influx of migrants again.

The BAMF report calculated the total balance of migrants. The report stated that, ‘with an influx of 1,34 million migrants in 2014, this is the highest number to be noticed after 1992. At the same time, also the emigrant rate increased compared to 2013 to 914,000. Therefore, the migration balance will be +550,000’ (2016, p. 8). Thus, more than half a million people migrated to Germany. If one compares it to the migration balance number of 2006, one will already see large differences in these numbers. Namely, in 2006, the migration balance number was +22.791.

Also in 2014, Poland remains the main immigrant country. The BAMF report states that, ‘the number of Polish migrants of 2014 is 197,908’ (2016, p. 9). However, this was before the largest influx of Syrian refugees. After the EU enlargement in 2004, which formalised Poland to the EU membership, many Poles came to Western-Europe, mostly for labour reasons. The enlargement of 2004 made it possible for Poles to find work in Germany and the Poles are an important migrants group for several years now. However, there is a slight increase of Polish migrants over years. In 2006 there were 163,643 migrants from Poland (see chapter 1). This means a small increase, since there were 197,908 migrants in 2014’. However, many Polish migrants left Germany as well. According to the BAMF report, ‘the number of Polish migrants returning to Poland also increased in comparison to the previous year with 11% (138,680 emigrants). The migration balance is therefore +59,228’ (2016, p. 9).

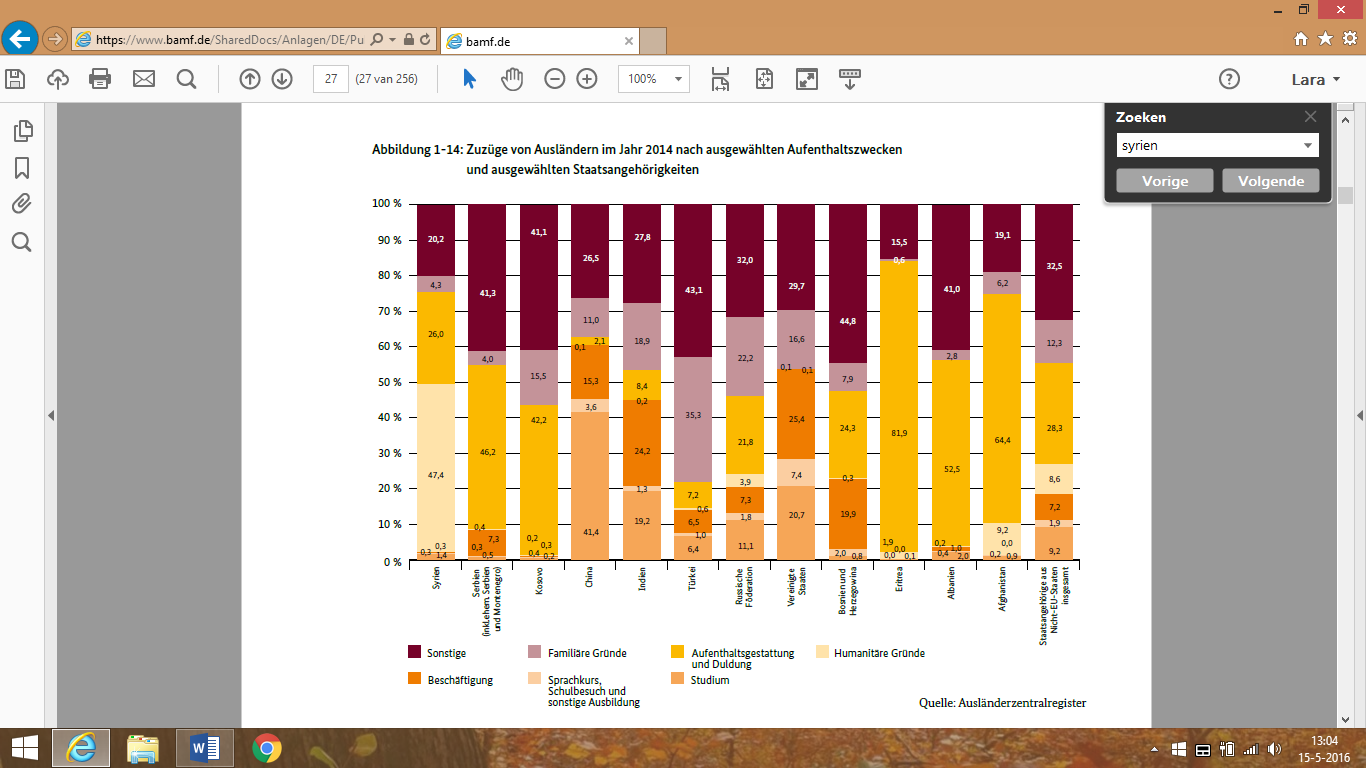
Throughout the years, some migrant groups have become larger and more important for Germany, whereas some groups have decreased in their presence. An important migration factor, as could also be seen by the Polish migrants, is EU enlargement. Since Rumania and Bulgaria joined the EU in 2007, the migration numbers also increased significantly. The BAMF report has calculated that, ‘in 2014, 191.861 migrants were from Rumanian descent and 77,790 from Bulgaria. The number of Rumanian migrants was 23,844 in 2006, this means an eightfold increase in 2014, in the case of Bulgarian it is almost tenfold (7,655 in 2006)’ (2016, p. 9).

4.2 Asylum applicants in 2015

Not only the migration numbers have increased, but also the number of asylum applicants has increased significantly. Perhaps these statistics of 2014/2015 are the most striking in comparison with those of 2006. The BAMF report stated that, ‘with 202,834 asylum applications in 2014, this means an increase of 59.7% compared to 2013. This significant increase remains for at least 2015. Main country of origin is Syria (2016, p. 9). In 2006, the number of asylum applicants was 21,029, even the lowest number since 1983. The number of asylum applicants in 2014 became even higher. According to the BAMF report, ‘the number of asylum applicants grew in the first eleven months of 2015 to 425,000. An increase of 134%, compared to the same period of 2014’ (2016, p. 10). Therefore, there is a totally different situation to be noticed if one compares 2006 with the situation of nowadays. Although the Syrian crisis has already started in 2011, there is no improvement of the situation in the country yet. Statistics show, that the situation will get even worse since the influx does not stop, but the numbers even increase.

