

# **The Representation of Refugees and Migrants in the European Mainstream Media: The Case of the United Kingdom and Germany**

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## Abstract

The surge of right-wing exclusionary populism and the failure of the Western states to respond to the so-called refugee crisis have been a fruitful discussion for students at the nexus of mobility, religion, and identity. Still, the recent into the representations of the refugees and migrants is rather limited to the analysis of anti-immigration discourse as well as single country or exploratory studies. This thesis scrutinizes the most commonly used frames about the refugees and migrants in the mainstream print media and offers a reading of the representations utilizing theories of Biopolitics, Necropolitics, and Orientalism. This research hypothesizes that not only these frames dehumanize, deindividualize, and decontextualize people, but also the reproduced knowledge about the others of Europe inform articulation of messages across the political spectrum. In this end, two hundred seventy articles from the most circulated quality and tabloid newspapers across the political spectrum in the UK and Germany are qualitatively analyzed. Findings affirm the hypotheses that the underlying notions about non-Western individuals inform both anti-immigration and pro-immigration accounts. Liberal discourse is not only informed by the same Orientalist notions about the other, but also enforces a biopolitical archetype for a deserving refugee and leave non-conforming individuals with agency in the necropolitical deathscape to die. Moreover, in addition to the extensively researched implication of the former, these findings point to a dilemma for the latter which reemphasize mechanism that allow marginalization, dehumanization, and deindividualization of the refugees and migrants for the sake of short-term action.

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# 1. Introduction

Since the image of refugee has been transformed with different dynamics surrounding flight and mobility, the literature on the representations of refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants have been expanding through contributions from multiple disciplines. In the last few years, the importance of the study of the representations of (RASIM) have grown due to the emergence of the infamous European refugee/migration crisis. Following the peak of arrivals in 2015, academics have been exploring and problematizing the discourse around the crises.

Amid chaotic crisis, researchers have engaged with the conservative and populist discourses that dehumanized and vilified the asylum seekers with a multitude of accusations from their backwardness and threats to the way of Europeans lives to simply lying and cheating for free riding generous European countries. Resulting from these studies, the academic, political, and social critiques have revealed concerning results for the definition, influence, and the future of RASIM in the Western world. Others have engaged with more exploratory studies to understand general frames and trends about the coverage without critically engaging with the meaning and the results of such representations. In most cases, the pro-immigration discourses rarely got any scrutiny. Cross-country analyses have proved too voluminous and complex to undertake in a feasible amount of time.

Still, the literature identified multiple processes such as victimization, securitization, racialization in public discourses. Specific studies that scrutinized media has took note of the most common frames that were mostly negative alongside some humanitarian accounts. Drawing from earlier studies of other representations, the importance of deserving universal humanitarian subject has been operationalized within the contemporary contexts. Thus, the literature gave robust background to build a research that tackles a comprehensive

representational study of RASIM and entertains the implications of the trends to better understand dynamics and notions that underline the issue.

That is why, this research problematizes the representations of RASIM in the European mainstream media with specific focus on contrasts and similarities between liberal and conservative accounts. In its essence, this thesis poses the following questions: (R1) *What are the most common frames employed for RASIM in both conservative and liberal media?* (R2) *What kind of overarching ideas about the self and the others inform these frames?* and (R3) *Are the seemingly contradictory representations of RASIM essentially build on similar notions? If yes, what are the implications of this revelation for RASIM?*

This research has identified these questions due to a preliminary realization of the potential similarities in the core ideas of these contradictory narratives in terms of the representations of RASIM. Similar vocabulary and topic are often highlighted by both accounts with different intentions for the result. Moreover, the discourses are representative of the public opinion with implications for agenda setting. Thus, there is immense value in unpacking how representations of RASIM is communicated, the possible reasons that shapes that representation, and what possible impact this has on the broader questions about not only RASIM, but also European Union and democracies of Western world.

As the representative of European discourses, this research focuses on the print media due its outreach and reflexivity with the power to shape the public discourses and simultaneously be shaped by them. In order to account for opposing political views on migration, it identifies the most circulated newspapers from each country under scrutiny, the United Kingdom and Germany per their drastically different pasts of migration. For a comprehensive picture of the representations, the data gathered includes both tabloids and quality newspapers from two countries. This sampling of the discourse leads to a study of 270 articles which are analyzed

through critical discourse analysis which is employed in order to unpack the meanings and potential implications of the representations of the articles.

The findings of the research are manifold. Firstly, there are frames that overlap amid the most frequently used representations of RASIM. Frames such as massification despite the negative effects of such frame being put forth by multiple studies is heavily employed by both sides of the spectrum. Secondly, two main theories used: bio/necropolitics and Orientalism hold its ground in explaining the representations, the framing of RASIM vis-à-vis the peoples of Europe. The victimization frame is where Orientalist ideas shines for both sides of the spectrum, as the dangerous other is also marked with incapability and backwardness under the mercy of the Occidental. So, the call for help by silencing and victimizing the Oriental subject is not necessarily offering a contradictory rhetoric vis-à-vis more negative accounts of incompatibility and barbarism. If anything, a comprehensive look allows for a full Oriental picture rather than a half one. Also, the biopolitical mechanisms of governance of the crisis clearly emerge for both sides of the spectrum which allows the nations to decide who should be made live, the society, made survive, the refugees who are included in their exclusion, and allowed to die, the illegitimate applications pushed to the necropolitical outside. Through different lines to cross between these three groups, both liberal and conservative accounts employ these frameworks in order to convey their either seemingly pro/anti-immigration message. Finally, there are been some surprise findings between the countries such as the militarization of some frames or the secondary nature of the RASIM to the topic of discussion through its influence rather than the existence. These are briefly discussed in each analytical chapter in order to entertain the ideas but still is outside of the main premises of the research.



## 2. Literature and Methodology

This chapter outlines the literature that surrounds this research and the choice of qualitative discourse analysis as chosen method for analysis as the objective is directed at exploring the representations of the refugees and migrants.

The first section begins by tracing the change in the refugee archetype from the ideological and democratic male to the contemporary inherent other who is both a victim and a threat. This dichotomous character of the refugee is visited through multiple studies as a recurring theme. Furthermore, the deserving refugees/undeserving migrants theme arises interrelated to this dichotomy where the former is made possible through dehumanization and dehistoricization and the rest is let to die. This part finalizes with exploration of the current research on the representations in the so-called refugee crisis and identifies the puzzle this research addresses.

The second section on methodology begins by exploring the understanding of discourse and its analysis with a focus on language, practice, and context to unpack the representations and its possible implications. It continues with the selection of print media as the medium as well as the specific newspapers and their profiles before finalizing with some obstacles to the kind of research employed here.

### 2.1. Literature Review

Up until the 1970s, the refugee archetype referred to a “white, male, anti-communist”<sup>1</sup> individual with a political and ideological stance for the West as he was “voting with *his* feet.”<sup>2</sup> This understanding of refugee correlates with the initial temporary refugee convention, and its

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<sup>1</sup> B. S. Chimni, “The Geopolitics of Refugee Studies: A View from South,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 11, no. 4 (1998): 350–74.

<sup>2</sup> H. L. Johnson, “Click to Donate: Visual Images, Constructing Victims and Imagining the Female Refugee,” *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 6 (2011): 1015–1037.

focus on the European defectors from the Soviet Union and the refugees of World War II.<sup>3</sup> As the source of the arrivals and the predicaments surrounding their flight drastically changed, the refugee archetype had to change to match the new dynamics.<sup>4</sup> This change introduced an important notion that surrounds the contemporary archetype: “the myth of difference”, entailing an inherent othering of the immigrant vis-à-vis the people of the West.<sup>5</sup>

This presumed difference has not only required a moral and depoliticized justification for humanitarian activities, it has also paved the way for anxieties of the potential threats to ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic harmony.<sup>6</sup> Johnson notes three important processes of racialization, victimization, and feminization that enabled the construction of a new refugee archetype in the European public discourse. Her study reflects the change in the refugee archetype where the images of identifiable European are replaced by nameless crowds of non-white individuals or by women and children in distress.<sup>7</sup>

In combination with the emergence of the myth of difference, the ‘crowds’ heading to Europe during economic crisis raised the question of authenticity where the host communities and politicians alike have grown more suspicious of the genuineness of the motivations for the flight. For genuine refugees, the moral justifications have led to victimization, decreasing threat aspect, while stripping their agency and causing able-bodied men to disappear from the archetype. Simultaneously, racialization and securitization have fed into anti-immigration sentiments, while repatriation becoming the preferred outcome for the individuals who arrive.

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<sup>3</sup> Liisa Malkki, “Refugees and Exile: From ‘Refugee Studies’ to the National Order of Things,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 495–523.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Betts and Paul Collier, *Refuge: Rethinking Refugee Policy in a Changing World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Chimni, “The Geopolitics of Refugee,” 351.

<sup>6</sup> Nevzat Soğuk, *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Johnson, “Click to Donate,” 1016.

The literature from multiple disciplines has studied these changes and representations over time. Both Kaye's analysis of the refugee representations in the UK print news media in the 90s<sup>8</sup> and Szczepanik's study of the mediated experiences of the contemporary refugee crisis at a global scale have put forth that the mediation of "bogus"/"bad" refugees has been influential in delegitimizing the asylum seekers outside of the archetype.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the latter study identifies extralegal requirements for the good refugees nationality, gender, material possessions, and more.<sup>10</sup> The simple preference for the use of refugee or migrant, without employing legal definitions, reasserts the undeserving/deserving dynamic furthering the delegitimization.<sup>11</sup> This dynamic of the good/bad and eternally other is omnipresent in the scholarship and especially salient for the latest crisis.<sup>12</sup>

With regards to the good/deserving/legitimate refugee, Malkki raised the initial concern by coining the term "universal humanitarian subject."<sup>13</sup> This dehistoricized and depoliticized subject is a "pure victim", universally representative of all refugees in its corporeality fulfilling not only legal requirements but also extralegal that typify the archetype.<sup>14</sup> Despite focusing on a different geography and actor, her reading of the subject as a site for the reproduction of deep-seated preconceptions about the other are highly valuable.<sup>15</sup> This value is emphasized especially for study of media, which deems refugee and migrant lives visible through its mediation for the Europeans at home. An example of this reproduction of the dehumanizing practices is displayed

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<sup>8</sup> Ron Kaye, "Redefining the Refugee: The UK Media Portrayal of Asylum Seekers," in *The New Migration in Europe: Social Construction and Social Realities*, ed. Khalid Koser and Helma Lutz (Great Britain: Palgrave, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> Marta Szczepanik, "The 'Good' and 'Bad' Refugees? Imagined Refugeehood(s) in the Media Coverage of the Migration Crisis," *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* 10, no. 2 (2016): 23–42.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Majid Khosravinik, "The Representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in British Newspapers," *Journal of Language and Politics* 9, no. 1 (2010): 1–28; Bastian Vollmer and Serhat Karakayali, "The Volatility of the Discourse on Refugees in Germany," *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 16, no. 1–2 (2018): 118–39; Eberl et al., "The European Media Discourse."

<sup>12</sup> Eberl et al., "The European Media Discourse."

<sup>13</sup> Liisa Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996): 377–404.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 378

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

in a study of five different forms of visibility (of biological life, empathy, threat, hospitality, and self-reflexivity) of refugees in the media by using content analysis of data from newspapers of five European countries.<sup>16</sup> Despite the extension of the threat-victim ambivalence, it concludes that “all regimes of visibility are ultimately informed by symbolic strategies of dehumanization.”<sup>17</sup>

The link between the victimization process and its motivations arises from the politics of pity and compassion. The assumption of a “single, essential, transhistorical refugee condition” deems all refugees of belonging to a specific culture/community.<sup>18</sup> So, it is only natural to perceive refugees as people who belong with this peculiar culture and community that requires different means of dealing with them to protect the people who belong. The moral approach justifies the efforts of help towards the refugees, “suggesting large herds of innocent and bewildered people requiring urgent international assistance.”<sup>19</sup> It helps to draw attention to issues of the subject, to start a conversation about and make claims for the passive individuals in need of saving by ‘us’.<sup>20</sup> The study of visual representations shows that coverage of individual human suffering compared to collective ones is effective in inspiring sympathy without the numbing effect of crowds.<sup>21</sup> Bringing these reflections into the wider debates, there are multiple lessons to draw. First, the commonly used metaphors of flood, swarm, exodus, and

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<sup>16</sup> Lilie Chouliaraki and Tijana Stolic, “Rethinking Media Responsibility in the Refugee ‘Crisis’: A Visual Typology of European News,” *Media, Culture & Society* 39, no. 8 (2017): 1162–77.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 1173.

