The Perception of Immigration from South-East Europe to Duisburg in Duisburg's Local Media 2014

A Critical Discourse Analysis

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1. Motivation and Leading Questions of the Analysis

In recent years politics, administrations and media have become increasingly concerned with the topic "immigration from Bulgaria and Romania" as have people working in the field on a voluntary base. Indeed, migration to Germany has increased since Bulgaria and Romania gained membership to the European Union and since the EU freedom of movement policy has been implemented. The City of Duisburg has become one of the focal points of immigration in Germany. Thus, several lines of conflict have evolved which interfere with integration processes.

Like Dortmund and Berlin-Neukölln, Duisburg became a negative symbol of immigration processes as nationwide the media shared a negative image of the people coming, as did public opinion. They became seen as "problems" with which the communities concerned were not able to cope; they were associated with rubbish, dirt, criminality, poverty, socially unfit behaviour and seen as a financial burden because they are said to claim social benefits. Partly open, partly subdued the arguments were based on statements conveying Antizigan discrimination; i.e. the mere fact that the people coming to Germany belong to the Roma minority hinders their integration.

> *Antiziganism (also known as anti-Romanyism, anti-Romani sentiment or anti-Gypsyism) is hostility, prejudice, discrimination or racism directed at the Romani people as an ethnic group, or people perceived as being of Romani heritage. (See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antiziganism)*

The concentration of migration processes in specific neighbourhoods of Duisburg aided this point of view. Especially in Duisburg-Hochfeld and Duisburg-Bergheim protests against the people coming emerged from people who had been living in these parts of Duisburg for a longer time. These protests were partly based on racism and partly on chauvinism from a position of prosperity.

A concept which was worked out by the City of Duisburg to integrate the people coming to the city could – as it seems – not have been sufficiently implemented.

Protests of long-term inhabitants gave rise to extreme right-wing parties and organizations which saw and still see a suitable opportunity to take advantage for their own propanda purposes. They held demonstrations which were paralleled and neutralized by anti-demonstrations. Yet still, the situation in these parts of Duisburg was and is explosive and saturated with racist attitudes.

Evidentally, this atmosphere is conjured up by discourse, constituted, transported and reproduced by media to a considerable degree. Thus, a discourse analysis of local media aims at showing how media accompanies the processes of immigration from South-East Europe.[1] In this context, media is seen as having a key role when it comes to "imprinting" the perception of societal structures and coherences. On the one hand, media produce discourse, on the other they transport the existing discourse. Media define what can be said in a society at a certain time and thus implement the frame in which people can think about fields of problems in a society and of solutions and perspectives to solve them.

This analysis comprises the time-span around the three democratic elections which took place in Duisburg on May 25, 2014 and ranges from April 1, 2014 to June 30, 2014. The democratic elections conducted were for the European Parliament, the Local Council and the Local Integration Council. Four local newspapers were analysed, i.e.:

Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ) (daily)

Rheinische Post (RP) (daily)

Wochenanzeiger (weekly)

Stadtpanorama (weekly)

The analysis asked, how these newspapers dealt with the following questions connected to immigration from South-East Europe:

1. *How are citizens of Duisburg coming from South-East Europe depicted?*

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2. *How are residents of Duisburg and immigrants depicted who have been living here for a longer time?*

3. *What statements are made by local politicians, city councillors and the police and which effects do they have in societal discourse? Is immigration from South-East Europe a topic in the election campaigns – and if so – to which degree?*

4. *How are trans-local political and societal institutions depicted (at national, regional and EU levels) and which effects derive from these depictions?*

5. *How is the work of people and institutions working in the field of immigration on a voluntary basis depicted?*

6. *How do constructions of groups like "we" and "the others" work and what effects are visible?*

7. *How do media deal with the concept of the City of Duisburg to cope with immigration or with concepts dealing with the topic from other cities or regions?*

The analysis can show how problems connected with immigration are constructed. Thus, the analysis aims at deconstructing prejudices and judgements, assessments and allocations. Also, they aim at contributing to establishing Duisburg as a city which welcomes immigrants and sees immigration as an asset.

Furthermore, the analysis is the basis of generating strategies to prevent media coverage from being discriminative and exclusive and instead to become inclusive and conducive to co-habitation.

2. Theoretical, methodological and local preconditions

2.1 The Concept of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The term discourse in this context does not describe discussions or societal arguments. Discourse is seen as "a flow of knowledge through space and time", which has started in the past and currently flows through present time into the future. (see Jäger 2012, 26ff)

A critical discourse analysis of this knowledge can show <u>what can be said</u> at a certain place at a certain point in time, by whom it can be said and how it was or is said. Thus it shows what can be said in a society at a certain time and what can not be said. In this way discourse means societal expressions which are institutionalized and thus follow certain rules.

The kinds of expressions and the rules they follow constitute the basis for the structure and design of societal realities. Furthermore, they evolve effects of power, because they determine the actions of people and societies.

Regarding what can be said in a society at a certain time, it is worth noting that the term "Zigeuner" (gypsy) cannot – or hardly be used – any more in Germany. Nevertheless, new fields of what can be said are evolving, which still reproduce stereotypes of Antizigan discrimination.[2] These include images of nomads, criminality, lack of education, rubbish, to mention just a few.