Syrians, as being a large group of migrants, also came to Germany for family reunification. According to the BAMF report, ‘by Syrians, a strong increase of immigration numbers is to be noticed because of family reunification. In the first half year of 2015, 4,552 Syrians came with regard to family reunification to Germany, of which almost two-third children’ (2016, p. 10). Also the number of granted visas increased. The BAMF report states that, ‘in 2014, the granted visas increased to a number of 50,564, 14.1% more than in 2013’ (2016, p. 9). According to the report of BAMF of 2006, ‘in that year, only 609 Syrians have applied in Germany’ (2006, p. 91).

Because of the refugee crisis, many have come to Germany, as being an attractive country to enter for refugees. However, on European level, the attractiveness of countries for migrants has also changed over years. The BAMF report states that, ‘compared to other European countries, Germany has become the main country for attracting migrants. Whereas Spain was from 2006 to 2008 the primary host country was for migrants, in 2013 Spain had experienced a high migration loss (-250,000)’ (2016, p. 9). Moreover, the BAMF report states that, ‘Serbia was the country with the second highest number of asylum applicants in 2014, with 17,172 asylum applicants’ (2016, p. 74).

Moreover, the report has also evaluated the main reasons migrants have come to Germany. It noticed several developments in 2014 in contrast to the last years. The BAMF stated that: ‘education became an increasing reason to come to Germany, with an 13.4% increase compared to last year. ‘Also the number of migrants coming because of family reunification has increased with 13.6% compared to 2013, as well as employment (10.8%)’ (2016, p. 26). However, the most striking outcome was migration because of humanitarian reasons. According to the BAMF report, ‘it increased with 201.4% compared to 2013. Especially the Syrians and the increase of asylum applicants raised this number’ (2016, p. 26).

*Source: Ausländerzentralregister, Bündesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2016, p. 27)*

Therefore, not only the number of migrants has changed immensely, but also the attractiveness of countries for the migrants and the countries that adopt the most migrants have changed over years.

However, politically seen, sometimes Germany is in the position to send back refugees to another European country in which they have applied first. According to Hirseland, ‘the authorities check whether or not the applicant is already registered in another EU Member State and the possibility of another country which is responsible for the asylum procedure. This was in 2014 in case of every fifth application’ (2015, p. 21). This procedure is called the Dublin Regulation, which has been determined by European Union law during the Dublin Convention. Therefore, some asylum seekers may be sent back to another European country, but still, Germany accepts many refugees.

# What are the main findings of German tabloids nowadays in reporting about migrants?

This chapter includes the main findings of the research carried out in two German tabloids in their reporting about migrants. The research is based on content analysis, which has been used in order to analyse articles about migrants of two German tabloids: *Bild* and *Morgenpost*. A few steps have been designed in order to apply content analysis for the two tabloids: Sampling, Data Collection, Coding and then, Analysing (see chapter on *Methodology*). All in all, 100 articles have been analysed, 50 articles of *Bild* as well as 50 articles of *Morgenpost*. After the process of coding, several codes have appeared which portray the migrant. A coding scheme shows the most frequent themes that the tabloids have reported about (see Appendix 1). Out of ten codes of *Bild* and 15 codes of *Morgenpost*, the most frequent codes were *policies due to fear of mass influx, social and cultural discontent, how the facilities for refugees are structured, integration* and *the economic advantages refugees have*. The five first codes are the most important, and therefore these are covered in the paragraphs below. In the coding scheme, on the one side the codes are listed. On the other side, it is described what the different codes are about and how they portray the refugee by which tabloid. This coding scheme shows how frequent the codes have been used within the articles. Within these codes, it is investigated whether or not these codes negatively portray the migrant and if the tabloids report on a stigmatising way about them.

As is stated in Graph 1.1 below, *policies due to fear of mass influx* is the most frequent code with 29% of all codes, whereas *integration* as well as *the economic advantages refugees have* are the least frequent code with a frequency of only 7% each. Subsequently, the results of this research can be used to compare with each other since the newspapers are from two different regions (Berlin and Dresden). It could be interesting what the differences are and how both tabloids report about the national and their local news. Then, the results of this paragraph, compared to the results of Butterwegge, can lead to the final conclusion of this research paper.

*Graph 1.1: Code frequency*

5.1 Policies due to fear of mass influx

The code *policies due to fear of mass influx* was the most frequent code, especially in *Bild’s* articles. This code has been chosen because of the articles that report about policies that have been made in order to manage the mass influx of refugees, which sometimes rise out of fear for those masses and the impossibility to control this. This code is mainly about the mass influx of refugees, coming to Germany, and what impact his has on the German society, and specifically, how this is reflected in the politics. The politicians, subsequently, make certain policies that indicate that there is fear among politicians about the mass influx. The policies are mainly about a stricter asylum policy, border controls and the Dublin Regulation that many politicians want to put into force.

However, there is much discussion about the asylum policy. Some politicians want a stricter policy with a quicker process to send the migrants back, whereas some support the *Wilkommenskultur* of Angela Merkel and the coming of refugees to Germany. Politicians are divided about this topic and it is hard to find consensus about it. In general, the articles are mostly about politicians who are in favour of a stricter policy. For example, the tabloids report about the Dublin Regulation. This allows Germany to send back refugees to the concerned countries, in which the refugees have applied first. Thus, some politicians have focused on this regulation, since they want to decrease the numbers of refugees coming to Germany. Moreover, many politicians support restrictive family reunification laws. Many see family reunification as problematic, since many more migrants are coming because of this possibility. Therefore, they want to limit the reunification. *Bild* states that, ‘politicians want to limit family reunification. The CSU internal expert Hans-Peter Uhl warns that, without law reforms the refugee numbers will increase three or four times’ (*Bild,* 2015e). These articles, of which most of them contain a debate about a certain subject, indicate that the politics are still divided about the topic, since the course of the policies regarding migration is still not clear and a consensus is hard to reach. Furthermore, *Bild* reports about the unfair division of refugees over the European countries. For example, Austria does not take that many refugees and Germany is adopting the most refugees of all European countries. Besides that, politicians also fear the coming of terrorists, who can be involved in the mass of refugees. Minister Meyer-Plath states in a *Morgenpost* article, “between the unregistered refugees, one has to take into consideration, that there may be a terrorist” (*Morgenpost*, 2015d).