<sup>18</sup> Malkki, “Refugees and Exile,” 511.

<sup>19</sup> Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, Convergences: Inventories of the Present (Great Britain: Granta Books, 2000), 144.

<sup>20</sup> Ratna Kapur, “The Tragedy of Victimization Rhetoric: Resurrecting the ‘Native’ Subject in International/Post-Colonial Feminist Legal Politics,” *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 15 (2002): 1–37; Laura M. Agustin, “Forget Victimisation: Granting Agency to Migrants,” *Development* 46, no. 3 (2003): 30–36.

<sup>21</sup> K.E. Jenni and G. Loewenstein, “Explaining the Identifiable Victim Effect,” *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 14 (1997): 235–257.; S. Moeller, *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sells Disease, Famine, War and Death* (New York: Routledge, 1999); D.A. Small and G. Loewenstein, “Helping a Victim or Helping the Victim: Altruism and Identifiability,” *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 26 (2003): 5–16; T. Kogut and I. Ritov, “The ‘identified Victim’ Effect: An Identified Group, or Just a Single Individual?,” *Journal of Behavioral Decision-Making* 18 (2005): 157–67; D.A. Small and N.M. Verrochi, “The Face of Need: Facial Emotion Expression on Charity Advertisements,” *Journal of Marketing Research* 6 (2009): 777–87.

others in the discourse may work to further distance the public from the experiences of asylum seekers. Secondly, the rare engagement with individual stories of asylum seekers rather than issue-specific accounts counterproductively impede the chances of evoking empathy. Moreover, the reporting of human suffering alone is not enough to evoke sympathy as some victims such as children, women, and elderly are better than able-bodied men.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the representations of the plight of RASIM should pay attention to identifiable victim effect as well as the ideal victims in order to achieve the aimed sympathy for the group.<sup>23</sup> This may be understood in Malkii's definition of a special type of helplessness and powerlessness.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, this leads to broader indications about performativity and extralegal requirements of being a legitimate refugee.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the media outlets either make use of these ideal victims for positive representations or make use of the archetype, of which the actual subjects are an imperfect version, to delegitimize them.

Despite the crucial need for critical engagement with the mediated realities of RASIM, the visibility studies of the issues and actors are heavily quantitative in an exploratory manner and centered around national media systems.<sup>26</sup> Still, such studies lead to vital preliminary information in terms of the commonly used frames and the possible influence of media stories in public discourse and behavior. Multiple studies conclude that just the sheer volume of visibility in the media fosters negative attitudes regardless of the tone of the exposure.<sup>27</sup> Other

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<sup>22</sup> N. Christie, "The Ideal Victim," in *From Crime Policy to Victim Policy* (London: Macmillan, 1996); Moeller, *Compassion Fatigue*; Birgitta Höijer, "The Discourse of Global Compassion: The Audience and Media Reporting of Human Suffering," *Media, Culture & Society* 26, no. 4 (2004): 513–531.

<sup>23</sup> Höijer, "The Discourse of Global Compassion: The Audience and Media Reporting of Human Suffering"; Ronald Bleiker et al., "The Visual Dehumanisation of Refugees," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 14, no. 4 (2013): 398–416.

<sup>24</sup> Malkki, "Refugees and Exile."

<sup>25</sup> Prem Kumar Rajaram, "Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15, no. 3 (2002): 247–64.

<sup>26</sup> Eberl et al., "The European Media Discourse."

<sup>27</sup> Paul M. Sniderman, Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior, "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities," *American Political Science Review* 98, no. 1 (2004): 35–49; Marijn van Klinger et al., "Real World Is Not Enough: The Media as an Additional Source of Negative Attitudes Toward Immigration, Comparing Denmark and the Netherlands," *European Sociological Review* 31, no. 3 (2015): 268–83.

studies demonstrate that most of the coverage is already negative.<sup>28</sup> A study on Austrian media identifies the most commonly used frames in the ascending order as securitization, distribution, economization, settlement, and humanitarian.<sup>29</sup> The study re-affirms the tendency for convergence in the frames between tabloid and quality newspapers at the peak of the ‘crisis’.<sup>30</sup> These findings further emphasize the need to engage with the existing positive coverage as it is already in the minority. So, the frames and tones for the positive coverage may offer the only counter-narrative to more negative accounts. Additionally, a study from the Netherlands displays concerning results for the humanitarian effect of the victimization frame may inspire negative behaviors against immigrants.<sup>31</sup> Still, the study originating from a highly multicultural country limits its applicability for more homogenous European countries as well as its single country scope.

Single country studies are even more common in more qualitative research in the field and offer results beyond exploration. A German analysis<sup>32</sup> and a more comprehensive British analysis<sup>33</sup> of the discourse find the victimization of genuine refugees, specifically children, vis-à-vis other less deserving individuals despite all being recognized as a potential threat. Furthermore, the former study offers a Foucauldian reading, which adds another layer to the Malkki’s concept for the individuals who do not qualify as genuine being allowed to die, so that, society can live.<sup>34</sup> Other practices such as homogenization and quantification of RASIM

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<sup>28</sup> Juan-José Igartua, Félix Moral-Toranzo, and Itziar Fernández, “Cognitive, Attitudinal, and Emotional Effects of News Frame and Group Cues, on Processing News About Immigration,” *J. Media Psychology* 23 (2011): 174–85, <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-1105/a000050>; Frank Esser et al., “Negativity,” *Comparing Political Journalism*, 2017, 71–91.

<sup>29</sup> E. Greussing and H. Boomgaarden, “Shifting the Refugee Narrative?: An Automated Frame Analysis of Europe’s 2015 Refugee Crises,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, no. 11 (2017): 1479–1774.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Linda Bos et al., “It’s the Frame That Matters: Immigrant Integration and Media Framing Effects in the Netherlands,” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 55 (2016): 97–108.

<sup>32</sup> Seth M. Holmes and Heide Castañeda, “Representing the ‘European Refugee Crisis’ in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and Difference, Life and Death,” *American Ethnologist* 43, no. 1 (2016): 12–24.

<sup>33</sup> Khosravini, “The Representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in British Newspapers.”

<sup>34</sup> Holmes and Castañeda, “Representing the ‘European Refugee Crisis’.”

also cuts across ideologies with the exception of the use of individualization for depoliticized occurrences or supporting the fixed representation chosen.<sup>35</sup>

It becomes clear that the literature needs more research for going beyond single-country studies and engage with a more rounded selection of newspapers as most of the research does not cover both quality and tabloid newspapers with inclusion of the whole mainstream political spectrum. Furthermore, the literature fails to recognize the need to critically engage with more positive voices building on the revelations of Malkki and Johnson from their analysis of INGO representations. This research tackles this gap by not only covering all bases for the newspapers but also investigating the notions informing both negative and positive representations with consideration of the specific country contexts through qualitative discourse analysis.

## 2.2. Methodology

Broadly, discourse may implicate anything that carries meaning from a conversation to text.<sup>36</sup> Most commonly, the discourse relates to the socially constructed ways of making sense of language and other symbols within specific contexts.<sup>37</sup> Thus, discourse analysis can be utilized to scrutinize the patterns, intertextuality, structures that emerge from the discourse.

Still, a deeper questioning of the ontology, epistemology, and methodology of studying discourse reveals different approaches. Some forms differ on their focus on the specific unit of analysis, as well as the purpose of the research while others limit their scope in terms of what constitutes discourse. Even though there are different attempts at categorizing different strands of discourse analysis such as that of Angermüller or Glynos et al., in reality, drawing a clear

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<sup>35</sup> Khosravini, "The Representation of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in British Newspapers."

<sup>36</sup> Ruth Wodak, "Introduction: Discourse Studies - Important Concepts and Terms," in *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michal Krzyzanowski (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1.

<sup>37</sup> Jay L. Lemke, *Textual Politics: Discourse and Social Dynamics*, Critical Perspectives on Literacy and Education (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995), 5; Marianne Jorgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2002), 1.

line between different discourse strands may prove challenging.<sup>38</sup> As a result, this part of the thesis outlines how discourse analysis is understood, utilized and designed in this specific research.

This research, taking an approach that aligns with critical discourse analysis (CDA), understands discourse as a social practice embedded in existing power structures and carries patterns, frames, and structures that can be deconstructed to reveal the underlying motivations and belief systems that inform the practice through analysis. This practice is heavily influenced by context, the method, and language that not only produces and legitimizes knowledge but also in itself is reflexively shaped by it. This approach situates discourse at the crossroads of power, knowledge, and subjectivity.

In the analysis of the discourse, the Angermüller's triangular approach of language, practice and context is married with Åhäll and Borg's predication, presupposition, and subject-positioning concepts.<sup>39</sup> In the simplest terms, Angermüller notes that discourse analysts "account for the practices employed by/in language in certain context."<sup>40</sup> Åhäll and Borg further this engagement by analyzing the predication which may correspond to the language as it refers to properties attached to the specific language, presupposition which may correspond to context as it refers to background knowledge, and subject-positioning which may correspond to the practice that places the subjects and the objects within a hierarchy as opposed to one another.<sup>41</sup>

This method of engagement with discourse that critically unpacks the language by creating links with the context and its implications for the subjects concerned within the power

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<sup>38</sup> Johannes Angermüller, "Discourse Studies," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Science*, ed. James D. Wright, 2nd ed., vol. 6, 26 vols. (Elsevier, 2015), 510–15; Jason Glynos et al., "Discourse Analysis: Varieties and Methods," *ESRC National Centre for Research Methods*, 2009, 1–41.

<sup>39</sup> Angermüller, "Discourse Studies," 512; Linda Åhäll and Stefan Borg, "Predication, Presupposition, and Subject-Positioning," in *Critical Approaches to Security: An Introduction to Theories and Methods*, ed. Laura J. Shepherd (USA: Routledge, 2013), 196–207.

<sup>40</sup> Angermüller, "Discourse Studies," 513.

<sup>41</sup> Åhäll and Borg, "Predication," 201–4.



structure enables the researcher to interrogate how the RASIM are constructed, how the specific context of the discourse at hand affects the construction and communication, and how and where they are placed within the societal hierarchy and what that placement entails. This interrogation is also the reason for the qualitative methodology as the quantitative forms of discourse analysis is more exploratory in nature whereas the qualitative accounts use the discourse analysis “as a guiding principle to provide a deeper understanding.”<sup>42</sup>

Moving onto the specific methodological choices with regards to sources and their selection, the print media representations as the focus of analysis is deliberate as journalism is not a simple profession of reporting objective reality. Employment of certain recognizable frames with either positive or negative cues in the print media influence the reader’s opinions about the subject at hand. Thus, print media representations contribute to the practices of constructing the reality about RASIM qualifying them as discourses to be unpacked with their use of language, the context in which the messages are conveyed, and the implications for the RASIM in terms of their positioning in the social reality.

Still, why engage with print media over other sources of discourse? Firstly, the print media with high circulation records is highly representative of the mainstream discourses at large. As van Dijk explains, the press may be the most frequently engaged discursive practice by so many people shaping “most of our social and political knowledge and beliefs.”<sup>43</sup> Secondly, the comprehensive account of the mainstream discourses in the print media constitutes an important source since the frames and discursive practices outline the “conditions of possibility” by limiting the variety of what can be thought/spoken/done about it through

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<sup>42</sup> Rens Vliegenhart, “Media and Immigration: A Political Communication Perspective,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Politics of Migration in Europe*, ed. Agnieszka Weinár, Saskia Bonjour, and Lyubov Zhyznomirska (New York: Routledge, 2018), 84.

<sup>43</sup> Teun A. van Dijk, “Media Contents: The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse,” in *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 110.

legitimization of specific notions.<sup>44</sup> Last but not least, the reflexive construction and reconstruction between the discourse and the political is enhanced by the wide outreach of the print media. Consequently, the print media is not only representative of the diversity of voices that make up the discourse on refugees and migration but also its constitutive effect on the social is influential on the public and political opinions that drive policy and treatment of these individuals.