Critical analysis is not aiming to criticise specific media, nor are they concerned with language criticism. They can and should show the effects of power which are constituted by certain images, pictures and reports and show how various ways of interpretation by the readers are opened up. In this respect collective symbolism has a huge impact.
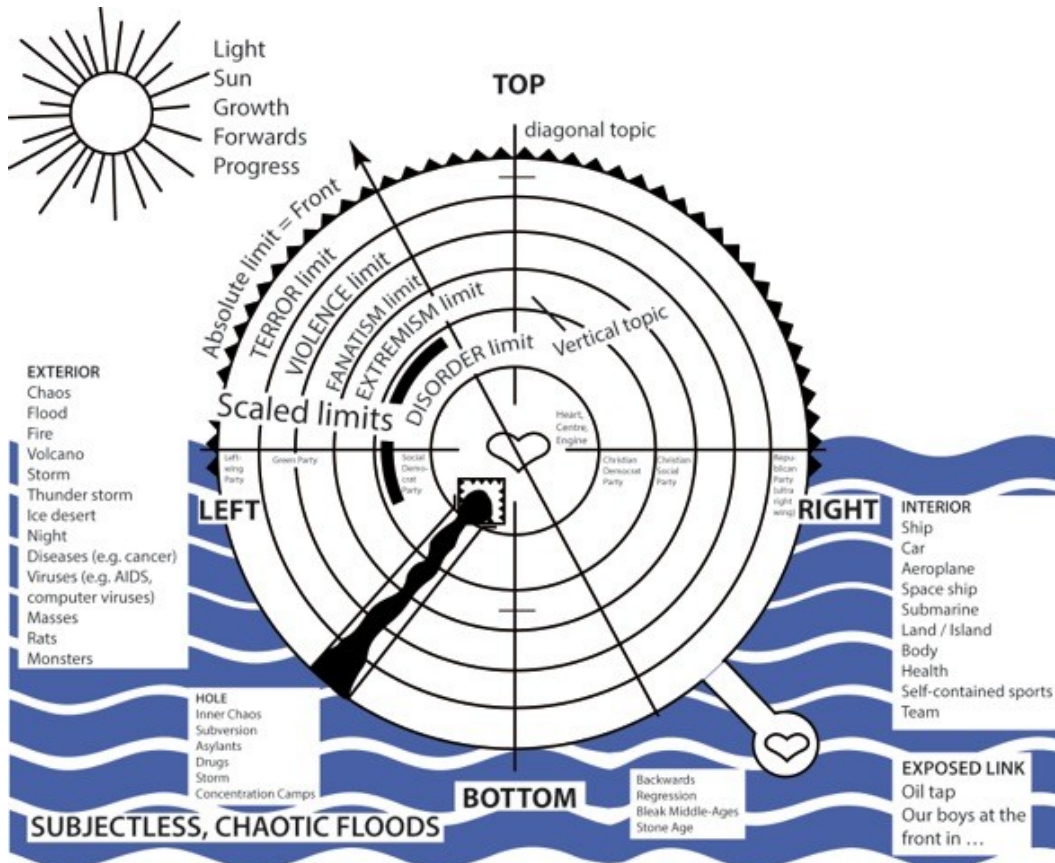
Collective Symbolism

Analysis of historical and contemporary discourses could show that the system of collective symbolism is a fundamental and supporting element of discourses.

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[2] Check definition of "Antiziganism" below.

Collective symbolism is "the entirety of all widest-spread allegories, emblems and comparisons [...], pars pro toto [...] intuitively accessible models and analogies of a culture" (Jäger/Zimmermann 2010, 70; translation I.T)

Collective symbols exert their power within the thematic system, as can be visualized for modern western societies thus:

Light
Sun
Growth
Forwards
Progress

TOP
diagonal topic

Absolute limit = Front
TERROR limit
VIOLENCE limit
FANATISM limit
EXTREMISM limit
DISORDER limit
Vertical topic

Scaled limits

EXTERIOR
Chaos
Flood
Fire
Volcano
Storm
Thunder storm
Ice desert
Night
Diseases (e.g. cancer)
Viruses (e.g. AIDS, computer viruses)
Masses
Rats
Monsters

Left-wing Party | Green Party | Social Democrat Party | Heart, Centre Engine | Christian Democrat Party | Christian Social Party | Republican Party Jultra Right wing)

LEFT
RIGHT

INTERIOR
Ship
Car
Aeroplane
Space ship
Submarine
Land / Island
Body
Health
Self-contained sports
Team

HOLE
Inner Chaos
Subversion
Asylants
Drugs
Storm
Concentration Camps

BOTTOM

Backwards
Regression
Bleak Middle-Ages
Stone Age

EXPOSED LINK
Oil tap
Our boys at the front in ...

SUBJECTLESS, CHAOTIC FLOODS

The basis of the graph on collective symbolism is a circle symbolizing the social system and its limits. Its vertical axis divides it into a hierarchical system with an upper and a lower section. Political parties can be located on a horizontal axis (from left to right). There is an "inside" which approaches the "outside" by graduated lines. These graduations on the inside represent different states of disturbances, i.e. extremism, fanaticism, violence, terror. This topic can be filled by various series of symbols. Thus it is relevant to define a "we"-group and a group of "the others" and differentiate between those who belong to a peer group and those who do not.

Saying a "stream of migrants" shows that we are talking about a process which cannot at all or hardly be controlled and against which dykes can be constructed. Thus collective symbols not only evoke significant coherences by their inherent logic but also instructions for possible actions. The allegedly not-to-be-stopped stream of migrants can cause feelings of impotence and defence.

This system depends on the cultural system it derives from and provides a frame in which societal realities can be interpreted. Collective symbolism thus has orientating or guiding functions, which help people to act within complex contexts. They structure complex contexts and integrate sets of facts and relations symbolically.

Normalism

The set of issues connected to normalism can be seen as further fundamental and supporting elements of discourses in modern society.[3]

In industrial societies, since the beginning of the 19th century a new type of culture evolved gradually which supplies reasons for what is seen as "normal" and "not normal" within societies. This concept of normalism comprises all discursive interventions and institutions which are used to produce and reproduce normality in a society by quantifying and measuring nearly every societal sector. By these means, dynamic and societal processes of industrial societies aiming at growth and development and always being threatened by the danger of sudden chaotic change can be controlled and regulated. There are various strategies at hand to keep processes more or less "normal" and to prevent denormalisation.

