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Media Representation of Mass Migration in Germany

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Introduction

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees more than 82 million people are displaced today. This is the highest number since the end of World War II [1].

I would wake up every morning anticipating the bus for school, while I would wait, the news would be on keeping me company. In my town in Manchester, UK the popular morning news show was BBC Breakfast. A government owned, but not ran, media company that has expanded worldwide and is considered a reputable source. I can't remember the first time that I heard about the refugee crisis on the television, but all I know is that soon it was dominant in the constant news cycle. It penetrated classes at school, conversations with friends and was a prominent force for political discussion for 16 year olds.

I come from a multicultural background, a family with mixed ethnicities and a history of immigration. In the short family history I have access to, not a single generation has stayed in one country for more than one generation. I come from a working class family, dedicated to improving the lives of ourselves and those around us. Growing up I had access to education that my parents did not. I was able to develop critical thinking and explore topics that those that came before me never had the chance to. Growing up I always taught to care about those around me and to help wherever I could.

While I can't in good conscience say I have helped every single time I was able to, I am able to say that I have developed at least some level of concern for the world around me. The refugee

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[1] ("Teaching about Refugees")

crisis on the news for me was upsetting. It was around this time where I began to explore my political affiliations and the things I thought needed changing in the world. Coming from my family's history of immigration I am also pan-european and hold citizenship in several european countries. I am privileged to be able to locate and relocate in some of the most developed countries in the world without hassle. So when the UK was refusing to accept refugees from France, I was angry. I did all I could as a 16 year old, and later an 18 year old. I would protest and get involved with private charity to help wherever possible. Hitting 18 I began to fulfil my duty and voted in every election I could.

Of course my innate desire to explore the world kicked in and I found myself applying to colleges in the USA and left my home to learn more about the world and how people think. Liberal arts was a whole new experience that really threw me off. I found stable ground and started to take a good variety of courses. I decided to take German knowing that I was interested only because I had been reading so much about the country in the news. I enjoyed the language, and as I explored my academic interests further it stayed with me, until I decided that I needed to explore my curiosity for the refugee crisis. Having the affinity for those who have left homes behind I wanted to explore how these populations were accepted and perceived as they arrived. The phrase itself ' the refugee crisis' can be a heavy point of contention. For the purpose of this senior integrative project I see the 'crisis' defined by Europe's handling of it. In no way do I mean that the 'crisis' is the influx of people.

The culmination to these interests and this journey is this senior integrative project. In this research project I will explore the presentation and the tactics of the media in two key mass

migrations in Germany's history- the Turkish Guest Worker Programme and the refugee crisis I grew up around.

The research project will explore articles and their content. How they portray refugees, headline usage and word usage. Some of the theoretical models I introduce require knowledge of the functioning behind a publication. Background functioning of a newspaper is private and hence difficult to obtain. Therefore any theories requiring this information will not be present in this research project. My hope is that by exploring the newspapers and their online platforms in this case study and analysing them through the media theory lenses we can learn to be conscious of these methods as we interact with the media.

The Federal Republic of Germany *(Bundesrepublik Deutschland)* has a long and sophisticated past. There have been elements of the nation's culture which bleed through from this past.The concepts of Heimat and national identity are the biggest elements to still be present. Both of these terms are difficult to define, and are in some cases negatively used to exclude those from belonging in Germany. Because of this long, winding past, it can be easy to get distracted by its history. In order to accurately frame this project we must keep it within its scope. For this reason the lens I will examine Germany's history through will start in the post-war period where the need for guest workers arises.

The articles I will be analysing will be looked at in a variety of ways. I will explore the language used, any imagery included and if there are common themes and threads between multiple

institutions or articles. I will also explore the articles and newspapers through a media studies lens. Some of these theories will touch on the significance of paper versus digital media, others will focus on how we as a population interact with the media. I will also begin to look at the works of key academics in the field, such as Marshall McLuhan and how his theories are still mostly relevant, but have been expanded and modified by theorists like Dominic Boyer to fit in the contemporary scene.

Section 1

The background to the Guest Worker Programme

Putting Germany in a lens

> We arrived to barracks with shared bathrooms and kitchens in the middle. It was
> for me as an Italian -- I don't want to say that living conditions were so good in
> Italy -- but wooden barracks were something incomprehensible for us.
> (Antachopoulos)

The first Guest Worker Programme was approved in December 1955. The doors to Germany's struggling economy were opened. Before the Turkish guest workers, the focal point of this section, arrived the Italians. Italy was the first nation to enter into a bi-lateral agreement with the former West German Republic (Martin 2). Coming out of the war Germany had a shortage of workers and a country to rebuild. Italy on the other hand had a surplus of workers. Naturally an agreement was made. Soon documents were signed and people began to move.

After the war, the former West German Republic desired little more than to rebuild its economy. Much of the country had to be rebuilt, which required manual, hard labour. Firstly there were programmes that tried to employ people to work to clear up the rubble across Germany. The aptly named Trümmerfrauen[2] were some of the first to be tasked with this. While these women were decorated as heroes later on, the actual effect they had has been blown out of proportion (Damaschke). Many women and men eventually felt like this task was reminiscent of work required by political prisoners and started to see it as a punishment (Damaschke). So while much of the clearing was done, there was still a need to introduce new workers to the economy.