As a result, this research selects four newspapers in both the countries it examines, the United Kingdom and Germany. These four newspapers are divided equally across political alignment, conservative and liberal, and type of print, quality or tabloid, to account for variety not only in the ideological spectrum but also in the readership type to achieve a more rounded account of the discourse. The selection below also reflects the circulation numbers for each country. These newspapers are as follows:

|                      | The United Kingdom |                     | Germany      |                        |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------|
|                      | TABLOID            | QUALITY             | TABLOID      | QUALITY                |
| <i>Conservative.</i> | The Daily Mail     | The Daily Telegraph | Bild Zeitung | Frankfurter Allgemeine |
| <i>Liberal</i>       | The Daily Mirror   | The Guardian        | Abendzeitung | Süddeutsche Zeitung    |

Table 1: The Selection of Newspapers

Amongst the newspapers in the UK, *the Daily Mail* is a daily tabloid newspaper based in London with a readership that is more than 50% female.<sup>45</sup> It is a conservative newspaper that has been endorsing only the Conservative Party until 2015 when the UK Independence Party (UKIP) became a second.<sup>46</sup> Alongside its Eurosceptic and anti-immigration views, it is also

<sup>44</sup> W. E. Connolly, *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 24.

<sup>45</sup> Mike Berry, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, and Kerry Moore, "Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries" (Cardiff School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies, December 2015), 29, <https://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.pdf>.

<sup>46</sup> James Slack and Ian Drury, "General Election 2015's Guide to Tactical Voting Constituency | Daily Mail Online," accessed May 27, 2019, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3069464/How-vote-tactically-Red-Ed-Constituency-constituency-guide-50-key-seats-help-Labour-Number-10.html>.

known for the controversy over a cartoon that depicts asylum seekers alongside rats entering the borders of the EU following the Paris terrorist attacks in November 2015.<sup>47</sup> *The Daily Telegraph* is a daily conservative broadsheet newspaper and has previously been fined for endorsing the Conservative Party through an email from the editor.<sup>48</sup> The stance of the newspaper has been aligned with the Conservative Party and the Leave campaign for Brexit.

*The Daily Mirror*, the only national tabloid on the left side of the spectrum, is a supporter of the Labour Party. On issues of migration the Mirror has been more supportive and open compared to the other tabloids. And the final newspaper for the UK, *the Guardian* is a quality newspaper that positions itself more on the center-left. The readership of the Guardian is considered elite and the newspaper is pro-EU and has been more supportive of the Labour Party. According to the Office of Communication (Ofcom), the regulatory and competition authority for the broadcasting, telecommunications and postal industries of the UK, the Daily Mail was the second most circulated newspaper in the country following the Sun, another right-wing newspaper whereas the Daily Mirror was third.<sup>49</sup> The Daily Telegraph and the Guardian followed these newspapers as the fourth and the fifth making each newspaper the most circulated quality newspaper within their political alignment in 2016 (see Figure 1).<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Rose Troup Buchanan, "Daily Mail Criticised by Social Media Users for Cartoon on Refugees," Independent, November 17, 2015, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/media/daily-mail-criticised-by-social-media-users-for-cartoon-on-refugees-a6737976.html>; Berry, Garcia-Blanco, and Moore, "Press Coverage," 29.

<sup>48</sup> Connor Sullivan, "Telegraph Fined for Emailing Readers to Vote for Conservatives," Financial Times, accessed May 27, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/f4914cac-a7ce-11e5-955c-1e1d6de94879>.

<sup>49</sup> the Office of Communications, "News Consumption in the UK: 2016" (London, June 29, 2017), [https://www.ofcom.org.uk/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0016/103570/news-consumption-uk-2016.pdf](https://www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0016/103570/news-consumption-uk-2016.pdf).

<sup>50</sup> the Office of Communications.

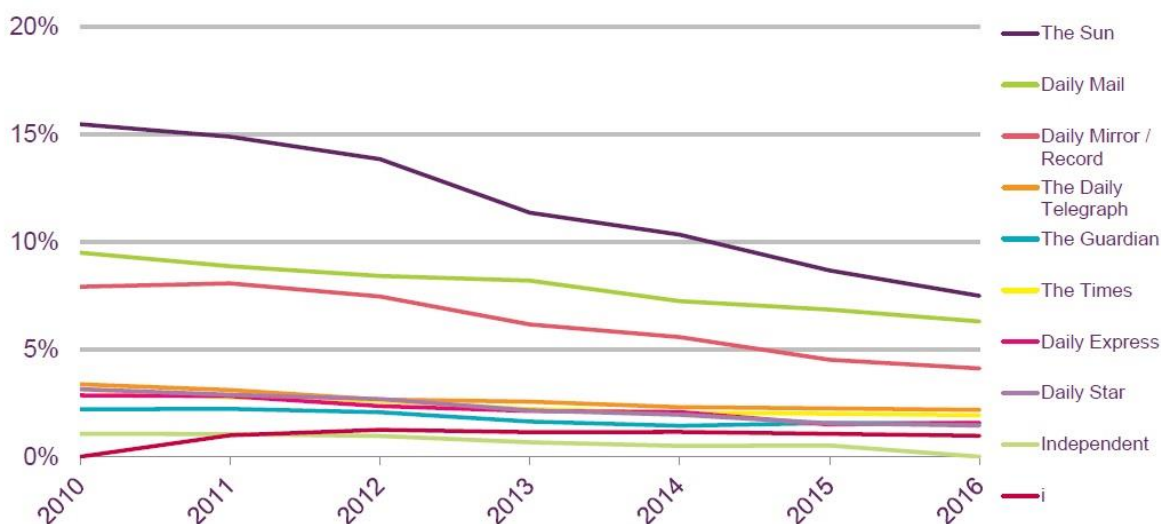


Figure 1: Reach by title between 2010-2016

Amongst the German newspapers, *Bild* is a national tabloid and also the most circulated newspaper in the country selling as many as 2 million copies according to data from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of 2015.<sup>51</sup> Editorially it seems similar to the British Sun or Daily Mail and falls on a center-right position on the political spectrum. Still, it should be noted that *Bild* has started a petition against the PEGIDA movement in 2015 despite its right-wing alignment.<sup>52</sup>

*Frankfurter Allgemeine* is a conservative quality newspaper and has been supporting different parties and party figures throughout time. It is committed to its own political stance and is the second most circulated quality newspaper in Germany for the time period.<sup>53</sup> *Abendzeitung* is the only regional newspaper chosen for the study for the lack of a national left-wing tabloid newspaper. Due to its focus on Bavaria and Munich, its outreach is considerably lower compared to the other newspapers chosen for the study, with 55.000 copies for the

<sup>51</sup> IVW, "BILD Zeitung | Informationsgemeinschaft Zur Feststellung Der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V.," accessed May 27, 2019, <https://www.ivw.eu/aw/print/qa/titel/7110?quartal%5B20153%5D=20153&quartal%5B20154%5D=20154#views-exposed-form-aw-titel-az-aw-az-qa>.

<sup>52</sup> BBC, "Germany Pegida Protests: 'Islamisation' Rallies Denounced," January 6, 2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30694406>.

<sup>53</sup> IVW, "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung | Informationsgemeinschaft Zur Feststellung Der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V.," accessed May 27, 2019, <https://www.ivw.eu/aw/print/qa/titel/1056?quartal%5B20153%5D=20153&quartal%5B20154%5D=20154#views-exposed-form-aw-titel-az-aw-az-qa>.

selected time period. The last newspaper for Germany, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* is a national quality newspaper from Munich and is the most circulated quality newspaper in Germany.<sup>54</sup> Its editorial stance is more aligned with center-left or liberal values.

In order to capture a more detailed representation of the RASIM and to have a clear understanding of the editorial stance of the newspapers, the selection of data excludes any news stories and is limited to editorials, opinion pieces, and columns. The keywords used for the search on the LexisNexis (for the UK) were *refugee*, *asylum seeker* and *economic migrant*. The keywords used for the archives provided by each newspaper were *flüchtling(e)*, *asylbewerber* and *Wirtschaftsmigrant* or *einwanderer*.

Both *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine* require subscriptions for access. The institutional access was available for the former. The latter requires either 65€ for a yearly access that includes 100 articles, or the articles can be individually purchased for 1€. Access to some of these were attained without charge as the duplicates were available on the FAZ.net. However, half of the articles were individually purchased for the purposes of this research.

The selection of the time period for this research has been inspired by the findings of a Greussing and Boomgaarden's aforementioned findings for the highest diversity in the frames adopted.<sup>55</sup> For this reason, this research focuses on the period when the number of individuals making the first applications for asylum had peaked. According to Eurostat quarterly reports, this period corresponds to the third and fourth quarters of 2015 (see Figure 2).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> IVW, "Süddeutsche Zeitung | Informationsgemeinschaft Zur Feststellung Der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V.," accessed May 27, 2019, <https://www.ivw.eu/aw/print/qa/titel/1221?quartal%5B20153%5D=20153&quartal%5B20154%5D=20154#vies-exposed-form-aw-titel-az-aw-az-qa>.

<sup>55</sup> Greussing and Boomgaarden, "Shifting the Refugee Narrative?."

<sup>56</sup> Eurostat, "Publications," accessed May 27, 2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/asylum-and-managed-migration/publications>.

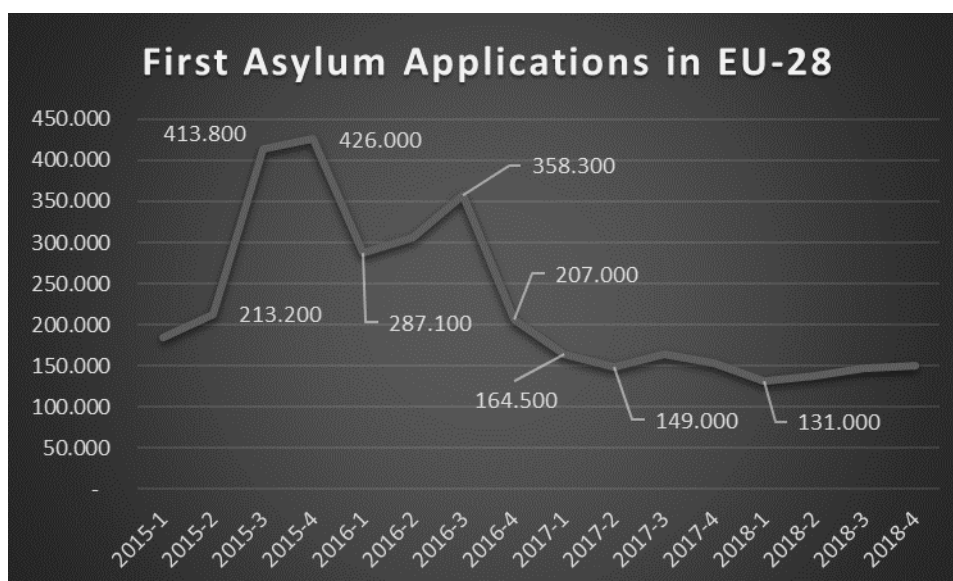


Figure 2: First Asylum Applications in EU-28, 2015-2018 Quarterly

Thus, the time period has been determined as from June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015 until December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2015 for exploring the whole spectrum of mainstream narratives. This period follows important events for the topic at hand such as the Charlie Hebdo shootings, the stabbing of a German police officer in September, and Paris terror attacks in November. To reach a more manageable data universe, the selection of the articles has been confined to articles containing more than 500 words, which also allows for further elaboration on the issues and representation except for the newspaper *Bild* as the editorials and commentaries were largely under 500 words.

These parameters have led to 68 articles from the Mail, 66 articles from the Telegraph, 21 articles from the Mirror, and 26 articles from the Guardian. For the German newspapers, the numbers were 29 articles for Bild, 24 articles from FAZ, 14 articles from Abendzeitung, and finally 22 articles from Süddeutsche Zeitung. The unrelated articles that have used the keywords but were not about the issue (e.g. the keyword is included in the official title of an authority quoted), were focused on ISIS or policy debates (e.g. the word is included to note ISIS is one of the root causes for people fleeing) were quickly eliminated from the data universe. In the case of some of the newspapers which had sister newspapers for Sundays e.g. Bild am Sonntag or Mail on Sunday, these newspapers were also included in the data set.

As for the limitations of the word count of this work sample set has been further reduced using cyclical corpus-building method allowing the saturation of the sample set while ensuring representation of the whole data universe.<sup>57</sup> This method is selected against random sampling which could lead to exclusions by accident. The coding is done holistically for the entirety of each article. The results from both more conservative and liberal newspapers of both countries are compared and discussed in the upcoming chapters with the help of the theories outlined in the next section that assists the research in identifying the underlying notions and assesses the implications for RASIM.