Jürgen Link describes two strategies of normalisation, i.e. proto-normalism and flexible normalism. Proto-normalism shows strict limits to tolerance and thus fights denormalisation. However, this strategy jeopardizes the dynamics of growth. Flexible normalism on the other hand enables renewed adjustments to unforeseen dynamics. However, this strategy jeopardizes limits and blurs the deviding lines. Both strategies can be connected and balance each other and shape the constitution of subjects. In this respect proto-normalism needs authoritarian structured subjects and flexible normalism subjects who are able to control themselves (and others).

The above-mentioned strategies and effects of power can be analysed by discourse analysis. Evidently, the normalism inherent in the cities in which immigrants arrive is challenged and changed by immigration from South-East Europe and thus it becomes an important category to the analysis.

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[3] Cf. in detail Jäger/Jäger 2007, 61-69, but especially Link 2006.

2.2 Important Terms and Definitions

Discourse on immigration in Germany is in tendency adverse and strives for ways to cope with immigration from the majorities' point of view. Within this discourse racist and Antizigan elements manifest themselves. Therefore, the terms used in the analysis are explained in the following.

Racism

Racism indicates in the following, attitudes in the sense of assuming it to be true that people with different looks, customs and traditions than the majority of inhabitants, are seen as a more or less homogeneous group, because they talk for example in a different language, i.e. they are constituted as a "race" and negatively assessed. Furthermore, this assessment joins up with the discourse of hegemony and is in line with it. In this context it is important that the features attributed to these groups of people are seen as "naturally given" and as "not changeable", which not necessarily means that these features are bound to phenotypical aspects. They can also be cultural aspects, lifestyle habits etc. which are seen as set. In this sense we differentiate between biological/genetical racism and cultural racism.

> *Ethnocentrism is to be differentiated from racism. We talk about ethnocentrism if the allocated features are seen as changeable and terminable. This assumption is to be found in the range of those demanding adaptation and integration of immigrants, whereby the measures are set by their own culture.*

Antiziganism

"Antiziganism describes a historically evolved and self-containing, stabilized social phenomenon, which comprises a homogenizing perception and description of certain social groups and individuals under the stigma of "Zigeuner" (gypsies) or related attributions." (End/Herold/Robel 2009, 47, translation I.T.)

This external attribution leads to stigmatization of the persons concerned und leads to "discriminative social structures and violent-like practices." (End/Herolf/Robel 2009, 47, translation I.T.)

In the range of the analysed media coverage especially people from South-East Europe are affected by these practices, if they are seen as "Roma".

The term "Roma" is a self-imposed term, which partially is used for various groups like Kal-deras, Kalé, Sinti_ze etc. in German contexts for people who immigrated from the Balkan countries to Germany, especially from the mid-nineteenth century on.

> *Rom: singular, male; Roma: plural, male; Romni: singular, female; Romnija: plural, female.*

The term "Sinti" describes those people whose ancestors have been living in the bounds of Germany from the middle ages.

> *Sinto: singular, male; Sinti: plural, male; Sintiza: singular, female, Sintize, plural, female.*

Populism

In recent years the term "populism", especially "right-wing populism" was introduced in political debates to describe a certain political strategy. This term touches upon the matter of how politics is conveyed to citizens. Within science it is discussed controversially, especially when it is confined to extreme right-wing politics.[4] Reinfeldt interprets populism as an attempt to connect and tie voters to a certain party or movement, if they "are not to be caught by classical political formations" with the aim to "achieve political power" (Reinfeldt 2013, 146, translation I.T.)

Irrespectively, populism in this survey is seen as a strategy of power, which produces a dichotomy of "we" and "the others", thereby separating the "we"-group from "the others" in confrontation.

Anton Pelinka emphasizes the difference between right-wing populism and populism "by a (xenophobe) horizontal affect" based on the unambiguity of a "we" feeling: "The 'own' people, the 'own' nation is seen as cleary delimitable against "the others"." (Pelinka 2002, 284f., translation I.T.). In the context of the discourse on immigration (right-wing) populism exists, if a movement or a party sees itself to be the voice of the "we" group fighting "those up there" who take no action against "the foreigners".

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[4]Cf. for example the propositions on the workshop "Right-wing" (AK Rechts, DISS) discussing the meaning of right-wing populism (Christoph Butterwegge). (AK Rechts 2014, 25-27, also Geden 2007, Butterwegge 2011. Concerning the term "populism" see also Reinfeldt 2012 and 2013.)

2.3 Discursive Context: The Situation in the City of Duisburg

The following will summarize what happened in Duisburg in connection with migration from South-East Europe and which debates derived and which action of the local government and civil society took place. As this is strongly connected to the discussions on the topic "seeking refuge and asylum" it is also taken into account.

2.3.1 Immigration from South-East Europe

Since January 1, 2007, Romania and Bulgaria have been members of the EU. In fact, an increase of migration from these countries has been taking place since 2006. Approx. 117.000 people from Romania and 59.000 people from Bulgaria came to Germany in 2012. However, it has to be noted that in the same year 100.000 people left Germany again, showing that we are dealing with a dynamic process.

Approx. 324.000 people from Romania and Bulgaria were living in Germany on 31 December, 2013, showing that the numbers have doubled since the states gained EU-membership.

Nation-wide the majority of people are qualified in a job and working. Statistics of the Institute for Labour Market and Occupational Research (IAB) show in 2013 an unemployment rate of immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania of 9.9%. Thus it was only slightly higher than the average unemployment of German citizens (7.4%) and significantly less than the unemployment rate of immigrants from other countries (14.7%) (Brücker, Hauptmann, Vallizadeh 2013).