This 'unskilled' work was one of the few things that triggered the first Guest Worker Programme. The new republic was also receiving assistance from other nations in the form of assistance packages, the most famous of which being the Marshall Plan.The Marshall Plan specifically provided money to nations rebuilding from the war to protect their commitment to democracy ("Marshall Plan | Summary & Significance"). This commitment was held up as a direct confrontation to the USSR and the spread of communism as a national ideology ("Marshall Plan | Summary & Significance"). This worked in tandem with the domino theory that allowing one nation to adopt communism would have a knock-on effect (Bell). Later this would be the reason why Turkey's involvement in the Guest Worker Programme would be cemented. At this point it is important to note that Germany is not one whole nation. It exists in the form of the Western Federal Republic of Germany and the Eastern German Democratic Republic. While ultimately it will be the former West that entered into a deal with Turkey, the

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[2] "Rubble Women'

East did also have its own versions of the Guest Worker program, with workers being known as contract workers (Vertragsarbeiter) (Seifert).

The Italians arrived during the so-called Wirtschaftswunder[3]. In order to keep up with this, workers who could perform in factories and assembly lines were essential to maintain the quickly rebounding economy. Although plans for other countries to enter into a similar bi-lateral agreement were in development, the construction of the Berlin wall in August 1961 reduced the timeline. Before the construction of the wall Italy, Spain and Greece had already signed onto the Guest Worker Programme. Many East Germans worked across the border in the former West and would take home better pay than if they had worked in the East. After the Berlin Wall was constructed, the large-scale flow of workers reduced dramatically. Therefore, the program was to be expanded at a greater rate.

The West German state initially did not want to enter into a deal with Turkey; they had enough workers and the 'culture' difference would be too much. Workers from other countries also did not have 'German culture' and so this reference to culture must refer to 'western' culture. As modern scholars know this 'western' culture is not homogenous and so is used typically to avoid saying outright that they don't want people who follow other religions or look different. The United States of America on the other hand wanted to secure allies as a way to envision the Marshall Plan. Turkey was one of the key countries to this plan as mentioned earlier. Stopping Turkey from allying with the USSR was one of the key goals of the Marshall Plan and a component of the domino theory. After pressure from the United States and Turkey, the former west entered into a bi-lateral agreement with Turkey on the 30th October 1961.

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[3] 'economic miracle'

What was the Guest Worker Programme?

Guest workers were intended to be flexible, temporary, unskilled workers who could help bolster the German economy and then return to their home country with savings. A guest worker was meant to come to Germany, learn new skills and earn more money than they would have at home. The idea behind this is that the returning workers would be able to invest into their home communities. Half of all Turkish guest workers would eventually return home, many would even be sending money home to their families and communities to help support education and progress (Ulku 2).

Turkish guest workers initially came from rural areas, where job opportunities were limited and wages were low. In the 70's Turkey was expanding their economy to be industrialised, but as that expanded so did their borrowing (Onder 262). Inflation rates climbed into the triple digits and as a result a 15% unemployment plagued the country (263). Exporting workers to help local support was a method to combat the economic failures. These workers would have to go to the nearest recruitment centres (usually run by the German consulates (Vierra 20) and register themselves (20). Prospective workers would have to undergo a 'physical' (20). These usually consisted of invasive medical checks. Whilst this was performed under the claim that they did not want any foreign diseases to enter the country, there are also cases of women being checked to see if they were pregnant (20). Should an individual pass all checks and be approved, they would be supplied with some pocket money to cover their expenses on their trip to Germany and to last them until their first paycheck (20).

Guest workers traditionally worked in low or semi-skilled industries. These industries included agricultural, industrial or domestic work. The pay and conditions were not ideal, but in most accounts better than what these workers would get back home. This will be explored further in the next section, many of the workers were from rural areas of Turkey and so had low incomes compared to the wages they would be receiving at home.

What was being German?

Who is German? Does one have to live in Germany? Work there? Die there? Must a German speak German? These are all questions that Germany has had to deal with in its history. Now it also has the added complex layers of having 'foreign' populations come in as guests. The 'guests' are easily described as being guest workers, foreigners, migrants. But what then happens to their children born in the country? Are they second generation-immigrants? That seems to be the most accepted way to refer to them. But what about the third generation or even the fourth. When does the individual become German?

German identity has been brought into question since the country's first formation in 1871 ("Germany - Germany from 1871 to 1918"). It has had many bumps in the road. As Mary Fulbrook notes, after 1945 the idea of the common past became an issue as one group would see that their identity leads back to Hitler, and the other path fails to adequately stop him (Fulbrook 233). The West German Republic in general had told themselves that there was no way to be proud to be a German (234). To oppose this the East German people were fed propaganda that claimed the evils of the past lives with the West, even if personal memories would serve individuals differently (234).

The point being made here is that there is no collective answer for what being a German is. Every person has different criteria and different standards for how that criteria should be met. Fulbrook puts it best when she says that a national identity:

> Should not be refined as a reality floating somehow above the maelstrom of political debate and struggle, or the clash of competing moral values. Collective identities are malleable and constantly changing according to experience and circumstance. (238)

This winding and changing identity will now have to accept the influx of guest workers and their eventual desire to stay in Germany. Reformulating and changing the identity is not just a job for guest workers to deal with, but also the German people. It is this ongoing conflict of trying to fit newcomers into a 'German identity' that will cause problems for Turkish guest workers planning to settle in Germany after their temporary residency ends.

The Turkish Experience

Who were the Turkish guest workers?

Turks arrived from each region of Turkey. They represented those from cities, and those from rural areas. In fact, the amount of Turks heralding from rural areas eclipsed the amount from the urban areas because most guest workers were lower or middle class and came from rural towns and villages (Vierra 25). This was because the wages in rural areas left much more to be desired. Men were the first to go, quickly followed by women. All of these workers had to pass the health

checks first, once deemed fit they were off. Due to what the Guest Worker Programme was meant to be, you could make the naive assumption that these were people who needed to earn money for their current or future families and had the conviction to make this brave step.