This code also includes articles about the large refugee numbers that enter Germany, as well as the overload of work this brings for the authorities. The tabloids question what to do with the large numbers of refugees, because there are not enough facilities for them. The country has not been prepared for such an influx. For instance, the tabloids often report about the lack of personnel, the lack of logistics and the lack of accommodations for migrants. Moreover, a few articles have stated that the authorities have not been able to register all refugees. Therefore, it is unclear how many refugees have entered Germany. One could speak of chaos in the country since authorities are simply overloaded with work. Besides that, numbers have been presented by the tabloids to indicate how many refugees have come per day, per month or per year. However, sometimes this has been put into perspective in the sense that the number of refugees compared to the total number of residents is not that much. Namely, *Bild* states that, “the number of refugees is only less than 1% of Germany’s population” (*Bild,* 2015e). *Morgenpost* also reported about the number of refugees that are coming.

5.2 Social and cultural discontent

The code *social and cultural discontent* is the second most frequent code over the 100 articles by *Bild* and *Morgenpost.* This code has been chosen since many articles are about social and cultural discontent that results from a highly visible unrest between migrants and the German residents. A total of 43 codes of both tabloids are related to *social and cultural discontent*.This code is mainly about the unrest between anti-refugee groups and refugees as well as unrest between refugee groups. Note that *discontent* stands for a negative feeling that is mainly about the coming of refugees or migrants. Regarding the articles which are coded as such, many codes are about anti-asylum demonstrations of right wing groups such as Pegida. For example, *Morgenpost* reports frequently about anti-asylum demonstrations: 40.9% of all articles contain codes related to this subject are about Pegida or anti-asylum demonstrations. *Bild* reported frequently about the increasing radicalisation of anti-asylum groups.Moreover, *Bild* clearly reported about the offender-victim roles, in which the refugees are portrayed as victims, and the asylum opponents as perpetrators. For instance, *Bild* reported about the neo-Nazi’s, who have insulted and beaten foreigners or about right wing extremists who have insulted Syrian refugees in multiple German cities. In the article, “Nazi-Angriff auf Kirchen-Asyl! “ (“Nazi attack on church asylum!”), *Bild* spoke of shame, ‘refugees seek for shelter in a church, and became in a place of worship victim of Nazi attacks’ (*Bild,* Selig, 2015).

Furthermore, Pegida often demonstrates in German cities often but it originates from Dresden. Its demonstrations are not always without conflicts with the police. Thus, Pegida comes in the news often. For instance, many anti-Pegida demonstrations took place the last several months, in which hundreds of people went to the streets (*Morgenpost,* 2015III). These are not large offenses, but it leads to a lot of commotion in the city. Another article shows a worse situation in which Pegida plays the leading role. *Morgenpost* states that, ‘ten thousands of Pegida supporters and anti-Pegida protesters have attacked each other during the anniversary of Pegida’ (*Morgenpost,* 2015u*).*

At the same time, *Morgenpost* realised that these events are not positive for the image of Dresden. One can see this in several articles. *Morgenpost* has reported about a scientific study, made by scientists of the Institute of Sociology at the TU Dresden, in which it became clear that the majority of the citizens from Dresden are not against refugees. *Morgenpost* stated that, ’60.1% of the respondents are against Pegida’ (*Morgenpost,* Hilscher, 2015b). *Morgenpost* also wrote an article about Dresden, about Dresden being a changing city. According to *Morgenpost*, “Dresden was one big success story in recent years. Economic growth, culture, beautiful buildings, hospitable neighbourhoods. But then Pegida came and since then the city has been perceived solely as a xenophobic stronghold” (*Morgenpost,* 2015o)*.* Moreover, one article even stated that the most xenophobic attacks happen in Sachsen, the state in which Dresden is located,

*“Nowhere there are so many xenophobic attacks as in Saxony. (..) After the terrorist attacks of Paris experts fear a stronger rise in attacks on refugee quarters. Although there were no deaths yet, currently we are in a climate in which such a thing could happen, said Timo Rein Frank, coordinator at the Amadeu Antonio Foundation in Berlin, which campaigns against the right”* (*Morgenpost*, 2015p).

Although there has much been reported about violence against refugees, *Bild* also reported about the conflicts that are caused by refugees. Especially if there are many refugees with many different backgrounds and religions in one refugee centre, it can lead to conflicts and tensions. For instance, about violence in Tempelhof (Berlin), *Bild* stated that, ‘mass fights happen daily. It is not an excuse, but it may explain the situation: different people with different religions, coming from war areas, have to live in a small place with each other. This can lead to tensions’ (*Bild,* Jarjanazi & Wedekind, 2015).Moreover, Home Secretary de Mazière stated in the same article that, ‘yet, there are refugees who believe they can go wherever they want. They leave the centres, go with a taxi, and surprisingly have the money to drive hundreds of kilometres through Germany’ (*Bild,* 2015t)*.* On the one hand, *Bild* worried about the increasing violence of anti-asylum groups against foreigners and refugee centres. On the other hand, *Bild* also worried about the violence within refugee centres, but explained this partly by the fact that they have to live in inhumanly small places, which automatically leads to more conflicts.

5.3 How the facilities for refugees are structured

This code is mainly about the structure and organization of facilities for refugees by the German government or other institutions. For example, *Bild* and *Morgenpost* wrote about accommodations, leisure activities and whether or not refugees have to pay for those facilities by their selves. For instance, *Morgenpost* reports about wooden houses that have been built in Leipzig for refugees (Hilscher, 2015a). Besides, many asked how much money is going to be spend on refugees and their facilities. *Bild* stated for example in their article, ‘reader’s question: “Who pays the phone costs of refugees?” *Bild:* They pay all phone cost by their pocket money. It is the most important property because they can stay in contact with their families’ (*Bild*, 2015g). This frequently asked question might indicate that the general prejudice may be that too much money is going to refugees and their facilities. However, *Bild* refuted this prejudice in their answer. The tabloids also often reported about the lack of personnel, the lack of logistics and the lack of accommodations for migrants. This code is chosen because it represents the questions that arise on how to facilitate all refugees. This is an important question in Germany since authorities struggle with the problem of overwork and a lack of accommodation. In addition, many German citizens worry about the money the government spends on refugee facilities. This could be noticed from the reader’s questions, which contained often prejudices, which *Bild* answered and rejected several times in their articles. This means that refugee facilities are an important topic in German society.