Indeed, 28% of the immigrants from South-East Europe have a university degree, 46% are qualified in a job. When the survey was conducted 35% had not yet qualified in a job (Grote 2014).

These figures show that we are not only talking of immigrants fleeing poverty.

Actions of Local Government

At the beginning local government implemented a "Taktik der kleinen Nadelstiche" (tactics of small needle-pricks) which entailed controls by the police and public order office. The spokeswoman of the City of Duisburg said: "We try to make their (the migrants', I.T.) stay as difficult as possible." (See Graevskaja 2013, 102). This strategy, which was implemented in the so-called problem

areas, resulted in the expulsion of approx. 200 Roma from Duisburg-Bruck-hausen in August 2008.

It was only in 2011 that measures of integration in the City of Duisburg were installed. The City of Duisburg developed an "action plan" to cope with immigration from South-East Europe. In 2014 the Second Assessment Report was published. In the time before, debates in civil society lead to the implementation of several "round tables" and open letters.

The "round tables" were also attended by local government officers of the City of Duisburg. Clearly manifest to the general public the city predominantly carried out public order measures. Thus the quarters "In den Peschen 3-5", where a lot of immigrants lived, were often the target of searches. In July 2012 even children were taken into custody because parents or legal guardians were not at home.[5] The "Task-Force Security and Order in connection with immigration from South-East Europe"[6] which was installed in November 2013 can be seen as another strategy of public order. The aim was to control "poverty migrants" more effectively and to verify their legal state of residence. Accordingly, in December 2013 another search was conducted by the public order office.[7]

By means of the so called "Living Quarters Control Law" ("Wohnraumaufsichts-gesetz") the quarters in "In den Peschen" were finally declared uninhabitable.[8]

Actions of civil society: Citizens' Groups, Open letters and "Round Tables"

In January 2011 an open letter by the citizens' group "Round Table for Hoch-feld" enjoyed widespread popularity and support. It stated an "urgent need for action" concerning the situation of children and young people who immigrated to Germany. "Catastrophic housing conditions" were complained about, urging immediate "intervention for the benefit of immigrant children and youth".

In July 2011 the tone became exacerbated in another open letter written by the Hochfeld initiative "Zukunftsstadtteil e.V.". The association complained about the "neglect of civil society" and protested against the "influx of Bulgarians" and the "streams of problem-laden and educationally alienated population movements". The "Round Table Hochfeld" disassociated itself from this open letter.

The next action took place in November 2012. Citizens of Rheinhausen initiated a petition to the Lord Mayor of the City of Duisburg, Sören Link. The letter

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[5] In November 2012 there was a nation-wide search including the quarters "In den Peschen". During these searches neither thieves nor stolen goods could be found.

[6]   http://www.derwesten.de/staedte/duisburg/ordnungsamt-duisburg-kontrolliert-ab-heute-in-tensiver-id8628771.html

[7] End of 2013 the house in Beguinenstr. 1 was vacated; that was followed by evacuations of further quarters in Beguinenstr. 3 and 3a and, in August 2014, In den Peschen 3-5. The owner had already dismounted the power meters in June, thus leaving about 20 families living there without electricity and water.

[8] The daily newspaper NRZ stated on April 16, 2014 that the house was sold for 1.3 million Euro to a real estate company in Gütersloh.

stated that the lifestyle of migrants from South-East Europe "could in no way be adapted to the lifestyle of local citizens [...]" and that accordingly, these were not to be integrated. In October 2012 leaflets were distributed in front of the City Hall, starting with the slogan: "Gypsies out!" ("Raus mit den Zigeunern!").

At the same time the "Round Table Bergheim" was founded, which stopped working in July 2014, when a member left the room stating "these meeting are dominated by Good Men and Good Women, who think that they can solve the problems by singing, dancing and clapping their hands".

It needs to be said, that the conflicts concerning immigration from Bulgaria and Romania always were and are accompanied by Antizigan resentment, the spreading of which was supported by extreme right-wing groups.

In October 2012, Nazi phrases appeared scribbled on the wall of the quarters "In den Peschen". This incident was reported on the online version of the daily newspaper WAZ "derwesten.de". This smear campaign was accompanied by a facebook group founded in February 2013 called "In den Peschen 3-5". Even murder threats towards the inhabitants of the quarters were posted, which is why the state security forces initiated criminal investigations. During this time, tempers were stirred up dangerously: eye witnesses reported threats by armed neo-Nazis in front of the quarters "In den Peschen". As a result citizens organized night watches to defend the inhabitants from attacks. In these night watches several inhabitants were attacked on 23 August, 2013. In public the incident was dealt with as an attack of hooded left-wing activists. Consequently, police stormed the quarters, justifying their action by the search for the attackers. In August 2013 Nazi phrases were again smeared on the walls of the quarters.

Nevertheless, Antizigan rejection did not only manifest itself in such incidents. In spring 2013, an increasing number of so-called "gypsy brooms" ("Zigeunerbesen") were to be seen in several shops in Duisburg. (Cf. also Gießelmann 2013) Birch brooms were put into the entrance of shops with their bristles pointed up, probably to keep immigrants seen as Roma from entering the shops and thus prevent them from stealing.[9]

2.3.2 Seeking Refuge and Asylum

The discussion on the topic refugees and asylum seekers has to be separated from the discussion about immigration from South-East Europe. While immigrants from South-East Europe enjoy freedom of movement seekers of asylum are distributed all over Germany by the so called "Königssteiner Schlüssel", a formula which defines quotas and numbers annually. The regional federal States

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[9] "Gypsy brooms" ("Zigeunerbesen") can be found in ancient superstition. The brooms are meant to keep witches and "gypsies" ("Zigeuner") away.

decide about the number of asylum seekers each local authority has to take on, thus being responsible for their accommodation. Accordingly, Duisburg has to take on people seeking asylum in Germany. During the last year heated debates developed about the possible real estate available and quarters for such accommodation. As a result, there were two neo-Nazi marches which were accompanied by citizens against a planned quarter in Duisburg-Neumühl proclaiming: "No asylum in Neumühl". A disused hospital was meant to be converted into quarters for asylum seekers. Subsequent to these protests, the City of Duisburg abandoned the plans for the time being – possibly with a view towards the local elections in spring 2014.