What was the early experience?

The Journey

After the individual was cleared medically, they were given their pocket money and sent onto the next available train. According to a report by the online website *SPIEGEL international* a group of individuals referred to the train as the 'black train' ("Fifty Years of Turkish Immigration: 'Guest Workers' Relive Their Journey to Germany"). A report like this helps us understand experiences more deeply as it is an interview of a guest worker. This means the account comes from a lived experience. While this was a journey that would be near inescapable for all outbound to Germany, the experience was near universal. Young men and women would be scared of the journey ahead. Cosar claims that he had to leave behind his wife. After a while the adventurers would settle and start becoming excited about the journey ahead. There are stories of men playing music and dancing on the train. This afterall was the first time these 20 something year olds were leaving their homes ("Fifty Years of Turkish Immigration: 'Guest Workers' Relive Their Journey to Germany "). The excitement began to plateau as they arrived in Germany.

The First Days

Soon many guest workers learned more about their placements, but first they learnt about their

dormitories and strict living conditions. After learning about their new homes they then had to

live in these conditions. These conditions were not universal. While a lot of literature exists on

the Turkish guest workers that moved to West Berlin, there were those who lived in more rural,

potentially idyllic areas of Germany. Naturally, but not always, those who lived with fewer other

workers had better living quarters, but not necessarily living conditions. Living in urban areas

gave guest workers access to many more people from different and similar cultures. Typically

cities also have many spaces where you can find belonging. Smaller towns and cities tend to be

more homogenous. For a guest worker to go to a less populated area means they have less

community building chances and may feel more isolated.

While the excitement off the train and into the dormitories was not the same as on the train, a lot

of guest workers did eventually find things that energised them. In larger cities many guest

workers could find fun in the cultural dance cafes. They were able to mingle with others, Turkish

or German. Stories exist of Turkish men being thrilled to talk to German women and to explore

freedoms they previously did not have in their family homes. After this short introduction to

German society, they soon had to do what they came to do, work.

Turkish Germans in their space

Sarah Thomsen Vierra has a very recent look into the population of Turkish guest workers and

their experiences in Germany. She examines West Berlin, and specifically she looks at the

Sprengelkiez neighbourhood. This was a neighbourhood that began to house new Turkish guest

workers when the programme began. In her book, Vierra takes a close look at the way these

guest workers were interacting with the space around them. These sections will explore the different areas of space that guest workers inhabited. There could be many ways to categorise this, and no way is best. I will be looking at this through the lens of the workplace, women outside of the workplace, and children. I think these divisions are suitable enough to see the range of experiences.

Vierra's work aligns with theories on how people exist in their spaces. Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, analyses power through the lens of a comprehensive 'theory of society.' In his book *La Distinction* he discusses the way that a person navigates the world. He explores how one strives to fit within the social structures around us and that in our attempt to fit in we learn from the world. He calls this theory habitus (Bourdieu 175). Vierra addresses the habitus of newly arrived Turkish guest workers in Germany.

At work

The workplace in Germany faced a major demographic shift from 1960 to 1974 (Vierra 27). In between these years more than one million people had migrated from Turkey to the Federal Republic of Germany. Many of these workers arrived in West Berlin. As West Berlin had found itself deep in East Germany and many came to the conclusion that if the Cold War became hot, West Berlin would be a likely battlefield. Understandably this meant that getting people to leave other parts of Germany and to settle in West Berlin was a struggle (26). This means companies based in West Berlin (that required guest workers) had their worker demographic change significantly (26).

Many guest workers found themselves in assembly lines or other labour intensive jobs (29).

Many guest workers were not able to speak German well, with some getting through their jobs

with simple yes no responses.Those that did have some control over the language were the ones

who found themselves in roles where they would be the communicator between the workers and

supervisors (31). Other than this disconnect, workers generally had the same working conditions

that previous assembly line workers would have had, this does not mean that they were great.

Individuals would report long hours (39), few breaks and tough manual work. In the early days

Vierra reports that many social groups were made in the workplace, and when guest workers

began to find permanent homes, it was these groups people would look to for help (31). While

work was a large part of the Turkish guest worker experience, it was not the only part.

Women

In general women had similar experiences at work, but could potentially have very different

experiences outside of the workplace. As guest workers had made their bases in Germany, they

began to bring family members; this might include partners and children.

With the introduction of female partners, stereotypes of women being isolated and forced to stay

home were both manifested and exaggerated. Tevfik Baser's movie, *40m2 (1986)*, garnered

much attention thanks to the political and cultural climate it was born into. The movie portrays

the life of a woman who is wed to a guest worker. Her freedoms are limited and she has to adapt

and eventually escape from what seems like a hell hole.

While these stories may be true, and there are examples of women who had restricted lives, it

was not necessarily the norm. The reason these cases of marriages are known as a stereotype is

because they were often misrepresented in the media for their apparent illustration of extreme

cultural differences. Disregarding those cultural exaggerations, women did socialise and spend time outside of the house. This isn't to say that the social lives of women were perfect, they still had the joint pressures of mostly turkish muslim houses on them and the pressures of their own desires. For this reason many women chose to socialise outside with each other, where it was more 'acceptable'. While this gave freedoms to women in this situation, it wasn't always met with positivity from the media. Media pieces began comparing women socialising in parks and cafes to a 'scene resembling an Antolian village' (Vierra 92).