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<sup>57</sup> M.W. Bauer and B. Aarts, "Corpus Construction: A Principle for Qualitative Data Collection," in *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image, and Sound*, ed. M.W. Bauer and G. Gaskell (London: Sage, 2000), 31–34; Gerlinde Mautner, "Analyzing Newspapers, Magazines and Other Print Media," in *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michał Krzyzanowski (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 35.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter analyzes the premises of three theories and their premises for the purposes of this research. It begins with Said's Orientalism which provides a systematic approach to the idealization of the East, the other, in the Western imagination with an emphasis on the reproduction of the power asymmetry and incompatibility of these through multiple dichotomies.<sup>58</sup> It goes on to discuss Foucault's framework on biopower that explains how power does not only regulate the individuals but rather life itself, either to make life within the "unitary living plurality" or to let die for the individuals who represent a break from it.<sup>59</sup>

Agamben's seminal work, *homo sacer*, is used as a link between biopolitics and necropolitics through contextualization of asylum seeker as an ideal subject of biopolitics within the bare life under which individuals live in a perpetual state of exception without any cultural and political agency.<sup>60</sup> Lastly, I conclude the theoretical framework by introducing Mbembe's addition to further the concept of body/life regulation to account for a more rounded understanding of the latter part of make live/let die where the death, literally or death-in-life, may be sanctioned.<sup>61</sup> The last section joins the few in the literature in approaching bio and necro as "a spatial dialectic unity" in order to capture a better reading of the contemporary dynamics in the discourses of migration.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Random House, 1979).

<sup>59</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France, 1975-76*, ed. Mauro Bertani, Alessandro Fontana, and Ewald François, trans. David Macey, 1st edition (New York: Picador, 2003).

<sup>60</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Giorgio Agamben, *Means Without End: Notes on Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

<sup>61</sup> Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 11–40.

<sup>62</sup> Michael McIntyre and Heidi J. Nast, "Bio(Necro)Polis: Marx, Surplus Populations, and the Spatial Dialectics of Reproduction and 'Race' 1," *Antipode* 43, no. 5 (2011): 1472. Also see Andrés Fabián Henao Castro, "From the 'Bio' to the 'Necro': The Human at the Border," in *Resisting Biopolitics: Philosophical, Political, and Performative Strategies*, ed. S.E. Wilmer and Audronė Žukauskaitė (London: Routledge, 2015), 237–53; Elizabeth Lee and Geraldine Pratt, "The Spectacular and the Mundane: Racialised State Violence, Filipino Migrant Workers, and Their Families," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 44, no. 4 (2012):



### 3.1. Orientalism

In this seminal work, Said fundamentally questions discourse and fixed representations of the East vis-à-vis the West, the durability of this discourse in shaping the relative hierarchy of both in any engagement with one another.<sup>63</sup> Orientalist discourse is the hegemonic cultural understanding of what European identity means compared to all non-European cultures where the former is superior, and the Orient is the inferior.<sup>64</sup> This discourse, produced by and for the West, has the power to not only produce knowledge about the East but shape “the very reality it appears to describe.”<sup>65</sup> The durability of Orientalism is dependent on what Said calls “flexible positional superiority” as any engagement with the components of the Orient in any context positions the Occident relative higher.<sup>66</sup> Even though Said recognizes that Orientalist conceptions are not all myths and lies and have been materially fed, the attributions “rely upon institutions, traditions, conventions, agreed-upon codes of understanding for their affects, not upon a distant and amorphous Orient.”<sup>67</sup>

The relationship between Occident and the Orient is not only dichotomous and hierarchical, but also of one where the former’s identity and self-definition is the progeny of the latter’s surrogacy to it.<sup>68</sup> At large, identities need other(s) to differentiate themselves from, in this case Orient becomes the perfect idea for what Europe is not.<sup>69</sup> The practice of othering may come in different forms as temporal, spatial, or hierarchical, often with combinations of multiple forms. Temporally, the Orient becomes the reminder of what Europe has moved

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889–904; Jill M. Williams, “From Humanitarian Exceptionalism to Contingent Care: Care and Enforcement at the Humanitarian Border,” *Political Geography* 47 (2015): 11–20.

<sup>63</sup> Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, 2.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 94.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 3; Gerard Delanty, *Europe in the Mirror of the Orient* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995); Erik Tängerstad, “*The Third World*” as an Element in the Collective Construction of a Post-Colonial European Identity, ed. Bo Stråth (Bruxelles: P.I.E.- Peter Lang, 2000).

<sup>69</sup> Hakan Övünç Öngür, *Minorities of Europeanisation: The New Other of European Social Identity* (London: Lexington Books, 2015).

beyond through development and progress.<sup>70</sup> Spatially, Europe is separated by a drawn line from the Orient, marking an inside and outside, where the former is powerful and the latter is defeated.<sup>71</sup> The hierarchical positioning of the two against one another is omnipresent in every encounter exemplified by the previous two arguments. In short, the West emerges as the creator of the Oriental, where only it can speak for the Orient as they cannot speak for themselves, establishing a system of domination and authority over the image of it as well as having the power to restructure it. Orientalism emerges as “a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, “us”) and the strange (the Orient, the East, “them”).”<sup>72</sup>

As the Occident as the creator of the other, controlled the knowledge production which gave it the power and authority to control and dominate it.<sup>73</sup> Multiple dichotomies, not mutually exclusive, about the character of the Orient surfaced including the one of the barbarian vs the civilized, weak/incapable vs powerful, irrational vs childlike, immature vs mature. Barbarism entailed defects in language, people, and civilization which had somewhat contradicting characteristics such as cunning, lethargy, and the liar alongside the gullible, devoid of initiative.<sup>74</sup> The incapability of the Orient not only deemed it weak but also the failure to develop and transform, which allows it to stay fixed in time and place.<sup>75</sup> Thus, in critique of its sensuality, backwardness, tendency for chaos and inability to govern itself due to immaturity and irrationality, the European is not only better than the Orient but also is a hero on a civilizing mission to save the Orient from itself.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Delanty, *Europe in the Mirror of the Orient*; Ole Wæver, “Insecurity, Security, and Asecurity in the West European Non-War Community,” in *Security Communities*, ed. Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 69–118.

<sup>71</sup> Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 32.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 38-9; 47; 142.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 108; 208.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 40; 49; 121; 203.

The relevance of Said's work is challenged to some extent as his conceptualizations and hierarchical encounters he draws his discourse from are outdated to some extent. Thus, it is imperative to operationalize the Orientalist notions in a contemporary setting. Said himself recognizes the importance of understanding these ideas as not only all representations are inherently political,<sup>77</sup> but also the direct political use of these notions engenders the problematization of topics that relate to the other.<sup>78</sup> The appeal of adaptation of such a long history of constructing and reconstructing of the Orient is alarming, especially reconsidering that the language and frameworks of Orientalism simplify and categorizes the Orient making it manageable.<sup>79</sup>

The continuous reproduction of such notions further polarizes the sides of this dichotomy inhibiting the possibility of meaningful non-mainstream encounters between the Occident and the Orient.<sup>80</sup> Additional to this inhibition, the discourse on the Orient gains greater authority over time vis-à-vis the actuality, which may deem attempts to counteract it as outliers to the facts.<sup>81</sup> Thus, the Oriental subject, despite not fitting the archetype, is “*first* an Oriental, *second* a human being, and *last* again an Oriental.”<sup>82</sup> Consequently, the people of the Orient may not even qualify as people, rather a problem to be solved or contained.<sup>83</sup> Under all of these considerations, it does not come as surprising the increased contact with the Other, such as in the so-called refugee crisis, which further strengthens the walls of hegemonic cultural understanding of Europe.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Johnson, “Click to Donate,” 1017.

<sup>78</sup> Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, 96.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 72.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 37; Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (New York: Random House, 1997).

<sup>81</sup> Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, 93., 93.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 207.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 117.

Overall, the constitution of the image of the Other in the Western imaginary informs opinions about them especially in the need of simplification, categorization, and management. Most scholars in the field, found the othering as a recurring trend in multiple studies across time and geography. The myth of difference that has emerged with the changes of the images of the refugees become more crucial as the myth seems to be fed by notions of centuries old Orientalist interactions. What is more is that Orientalism shows that one does not need to stray from one specific idea to another as the incapacity and need for European help is not a contradictory, but a complementary trait of the other who never loses her/his inherent dangerousness due to her alienness. Thus, as long as the European identity and geography continue to see itself as the mirror image of the Orient, the age-old traditions of othering vis-à-vis the peoples of non-white geographies may be preserved across countries and political ideologies through simple differentiation between us and them. Seemingly contradictory discourses of victimization and securitization, in fact, may emerge as co-existing preconceptions about RASIM and the Europeans.

### **3.2. Bio/Necropolitics: Bridging Foucault, Agamben, and Mbembe**

For Foucault, biopower is the basis of governmentality in modern society as it regulates “what brought life and its mechanisms... made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life.”<sup>85</sup> Thus, the knowledge-power does not only dictate the societal limits but it limits life itself by subjectification of the bodies to “enhance productivity while maximizing control.”<sup>86</sup> The centrality of the functioning of the body makes the populations the object of biopolitics. It questions the collectivized political influences and the security mechanisms that “have to be

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<sup>85</sup> Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 143.

<sup>86</sup> Alan Milchman and Alan Rosenberg, “Review Essay: Michel Foucault: Crises and Problemizations,” ed. Michel Foucault et al., *The Review of Politics* 67, no. 2 (2005): 335–51.

installed around the random element inherent in a population of beings” creating a political right to “‘make’ live and ‘let’ die.”<sup>87</sup>

This operationalization of biopower in modern societies is largely due to the practice of the sovereign not only protecting the population from the outside but also fostering it. The scope of this life only entails the lives of the “legitimate” population.<sup>88</sup> The death-function of biopower for the illegitimates can be understood through racism, which “alone can justify the murderous function of the state,” and has been used to create a division between inferior and superior within a population where the death of the former makes the latter biologically stronger.<sup>89</sup> So, racism is “the precondition that makes killing acceptable... in a normalizing society.”<sup>90</sup> where race is understood as “a way of introducing a break into the domain of life... break between what must live and what must die” Subsequently, race encompasses anything that provides such a break from the identity of the population form religion, the country of origin, to ethnic group where this fragmentation leads to fundamentally biological threats.<sup>91</sup>

Within the migration debates, understanding of the European nations as sovereigns trying to make live their own populations that must be defended against the incoming other that can be let die has found its resonance especially with a combination of deservingness frame. However, this frame also allows for a group of people who is still the other and somehow let live by the sovereign even though they are not made live. This group is refugees, more specifically the genuine refugees who are the outside in the inside, which can be conceptualized within the biopolitical framework through Agamben’s contributions.

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<sup>87</sup> Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, 241–46.

<sup>88</sup> T. Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 2011).

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 255–258.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 254–6.

<sup>91</sup> Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*; Milchman and Rosenberg, “Review Essay: Michel Foucault”; Katia Genel, “The Question of Biopower: Foucault and Agamben,” *Rethinking Marxism* 18, no. 1 (January 2006): 43–62, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08935690500410635>; Heather L. Johnson, “To Make Live: Representing and Protesting Refugee Agency,” *Localities* 6 (2016): 59–92.

Agamben draws on *homo sacer*, who is a subject who “can be killed” with utmost impunity “but not be sacrificed”<sup>92</sup> *Homo sacer* represent the subject that can be only included with a specific state of exclusion where he can only be in the state of bare life in survival, but without any political and social rights stuck in the realm of apolitical humanitarianism.<sup>93</sup> Understanding the nation as a body, threatened by the incoming individuals is where security mechanism of the biopolitics creates this state of exception. It becomes a constant in dealing with refugees especially when “security becomes the dominant form of politics.”<sup>94</sup> As the number of people in the state of exclusion increase, the biological danger intensifies leading to a third option that is “to make survive.”<sup>95</sup> This mode leads to the concept of death-in-life which provides a link to the study of necropolitics.