5.4 Integration

What to do with the large influx of refugees? Integration is an essential part when it comes to migration. Therefore, this was also an important theme in the reporting of *Bild* and *Morgenpost.* The articles of both tabloids concerning integration were often about finding the best way to integrate the refugees. It has been estimated that 57.1% of all codes related to the theme *integration* of both tabloids are about the need for integration or the best way to integrate refugees in the country. However, it often became clear that this does not go without problems. For instance, *Bild* stated that, ‘integration only happens under the condition that there are enough Germans around migrants’ (*Bild,* Arndt, 2015). Moreover, as is written by a reporter of *Morgenpost*,

*“Whether or not integration succeeds, depends on the migrant’s environment. Where large migrant communities arise, the new arrived migrants often lack the incentive to learn the language of the new country and adapt their practices. The result is ethnically closed parallel worlds, which today can already be found in Berlin and several western German cities” (Morgenpost, Bischoff, 2015).*

This clearly shows the thoughts behind integration. Integration is an essential part of migration and must be taken seriously; otherwise it will bring a lot of difficulties within society. A divided society has to be avoided. Furthermore, many politicians want to fasten the integration pace. According to *Bild*, ‘Home Secretary Herrmann of Bavaria wants to obligate refugees to integrate and adjust to our values and legal principles’ (*Bild,* 2015q)*.* According to Herrmann, integration only happens if migrants are committed to do so. However, another article showed the other side, which includes that Germans also have to integrate themselves. Augstein stated that, ‘we need migrants for demographical reasons; without them, there will be only 29 million residents in 2050. Therefore, we have to connect the integration culture, dominant culture and multiculturalism with each other. Also Germans have to integrate’ (*Bild,* Augstein, 2015). *Bild* did not only tell the story of one side.

However, integration is seen as problematic by some. In an interview of *Morgenpost* with Heinz Buschkowsky, the former district mayor of Berlin-Neukölln, integration is seen as difficult, “one should do anything to prevent the formation of ethnic clusters. These are the origin of parallel societies” (*Morgenpost,* Hilscher, 2015c)*.* With regard to integration, there is much spoken of parallel societies. Parallel societies are seen as the number one problem of bad integration, if one reads the articles of *Morgenpost*. Articles are therefore often about how to prevent the existence of these societies.

5.5 The economic advantages refugees have

Another frequent code is *the economic advantages refugees have*, which is about the economic advantages that can be noticed after refugees have entered Germany. This is an important theme, since many worry about the consequences the large influx of refugees has got for the economy. It is also a highly controversial theme, since many are divided whether or not the refugee influx has got negative consequences. There are many prejudices about refugees who misuse state aid regularly, are uneducated and are unable to find jobs. However, the tabloids do not report specifically negative about the consequences refugees have on the economy, public treasury and the labour market. For instance, *Morgenpost* and *Bild* reported about the positive effect refugees can have on the economic growth. Namely, Germany has a large aging problem and this can be problematic for the pensions that have to be paid. *Bild* stated that, ‘experts see a big potential for the German labour market. The refugees are young, male and on their way to find a safe place. This can limit the aging population and lead to economic growth. However, the costs are high’ (*Bild,* 2015r)*.* Moreover, *Bild* also wrote about the limited impact the refugee crisis has got on the government’s wallet. The government has no new debts. Furthermore, *Bild* even stated that, ‘without migration, the economic growth is going to shrink in seven years’ time, from 1.5 percent, to 0.5 percent’ (*Bild,* 2015r)*.* It is also estimated that the integration will lead to more jobs for teachers and *Bild* reported that refugees are highly motivated. *Bild* states, ‘it is not about the origin of the refugees, it is about their engagement, their willingness to take the job. They are highly motivated’ (*Bild,* Schäfer & Schuler, 2015).

5.6 *Bild* in comparison with *Morgenpost*

Much has been said about the crisis, the suffering, the hopeless situation, and the desperate people at the borders. The two tabloids have in common that most articles are about the refugee crisis and refugees who suffer from the situation. Both also provided much news about how the authorities are overloaded with the work it takes to control, register and manage the mass refugee influx. However, *Morgenpost* and *Bild* differ from each other since *Morgenpost* focused more on local (Dresdner) news and the violence that happens there. At the same time, it tried to save its image from all the bad news that has been written about the city. *Bild,* however, published more general news about politics and the refugee numbers. This may be because *Bild* is a national newspaper, although it is printed in Berlin. *Bild* also responded to the general prejudices such as the economic effects the coming of refugees has got on the country. It answered in a few articles on readers’ questions and mostly, *Bild* seemed to provided answers without right wing extremism assumptions and prejudices. Most prejudices have been disproved. Therefore, *Bild* focused more on the general prejudices and views of people on foreigners, refugees, migrants and responds on these views. *Morgenpost* reported quite different from *Bild*. It has reported often about the refugee situation at and around Dresden, as it is located in Dresden. Mostly, these articles are not that positive.

# Conclusion

A lot of significant differences could be found after comparing the research findings of Butterwegge with that of the findings of the content analysis of the two tabloids as presented in this paper. To start with comparing the migration background of 2006 with that of 2015, it was not hard to answer the question of what the differences were that could be noticed regarding this topic. Obviously, there are a few significant changes: in the numbers, in the refugee profiles, their countries, their age, and their reasons for migration. The backgrounds from 2006 and 2015 differ in many perspectives. In broad terms: 2006 was a very quiet year concerning migration (having the lowest migration rate since 1987). In contrast to that, over 2014 the highest number of refugees since 1992 has been calculated. Because the reasons for migration in 2006 were mainly economic reasons, the profile of migrants is different from that of 2015. There was not even something known as a “refugee crisis” back in 2006. Mainly Poles came to Germany, in order to look for seasonal work, as they were hired for cheap labour. This was made easier for them because of the European Union membership of Poland. They were mainly young men, with a relatively high education, who looked for work in the heavy industry. Also the number of asylum applicants was in continuous decline. This could be explained by several of factors in relation to international developments: the right for asylum had become stricter, the situation in Eastern European countries was stabilised, the war of former Yugoslavia had ended, there were reforms in Turkey and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the regime in Iraq had fallen. Therefore, the migration situation in Germany in 2006 was relatively stable as the numbers of migrants and asylum applicants were in continuous decline caused by a stable international situation.

Although statistics of 2006 show that this very year was quite stable concerning migration with low inflow numbers, media reporting about migrants in 2006 could be characterized as being xenophobic, infiltrated by right wing extremism ideologies and anti-migration, according to the research of Butterwegge. In combination with a part of society in which people tended to be less open to migrants, this was a fundament for right wing extremism in media reporting. Politics in Germany, for example the reforms towards a more strict asylum policy, have reflected society’s view on migrants. This policy showed that people thought that migrants are not that welcome in the country, resulting in a less open minded attitude towards them within politics. Furthermore, today’s world is being characterised by a cosmopolitan and globalised society, now even more than in 2006, meaning that the society rather than the state construct one’s everyday activities within a world in which distances are made smaller. However, this results in people or groups of people being afraid of losing their national identity, due to the mixed cultural society. It was also found by Butterwegge’s study that people tended to concentrate on the negativity of others, which makes them feel better and in order to legitimate their own acting and thinking.