Children

Children may seem like an odd choice to include in this analysis as minors were not allowed to be guest workers. Despite not being guest workers, children eventually find their way into the picture one way or another. Pregnant women were forbidden from becoming guest workers. Women at the start of the programme were not allowed to bring children. So where do these children come from? Two places. Firstly, guest workers were eventually allowed to bring their children. Secondly, guest workers began to have children in Germany. There are stories of guest workers settling with German partners, and in those cases the children didn't struggle as much. However those that were immigrants or born to two guest workers could have problems going forwards.

The German schooling system was not ready to deal with an influx of students that had poor or non-existent German language skills. Their way of dealing with it was not uniform, some schools offered English classes for students. Others just pushed them through the system until they were no longer their problem. Some workplaces that had guest workers would give classes outside of work times for either individuals or families to attend. Children who grew up with these

identities went on to be the second generation of Turkish immigrants in Germany. Many more problems arise for children beyond this period, but it is not within the scope of this project.

What did the media have to say?

Initial media

Most of the initial media that exists around the Turkish Guest Worker Programme is legislative. One example was a statistical study to see what the allocation of guest workers should be. It noted that early on the Turkish guest workers began to outnumber other guest worker groups in cities (Kohlhammer 151). Early on there was a lot of talk around logistics, was there a need for new guest workers? Had the economic miracle not worked for itself already? As mentioned earlier in this research project, Germany did not want to enter into a deal with Turkey, but was carefully guided into it by United States policy. Just because the conversations were legislative, it does not mean that the media was not casting judgments on the guest workers to be. Many people made their opinions known either by writing articles or interacting with the government. One Bundestag member was opposed to the bill as 'Turks were too far culturally from Germans to be functional' (Vierra 23).

The next media that really began to shift and address the programme was actually corporate media. Many large companies that took on a large group of guest workers found themselves including pieces for their new workers. Siemens is a great example. Beginning in 1962 they began to incorporate Turkish columns on the back of their internal magazine. The columns

ranged from showing what resources were available to workers, how to communicate with their superiors, and even educational pieces on what Germans like to do for fun. After a few years there were even sections in the magazine by Turkish workers who had a cultural group. They held 'Heimatabende'[4] for new workers ("Ausländische Folklore im Kulturkreis in Siemens Berlin" 18). By having a place where guest workers were able to interact with the corporate culture and the local area, the transition to living in a new place becomes easier.

As time went on, many guest workers decided to stay. They bought homes, opened small businesses, sent children to school, and most importantly were more visible in the community in larger numbers. It was at this point that the media changed. No longer was it just articles on how Turkish guest workers could be helping the economy. Reporting it shifted to opinion and more polarised views. Reports ranged on the spectrum, with many being neutral, some positive and some negative. There is one piece that lives in infamy. It is racist, it is abhorrent and quite frankly difficult to read. But it was published. 'Die Türken kommen - rette sich, wer kann' (The Turks are coming - save yourself if you can) was published on the 29th of July 1973 in an edition of *Der Spiegel*, one of the most widely read publications in Germany.`

This article preempts Huntington and delves into the Clash of Civilizations years before it was to be published. In this article the Turks are prophesied to turn the neighbourhoods of Berlin into scenes like the 'ghettos' of Harlem. They compare the job seeking Turks to swarms of locusts from 'the highlands of Antolia'. They use vocabulary relating the influx of workers to invaders from the crusades. The use of historical comparison and biblical language is a clear attempt to join these ideas in the reader's minds and to make associations where there are none. It is pieces

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[4] Translates to a home cultural evening- essentially enjoying Turkish culture to feel at home

like this one that become popular. I will compare this piece, and others to modern day pieces in the final two sections to see why it is that these polarised views gain more popularity to show that there is a difference and that the inception of online publications has changed the mediasphere.

Section 2

The Refugee Crisis Explained

The refugee concept is a relatively new one. In reality, it was only in the years after World War II that it became widespread, as European governments attempted to find a solution for the sorting internally and externally displaced persons (Malkki 6) in their borders. Many migrants were placed in old labour and concentration camps in Germany in the years after the war, perhaps foreshadowing the quality of future refugee camps. In her article "Refugees and Exile," Lisa Malkki claims that postwar shame in Europe, coming from nations' refusal to provide asylum to so many Holocaust survivors, was a major factor in the establishment and structure of international refugee law (10).

Conflicts in North Africa and the Middle East have resulted in massive influxes of asylum seekers into Europe since 2014. Germany has not only taken in the largest number of asylum seekers, but it has also pushed other European Union member states to take in more asylum seekers, giving it a global reputation as a prominent proponent of human rights in the European Union. While images of German residents overflowing train stations in Munich and other towns to welcome migrants did once dominate news cycles, there is growing anti-immigration sentiment in Germany, which has taken the shape of anti-immigration violence at its most

extreme. However, this is not the first eruption of violence on immigrants in Germany. A group

of xenophobic arsonists set fire to a mostly wooden house in Solingen, western Germany on May

29, 1993. Five Turkish women and girls were assassinated. This act of violence would be one

that would exist in Germany's postwar history as a reminder that far-right xenophobia still

existed (Fürstenau). As seen here violence does exist in Germany towards migrants and

exploring how the newspapers portray migrants can help us to understand if their work is

accurate and ethical.

How to understand the papers?

The first step to analyse media on guest workers and refugees is to put them into perspective.

Firstly, we are looking at mass media. Included in this are corporations and businesses that own

media platforms such as radio, television, publishing and even movies (Potter 32). This would

then mean that this definition does not apply to small independent creators, although one could

argue that even independent creators have agendas. While they may have agendas, they have no

controlling structures and so do not fit the models I will introduce. For the purpose of my

research project I will allow smaller publishing companies to count under 'mass media' but with

the knowledge that the smaller the reach of the paper, the less likely they are to conform to the

models.