The othering of RASIM either in the form of make survive or let die allows the biopower to be exercised in sanctioning the death of the other. Foucault’s initial framework accounts neither for the multitude of the deaths, nor the variety of contemporary forms of sanctioning that allows modern societies to exercise their sovereignty through necropower.<sup>96</sup> So, necropolitics pushes the governance from letting die to sanctioning death both in terms of literal death and death-in-life with an emphasis on interrelatedness of making live and suffering of others.<sup>97</sup> The contemporary methods of governance, through which the new relations of material and symbolic spatial othering operate,<sup>98</sup> centers on the practices, technologies, and management

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<sup>92</sup> Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 111–15.

<sup>93</sup> Agamben, 19; Slavoj Žižek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real* (London: Verso, 2002), 91; Bülent Diken, “From Refugee Camps to Gated Communities: Biopolitics and the End of the City,” *Citizenship Studies* 8, no. 1 (2004): 85–90; Marisela Montenegro, Joan Pujol, and Silvia Posocco, “Bordering, Exclusions, Necropolitics,” *Qualitative Research Journal* 17, no. 3 (2017): 143.

<sup>94</sup> Diken, “From Refugee Camps to Gated Communities,” 90.

<sup>95</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, trans. D. Heller-Roazen (New York: Zone Books, 1999); Genel, “The Question of Biopower,” 56.

<sup>96</sup> Johnson, “To Make Live,” 69; Montenegro, Pujol, and Posocco, “Bordering, Exclusions, Necropolitics,” 142.

<sup>97</sup> Mbembe, “Necropolitics”; Thom Davies, Arshad Isakjee, and Surindar Dhesi, “Violent Inaction: The Necropolitical Experience of Refugees in Europe,” *Antipode* 49, no. 5 (2017): 1263–84; Montenegro, Pujol, and Posocco, “Bordering, Exclusions, Necropolitics.”

<sup>98</sup> Mbembe, “Necropolitics,” 26.

of bordering for the differentiation of the other and the reproduction of hierarchies.<sup>99</sup> The immobilization of outsider by being let die and the reduction of refugees to bare life for their inclusion in the biopolitical space make a case for the interrelated nature of biopolitics and necropolitics.<sup>100</sup> The living dead and creation of death zones for the others who must die or live in bare life operationalize in the contemporary crisis of Europe in management of the incoming asylum seekers where the other is a problem for the survival of the legitimate population.

This crisis of management constantly produces death zones such as borderlands between EU and third countries, Mediterranean and Aegean seas, detention and processing centers, packed asylum accommodations alongside reducing the hosted individuals to bare life by stripping them of political agency sometimes even enforcing physical limitations on the mobility of the subject. That is why the upcoming chapters not only give a descriptive account of the contemporary media discourse about RASIM, but analyzes them utilizing the insights provided by Orientalism, bio and necropolitics to explore the implications of the discourses for the asylum seekers, their lives, and integration into the spaces they settle.

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<sup>99</sup> Montenegro, Pujol, and Posocco, "Bordering, Exclusions, Necropolitics," 143.

<sup>100</sup> Suvendrini Perera, "'They Give Evidence': Bodies, Borders and the Disappeared," *Social Identities* 12, no. 6 (2006): 643–44; Davies, Isakjee, and Dhesi, "Violent Inaction," 1268; Montenegro, Pujol, and Posocco, "Bordering, Exclusions, Necropolitics," 144.

## 4. Chapter I: Conservative Press Analysis

This chapter explores the framing of the conservative newspapers from both Germany and the UK in order to deconstruct them through utilization of the aforementioned theories. The main focus is on the common themes occurring in the conservative newspapers with examples of specific articulation and the theoretical reading regarding the implications of the discourse. The representation of RASIM does not only include representation directly about the qualities of the individuals, but also the influence of migration on the host countries. Processes such as securitization, victimization, massification are emphasized alongside the suspicion of authenticity of the asylum seekers. Thus, the frames of authenticity, massification, victimization, security and cultural threat are discussed with examples from the empirical study and are evaluated from the perspectives the theories provided. It is imperative to note that none of the frames are mutually exclusive, as they all feed each other and frequently employed together.

Before concluding the chapter, a last section is offered, which briefly entertains the cross-country difference in representation of similar frames and ideas about the RASIM. This section is the result of observations attained during the data gathering and processing due to the realization of drastic differences in the styles and employment of similar ideas in different contexts which is an underdeveloped area of research in the scholarship. Even though the country differences are not designed to be a central part of this thesis, the revelations of the data are rather intriguing. So, this research addresses the differences to some extent without straying from the main premise of this research which is to unravel the discourse and its implication from both sides of the political spectrum.

Prior to the engagement with conservative discourses, it may be noteworthy to visit some of the general findings of the data analysis to better understand the position the conservative



accounts vis-à-vis the liberal ones. The conservative newspapers make up 69% of 270 articles coded. They were more populous in the tabloid group with 74% compared to 65% in the quality newspapers. These findings are in line with the literature as the more negative accounts, which are found in more conservative discourses, are more widely covered in the mainstream media sources rather than positive views on migration. Out of the British accounts, 74% of the articles is from conservative accounts whereas in Germany this group correspond to the 59% of the German newspapers. In addition, from the wider corpus universe, eighty-six articles have been coded in detail. The overall percentages of the reoccurrences of frames are drawn from the wider set while the empirical examples given for the discussion of the frames are drawn from the detailed sample.

The most commonly occurring theme from the discourse is the suspicion of authenticity. 55% of all conservative newspaper articles mention either the illegitimate applications or the need to differentiate between the genuine refugees and economic migrants. The struggle to cope with the number of individuals arriving, massification frame, is the second most common notion with 45%. This notion is often accompanied by words such as flood, wave, exodus, or swarm. The economic threat frame follows massification with 36%. This frame involves not only anxieties about government spending for accommodating the RASIM, but also the strain on welfare and social services. Interestingly, the victimization frame with 20% is more frequently used than both security and cultural threat frames. The security frame that encompasses from local security issues to national security and terrorism issues has twenty-eight articles in the sample, which corresponds to 15%. The same frequency is observed for the cultural threat frame that deals with issues of incompatibility and integration.

#### 4.1. Bio/Necropolitics of Authenticity, Victimization, Massification, and Threat

The suspicion of authenticity is rooted in multiple aspects of asylum applications. It may be the nationality, gender, age or the possessions of an asylum seeker that deems the individual illegitimate. A Bild article simply puts it out there that “not everyone who comes to Germany has a right to stay in Germany!”<sup>101</sup> Even though this article does not entertain what gets an application rejected, authenticity is most commonly questioned through gender, age, relative personal loss, wealth and country of origin. Especially the last one alongside the gender/age duo are two that are most commonly employed.

Multiple articles deem a civil war country almost only acceptable base for asylum applications. In most cases for the time period, that country of origin is Syria. This base is often used as a contrast to the people considered economic refugees from Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Balkans as where Syrians are considered legitimate background for application and deportation is called for the *rest*.<sup>102</sup> The suspicion is so deeply entrenched that even the mention of the words refugee comes attaches with “those who call themselves that.”<sup>103</sup>

This research argues that the country of origin base links to the victim aspect of authenticity. Similarly, gender/age duo alongside relative loss appear to identify real sufferers amongst the applicants. Being able-bodied and a man in his prime is treated as a direct indicator

<sup>101</sup> Franz Solms-Laubach, “Konsequenz!,” *Bild Zeitung*, September 29, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/franz-solms-laubach/konsequenz-42769916.bild.html>.

<sup>102</sup> Jasper von Altenbockum, “Scherbenhaufen der Asylpolitik,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 25, 2015, <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/kommentar-von-jasper-von-altenbockum-zum-fluechtlingsstrom-13768775/einwanderungsland-deutschland-13769991.html>; Rolf Kleine, “Wir brauchen kein Flüchtlings-Palaver,” *Bild Zeitung*, July 27, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/rolf-kleine/wir-brauchen-kein-fluechtlings-palaver-41954908.bild.html>; Jasper von Altenbockum, “In einer neuen Epoche,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 19, 2015, FAZ Archives; Reinhard Müller, “Was für ein Land?,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, December 10, 2015, FAZ Archives; Béla Anda, “Kein Wasser auf die Mühlen,” *Bild Zeitung*, December 8, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/bela-anda/kein-wasser-auf-die-muehlen-42162486.bild.html>; Béla Anda, “Transitzonen Müssen Sein,” *Bild Zeitung*, October 22, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/bela-anda/transitzonen-muessen-sein-43113258.bild.html>; Leo Mckinstry, “Why The French Are to Blame,” *Daily Mail*, July 30, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>103</sup> von Altenbockum, “Scherbenhaufen der Asylpolitik.”

of economic migration.<sup>104</sup> The women and children, especially without parents, are the ones who are talked as genuine refugees, as they constitute the perfect victims, the most vulnerable. The members of the society, who are denied agency in ordinary times, become the perfect subjects of the migration discourse. Through victimization, the case is made for the people who deserve *our* compassion, help, and attention. It is clear that there are multiple extralegal factors that define the genuine refugee and distinguished the illegitimates through the approximation of the individual to the perfect victim. An article from the Daily Telegraph exemplifies some of the other extralegal criteria as:

When the crew of HMS Bulwark first fished immigrants out of the Mediterranean, they were expecting to find the world's hungry, wretched and destitute. Instead, they found them relatively healthy, well-dressed and carrying mobile phones and credit card, which they intended to use upon arrival in Italy. The military learnt then what politicians are only slowly beginning to work out – that this is not simply a refugee crisis.<sup>105</sup>

So, the performativity of being a refugee with poverty, health issues, visible lack of clothing and access to basic human needs comes across as a requirement for legitimacy in the conservative media. Also, the specific choice of word as *to fish* already distances the immigrants from humanity as they are now being fished. But furthermore, the fact that the demands of the victimized refugee archetype heavily relying on the corporeal performance requires a biopolitical engagement.

First, the extralegal factors that are about wealth, possessions, and relative perception of loss are highly dependent on the corporeal performance of the asylum seekers. The condensation of one to bare life to enter the biopolitical body of the sovereign nation, one needs to have nothing but his life, so the mechanism of the modern society can make the individual only survive. Thus, the asylum seeker who is in the possession of mobiles and credit cards, as

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<sup>104</sup> Fraser Nelson, "As Poor Countries Get Richer, the Great Migration Will Only Increase," *The Daily Telegraph*, September 4, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Boris Johnson, "The Britain-Bashers' Moral Outrage Will Not Solve This Migration Crisis," *The Daily Telegraph*, July 9, 2015; Richard Littlejohn, "Border Controls? Who Do You Think You Are Kidding...," *Daily Mail*, June 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>105</sup> Nelson, "As Poor Countries Get Richer."

the members of the society, and can potentially engage in social life pushing the barriers of bare life is disruptive the rules of exercise of power within the biopolitical space. The country of origin base also similarly depends on the abilities of the persons with bare life, who should have political agency and the possibility of an individual not being forced against his will but possibly preferring to come intervenes in the boundaries of biopolitical order. Syrians, coming from a country of ISIS and Assad, are framed as people who have forfeited any agency in decisions in relation to their lives thus can be included in the space in the state of exception. However, any attempt to reclaim agency swiftly may delegitimize the individual. A Daily Mail report exemplifies this dynamic in the following way.

Goodness knows I have done what I could on this page to oppose the stupid interventions by this country in Iraq, Libya and Syria, which have turned so many innocent people into refugees or corpses. But I can see neither sense nor justice in allowing these things to become a pretext for an unstoppable demographic revolution in which Europe (including, alas, our islands) merges its culture and its economy with North Africa and the Middle East. If we let this happen, Europe would lose almost all the things that make others want to live there. You really think these crowds of tough young men chanting ‘Germany!’ in the heart of Budapest are asylum-seekers or refugees? Refugees don’t confront the police of the countries in which they seek sanctuary. They don’t chant orchestrated slogans or lie across the train tracks.<sup>106</sup>

The article quickly challenges the authenticity of asylum seekers who *are making themselves live*<sup>107</sup> by employing agency in any way they can, including risking their lives to get access. Demanding and protesting are qualities that refugees do not possess thus the young *men* cannot possibly be included in the society as they refuse to accept their bare life and non-places such as Keleti station.

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<sup>106</sup> Peter Hitchens, “We Won’t Save Refugees,” *Daily Mail*, June 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>107</sup> Johnson, “To Make Live.”