Actions of Local Authority

In August 2014, a camp of tents was erected in Duisburg-Walsum to accommodate asylum seekers. It was said to be an emergency measure which could not be deviated from because of the high number of asylum seekers expected. In the same month, Sören Link, Lord Mayor of the City of Duisburg, set up a "Round Table Asylum", to help to find accommodation for asylum seekers.

Actions of Civil Society: Citizens' Groups, Open Letters and Round Tables

Working together with the Round Table the unoccupied St Barbara Hospital was taken into consideration for the accommodation of asylum seekers again. This time the City of Duisburg was not intimidated by the protest of citizens. Moreover, citizens organized a chain of lights, reaching from the centre of Duisburg to St. Barbara Hospital, including 400 people protesting against agitation and racism. In December 2014 the first asylum seekers moved into the accommodation.[10] Moreover, in other parts of Duisburg accommodation for asylum seekers is planned, prepared and being moved into. This met with a divided response amongst the citizens of Duisburg. Media coverage and incidents connected to this topic need special analyses in their own right. It is worth noting, that the PEGIDA movement of Monday evening marches started in Dresden and is accompanied in numerous cities by their own version, including DUIGIDA in Duisburg. In the context of this analysis this is only mentioned marginally.

> *PEGIDA = „Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes" (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident). The Duisburg version is „Duisburg against the Islamisation of the Occident).*

This short description of the incidents in Duisburg connected to immigration and refugees shows the overall context in which local media coverage operates.

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[10] In October 2014 the camp of tents was dismantled without having been used. The costs for the City of Duisburg amounted to more than 200.000 Euro.

The analysis of media coverage will show to which extent smouldering conflicts within the urban community are alleviated or fostered.

> *Collective symbolism*
>
> *Collective symbolism is ``the entirety of all widest-spread allegories, emblems and comparisons [...], pars pro toto [...] intuitively accessible models and analogies of a culture"* *(Jäger/Zimmermann 2010, 70; translation I.T.). Collective symbols exert their power within the thematic system, as can be visualized for modern western societies, like shown in the graph in chapter 2.*

3. Analysis of local print media

In the following the outcome of the analysis of the selected local daily and weekly newspapers will be presented, i.e. Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ) and Rheinische Post (RP) – daily – and Stadtpanorama and Wochenanzeiger – weekly. The latter are distributed free of charge to Duisburg households. All newspapers underwent structural analysis according to the main questions of the scientific design. On top of that, articles typical of the media coverage were selected. These articles underwent special analysis, i.e. strategies of argumentation, dichotomies like "we" and "the others" and implementation of symbolism were analysed.

3.1 Analysis of Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ)

Between 1 January, 2014 and 30 June, 2015, 71 articles appeared dealing with the topic. Due to the close connection to the topic articles dealing with migration for poverty reasons were included. For the same reason, material was analysed which reported incidents in the houses "In den Peschen 3-5", although these quarters were not just inhabited by people from South-East Europe.

Summarizing the outcomes of the structural and specific analysis it can be stated, that the media coverage by WAZ continuously bears Antizigan senti-

ments. Migration from South-East Europe is seen as a special type of migration by emphasising supposed peculiarities of Roma or migrants from South-East Europe on the base of their culture, thus conjuring up a state of emergency and overload. Consequently, financial support from the regional government and the European Union is demanded. WAZ thus largely conforms to the strategy of the City of Duisburg, which demands national, regional and European funding.

In this connection, the European Union is seen in a negative populist way and seen as a counterpart who enables freedom of movement, the effects of which Duisburg is confronted and left alone with now. Thus, the threat to social peace is emphasised, not least to reinforce the claim for more financial support. Intended actions and regulations of the City of Duisburg and the authorities seem to be working only to a certain degree, when it comes to migrants from South-East Europe. Therefore the financial and work-related overload is stressed and well-known Antizigan stereotypes recur.

Roma and migrants from South-East Europe are depicted by WAZ as "the others" being passive, while their alleged cultural peculiarities are emphasised. In general, they are assumed to be primitive and this is seen exclusively connected to contexts of criminality, social deficiencies, poverty, educational alienation and unemployment, although examples are based solely on individual cases. During the span of the analysis not a sole article could be found, in which migrants were seen as citizens of Duisburg or experts for certain areas, let alone working for the City of Duisburg or in official institutions.

3.2 Analysis of Rheinische Post (RP)

During the time span selected, 40 articles linked to migration from South-East Europe could be found in RP, all of which were published in the sector "Stadtpost". Three articles were quoted on the front page, upgrading the topic from a topic of local concern to one of regional concern.

Both structural and specific analysis showed that media coverage in RP focuses on the problems connected with migration. Migrants are seen as people who challenge the City of Duisburg as they have many children, are not easy to be controlled, uneducated, poor and often criminal. They are not seen as citizens of the City of Duisburg but as people who have to be helped. They have to "get along" ("klarkommen") und have to be supported. If they are seen as willing to integrate, chances to integrate them are seen, too – but this would not very often be the case. Nevertheless, they form gangs, access social benefits illegally and even act criminally against their own people. In general, they are seen as passive and have no voice in media coverage. They are "the others". Stereotypes are used to depict them, i.e. "nomads", "filthiness", "educational aliena-

tion", "otherness", "criminality/illegal access to social benefits". Even though they are citizens of the European Union, the question whether they are allowed to participate in social benefit systems is asked.