The Five Filters

To begin understanding the papers I will look at them as a collective through the 5 filters that

Noam Chomsky solidified and defined in his 1988 book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political*

Economy of the Mass Media. If there are any exceedingly important papers that fit into a category there will be a deeper look into the effect that is present.

1. **OWNERSHIP**

   The first has to do with ownership. Mass media firms are big corporations. Often, they are part of even bigger conglomerates. Their end game? Profit. And so it's in their interests to push for whatever guarantees that profit. Naturally, critical journalism must take second place to the needs and interests of the corporation. (Chomsky)

Throughout my initial analysis of the papers I did talk about revenue and the desire for profits, and while Chomsky's second filter focuses more on advertising, his first looks specifically at ownership and money. In terms of the papers I looked at, all are owned by large firms and even conglomerates. Das Bild in particular is owned by Alex Springer SE which is the largest publishing company in Europe. Having these large corporations being finance focused means that there may be shortfalls in reporting. By supporting politicians' views or muting a story for personal gain, the scope of what is reported, or how it is reported, is changed and has the potential to change the public's perception of an issue.

2. **ADVERTISING**

   The second filter exposes the real role of advertising. Media costs a lot more than consumers will ever pay. So who fills the gap? Advertisers. And what are the advertisers paying for? Audiences. And so it isn't so much that the media are

selling you a product — their output. They are also selling advertisers a product

— YOU. (Chomsky)

Filter number two is quite simple to understand, if an advert is on the screen, you are seeing it. If you are seeing an advert, the advertiser is paying the host—in this case the online publication—money. This is only paid out through hits (seeing the advert) or in the other set of cases clicks (clicking an advert for a product). From this construction it is very easy to see that more views equals more revenue. As digital media has increased the competition of media outlets, creating a headline that draws a viewer in (even if it is unreliable) is more favourable than a less 'interesting' but more factual headline (Chen et al. 81).

Exploring this further, I went onto each website and tried to see if there were any websites that particularly jumped out to me. Zeit online had an interesting landing page. Users had the option to pay €1.20 for a weekly subscription for *fewer* adverts. I selected the option to view the page for free, simply with the most amount of adverts they offered. On this page I identified 4 banner adverts per page on the main page. After clicking the main headline of the day, I was presented with the article surrounded by 9 adverts.

To compare something against that experience, I navigated through the Bild website. On their landing page I encountered 7 adverts, with 2 of them following you as you scrolled down the page. Clicking onto the main headline I was presented with 15 adverts through the article and around it. It should also be noted that Das Bild did not give a paid version of the content for less ads as a prompt. They do offer a 'Bild+' service, but again that simply reduces the number of ads, without saying by how much they are reduced.

3. **THE MEDIA ELITE**

> The establishment manages the media through the third filter. Journalism cannot
>
> be a check on power because the very system encourages complicity.
>
> Governments, corporations, big institutions know how to play the media game.
>
> They know how to influence the news narrative. They feed media scoops, official
>
> accounts, interviews with the 'experts'. They make themselves crucial to the
>
> process of journalism. So, those in power and those who report on them are in bed
>
> with each other. (Chomsky)

This filter relates to filter one. My research does not really have much to do with this filter as the

papers I explored do not belong to the German government. There may be these forces and filters

at play, but as I do not have the evidence I cannot comment on them. The existence of it though

should remain as a thought when reading policy heavy articles.

4. **FLAK**

> If you want to challenge power, you'll be pushed to the margins. When the media
>
> – journalists, whistleblowers, sources – stray away from the consensus, they get
>
> 'flak'. This is the fourth filter. When the story is inconvenient for the powers that
>
> be, you'll see the flak machine in action discrediting sources, trashing stories and
>
> diverting the conversation. (Chomsky)

This filter is interesting because in my research case it works both ways. There can be this

diversion and discrediting done on either side of a spectrum so to speak. Those critical of policy

can be blamed by the government for causing a national divide. Division like this could be

because the policy is too weak or too strong, refugees are being helped too much, or not enough.

While I agree with this filter as a construct, I think Chomsky hasn't developed it enough to avoid the argument that reporting should average out to the centre.

5. **THE COMMON ENEMY**

To manufacture consent, you need an enemy — a target. That common enemy is the fifth filter. Communism. Terrorists. Immigrants. A common enemy, a bogeyman to fear, helps corral public opinion. (Chomsky)

Filter five is one of the most prominently recognisable. People can easily be convinced that there is a group of people who are against the majority, and are causing problems for society. This in particular was done heavily in the aftermath of the Guest Worker Programme when there were articles outright spreading fear of guest workers remaining in Germany. "Die Türken kommen—rette sich, wer kann" is a prime example of a popular news article that spreads fear based purely on emotion. There are similar articles around for the refugee crisis, however they are usually from smaller publishers or are published in the opinion sections.

The spreading of fear is a common string between my research on refugees and guest workers. A lot of the ways in which media is presented between the two time periods is the same in this fashion, but with the increase of advertising and revenue desire there are many differences too. It is this question which will bring them together and compare the experiences of perception and to ultimately try to pinpoint why there is a difference and how it manifests.

More theoretical frames

When we look at the papers we need to consider them through more than one frame. While Chomsky's five filters can be a good place to begin, there are inherent problems with it that I mentioned, as many of the filters blur together. The investigation into media and how it functions

is an established part of academia and can be used to effectively analyse the sources I will be exploring.