Nonetheless, there were different findings in the study of Butterwegge about the media reporting on migrants around 2006 that showed the presence of right wing views on migrants. Obviously, media can shape the public opinion, as it has a big role in shaping one' reality, one’s view on what is “normal”. Because reporters can use certain negative words that are linked to migrants, it ruins the social climate as ethnic minorities do not gain respect within society. Moreover, as even the most reputable newspapers and magazines are found being xenophobic, tabloids thus are xenophobic as well. Additionally, especially tabloids dramatise, scandalise and exaggerate their messages, also known as manipulations. Generally, it is even found that within the tabloid world, migration is perceived as a threat and harassment for “the Germans”, including all general prejudices. In addition, readers of tabloids in general do not know much about the background of the articles they read. Therefore, they easily take over information from the media. Research by Butterwegge has also shown that tabloids often call the “foreigner problem” a danger to the domestic security (Butterwegge, 2006, p. 190). Thus, the language that some journalists of tabloids use can play a role in constructing a certain view on migrants. Tabloids often use loaded terms to deliver their message. Moreover, ethnic minorities are often labelled as “foreigners”, a loaded term which positions them as “strangers” to society, which makes people think in a way that excludes them from society. Furthermore, criminals are often being associated with their ethnic origin. For instance, even if a “non-German” has committed a crime individually, he or she is often linked to his or her ethnicity and to the whole ethnic community. Moreover, some German journalists are raised with a Eurocentric view, with less understanding of other beliefs and views outside Europe. As they automatically accepted this perspective, they are unaware of it. However, it does influence their reporting. Additionally, right wing extremism often appears in the media as the media gives support to those ideologies. For example, right wing extremist campaigns against “foreigners” gain support by the media.

Focusing on *Bild* reporting, on the one hand, often migrants were positioned in the news as a threat. For instance, they were positioned as state aid abusers in the article: “the ugly tricks of the Hartz-IV-freeloaders! … and we have to pay”. In this article, migrants were called freeloaders, assuming that they misuse “our” money (Butterwegge, 2006, p. 210). On the other hand, research has shown that racist actions and behaviour as well as the affected ones are rarely to be published in the *Bild* articles (Butterwegge, 2006, p. 227).

If one compares the findings of around 2006 with the findings of roughly ten years later, one sees a complete different media landscape. Whereas the media reporting of 2006 was characterized by a xenophobic attitude, the tabloids of nowadays report much differently, as has been found by using content analysis of tabloids *Bild* and *Morgenpost*. Today´s media, specifically tabloids, can be characterized by a much more cautious attitude. Because the migration background of 2015 is much different of that of 2006, with high numbers of refugees and different reasons to migrate such as war, it seems that the tabloids have taken a different approach to report about migrants and refugees. After analysing the articles, it was found that tabloids have become much more cautious, because what can one do about the great influx of refugees? Nowadays, the tabloids report about the crisis, the policies on asylum application, the hopeless situation, and the desperate people at the borders. Refugees have been portrayed as vulnerable people, who came to Germany in order to find a new home. Emotionally loaded terms have been used in order to describe the situation. In contrast to what *Bild* wrote in 2006, calling migrants freeloaders who abuse state aid, *Bild* has written recently that refugees pay a lot themselves and that refugees help to secure growth and that their arrival leads to more work. Another remarkable finding is that especially *Morgenpost* but also *Bild* published a lot about the violence of anti-asylum groups. This is in strong contrast with the findings of 2006, in which those articles about anti-asylum violence and the affected refugees were rarely to be found in tabloids. Moreover, most prejudices were even being refuted in the articles. These racial stereotyping of newspapers in 2006 cannot be found in the researched tabloid articles of nowadays.

One question remains: there has been right wing extremism in media reporting in 2006; is there still any presence of right wing extremism in the German tabloid media nowadays? There are no articles of *Bild* and *Morgenpost* found, in which refugees or migrants were negatively portrayed. Although there was bad news in which the migrants have played a role, as being the criminal for example, their offenses were not explained by or linked to their origin that would otherwise be a characteristic of right wing extremism. This was the case in 2006, but much has changed.

In short, in order to answer the research question: “How do German tabloids use right wing extremist ideology to report about migrants nowadays compared to ten years ago?”, research of this paper suggests that German tabloids of nowadays are cautious in their reporting and even refute any activity of right wing extremists. They mostly report about the crisis, the policies for a stricter asylum policy, how migrants suffer from the crisis, how authorities work to manage the influx, and how much work this takes and with how many refugees they come. Because of these large numbers of refugees, it is likely that tabloids try to find ways in order to cope with the numbers and find the best way to integrate them in society. Because what can one do? It is a crisis and one has to limit the damage and the suffering of the crisis. However, the two researched tabloids are not representative enough for the whole German media. Therefore, additional research is needed on this subject.

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# Appendix 1: Coding scheme of *Bild* and *Morgenpost*