Nevertheless, some voices criticize the disapproval of the authenticity check as hypocrisy, and non-realistic/emotional responses as helping refugees is an end that can only be achieved by exclusion of ingenuine applications.<sup>108</sup>

Yet while ministers lay down the welcome mat to a net 330,000 arrivals, they refuse to co-operate with a plan to distribute Syrian families around the EU - arguing, with absolute justification, that we take far too many migrants as it is. Such is the sickening consequence of losing control of our borders. Because we admit so many economic migrants, we are driven to sacrifice our noble tradition of offering a haven to genuine refugees... Certainly, far more should be done by our partners to screen new arrivals on Europe's borders, identifying genuine refugees and deporting the rest.<sup>109</sup>

Identifying genuine refugees and deporting the rest seemingly is the default policy for conservative discourse due to its sheer frequency. The process of identification of the legitimates, which is deciding who must live, who must die, and who must just survive is prescribed by multiple articles repeatedly. The only thing that changes is reasoning for the deportations. As some argue, like the example above, to help legitimates, illegitimate must be deported/prevented.<sup>110</sup> For others, the intrusion of a non-member who should either be in the deathscapes or stuck in bare life is detrimental to the peace and prosperity of the population risking chaos and divisions.

This is exactly where the threat dimension lies. Social, cultural, or economic threat dimensions are always discussed from an us vs them perspective where our lives should be fostered at the expense of theirs if necessary. Massification also occurs within this framework even as a means to sanction death to the deserving refugees because the limit of our survival

<sup>108</sup> Johnson, "Moral Outrage Will Not Solve"; Charlotte Knobloch, "Keine Heuchelei!," *Bild Zeitung*, July 30, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/bild-kommentar/kommentar-von-charlotte-knobloch-41994082.bild.html>.

<sup>109</sup> Daily Mail Comment, "A Nightmare to Shake The World's Conscience," *Daily Mail*, August 29, 2015.

<sup>110</sup> Anda, "Transitzonen Müssen Sein"; Karina Mössbauer, "Handeln, um zu helfen!," *Bild Zeitung*, October 21, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/bild-kommentar/kommentar-von-karina-moessbauer-43086266.bild.html>; Ralf Schuler, "Mehr Hilfe für Bayern!," *Bild Zeitung*, September 10, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/ralf-schuler/mehr-hilfe-fuer-bayern-42959166.bild.html>; Julian Reichelt, "Unser Versagen im Syrien-Krieg!," *Bild Zeitung*, September 14, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/fluechtling/unser-versagen-im-syrien-krieg-42568658.bild.html>; Johnson, "Moral Outrage Will Not Solve"; Charles Moore, "Britain Will Accept Immigration - but Only If It Is Kept under Control," *The Daily Telegraph*, January 8, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

has been reached to make people survive. One of those accounts comes after the Paris attacks and draws parallels between the 2005 attacks in the UK by emphasizing that “the enemy is not always outside the border” referring to the attackers’ citizenship status.<sup>111</sup> The editorial puts forth that:

Others involved [in the attacks] may have entered Europe along with the mass of migrants making their way from the Middle East and further afield. To the concerns that such a large number of incomers will have a massive impact on social cohesion and economic infrastructure in ill-prepared EU reception countries must now be added the fear that this migration also brings security dangers... The only way to stop that [the end of Europe] happening is to turn the EU into a fortress.<sup>112</sup>

This editorial is representative of various themes including massification, and social, economic and security threats that are common in the discourse. The fortress Europe is prescribed for the survival of the EU, the biopolitical body, as the incoming outsiders, genuine or ingenuine, constitute a biological threat for the lives and well-being of the Europeans. This threat appears in various ways as the cost of receiving, the effect on social values due to the inherent otherness and incompatibility of RASIM within the destination countries. What is not entertained here is the exclusion from the biopolitical body entails a life in the necropolitical deathscapes for RASIM but they are not the concern of the members of the population as the members are better off in the death of RASIM.

Additionally, the threat aspect lies in the zero-sum game of the bio/necropolitics. The inclusion of the outsider directly worsens my life as the death of RASIM betters it. This is represented via a bulk of the articles through arguments of the sovereign spaces as promised lands, and El Dorado. RASIM arrives to *milk* the benefits by taking money and taking the

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<sup>111</sup> The Daily Telegraph, “Will Paris Strengthen Europe’s Resolve?,” *The Daily Telegraph*, November 16, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

common pool resource such as schools and healthcare system at the cost of the quality of life of the members of the population.<sup>113</sup>

The mere attempt of RASIM to be in the biopolitical body constitutes this threat aspect. The management of the asylum seekers, with genuine ones being settled and ingenuine ones being deported, damages the peace of the biopolitical body through its contact with the necropolitical space. The spatial presence of RASIM in itself is a disruption in the normal dynamic of the sovereign. Thus, the frontier Europe does more than building high walls between the inside or outside by extending the management by externalization of management itself. This article joins many others in externalizing the management, the site of contact for the population and the asylum seekers as it argues:

Of course, the external borders of the EU must be more secure - but what does that mean in practice? This can only mean that, in cooperation with countries beyond the European periphery, refugees and migrants are best left out of the territory of EU countries... Once migrants are in the European territory, things get harder - legally, politically, morally.<sup>114</sup>

Thus, the protection of the population through mechanisms of security is not only normalized as a practice, but also the mere engagement with the necropolitical subject is disrupting the biopolitical governance and its goals to foster life. The legal, political, and moral self-definition of European bodies are challenged with this engagement. This is due to the understanding of the self as a moral civilization vis-à-vis the others when the perception of the biological threat and management of it by sanctioning bare life through death in social and political agency and death in the necropolitical space through being let die are leading to the confrontations of the self-definition with reality.

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<sup>113</sup> Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger, "Wieder im Mittelpunkt," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 9, 2015, FAZ Archives; Nikolas Busse, "Magnet Deutschland," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 13, 2015, FAZ Archives; Mail on Sunday, "A NATION BEING WRECKED," *Daily Mail*, February 8, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>114</sup> Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger, "Der Strom reißt nicht ab," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 24, 2015, FAZ Archives.

A common example of this is exemplified by the notion of moral obligation that is frequently employed within the frame of victimization that recognizes the need for help as the savior. This savior aspect will be further discussed in the second section of this chapter through Orientalism, but it is important to note the bio/necropolitical aspect of this representation. The deportations into the necropolitical space is not the only challenge to the self-definition of morally superior Europe. Also, the RASIM dying in European places, like the beaches many Europeans enjoy during summer holidays, inaction becomes contradictory to the values of the sovereign. Such examples are less frequent than the representations above, but still is common enough to note especially following the death of Aylan Kurdi, whose body washed ashore on a Turkish beach frequented by the British.<sup>115</sup> An example of such an account comes from Bild in the form of a higher calling:

Is fate trying to tell us something? Perhaps: stop debating and tactics in commissions. Come On. Now! Act! Death, distress, horror knock at the door of the meeting room – and at all our doors.

Every day, refugees die in the Mediterranean Sea. And now also near us.<sup>116</sup> The article calling for action from the savior originating the call from fate. Also, the death knocking on the doors of the meeting rooms create a sense of urgency that necropolitical activity is creeping its way into the biopolitical space. The subject gains attention through its corporeal existence with his/her dead body in the normalizing society which activates the moral obligation of the savior. Moreover, it comes to show the representation of the other with its necropolitical subject needs to disrupt the biopolitical space in order to gain attention and activate discussion of authenticity in the characteristic of the self. Thus, bio/necropolitical readings connect to the

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<sup>115</sup> Béla Anda, “Europa in Gefahr,” *Bild Zeitung*, June 8, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/fluechtling/europa-in-gefahr-42078148.bild.html>; Julian Reichelt, “Die syrische Katastrophe,” *Bild Zeitung*, March 9, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/julian-reichelt/die-syrische-katastrophe-42445482.bild.html>; Allison Pearson, “‘Compassion’ Is the Last Thing This Refugee Crisis Needs,” *The Daily Telegraph*, September 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Con Coughlin, “Refugees Aren’t to Blame for the Chaos in the EU,” *The Daily Telegraph*, October 21, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>116</sup> Alexander Von Schönburg, “Der Tod der Flüchtlinge mahnt uns alle,” *Bild Zeitung*, August 28, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/alexander-von-schoenburg/der-tod-der-fluechtlinge-mahnt-uns-alle-42354162.bild.html>.



Orientalist notions about the self and the other in multiple ways. The next section explores this connection and how the representations of RASIM connect to the Orientalist self-definition of Europe.

## **4.2. Orientalism in Victimization and Threat Perceptions**

The threat and victimization aspects of the discourse is highly reliant of the age-old definitions about the Orient and the Occident as lazy, barbaric, inferior, incapable, and brutal. In some sense, biopolitical governance of inside and outside and threat of the outsiders are being exacerbated by the centuries of knowledge production and reproduction about the characteristics of the Oriental. The origins of RASIM in question that attempt to enter the biopolitical space lie within the Orient, not only spatially but also religiously. Even though there are many individuals of other faiths arriving in Europe, RASIM is mostly understood to be Muslim and of a more Islamic social culture which often underlines the inherent incompatibility of the Orientals in the Occident. Orientalist ideas appear in two ways. It is either the moral obligation of the Europeans to help in need, after establishing authenticity, due to the history of moral civilizing savior or the inherent negative qualities of RASIM that threaten the way of life for the population.

The first representation of genuine refugees in need of saving from the European savior has been highly emphasized as some examples have been analyzed through bio/necropolitical frame previously. This is either done through calling to do our part, evoking moral obligation, compassion for the people in need, or simply by recalling the history of the savior.

Jungle Camp. This is where hundreds of displaced people from all over the world live in the most wretched conditions. Stuck in a no-man's land in Calais, they doss down in temporary cardboard structures and survive on porridge made out of milk and soggy bread...

This country has a proud history when it comes to taking in the needy. Let's not let ourselves down because we're impatient for a holiday. It's time to see the bigger picture and stop the lamentable narrowing of our horizons.<sup>117</sup>

Barnett's account of its history commonly revoked in both countries sometimes with different notions including references to the holocaust by drawing similarities between the two events. But, most of the time this proud history is just put out there vaguely as its interpretation is left to the readers to decipher. Thus, the savior is reminded of the necropolitical subjects through their visibility in the biopolitical space and requires to be true to himself and not let down.<sup>118</sup>

Also, his superiority and nobility are not limited to his goodwill and moral character in him fulfilling the white men's burden. The position of the savior is also further glorified by accounts of gratitude by the saved.

HUDDLED in their hundreds on the lower deck of a warship, these are the desperate migrants rescued by the Royal Navy yesterday...Asha Kulubari, 26, had travelled from Bamako, Mali, with her husband, and two-year-old daughter Fatima. She said: I'm so happy to be saved. I'm so happy these men saved us. I have my baby and nothing else... You've got two tales here. The sorrowful tale of these people coming out of Libya and telling dreadful stories of what they are leaving behind. And on the other side is the success, we are managing to save very significant numbers. The flipside of that is we don't know how many we are losing.<sup>119</sup>

As much as this gratitude provides further affirmation of the savior role, it may also go the other route as the lack of gratitude delegitimizing the authenticity of the refugee self.<sup>120</sup> Consequently, these representations feeds into the refugees who are condemned to bare life being grateful for their inclusion through exclusion. As previously shown, not fitting the archetype of the voiceless and thankful victim may result in a further push into illegitimacy and

<sup>117</sup> Emma Barnett, "Sorry, but Our Channel Tunnel Hell Is Nothing next to Theirs," *The Daily Telegraph*, June 30, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>118</sup> Manuela Schwesig, "Zeigen Sie Herz!," *Bild Zeitung*, December 14, 2015, <https://www.bild.de/news/standards/manuela-schwesig/gastkommentar-zu-ein-herz-fuer-kinder-43675012.bild.html>.

<sup>119</sup> Daily Mail, "Thanks for the Lift, Britain," *Daily Mail*, August 6, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>120</sup> Mckinstry, "Why The French Are to Blame."

deathscapes. Still, the self-definition of the superior savior vis-à-vis the oriental victim does not always lead to help as biopolitics holds the life of the insider above the life of the outsider.<sup>121</sup>

Orientalist frames are more overtly visible in threat dimension of the discourse. The ideas about the characteristics of individuals that are not personally known but are understood from the mold of the Orientalism make the threats these people pose ever more real. An article from *Frankfurter Allgemeine* reveals that the reluctance of immigration countries such as the US and the UK is because of their experience led to an important revelation:

They know from many years of experience that immigration not only contributes to solving problems, but also creates new problems...Immigrants not only bring their cooking recipes with them, but also their world views and conflicts. Not only pacifists also flee from the war zones to Germany. And even academics are not immune to religious fanaticism.<sup>122</sup>

So, the immigrants are represented as source of upcoming issues as their values may be incompatible with the values of the destination country as not everyone who comes are going to be fitting in. It also dismisses possible factors that may make RASIM more estimable despite their country of origin such as education proving that the circumstances of the individual in question are diminished vis-à-vis his Oriental background as he is condensed to the imagination of the Oriental ideas in his representation.