Firstly I would like to introduce the works of Marshall McLuhan, the author of *Understanding Media: the extensions of man*. McLuhan is widely known in the media studies field as one of its pioneers. His theories have been adopted widely and many academics use his theories to expand into the field further. This book explores several concepts that need to be unravelled and introduced to better understand further analysis of the papers. To begin to understand McLuhan is to understand the time he came from. His book was published in 1964, during the common adoption of television. At this time many people did believe that television would ruin the human brain. His book focuses heavily on how the television may surpasse the radio in terms of being the most popular medium of media. McLuhan compares this revolution of ideas to the railway, he claims that 'The railway did not introduce movement or transportation or wheel or road into human society, but it accelerated and enlarged the scale of previous human functions.' (McLuhan 20).

Through his book he theorises a future of an electrical way of communication, a lightspeed way to share information. This puts McLuhan as one of the first people to seriously predict the way that the internet was to completely eclipse everything that came before it. While in his book he makes these predictions, he does not try to cover them with his theories, he leaves them for the future academics to decide. More specifically, he avoids labelling this unknown device as 'hot' or 'cold'.

Being hot or cold is a theory that McLuhan introduces,the definition of which I believe is weak.

Although I think the definitions are weak, being weak might be what makes them so powerful. In

his book he splits media into these two categories, with 'hot' media being media that 'extends

one single sense in "high definition"' (McLuhan 39). To simplify this, hot media is media that is

'full' and leaves no room for personal interpretation. To mirror this, 'cold media' is media where

there is a single stream of information and so there are gaps to be filled by the consumer.

McLuhan would define a speech as a cool medium as 'so little is given and so much has to be

filled by the listener' (39). However, this assignment of 'hot' or 'cold' media was made in

consideration of the media available at the time.

To build on McLuhan's theories of 'hot' and 'cold' media Paul Hodkinson in his book *Media,

culture and society: an introduction* argues that the boundaries of hot and cold can be changed.

McLuhan claims that cinema is a 'hot' media form and that television is a "cold" form, as the

setting of a cinema reduces one to receive the information as everything. Television is cool, as it

can be social and has less intense music and graphics. This was true of the 1960s, but when we

consider contemporary television (especially in the COVID-19 pandemic where streaming new

movies is becoming common) this may no longer be true (Richards). There are plenty of ways to

recreate the cinema experience at home. Super high-fidelity resolution is available and cinema

standard music is possible too. Hodkinson redefines television as a form of 'hot' media

(Hodkinson 27).

Based on these differing opinions on the relative hot or cold qualities, I choose to define online

media as existing on a temporal spectrum. At one point consuming online news media would

have been cold. There were aspects of it that had to be interpreted, and because in the early days most websites were very basic, the capability to be multi-media was reduced. Now, when we look at online news websites they follow the 24/7 news cycle. Many have their own apps, some even send updates directly to your notifications. Most news sites will now include pictures, videos or even an audio companion to each article. This makes it, in my opinion, a 'hot' medium for media. It has become much more encompassing and leaves little space for personal interpretation.

How do people view the media?

Why is it important to know how people interact with the media? For the purpose of this research project it is crucial as I am trying to understand the potential representation of refugees. This is great if I can make my own opinions and opinions based on the theoretical models. But if the audience doesn't interpret the articles either my way or the modelled way and those are the only avenues I explore, it will be misrepresentative of what might actually be perceived. Dominic Boyer explores this slightly in his book *Understanding media: a popular philosophy*. He even goes as far to ask himself why we should 'pay attention to our common habits of media' (Boyer 3).

Boyer answers this question. His answer comes from a place of him believing that we should be in charge of our opinions. Boyer thinks we need to know this because 'we do not control these extensions [digital media] as tools even though we may utilise them in tool like ways' (23). As you would expect training for an individual to wield a power drill, the same can be said for digital media. Instead nowadays many are born into the digital world and are elegant users of

technology and media. We are able to operate it but not understand how it works. So to better understand how people interact with the media, I am going to look deeper into how some theorists I have mentioned interpret it.

One of the ways that we can look at interactions is through a global or more expansive lens. McLuhan talks about Europe becoming retribalised as radio and television begin to reintroduce 'cold' media in the 1960s (McLuhan 41). He discusses the fact that 'hot' media causes populations to triablise and to almost think as a group, so we are losing individuality when we consume 'hot' media (Boyer 20). Originally McLuhan thought that 'electric media' was cold and so gave us time to reintroduce our own individualism (McLuhan 41), but as previously mentioned, we have come to the point where the internet is almost the definition of the hottest medium. In this case we are returning—or already at the point where people are no longer individuals and instead absorb the opinions of the group.

Throughout my analysis there will be comments on the number of adverts I see and comment on. I will also make some conclusions that revenue drives the choices that editors and publishers make online. I was not the first to think this, infact McLuhan had these ideas back in the 1960s. In terms of advertisements, even before the world had entered a period of late-stage capitalism, McLuhan noted the shift in advertising, he even suggests money itself is one of the first mediums of media (27). He saw that having more frequent advertisements was more important to marketing than a single very good advertisement. He notes that 'the product matters less as the audience participation increases' (305). This will feel like a heavily repeated point later as I explain the reason behind clickbait and vague headlines.

The Papers

As a part of this research project I will be examining one article of prominence from representative newspapers and their web presence. The purpose of this approach is to have a common ground of analysis between each paper and to further understand how headlines and language can be used to influence thought processes of the reader. Included in this analysis are *Die Zeit*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, the *Handelsblatt*, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Das Bild,* the *Deutsche Welle* and *Stern*.

One thing that will be explored throughout the analyses is how the refugees are referred to. The conscious effect to call refugees *refugees* means the audience is aware of their exact identity. Some papers will refer to them as immigrants or migrants. While both might be slightly correct as they are referring to people who move across borders, they do not shine light on the reasons why they have to leave. This may lead some people to thinking refugees are travelling for more work or to take advantage of social systems instead of saving themselves.