On the other side, there are the long-term citizens. They complain and/or try to help, seem to be baffled, over-challenged and full of fear or anger. Their positive features are put forwards; they are active and of course allowed to participate in social benefit systems. This group, "we", has the right to live unruffled, in an orderly system, get old-age pension, find cheap accommodation and enjoy the freedom of movement. On the other hand people who rent out accommodation to immigrants and do not care any further are dismissed from this positive "we"-group.

Politicians are seen as mediators between these groups. However, they are overloaded with challenges. They have not enough possibilities to steer the process and are – furthermore – threatened by right-wing extremists. Especially financial and work-related overload in the City Council resulting from this situation are emphasised. Another group with mediating functions are private persons, who offer their help or get involved in initiatives and Round Tables. Their involvement is depicted as very positive, even though there are not many reports about the results of their work – in contrast – they are quoted to be disappointed and frustrated. They ask the City of Duisburg for more responsibility when it comes to the integration of migrants. Thus, images are conjured up showing citizens who want to help, but are stretched to their limits due to insufficient integration measures of the City of Duisburg and due to migrants who act ignorantly. Nevertheless, – up to now – people cope with this situation in a level-headed way.

From different angles, actions are demanded by various agents, i.e. from migrants and the City Council.

Rheinische Post offers a lot of space for the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) to explain and defend their position. This is especially the case regarding a controversial election poster showing the quarters "In den Peschen", which were inhabited by migrants. The poster shows heaps of rubbish in front of the house. CDU-politician Enzweiler is quoted, as he criticises the Lord Mayor and the City Council. Thus, the dichotomy of "we" and "the others" is strengthened. Integration is seen as an obligation that migrants have to take.

In the elections migration is put into the following contexts.

> ◆ *Problems connected to order, security and safety are seen within the context of migration.*
>
> ◆ *Financial burden caused by immigration is emphasised.*
>
> ◆ *Aims and election posters of various parties are discussed.*

> ◆ *CDU defends their controversial election poster: migration should not be a taboo issue.*
>
> ◆ *The high rate of unemployment is connected to migration from South-East Europe.*
>
> ◆ *Freedoms of movement and integration measures of the City of Duisburg are supported.*
>
> ◆ *Fear of right-wing extremists is expressed and stated to add to the excessive demands on the City of Duisburg.*

North-Rhine Westfalia, the EU and Federal Government are mainly seen as financial backers. The challenge of "migration from South-East Europe" is strongly connected to the challenge of "accommodation for refugees" – yet, the different levels like legal status are not separated precisely. The action plan of the City of Duisburg is not taken into account at all.

The general topic of RP media coverage is the financial and work-related overload, the wish to control things and to normalise a situation which is getting out of control. These main topics could be found in both analyses – structural and specific. Nevertheless, specific analysis shows a special feature. The latter not only relates to the financial and work-related overload of the City of Duisburg but gives evidence of its own overload – causing a failed attempt by RP to fit the information of an article into the given cluster of space. The article which underwent a specific analysis was chosen because it was seen as relevant to the topic and the contents. It showed that aspects of logic, relatedness and composition were not taken into account when the article was cut to fit into the space provided, thus distorting the original content, benefiting the negative discourse on immigration.

3.3 Analysis of "Wochenanzeiger"

"Wochenanzeiger" is a weekly newspaper, which is financed by adverts and distributed free of charge to Duisburg households.

All articles dealing with the topic of immigration from South-East Europe were found and analysed in the section for Duisburg-Rheinhausen between January 2, 2014 and 28 June, 2014, i.e. 45 articles.

Analysis showed that racist sentiments were produced and re-produced. Duisburg is depicted as overwhelmed by immigration and not able to cope with the effects. Immigration is seen as a financial burden, which adds to the problems of a financially weak city. The articles differentiate between people coming from Romania and Bulgaria and people, who have been living in Duisburg for a longer time ("we" and "the others"). The so called "problem house" in Rheinhausen-Bergheim "In den Peschen" is mentioned rarely and if so, pre-knowledge about the circumstances is expected from the readers.

3.4 Analysis of "Stadtpanorama"

"Stadtpanorama" is a weekly newspaper, too, which is distributed free of charge to Duisburg households and financed by adverts. Articles found between January 1, 2014 and June 20, 2014 connected to the topic of migration were analysed. 12 articles were found, three of which only announced information meetings. Only little information about the situation in the City of Duisburg could be found, often connected to certain events, i.e. the visit of the Ministry of State, the day of Travelers' Aid or the move of the adult education centre to new premises.

In "Stadtpanorama" migrants from South-East Europe are depicted as socially weak and in need of help – moreover, they are connected to topics like rubbish and criminality.

On the other hand, positive aspects are mentioned, pointing out that they are busy and aiming at learning the German language – nevertheless, the circumstances of this learning process and the approach of migrants towards learning gives the impression that their attitude is simple and naïve.

Furthermore, long-term residents are also described in a negative way. They are depicted as angry, not able to face the problems and passive. This is said to be demonstrated by the high number of residents, who move to other places and the low number of residents who actively take part in discussions, meetings and Round Tables.

Immigration from South-East Europe is seen as a problem for the City of Duisburg, which cannot be tackled by the usual strategies. Moreover, the local authority is not able to cope with the financial strain. The responsibility for financing projects on integration is handed up to a higher level, like the Federal State or EU, who are seen as responsible as they opted for the freedom of movement in the first place. The City of Duisburg thus appears to be quite helpless.