As some argue the illegitimacy of an asylum seeker because the Orientals are liars,<sup>123</sup> others emphasize the incompatibility by arguing the migrants will build a small version of their own home in the midst of Europe destroying the culture and society of the country.<sup>124</sup> Many project negative trajectories for the countries as the damage of RASIM on society only

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<sup>121</sup> Max Hastings, "The Madness Of Reducing Our Armed Forces To A Ferry Service For Migrants," *Daily Mail*, September 6, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>122</sup> Berthold kohler, "Der verspätete Vielvölkerstaat," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 9, 2015, FAZ Archives.

<sup>123</sup> Richard Littlejohn, "This Child's Death Was Tragic But It Was Not Our Fault," *Daily Mail*, April 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>124</sup> Daily Mail, "BBC to Broadcast Song of Praise from Calais Church," *Daily Mail*, November 8, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

intensifies over time.<sup>125</sup> The inability for development and barbaric culture of the Orient seems detrimental for the survival of European civilization and prosperity as individuals in microscale and sovereignty in macroscale are under threat of the Other. One example comes from Britain where a verbal exchange between a cabbie and an actress gets linked to Belgium, the whole EU and comes back full circle to London which is being lost.

"THIS IS LONDON," was Barber's outraged reaction - a place that is a byword for tolerance and diversity. And so it is. But just two hours away, another great city was under lockdown because the authorities could no longer guarantee the safety of its people. Astonishingly, according to one Belgian official speaking yesterday on Radio 4, the population of Brussels, the capital of Europe, is 40 per cent Muslim. Shell-shocked politicians now admit there has been perilously little integration...Just as we can be relied upon to put up with Isil recruiters wearing the hateful, misogynist burka and spitting in the face of our democracy, or taxi drivers calling women disgusting for the sin of being happy and free. "THIS IS LONDON," said Frances Barber. Not for much longer, it won't be, not if we continue to meet certainty with doubt.<sup>126</sup>

This account, like many, marries immigration, radical Islamic terrorism, the survival of culture and freedom of the society. RASIM is represented by the cabbie who disapproves of the clothing choice of the actress. He is rude, dangerous as a man, barbaric and underdeveloped with his conservatism, brutal in the way he disrupts the great night of fun for the actress. He is the first sign of the Orientals are doing to Europe, ruining its peace and exerting their backwardness over the civilization of the region.

Overall, the representation of RASIM in the conservative media is more complex than some may contemplate with plenty of support for welcoming the refugees, as long as they are genuine, contempt in their bare life, never cease to be the other. The high numbers arriving threaten this support and exacerbate the understanding of siege of the biopolitical space by no other than the Orientals who are the opposite of the European self. Thus, economic, social, and

<sup>125</sup> Sue Reid, "Germany in a State of Siege," *Daily Mail*, September 26, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Sue Reid, "How Many Are Genuine?," *Daily Mail*, September 16, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Hitchens, "We Won't Save Refugees"; Jasper von Altenbockum, "Der Staat der CDU, Der Staat der SPD," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 14, 2015, FAZ Archives.

<sup>126</sup> Allison Pearson, "It's Not a Sin for British Women to Be Happy and Free," *The Daily Telegraph*, November 25, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

cultural threat for the well-being of the nation constitutes a frequent representation of RASIM in the conservative media, which is expected. Still, this chapter adds to the literature by exploring the possible reasoning behind each of these arguments through merits of bio/necropolitics and Orientalism. As long as, biopower operates and racism of it is built around the lines of race, gender, and religion as well as the Oriental misconceptions about the other and the self is reproduced, the discourses that are highly effective not only in informing the public but also for agenda setting are likely to be tipped against the well-being of the other to protect the self.

### **4.3. Cross-Country Differences**

This section briefly notes several stark differences in the UK and Germany in representation of RASIM even when the core of the argument aims towards similar notions and tries to give some answers as to reason why without scrutiny as this is not the main focus. First of all, even though victimization was the fifth most frequent representation of RASIM, it was the third for Germany while economic costs take third place in the UK. The cultural, societal, and economic threats were much more emphasized in the latter compared to Germany where the concerns about the well-being of the population often provided links to worrying resurgence of the far-right in the country. Terrorism as a potential threat arising with migration was the fourth most common notion in the UK, whereas in Germany there were only two articles entertaining this possibility which corresponds to 2%. It is possible that Germany's recent experience with holocaust leads to less overt Orientalizing and othering in the discourse. On the other hand, the UK has long normalized such understandings about the people of non-Western origins as an old colonial power.

A second finding is the frequency of deportation and border control discussion. Even though these policies were frequented by the newspapers of both countries. The deportation and the control of the borders were much more emphasized in the German newspapers as opposed

to the British, possibly due to the latter being an island and has only the Channel Tunnel to worry about. For Germany, a group of people that is completely absent in the British accounts, the Balkan people, frequently represented the illegitimate asylum seekers as opposed to the Syrians, who are the legitimate group for both countries. Thus, the geographical properties of each country play a role in shape of discourses where the proximity to the Balkan route defines as specific group of people as economic migrants for one country, the other country perceives the economic migrants in a similar light by is putting countries such as Pakistan, and Bangladesh as the source of the illegitimates.

Last finding for the conservative newspapers was one that has been the most intriguing as it relates to the operationalization of the victimization frame. In the UK, victimization frame has frequently been adopted with detailed accounts of misery of RASIM especially of the women and children to call for active involvement of the country in the region to stop the perpetrators that force RASIM to flee, ISIS and Assad. The militarization of the victimization frame is completely absent in the Germany accounts even though the armed forces are mentioned in a positive light as peaceful helper which enable voluntary returns and deportations. The military traditions and specific self-definitions of each country are highly influential in such operationalizations which clearly requires more scholarly engagement for further exploration.

## **5. Chapter II: Liberal Press Analysis**

Following the same logic of the previous, this chapter focuses on the common themes occurring in the liberal newspapers with examples of specific articulation and the theoretical reading regarding the implications of the discourse. Furthermore, this chapter draws on the convergence of discourses between conservative and liberal accounts in order to underline the theoretical

backgrounding of the ideas that informs the representation of the RASIM. Again, the last section briefly engages with the cross-country differences that emerge in the rhetoric.

The representation of RASIM in the liberal account heavily reflects humanitarian justification and thus brings victimization, moral obligation and savior frames along. Other frames are massification and economic cost frames that are also frequent. It is imperative to remind that none of the frames are mutually exclusive, as they all feed each other and frequently employed together. The most common of the frames is the victimization which has been found in 65% of all eighty-three articles that are analyzed for liberal newspapers. The massification frame is the second with 45% as the number of arrivals have been highest numbers Europeans have dealt with but still operationalization of this frame has sometime been towards victimization by emphasizing the need for help for the masses. The frames of the savior and moral obligation are tied at 34% as they are only different in nuance. The savior frame has been coded as in relation to the actual humanitarian acts while moral obligation encompasses the call to action as the right thing to do. In fifth place, authenticity frame occurs with 24%nt even though a third of these accounts are critical of the suspicion, whereas the rest call for differentiation and deportations. The last frame is the economic cost aspect with 24%. A few of these articles urges help despite the apparent high costs nevertheless recognize the damage of the moral action to the population.

This chapter is organized similarly to the previous. Below the general findings are explored and the consecutive sections analyze the frames through theoretical analysis of the examples from the sample. Differently than the previous chapter, this chapter also emphasizes the way in which the seemingly contradictory messages of the liberal newspapers are fundamentally informed by similar principles and representations of the Orient. The implications of such findings are striking as more pro-immigration account drawing on the same pool of Orientalist and bio/necropolitical arguments as anti-migration means that binaries that

essential differentiates us vs them, living and the dead, human and dehumanized bodies are being reproduced. This is largely to mobilize support for the people in need in the short term. However, such an essential differentiation of RASIM furthers the exclusion of them from the biopolitical space and in the long term inhibits possibility of integration by permanent othering of the individuals. Thus, pro-immigration accounts are counter-productive to their own aims of rehabilitation of RASIM in destination countries. The brief section in the end entertains the cross-country difference in representation of similar frames and ideas about the RASIM.

### **5.1. Bio/Necropolitics of Massification, Costs, and Authenticity**

The liberal newspapers despite being more supportive of immigration, still address the issues from the public discourse thus entertain the representations made by less favorable accounts. Moreover, the findings represented this chapter also reveals that the political spectrum is not clear-cut when it comes to immigration issues despite the overall problematization of it.

It is true that arrivals have peaked at historical numbers for Europe during this time period, however, as the literature suggests massification tends to numb the receiver of the message regardless of the meaning of the message itself. Thus, it is surprising to find articles that draw attention to the exodus or storms of asylum seekers and the inability of management due the sheer numbers in liberal accounts that overall represent the pro-migration voices of the mainstream. Still, there are many accounts of massification in liberal newspapers making this theme the second most frequent frame for the sample set of this research.<sup>127</sup> An example of this account can be found following Kurdi's death which heated up conversations about the dangers of the journeys of asylum seekers and European responses to it.

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<sup>127</sup> Robert Rossmann, "Die Macht schwindet," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, October 11, 2015, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* Archiv; The Guardian, "The Guardian View on Theresa May's Speech: Back to the Nasty Party," *The Guardian*, June 10, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Christiane Jacke, "Unter Zwang zurück," *Abendzeitung*, August 21, 2015, *Abendzeitung* Archiv, <https://www.abendzeitung-muenchen.de/inhalt.abschiebungen-unter-zwang-zurueck.bb0175ef-d8ca-41e6-8ce7-a02e40e5c052.html>.



That child's death is tragic and awful. But it isn't our fault. If it's anyone's, it's the fault of the murdering, raping hordes of ISIS who drove them from their homes. But also of the EU - all 28 countries of it. Because even as thousands of refugees and migrants bring chaos to Hungary and Germany, our European leaders are still bumbling around, unable to come up with any coherent solution to deal with this human catastrophe... And that's what we could usefully do now - save some of the hundreds of Syrian children all over Europe whose parents perished in perilous journeys. But what we cannot do is assimilate the whole of Syria into Europe.<sup>128</sup>

Many accounts of massification in the media recognizes the issues that come with it as Malone's account of recognition of chaos with the arrivals. The overwhelmed European nations under the pressure of high arrivals and the need for efficient systems of processing is not only common in the liberal framework, it is a demand that comes across the coverage of RASIM. The perception of arrivals primarily as problems is not extensively analyzed in the previous chapter due to the inherent bias against the other in the anti-immigration accounts. Thus, its reproduction by liberal accounts is noteworthy.

Kastner's justification for border closures in Germany to keep asylum management system from collapsing<sup>129</sup> is reminding of the biopolitical justifications of exclusion and arguments for Fortress Europe. It is true that full border closure is not a demand found in this side of the political spectrum. Nevertheless, the same accounts appeal for quotas, controlled intake as the political and public discourses are growing more polarized and tensions are increasing.<sup>130</sup> In kind, the representation of RASIM as an issue that is disrupting the peace and harmony of the nation and the need for damage control through even temporary states of exclusion.

The damage to the harmony, economic projections, terror incidents, and administrative issues also reveal the cost and threat angles in the liberal newspapers. Even though there are few outright accusations of welfare free riding compared to the conservative accounts, how the

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<sup>128</sup> Carol Malone, "End Blame Game and Save the Kids," *The Daily Mirror*, June 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>129</sup> Bernd Kastner, "Anführer gesucht," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 15, 2015, *Süddeutsche Zeitung Archiv*.