Die Zeit

Die Zeit is one of Germany's leading news sources. It was founded in Hamburg in 1946 (Hoffmann and Fraser 200). It is usually classed as a high- brow and left-leaning news source (Hess 9). As far as its online presence, *Die Zeit* has a substantial one. It is in the top 100 visited websites in Germany and has had some form of online presence since 2009. In 2019 alone the website was visited 75 million times.

One thing that many of the papers I am examining have in common is that they all form opinions on the way that the then chancellor Angela Merkel was handling the situation. A 2015 article

published on the online platform of *Die Zeit* titled 'In the eye of the storm' (Hildebrandt and Ulrich) attempts to support the chancellor, citing her ability to deal with previous crises, such as the financial crisis, and notably the 2011 Fukushima disaster. Following the disaster, Germany closed down most of their nuclear power plants. Personally, Chancellor Merkel believed in nuclear energy but did what she thought was best for the German people. The article hopes that she is able to do the same thing once more, but notes the difference in this crisis. While 'energy plants can be turned on and off, Syrians can't [be turned off] (Hildebrandt and Ulrich).

Die Zeit itself refers to the people of the exodus as migrants. This is not a uniform experience across all of the papers, some refer to them as migrants, or even immigrants. Choice of word can be a powerful tool to change perception, this will be explored further once the general views of each paper has been analysed.

Many of the papers focus on this crisis through the lens of the economy and this includes *Die Zeit*. While there are articles that were heavily factual about the need for an expanded workforce and lower skilled workers, the one that caught my attention was one in the opinion section. 'There is no Mirko here' (Wegner) is an interview with an 'ordinary citizen'' from Baden-Württemberg. Mirko is a placeholder name, as the individual did not want to be identified. In the interview he shows strong anti-refugee sentiments. He explains how we see the community changing, and that the influx of refugees is overwhelmingly negative. In this interview Mirko acknowledges that his views are not considered popular, and the interviewer was ready to challenge him on his views. Instead Mirko discusses how he believes in the chancellor, and that Germany is not doing enough to deal with crises outside of Europe. Mirko

even feels that "the additional 3.5 million euros in refugee aid for Libya just announced by (German Foreign Minister) Sigmar Gabriel is far too little." (Wegner).

The article that is being examined from *Die Zeit* is Heinrich Wefing's "The Human Limit" (Wefing and Andersen). It is a long form piece that explores the possible routes that governments in central Europe can take to limit migration into the continent. Firstly the paper refers to the refugees as migrants. The use of the word migrants is not wrong, as it refers to people who make a journey to somewhere else, they are in effect migrating. However, by not being specific and acknowledging the populations as refugees, the plights and problems of the refugees are diminished. Reasons for the migration are removed from the humanitarian crisis. This can be seen later in the essay when the author discusses the 'strategy of dealing with them" (Wefing and Andersen). Not only have the refugees lost their identity and referred to as 'them', they are also now being seen as migrants that require a strategy to control them. There is no mention on how strategies to support refugees can be developed.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Founded in 1949 , The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* considered itself a paper with a liberal-conservative leaning (*World Press Trends*). The paper has presented its political views and supported the CDU in the 2013 elections (Artero 5). Other than having the second largest circulation in Germany, the FAZ boasts the largest amount of foreign correspondents compared to any other european news source (Enzensberger).

The FAZ had more articles critical of the German press compared to any of the other sources explored in this research. The opinion section had a very in depth article titled 'A letter to the German Press'. Authored by Jay Rosen, the essay explores the tenants of the German press, and how they compare to the tenants in media from the United States of America. Rosen develops a set of guiding rules, and finds within them a fatal flaw. To Jay, the German press must remain impartial, and also defend democracy at any cost. In between these two tenants is an impossible space, Rosen does not think that following both tenants is still possible. Specifically Rosen writes that by remaining impartial on radical right wing articles that target the refugee population the press would fail to uphold and protect democracy.

While all of the news sources here agreed to the 'wir helfen' (we help) scheme, this does not mean they are void of governmental criticism. In a very strong article titled ' European Solidarity, Why?' The FAZ portrays Chancellor Merkel as a 'gorbachev-like figure' who is 'noble but naïve' (Krastev). They argue that by handling the crisis the way she did, Merkel has not just made Eastern Europeans question what they owe to the refugees, she has caused the Western Europeans to realise they owe nothing to the Eastern Europeans. This act of nobility and desire to unite is breaking apart the union she continuously props up.

Being more focussed on the business side of things, it is no surprise that Winand Von Petersdorff chose to write an article on the economy of migrants. He takes a harsh tone and titles his headline the 'Lies in times of migration' (von Petersdorff). This article leads with many facts, but then the rest reads as though it is an opinion piece. Language in this article almost plays with the lives of refugees as if they were not human.He claims that "migrants are difficult to stop" (Von

Petersdorff) as if they don't have human problems that need to be addressed. It discusses the different economic effects an influx of refugees can have on Europe, but again refers to the whole population as migrants. Again this is not unfactual, but has problems as mentioned earlier. One of the ways he toys with the seriousness of the problem is by making the article light hearted. Translated, he refers to the solution of investment in a playful way. He jokes "Na dann, viel Spaß beim Versuch, Syrien, den Irak oder Libyen zu bändigen"[5]. Wording such of this has a way of playing with the reader. Essentially here Petersdorff is approaching the serious suggestion to solve a humanitarian crisis as though it were a warning on a badly crafted dating advice blog. The sentence itself is almost falling into the trap of orientalism, calling these 'eastern' countries untamable to Western standards.