Trans-local political authorities are described as interested in solving the problems in Duisburg and present the prospects of helping. Nevertheless, what kind

of help this could be is not described. Thus, discussions and meetings providing information are announced several times, but there is no subsequent description of their outcomes.

Overall, the media coverage of Stadtpanorama depicts a situation of widespread problems due to migration from South-East Europe, which is talked about on several local authority and political levels – yet, with only few substantial outcomes.

3.5 Synopsis

This survey took media coverage concerning migration from South-East Europe in the local section of the following newspapers into account: WAZ, RP, Stadtpanorama and Wochenanzeiger. Articles connected to the topic underwent discourse analysis to show "what could be said" in media discourse in Duisburg at this particular time.

In fact, overall, EU-citizens from South-East Europe are depicted as passive and anonymous masses. Their migration to Duisburg is problematised permanently and connected to aspects like rubbish, abundance of children, poverty, educational alienation and criminality. Especially the alleged criminality is seen as strongly connected to ethnic features.

While WAZ stresses the connection of migrants with alleged nomadism, Stadtpanorama sees migration as a trigger to destabilise the balance of certain neighbourhoods.

Long-term residents are described as people, who suffer by migration processes. Some of them are reported to feel the need to move to other areas.
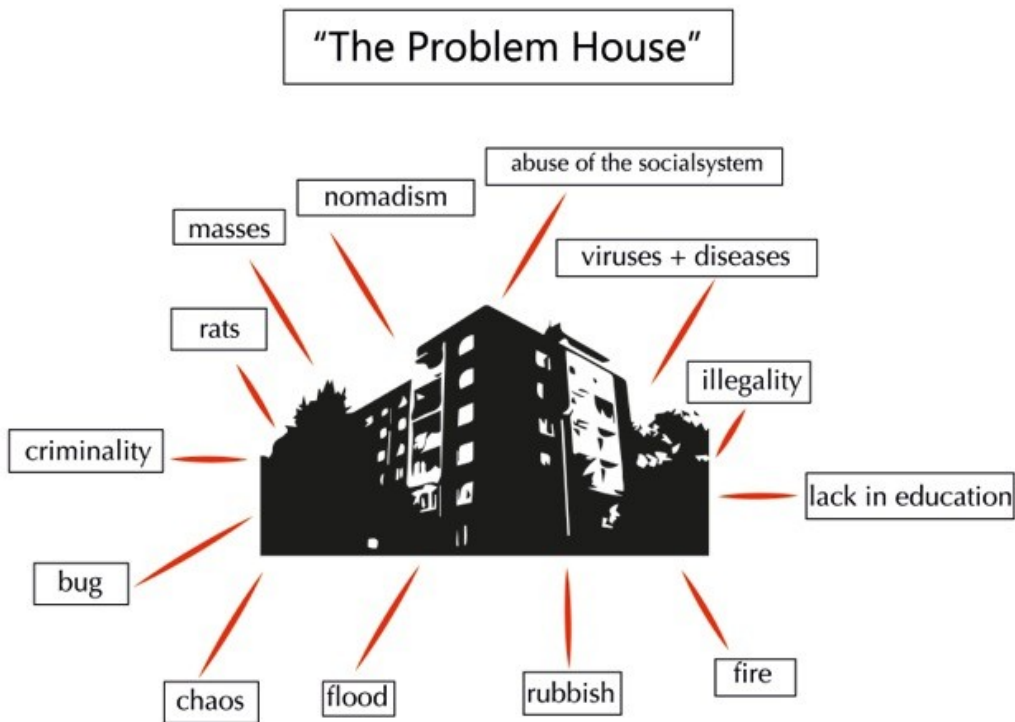
Furthermore, city council and police are seen as negatively affected by migration. Subsequently, financial and work-related overload and excessive demand due to migration processes are stressed. These challenges may be seen as manageable, but managing strategies definitely needs EU-support. Funding is the main support asked for and at the same time disappointment is pronounced about the lack of EU-institutions to offer help.

Initiatives of civil society and citizens working in this field are seen as the most creative possibilities of impact. Their work is always described in a positive way. Nevertheless, there is no mentioning of results of their work to be found in the newspapers.
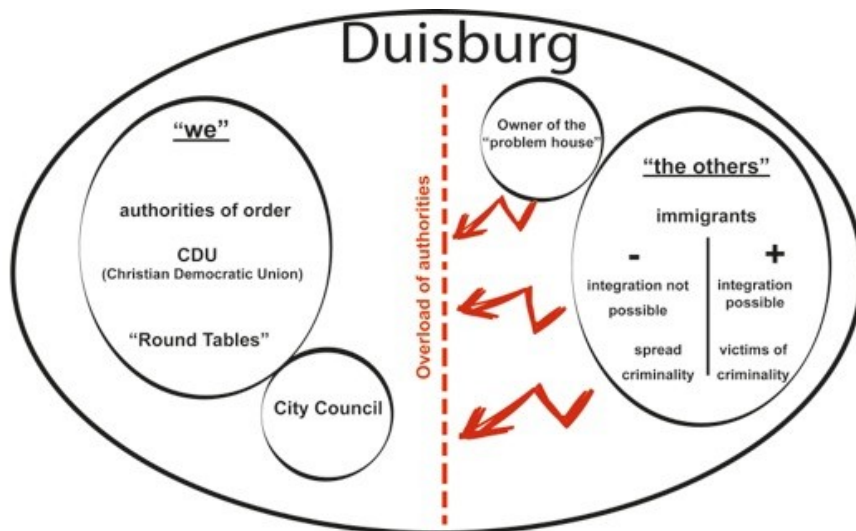
During the timespan of the analysis, incidents connected to the so-called "problem house" – "In den Peschen" occupy a lot of space in media coverage. Thus,

this house can be seen as a pragmasymbol in the discourse on migration from South-East Europe. The symbolic charging of this house is presented in the form of the following graph.