<sup>130</sup> Rossmann, "Die Macht schwindet."

populations are worse off due to the arrivals are represented in a more complex manner. A *Süddeutsche Zeitung* article projects that the government spending on migration alone may bring the end of a surplus economy in Germany.<sup>131</sup> Others recognize the economic burden of the help and potential for terrorists attacks connected with migration but still endorse it as moral obligation of the civilized states.<sup>132</sup> The linking migration to broader issues constitute biological threat for the survival is again an expected maneuver of conservative accounts but similar opinion can be found in liberal newspapers such as *Guardian*:

To preserve human rights and prevent a wave of authoritarian governments taking power, you have to accept that some security concerns are real, not a plot by an evil group of conspirators to create a “moral panic”. You must also understand that migration and radical Islamism are changing Europe now, and that if you want a say in the direction your country is going you must first earn the right to be heard by facing that change honestly.<sup>133</sup>

The example, like many, sees the incoming asylum seekers as the main driver of the far-right movements in Europe. Following the Paris attacks, the radical Islamic terrorism marries the issue of migration despite multiple perpetrators being European citizens. So, the honest confrontation with the issues, despite the willingness to take the refugees in, requires that their presence is disrupting the biopolitical order. So, the idea that the members of the sovereign nations of Europe can be better off in the exclusion of RASIM is omnipresent across the political spectrum and countries.

Subsequently, the authenticity question arises within the liberal discourse as an answer to how to protect the population while also answering the necropolitical subjects amid Europe. This topic is one of the most widely covered issues of the liberal newspapers as well as the conservative ones. The idea that our compassion, help, and capacity to withstand the disruptions

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<sup>131</sup> Nikolaus Piper, “Aufschwung der Flüchtlinge,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, December 31, 2015, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* Archiv.

<sup>132</sup> The *Guardian*, “The *Guardian* View on the Calais Migrants: Europe’s Shared Challenge,” *The Guardian*, June 24, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Pat Flanagan, “We Rescue Migrants...While Trying to Ship Them All Out,” *The Daily Mirror*, October 7, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>133</sup> Nick Cohen, “After Paris, Europe May Never Feel as Free Again,” *The Guardian*, November 14, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

of the outsiders in our society is limited brings the trade-off between making survive and letting die. It is already presumed that the population is made live. Using that logic, for the genuine refugees to be helped economic migrants must be let die. Part of the discourse distances itself from what makes the genuine refugee.<sup>134</sup>

Who does not meet the criteria, is not an EU citizen and has no right to asylum, may not stay in Germany... [I]f the country is to create the good reception of asylum seekers, "we" must make decisions - even those at the cost other migrants going. Everything and everyone, we cannot do it.<sup>135</sup>

The legal definitions, criteria and regulations are fully trusted in making this decision so there is nothing wrong with the differentiation between who the population makes survive and lets die. So, this clear-cut method allows *us* to pinpoint who is undeserving and is invading the space opened for the genuine refugee. Some others also include extra-legal corporeal criteria for the recognition of refugees which may include some of the individuals that are excluded by the legal definition as well as excluding the individuals who are not performative of the archetype.<sup>136</sup> Nevertheless, once the authenticity established, the individuals who are pushed the necropolitical space by their failure to fulfill these criteria are represented in the same way. This invasion or theft is not special in the case that these individuals are already a biological threat for the survival of biopolitical order and the individuals of bare life, real refugee, who are included by their exclusion are still within the realm of the biopower. Thus, the subjects of necropolitics also threaten the people with bare life. This is where the theft of welfare and taxpayer money frame emerges<sup>137</sup> in the liberal newspapers even though it is rather scarce compared its counterpart.

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<sup>134</sup> Nick Cohen, "If You Hate the Migrants in Calais, You Hate Yourself," *The Guardian*, February 8, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Roland Preuss, "Seehofers Abschreckung," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, July 23, 2015, Süddeutsche Zeitung Archiv.

<sup>135</sup> Kurt Kister, "Was wir schaffen," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 19, 2015, Süddeutsche Zeitung Archiv.

<sup>136</sup> The Guardian, "The Guardian View on the Calais Migrants: Europe's Shared Challenge"; Carol Malone, "No More Ifs and Buts on Migrants," *The Daily Mirror*, November 29, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>137</sup> Carol Malone, "Time We Pulled up the Welcome Mat," *The Daily Mirror*, June 28, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

Even though liberal newspapers are imagined to contradict arguments of the conservative ones through a fight as simplified as let-them-in or keep-them-out, the reality is much more complex and is more concerning in its complexity. The fact that not only similar themes are popular in both accounts, but also the same notions about RASIM and his influence on the destination countries reveals the lack of humanizing accounts of RASIM in the mainstream media. Liberal representations are not necessarily offering different presentations per se but offer a wider selection of capacity to absorb individuals into the bare life and recognize the same representations but still commit themselves to take refugees in not because they recognize the human quality of RASIM and disagree with the seemingly contradictory accounts, but they are welcoming despite the costs and the threats because of morality and self-definition of European civilization.

## 5.2. Orientalism of Victims and Saviors

The determination of authenticity quickly paves the way for European self-definition to be the knight in shining armor. The victimization frame that is commonly linked to the European savior is the most employed frame by the liberal newspapers as it is the way to justify letting biological threat come closer into the biopolitical space and control racism. Moreover, it also reaffirms the self-definition for the ideal Occidental vis-à-vis the ideal Oriental. The liberal discourse represents RASIM in the light that most Orientalist accounts does, as in need of help of the mighty European civilization. But they differ in the way that Occident is also an archetype not all Europeans can live up to. A Guardian article asserts:

We want to fight for a set of values, for civility and peace. This is why the European Union was founded – not for bond spreads and stability pacts, but for these values. If we ignore them now, while the Mediterranean seethes, and children drown, it is Europe itself that we lose.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Matteo Renzi, “The Mediterranean Migrant Emergency Is Not Italy’s. It Is Europe’s,” *The Guardian*, June 23, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

Thus, the self-definition of the Occident is dependent on these values of morality and civilization which can only be realized by the fulfilment of the white men's burden vis-à-vis RASIM. Another example furthers the self-definition being in need of this action to be reproduced as it argues:

While Germany welcomes refugees from a humanitarian crisis that our government bears guilt in allowing to escalate, we spit bile at the sight of desperate people trying to make it on to Eurostar...To the rest of Europe these days we're turning into a nasty, inwardlooking nation that fears foreigners and lacks humanity. It's easy to see why.Maybe Cameron believed he was given a mandate to ditch Britain's centuries-old tradition of being at the forefront of taking in the world's weary, huddled masses, so he was only carrying out orders. As the Germans know, that can happen.<sup>139</sup>

So here Britain's Europeanness, its history of civilization in morality is being called into question as the ideal Oriental is salient where the savior cannot rise up to the task of fulfilling the requirements of being the Occident. Such representations of being the savior with reproduction of historical notions about self<sup>140</sup> are mobilized with words of shame alongside others of pride as one fulfills its duties by its identity.<sup>141</sup> This pride does not cancel out the bad qualities of the victims who are inherently other and dangerous where metaphors of storm are operationalized and problems of the Oriental's incompatibility are recognized.<sup>142</sup>

Overall, the lack of dehumanizing accounts is also reflected in the employment of the frames of victimization. The word lack may be criticized to the extent that there are voices that raise some of the challenges this research poses to the mainstream discourses. Still, less than 4% of the sample set of the positive accounts shapes a representation with individualization, historicization, contextualization without overly victimizing the individuals apart from giving them voice to talk about their experiences, sad or otherwise. If the individuals are not deemed

<sup>139</sup> Brian Reade, "Is This Nasty Little Britain Really Us?," *The Daily Mirror*, May 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

<sup>140</sup> Alison Phillips, "Let's Let Them in... & Learn from Them," *The Daily Mirror*, September 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Katharine Viner, "The Plight of Refugees Is the Crisis of Our Times," *The Guardian*, November 24, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Sophie Anfang, "Flüchtlingsrat: Seehofers Pläne sind 'brandgefährlich,'" *Abendzeitung*, July 23, 2015, Abendzeitung Archiv.

<sup>141</sup> Matthias Drobinski, "Neue Heimat," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, December 30, 2015, Süddeutsche Zeitung Archiv.

<sup>142</sup> Viner, "The Plight of Refugees Is the Crisis of Our Times"; Christian Wernicke, "Diese Deutschen," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 21, 2015, Süddeutsche Zeitung Archiv.

to be human, even if the short-term goals are achieved somehow by increasing the number of refugees accepted and rallying up more funds for the refugee camps and so forth, in the long term the inherent compatibility of RASIM still create a dilemma of inhibited integration.

Multiple articles from the Guardian respond to the criticisms of victimization, which arise from artificial reasons such as non-rational/emotional news coverage rather than dehumanizing or silencing coverage, by simply stating that “it’s the people and stories that move us” and victimization works, and it is only answer to solve the issues of RASIM.<sup>143</sup> However, what is left out from this calculation is the dilemma of saving lives in the immediate action but molding those lives into bare life of Orientals who can never belong, participate, and have agency. By no means, this research concludes that all pro-immigration voices are problematic and should change, and all victimization is bad as a lot of individuals arrive with stories that might be hard to tell, hear, fathom. Still, Orientalist accounts and biopolitical reasoning that pushes many into bare life and necropolitical deathscapes can be reduced. The discourse can be enriched with contextualized, historicized, and individualized discourses which is already emerging in new media platforms. However, the outreach of print media in informing individuals about issues that they lack personal experiences with is still beyond the outreach and effectiveness of new media forms especially in terms of mediating experiences and agenda-setting.

### **5.3. Cross-Country Differences**

In a similar fashion, this section gives a brief account of differences between coverage across countries in order to share some unexpected findings that may lead to further studies. First of all, the militarization of victimization as a tool for justification of military involvement has

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<sup>143</sup> The Guardian, “The Guardian View on the Refugee Crisis: It Is People and Stories That Move Us, Not Statistics,” *The Guardian*, April 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic; Jamie Fahey, “The Guardian’s Decision to Publish Shocking Photos of Aylan Kurdi,” *The Guardian*, July 9, 2015, LexisNexis Academic.

emerged in the liberal discourses as well. Apart from this, Germany has been more of the source of these unexpected results on this side of the political spectrum.

The German accounts have been heavily influenced by the history of holocaust. Despite references to the event and parallels between the current predicaments with WWII, almost half of the German articles have some sort of positioning of the argument vis-à-vis the implications of their past atrocities. Still, the second finding shows that biopolitical order is more readily visible in the country compared to the UK. Most of the articles in this study has not centralized the issues of RASIM rather has offered representations due to their effects on the German political, social, and economic life. Even though such articles exist in the UK sample, it is not the dominating style of writing on RASIM where German accounts rarely centers a whole article on the topic.

Lastly, the administrative costs have been a common feature of the German accounts where the high numbers are often related to the pressures of bureaucracy of the country, whereas British accounts only touch on administrative costs within the context of countries of first entry such as Italy or Greece. However, this may be largely due to sheer number of individuals arriving in the country as one of the most welcoming Western European countries amongst the area of free movement, Germany has received more asylum applications than any of its neighbors.

## **6. Conclusion**

This research has filled a gap in the literature by offering a comprehensive analysis of representations by conservative and liberal newspapers, using both quality and tabloid accounts from two countries to diversify the context. The results of are not only striking in uncovering the dilemma of the pro-immigration discourses, but also have also deconstructed the vilified conservative accounts. The results come to show that representations across the political

spectrum and different countries are complex. What needs to be more complex is the mediated realities for experiences of RASIM.

It may be worrying to see the amount of the similarities in informative notions about identity between conservative and liberal accounts. However, if not fully diminished, these frames that inform any position from the day-to-day live prejudices to the political debates can be emphasized in its use in a way to recognize the Orientalist or biopolitical exclusions in forming ideas. More and more accounts attempt to reverse the processes that led to the universal humanitarian subject and the security mechanisms that shape our world today. Their adoption into the mediums that reach the corners of each population may take time. However, historically place in context and individualized discourse about RASIM is not non-existent.

In the meantime, there are vast amount of possibilities for further research. One of the limitations here is that the data gathered for this research has been selected and coded by the research and the study would benefit from more coders to create checks for intercoder reliability as well as input by other researchers for sample set saturation process, as these aspects increase the subjectivity in data selection and analysis for the purposes of this research. Despite the expected convergence of narratives between tabloid and quality newspapers in a time crisis, further study also investigating this dimension comparatively may unravel differences as the author has noted differences that she subjectively deems noteworthy.

Secondly, even though this research aims to explore more macro-tendencies of the representations across Europe, the scope of the work has been largely condensed by time, word count, language barrier, and data access limitations. The cases can be extended to include various backgrounds, national myths, and understandings of aliens.



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