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| Policies due to fear of mass influx  *Bild* | * Are we overwhelmed by the influx of refugees? The amount of refugees is less than 1% of Germany’s population. However, the helpers and volunteers in the crisis do feel overwhelmed by the work it takes to manage and control the masses of people that enter Germany. * Reader’s question: Why do countries such as Saudi Arabia refuse to adopt refugees? Saudi Arabia has adopted thousands of refugees. However, most of the Syrian refugees do not want to go to a country where there is also an autocratic regime. * The authorities cannot register all refugees. Chaos prevails. * The BAMF employees are overworked; therefore, the precise refugee numbers are not right. There is lack of time for people to register them accurately. * Almost 13,000 refugees have entered Germany during Christmas 2015. * 79.000 refugees have entered Berlin in 2015. * There is chaos since authorities cannot manage and register refugees at the moment. * It is unclear who enters Germany. There is no good overview. * The expected influx of 800,000 refugees over 2015 has almost been reached. * In 2015, much more refugees have entered Germany than was expected. *Bild* sums up what we need to care for refugees and to integrate them. For instance, we need yearly 350,000 up to 400,000 more new houses. More than 15,000 police men are needed to protect and serve the communities. * Family reunification is problematic according to German cities. The capacities to accommodate refugees are coming to a halt. They are overloaded with work. * There is lots of criticism against the authorities who are responsible for the processes.   It takes too long for them to work on asylum applications. There is a lack of personnel therefore, they have to work in weekends and work overtime.   * German minister Martin Dulig wants to stop the refugee influx in order to remain capable to care for the people. * In contrast to many other European countries, Germany has been overloaded by the influx. Around 100,000 refugees in the next months have been expected. * After the refugee influx from Syria, Germany has to prepare itself on the increased influx from Afghanistan. * The BAMF chef Weise says that, if the influx remains, it can lead to an overload.   We cannot accommodate many more refugees.   * The asylum applications are taking too long. The waiting period can lead to higher costs and to a feeling of uncertainty and refugees can get used to the social services and health care. * The operational forces of the police are maxed out. They cannot operate, are without a break in operation. * The Bundesregierung wants to send back refugees to the other European countries by the Dublin regulation. * The Austrian border police refuses refugees and send them further to Germany. This concerns thousands of refugees. * Philipp Lengsfeld, CSU: we have to close the borders. Many agree that the state has lost controla over the refugee situation. * The union fraction wants to speed up the asylum processes and prevent a run on the German court. This includes that migrants from a “safe home country” that have been refused but are complaining about it, have to pay their process themselves if they go to court. * Criticism on Home Secretary Thomas de Mazière. He wants Syrian refugees to have a limited protection status what would lead to a limited family reunification. He states this would be agreed buta so far this is not the case. * The CSU-chef Horst Seehofer does not agree with Chancellor Angela Merkel. Merkel welcomes refugees from Budapest, but Seehofer does not want this and sees it as a mistake. He worries about the unstoppable stream of refugees from Budapest. * A new reform has been accepted from the 1st of November 2015 onwards. This includes a faster asylum application process and faster deportations. * Parliamentary group leader Volker Kauder (CSU) says, it is essential to put forward the changes in the law on family reunification for Syrians and Iraqis quickly in negotiation with the SPD and implement them immediately. * More and more countries want to close their borders because of the great influx of refugees. * The asylum law is going to be tightened. Asylum processes will be made faster. This is urgent because the influx of refugees must be stopped. * We need better border controls according to the CSU, political party in Germany. * Politicians of the EU want to limit family reunification since the amount of family members coming over is extremely high. * Home Secretary Thomas de Mazière is being criticized since he wants to deteriorate the protection status of Syrian refugees. On top of that he also decides to go on holiday during the peak of the crisis. * Adopting all migrants is not possible; therefore, the politicians and majority of Germans want limitations. Not everyone agrees but the amount of migrants has to be decreased. * There is a danger of terror so we have to expand our border control. * Because around 7000-8000 refugees come every day. The asylum right has to be stricter. |
| How the facilities for refugees are structured | * 1350 rooms have been equipped as refugee accommodations. * A soccer hall serves as asylum accommodation. * Question of reader: Hundred thousands of refugees are Muslim. Are there new mosques to be build? The need of mosques is also increasing due to the increasing amount of Muslim refugees. Freedom of religion is a fundamental right. Therefore, to build more mosques has been taken into consideration in new building projects. * After a mosque was built in Hamburg in 2011, many speak from the increased number of radical religious people. * Question of reader: “Who pays the phone costs of refugees?” The refugees themselves pay their phone bill with their allowance. It is the most important object since they can stay in contact with their families with their phones. * Question of reader: “How is the family reunification of refugees financed?” The involved families pay the travel costs themselves. * The expenditure for refugee accommodation and care has more than doubled. * Refugees have been accommodated in a migrant neighbourhood in Hamburg. However, integration only happens if there are enough Germans. * Language courses have been offered, however, there are not enough teachers. Therefore, there are many new job openings for teachers. * Politicians want better support for refugees. They want better medical help for pregnant women, children and disabled asylum applicants. They also strive for limited family reunification but the SPD is against it. |
| The economic advantages refugees have | * The Syrian people are well-educated in contrast to other Arabic countries. Many will easily enter the German labour market. * Language courses have been offered, however, there are not enough teachers. Therefore, there are many new jobs for teachers. * The integration costs are high, but refugees can help to secure growth and limit the problems of an aging population. * Despite of the crisis, the German government has no new debts. * Germany needs migrants for demographical reasons. Without them, there will only be 29 Million residents in 2050. Integration culture, the dominant culture and multiculturalism has to be connected with each other. Germans have to integrate as well. * A new integration project will lead to 360 new science jobs for refugees. Many are high motivated and have are highly qualified. They are also needed for the German labour market. * Without migration, the economic growth is going to shrink in seven years time, from 1.5 percent to 0.5 percent. * It is not about the origin of the refugees, it is about their engagement, their willingness to take the job. They are highly motivated. * Do only male migrants come over without education? A large part of Syrian refugees have a high education. Every second Syrian refugee has a gymnasium graduation. |
| Social and cultural discontent | * Neo-Nazi’s have insulted and beaten foreigners. Radicalisation is increasing. * The asylum opponents and right wing extremists have insulted Syrian refugees in multiple cities in Germany. * The violence in refugee centers escalate since the capacities to place them are ending. The situation is out of control. * In refugee centre Tempelhof (Berlin) mass fights happen daily. This can be explained by the mix of different people with different religions from war regions. They have to live in a small place with each other. That can lead to tensions. * Nazis have insulted refugee children in a church asylum. Bild speaks of a shame: they seek for shelter in a church, and became in the place of worship victim of cowardly Nazi attacks. * Billstedt, a migrant area in Hamburg, has got more unemployed, single parents, more than twice state aid receivers and more than twice more people that live on one square meter than in other areas in Hamburg. |
| Refugees are suffering from the crisis | * Refugees have to wait long, there are aggressive security workers. Also, the refugees are desperate because there are in a situation of all or nothing. * Bild shows a picture of a child with his crying dad with the title: “Daddy, please do not cry” (“Papa, bitte wein’ doch nicht”). It shows that the situation for refugees at the Greek-Macedonian border is hopeless and causes much grief. * With his motor boat, Vito Florino has saved the lives of 47 Africans in the Mediterranean Sea. During the world’s worst refugee crisis 366 people drowned. * The Afghan people are tired of the war. The people want to live in a society, in which violence and canon fire are not everyday happenings. They want a better life for their children. * Hassan is on his way since three weeks. Fleeing from the war, the hopeless situation in Syria. * The security situation is catastrophic. Afghans are no economic refugees. They flee because of fear for their lives. They take the risks to go all the way to Germany. If the situation does not improve in Afghanistan, they will come by the millions! |
| Integration | * Germany needs migrants for demographical reasons. Without them, there will only be 29 Million residents in 2050. Integration culture, the dominant culture and multiculturalism have to be connected with each other. Also Germans have to integrate. * Refugees have been accommodated in a migrant neighbourhood in Hamburg. However, integration only happens if there are enough Germans. * Home Secretary Herrmann of Bavaria says that we have to obligate refugees to integrate and to adjust to our values and legal principles. * A large integration program is needed in order to speed up the integration pace according to politicians. * A new integration project will lead to 360 new science jobs for refugees. Many are highly motivated and have high education qualifications. They are also needed for the German labour market. |
| Refugees are treated unequally | * A municipality made their own rules for refugees. They state: “refugees have to pay their supermarket products before they open it”. Many ask themselves if the mayor is exaggerating. Bild asks how they came up with these rules. * Extra busses have been used for refugees, because parents do not want their children to go in the same bus as refugees. This demand reminds us about the darkest period of the “Apartheid”. Instead of ignoring these racist and absurd suggestions, the regional office tests whether or not it is successful. |
| Successful refugees | * A refugee has won in the court about his process. He applied for residency but after 16 months, while 6 months is the maximum, he did not hear anything from the BAMF (refugee ministry). He won and now BAMF has to work on his application. * Bild writes about six migrants, who have made it to the top in the USA. Arnold Schwarzenegger and Diane Kruger are successful integrated in the USA for example. |