Pragmasymbols are collective symbols, which can be read as connotations to the real thing as well as to symbolic transfers. (See Jäger/Zimmermann (ed.) 2010).

"The Problem House"

masses
nomadism
abuse of the socialsystem
viruses + diseases
rats
illegality
criminality
lack in education
bug
chaos
flood
rubbish
fire

Furthermore the dichotomy of "we" and "the others" is a central feature of local media coverage. It can also be visualised.

Duisburg

"we"
authorities of order
CDU (Christian Democratic Union)
"Round Tables"
City Council

Overload of authorities

Owner of the "problem house"

"the others"
immigrants
-          +
integration not possible | integration possible
spread criminality | victims of criminality

"We" are those citizens who had been living in Duisburg for a long time, the authorities, Round Tables and the Local Authority. The City Council is located outside the "we"-group, due to the extended overload of work and lack of positive actions. This picture derives especially from media coverage in RP, in which the political party of Christian Democrats (CDU) takes the position of the leading critical opposition to the Duisburg situation.

"The others" are migrants from South-East Europe, but also the landlord of the "problem house" – "In den Peschen", who did not care for his property. The group of migrants is divided into those whose integration is reckoned possible and those whose is not. Thus, a dichotomy of "positive" and "negative" migration derives from media coverage.

Indeed, the discourse of local media coverage produces severe exclusion effects which do not contribute to the peaceful cohabitation of people who have been living in Duisburg for a long time and those who came to live here only recently.

4. Preliminary conclusions and outlook

The results of the analysis described above prompt the question, what can be done to stop the effects of exclusion processes in the City of Duisburg (and beyond).

Indeed, a fundamental change in paradigm and perspective in the media coverage is necessary which abandons the approach of stressing negative aspects – not ignoring that there are negative aspects – but stresses positive aspects and chances for the future. This change in perspective should aim at bilateral integration and the empowerment of all people involved in these processes.

The following thoughts are meant as the beginnings of a list open to further analysis and suggestions. They are based on a workshop which took place in Duisburg to present the findings of our analysis to journalists, civil servants and people working in the field of migration voluntarily. Unfortunately, it has to be said that most of the journalists who had been invited even on the phone did not see a good enough reason to participate or could not stick to their registration due to current more pressing incidents. Some journalists interested in the workshop had to cancel their participation due to ongoing work. Against this background, we considered strategies on how to get in touch with journalists and find ways for constructive talks and discussions. In this respect, it has to be taken into account that the working conditions of journalists are obviously quite difficult when it comes to finding time for reflection and the exchange of experiences.

The change in paradigms required of media coverage should aim at stopping the confrontation between "we" and "the others".

◆ *For instance, views connected to migrants which have become habitual, stereotyped and commonly used in society should be deconstructed and problematised.*

◆ *Views derived from the image of what a culture might be should be avoided.*

◆ *Ethnicizing, for example in terms of criminality or nomadism should be abandoned.*

◆ *Moreover, photographs, images or collective symbols, which stigmatise people, should not be used, even though they could make the article more interesting.*

◆ *This is also the case, when it comes to stigmatising words and terms like "Klaukids" (thieving kids), "Roma-Mädchen" (Roma girl) and "Problemhaus" (problem house) etc.*

◆ *Using concepts like "Task-force" for a group of civil servants working in the field of migration should be questioned critically. This term is not read positively in this context as it comes from military discourse and connects migration processes in the EU to military intervention.*

◆ *Furthermore, information policies of the City of Duisburg, the police and federal institutions should be given critical advice and support. Therefore, statistics and police reports have to be read, analysed and not taken for granted.*

◆ *Background information about living circumstances, political background and religion of migrants is important to understand their ways of living. Furthermore, it is important to know the reason why they left their home countries. Also, migrants should have a chance to speak and to be heard via articles in newspapers.*

◆ *Organisations and institutions in civil society stress possibilities on offer for people to meet on an equal base and not to be looked after and offered care and help. This concept should also be used in media discourse.*

◆ *Thus, migrants should be seen as people who have things to say, as interview partners, as experts on certain topics – and*

– where this does not happen, for example in political discourse, media should deconstruct the situation critically.

◆ *All this aims at stressing strengths and advantages of migration in a city and could balance stressing weaknesses and disadvantages. Strengths and weaknesses should be discussed in media coverage as in the city. It is very important to balance out positive and negative aspects and aim at a positive future for all citizens.*

◆ *Furthermore, it is very important to find ways to communicate with local and regional journalists to discuss the aspects mentioned above. It is evident, that the actual working situation of journalists permits little scope for reflexion on their work – nevertheless time for reflexion is important and should be called for by their associations.*

◆ *In practice attempts will be made to gain the support of advisory boards of readers, as WAZ has. Furthermore, journalists will be contacted personally on a regular base, not only to discuss media coverage critically, but also to comment on well-made articles with the aim of backing up their work and standing in the editorial team.*

◆ *To strengthen objective media coverage and avoid statistics being misread, statistics should be summarised every six months in reports by their editors (city council, police) and made available to the editors of newspapers.*

◆ *To consolidate and spread these aspects and demands and to implement them in media and every-day discourse follow-up analysis and projects are needed. This material can build the base of further research, workshops, seminars and training for those working in the field of migration processes or interested in the topic. In this respect the view should be broadened beyond Duisburg and regional/national borders and should also take experiences of other EU-members into account.*

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