*Morgenpost*

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| Social and cultural discontent | * Citizens from Dresden are not against refugees according to a scientific study.   421 residents were part of the study.   * The content of Pegida does not find much support among the Dresden citizens according to the study of the TU Dresden. * In June 2015, one saw children who were afraid of the anti-refugee groups, who were shouting “foreigners out!” in front of hotel Leonardo. * A large civil dialogue has been organised between the Pegida supporters and the anti-Pegida demonstrators. They will speak Wednesday evening in the Kreuzkirche with each other. * Migrant Attila from Hungary: “I do not understand the emerging intolerance of the people here (Dresden)”. There always have been foreigners here. * Pegida is also present in Prague. Thousands of people went on the street to demonstrate. * In Leipzig and Dresden, thousands of anti-asylum demonstrators went on the streets. Whereas in Dresden it was quite calm with 9,000 people on the streets, in Leipzig the police had to intervene. Also anti-Pegida demonstrations took place the last several months at which hundreds of people were present. * Dresden meant to be a success story. Economic growth, culture, beautiful buildings and hospitable people. However, because of Pegida the city is known nowadays as an anti-foreigners city. * Nowhere in Germany there are so many xenophobic assaults as in Saxony; that is where the most attacks happen. * Ex-Pegida front woman Karin Oerthel has protested in front of a building which was in the planning to house refugees there. * Ten thousands of Pegida supporters and anti-Pegida protesters have attacked each other during the anniversary of Pegida. * A football player has shouted “Scheiβ Türke” against the coach of another team. However, the football club and the soccer player himself deny this statement. * Asylum opponents demonstrated in Zwickau and asked for more say for the citizens in refugee politics. * In the new movie, “Er ist wieder da”, in which Hitler visits Germany nowadays, it is not a satire, but the reality. He spoke in real life with people who talked about being afraid of foreigners, hating the politics. Hate against foreigners and the politics. * Home Secretary de Mazière speaks clearly about the aggressive and demanding attitude of asylum applicants. “They act like they can assign rooms for themselves, they leave refugee centres, surprisingly have the money to drive hundreds of kilometres through Germany.” * Bachmann, chief of Pegida Germany supports the European Pegida movements. According to him, it is important to cooperate and collaborate in order to eliminate the danger. In his view, the increasing Islamisation threatens the traditional values of Europe. * The world looks at our city (Dresden). It seems that there is mistrust against foreigners. But, this is not right! Our city is cosmopolitan! Every week, Bild gives proof of this. This week, Attila from Hungary confirms it and says, “I like it here”. * The world looks at our city (Dresden). It seems that there is mistrust against strangers. But that is not right! Dresden is a cosmopolitan city! Every week, Bild proves this by giving an example. This week: Amin from Tunisia. He calls Dresden his home. He has studied for media designer. * On Facebook, one reads often about prejudices towards criminal refugees. This is absurd. Also refugees are criminal, but not all refugees. The prejudices of right wing extremists that refugees are murders does not correspond with the statistics. Those only show minor offenses. * A police officer states that migrants are not more criminal than Germans. * Criminal activities are increasing in a park in Chemnitz. The offenders are mostly German. * Terror warning: anti-asylum opponents radicalise. They shift from extremism into terrorism. * Saxony hopes that New Year’s eve will be peaceful. However, the police has to be focused after the experiences of the last few months. Especially at refugee centers. * Not every shoplifter is threatened the same by the authorities. A lawyer from Dresden is sure about this and publishes his proof, in which becomes clear that a process has been made against one, only because of his origin. A policeman wrote down on a paper: the accused is a foreigner, and gave him a higher penalty for only shoplifting. * At a station in Dresden, a Northern African man was being hit by an anti-asylum supporter. He ended up in the hospital. * Saxony wants to prevent violence at refugee centres at New Year’s Eve. Home Affairs minister Markus Ulbig asks for a peaceful New Year’s Eve without violence against refugees, operational forces and other people. * Dorothee Tiggers, leader of an evangelic primary school, supports the Wilkommenskultur (Welcoming Culture) of Angela Merkel. She wants the new refugee centre next to the school, to support the Wilkommenskultur. She does not understand the fear of foreigners of some people. * Every tenth refugee will be criminal in the next nine months. Mostly it is about minor offenses such as theft. Migrants from Tunisia are the most criminal. * A Saxony Home Affairs minister stated that every tenth migrant is going to be criminal in the first nine months. Therefore, he wants that authorities can choose the characteristic “refugee” at a criminal charge. * Asylum applicants are not more criminal than the Germans according to Juliane Nagel, spokeswomen of the refugee policy department. * Foreigners harassed two women in Chemnitz. They hit them after they drank too much. A conversation got out of hand. * Armed criminals robbed two pensioned residents in their house. They were three men, one German and two foreigners. * On the second Christmas day, two asylum centres have been attacked. The Home Affairs Secretary has calculated 66 attacks over 2015, of which 57 attacks have been done by the right wing milieu. * After the terror attacks, experts expect an increase of attacks against refugee centres. There are no deaths yet, but in this situation, it is likely to happen. * Offenses against refugee centres and politicians. * There are prejudices, there is fear, and people feel insecure. Many people are not used to the foreigners that enter the country, according to Minister of Integration Köpping. * 12 foreigners are injured by a fire in their house. There are no indicators that it is a result of anti-asylum activities. |
| Policies due to fear of mass influx | * Germany wants to send back refugees to the other European countries by the Dublin Regulation. * Angela Merkel delegates the tasks of coping with the refugee influx to German Chancellery Peter Altmaier. He will spread the tasks over ministries for a better cooperation. * Horst Seehofer demands fewer refugees. We can only cope with the crisis if we propose a limit on the refugee influx. * CDU politician Alexander Krauβ is being criticised for his statements about refugees and his support for the limitation of family reunification. * Refugees have to stay at the transition zones located at country borders in order to have quicker processes. This has been announced by the German Chancellery Altmaier. * The Minister of Justice Steffen Heitmann of Saxony has left the CDU because he does not agree with the view of Angela Merkel, who welcomes thousands of refugees, of which mostly are young Islamic men. * The Heads of Governments of Saxony and Bavaria call for safer EU external borders. As long as this is not the case, they want to have strict controls on the German borders. * Head of Finance Markus Söder does not want a situation in which the authorities do not know who enters Germany and what those people do. Looking at the attacks in France, for security reasons, we cannot make compromises anymore. * Minister Meyer-Plath: “between the unregistered refugees, one has to take into consideration, that there may be a terrorist”. * There are thousands of Syrian refugees with false passports. Some of these documents are made by IS, in Rakka. * The Bavarian party CSU want a stricter control on the German and European borders after the Paris attacks. * Heads of Governments of Sachsen and Bavaria call for less refugees and an influx limit. * The minister of Justice Steffen Heitmann of Saxony does not agree with the open borders. The authorities are overloaded with work and the people feel insecure. * The BAMF has got new field offices. That was requested a long time ago, since the previous field offices in Chemnitz were overloaded. * What to do with so many refugees? Schools and gym halls are not enough.   Then new houses have to be built.   * These days, many new refugees are expected to enter Germany.   Only Wednesday, 516 have entered the country.   * The Bundesregierung already knew in spring this year about the warnings and information about the increasing refugee influx. However, they reacted way too late. * Head of Finance Markus Söder states that one million refugees are too much. We cannot integrate more than 200,000-300,000 people. * According to Home Affairs minister Markus Ulbrig of CSU, the BAMF has to get more personnel to manage their work regarding refugees. * Minister Meyer-Plath of the Ministry of Protection of the Constitution worries about the increasing number of unregistered refugees. According to BAMF, it has been estimated that there are around 290,000 (!) unregistered refugees. * One cannot integrate all. Therefore, poverty, natural disasters and an existence without perspective are not always reasons for asylum, according to the ten point plan of the German government. |
| How the facilities for refugees are structured | * In Leipzig, there are wooden houses to be built for refugees. There are cheap and quickly build. * The refugee centre in Freital looks alive again.People have the option to play sports, to take German language courses and to play music. * The refugee centre in Übigau is in a poor condition. The building is flling apart; the roof is damaged. * A new playground was created in the refugee center. No matter who scores the goal, who speaks what language: the children are cheering, laughing – together! * Local authorities do not know what to do to accommodate thousand refugees humanely and provide them with a warm shelter during the winter. * The BAMF is not able, due to a lack of personal and logistics, to accommodate the crowd and to give them a fair asylum process. * Dresden wants to buy a hotel, which can shelter 115 refugees. Each room will cost 31,000. |
| Refugees are treated as “the other” | * The weapon trader in Dresden does not allow foreigner in his shop. One calls it racist and scandalous. He compares this with the exclusion of Jews during the Second World War by national socialists. * A doctor from Ellefeld (Saxony) refuses to help foreigners. A big scandal! * In Frankenberg, a fireman has refused to operate at asylum application centres. The reason he mentioned was self-protection. Bild asks: does this come from the foreigners that can attack the fireman during his operation? * A doctor in Ellefeld says that he does not help foreigners or refugees. Another doctor scandal. * A psychology professor states that refugees are not as intelligent as Germans. Politicians criticise him. Intelligence does not depend on the origin of that person. * 230 refugees have disappeared in Döbeln without a trace. No one is looking for them. |
| Dresden as a cosmopolitan city | * At the demonstration of the anniversary day of Pegida, chief of the political party Die Grünen said, “We want a cosmopolitan Germany”. * Citizens from Dresden are not against refugees according to a scientific study. 421 persons have been questioned. * The content of Pegida does not find much support among the Dresden citizens according to the study Sociology of the TU Dresden. * The world looks at our city (Dresden). It seems that there is mistrust against foreigners. But, this is not true! Our city is a cosmopolitan city! Every week, Bild gives proof of this. This week, Attila from Hungary confirms it and says, “I like it here”. * The world looks at our city (Dresden). It seems that there is mistrust against strangers. But, this is not true! Our city is cosmopolitan! Every week, Bild proves this by giving an example. This week: Amin from Tunisia. He calls Dresden his home. He is studying for media designer. * Dresden meant to be a success story. Economic growth, culture, beautiful buildings and hospitable people. However, because of Pegida the city is known nowadays as an anti-foreigners city. |
| Integration | * Whether or not integration will be successful, depends on where migrants are located. In case there are many migrant communities, there is a lack of integration and willingness to learn the language and habits. That can cause parallel worlds that already can be seen at several West-German cities. * Sachsen is confronted with problems such as integration and migration. * Andreas Scheuer of the CSU wants to start up a television channel that has content to integrate migrants in Germany. It contains language courses, information about life in our country, documents about successful integration projects and our German values, beliefs and an exchange of our dominant culture. * Integration costs money, but it is worth it. * People who come here, have to integrate, otherwise parallel societies will exist, according to the minister of Integration Köpping. |
| Refugees are suffering from the crisis | * Description of drowned children and weakened refugees. * Children who fled to Germany have lost their parents because they died, were too weak or had to stay back in their home country. More and more infants enter our country alone. Yet, the city of Dresden hopes for support from their citizens. |
| Successful refugees | * Amin from Tunisia has participated as a dancer in “RTL super talent”. Nowadays he and his partner operate an entertainment agency. * Integration costs money, but it is worth it. |
| Economic advantages | * According to minister of Integration Petra Köpping, Saxony loses the battle to get the best refugees for the labour market. |

# Appendix 2: Student Ethics Form



1. All citations of Butterwegge are translated out of German [↑](#footnote-ref-1)