Further the picture chosen for this piece is a group of seeming refugee children.This picture is taken a month after the death of Alan Shenu, the infamous picture of the drowned refugee washed up on the beach. To use a picture this happy so soon after the worldwide circulation of one of the most iconic pictures of the 2010s is both insensitive but also intentional. In a piece discussing the potential integration of migrants it makes sense, until you realise the image is children having fun and blowing bubbles. How does a picture of children having fun relate to the turmoil they have been through to arrive safely in Germany. Largely, the article focuses on the adult integration into the workplace and how the economy can be supported or rather hindered by an increase in adults. I can see two interpretations of how an audience would react to the image. Firstly the happiness of the children downplays the humanitarian crisis that was ongoing. By downplaying the humanitarian crisis it makes it easier to digest when the author claims that only those who can integrate should be allowed to buy their way in. The second reason is to

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[5] "Well then, have fun trying to tame Syria, Iraq or Libya"

avoid showing the adults. By not including the subjects of the article it again dehumanises the issue and makes the reader more perceptible to the comments of the author.

Handelsblatt

The first edition of *Handesblatt* was published in 1946 at the hands of journalist Herbert Gross. While most newspapers have some form of political leaning, *Handelsblatt* has no public leaning. Despite not presenting a public political leaning, the publication was voted as the most trustworthy newspaper in 2016 via the GPRA trust index (GPRA).

Till Hoppe writes an argumentative article for Handelsblatt called 'Refugees,solidarity and reality' (Hoppe). One would be forgiven for thinking that the article hit all three of those topics, however Hoppe focuses on the 'reality' more than any other section. He looks at questions that would be a realistic situation consideration for people who weren't in danger " is it really beneficial for Nigerians or Senegalese migrants to spend so much money on the journey." (Hoppe). Again, *Handelsblatt* does not outright call for the full support or rejection of the refugees entering the country, they instead refer to them as a whole population. The reality that Hoppe focusses on is that even if Germany was able to help the refugees, the policies of bordering nations such as Austria and Italy are going to be the biggest challenges to occur. He approaches the problem and asks what is more important? Is it more important to strain relations with nations around them, or is it more important to help refugees? Till decides that the only way to go forward is to have a unified european approach- an original idea.

In another article the author Jean-Michel Hauteville claims that 'The Axis should live up to its name and bring in warships to sink the migrants' dinghies. Nothing short of this will stop desperate people with nothing to lose…' (Hauteville). In the aptly titled article 'Europe has lost its soul in the refugee crisis' (Hauteville). Hauteville strongly suggests that the European governments are being harsh on each other(and the refugees) simply to pander to the far-right votes in their own nation. His example of both Italy and Paris rejecting the docking of the Aquarius boat in 2018 exposes the hypocrisies of each nation.

On the *Handelsblatt* website I found a fact check article, one that addresses the concerns after the first year of the refugee crisis. The jointly published article titled 'Only men come' (Lechtape and Beer) addresses some of the claims that were made across the media sphere. This article was much better as a whole for representing the population. Throughout the article the word refugee is used in place of migrant and all assumptions were heavily backed by statistics.In the article the myth of Germany taking more refugees than other nations is dismissed effectively. 'Most refugees do not come to Germany. Turkey received 2.5 million Syrians last year alone. Lebanon and Jordan house the most refugees worldwide' (Lechtape and Beer). The article itself has pictures of refugees that are representative. Smiling faces are accompanied by pictures of refugees who look like they have suffered a long journey. By incorporating both aspects of the refugee experience and humanising them it helps the reader to trust the fact checking that is occuring in the article.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

On the 6th of October 1945 the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) was the first newspaper to be granted a licence by the US military administration. The first publication was released that same evening. It has a publicly recognised progressive liberal stance ("The World from Berlin: 'The Substance of What S&P Is Saying Is Quite Right'"). SZ cemented this by publicly backing the SPD in the 2013 elections.

After reading a number of sources, the SZ had the most policy based reporting around the refugees. Other than a few articles in 2016 supporting the nation-wide media support of refugees there are very few articles that explore the lives of refugees separate from politics and the economy. The paper itself was critical of Germany and its ability to support the refugees it was allowing. While it reported on the compensation that Germany was to be provided by the European Union (Adelhardt et al.), it argues that the support does not go far enough.

Criticisms of governments and policy is not limited to the German scope. The paper reported on the beginning of the crisis and followed up with reporting on the policies of Eastern European nations. Again here refugees are being reduced to being a resource for politics to focus around.Albania's prime minister says that 'Even in return for EU accession, his country will not set up refugee centers' (Münch).This is a clear example of refugees being used and reported on as a commodity or resource. The claim here is not that the SZ does not have articles that support the lives and wellbeing of refugees. It instead shows that even when the refugee population is being accepted, the political reporting still makes the failing of lumping refugees as a unified group in order to make the article easier to write. In the case of this one the argument is that Albania did not want a refugee camp (Münch) and would not take any refugees even for potential accession to the EU.

The SZ takes a very pragmatic approach to the refugee crisis early on. 'The position of the countries in the refugee crisis' ("Die Positionen der Länder in der Flüchtlingskrise") takes a deep look into the politics of the nations that were most affected by the crisis. The article does use inflammatory language, but only with the intent to replicate the strength of the policy. "The time of welcome culture is over" ("Die Positionen der Länder in der Flüchtlingskrise") Is a strong way to describe policy. Normally I would say that this language is meant to be scandalous to the audience. And it still is, it is just that I think this strength of language is equivalent to the strength of what it is trying to invoke.

Das Bild

Das Bild was founded in 1952 by Alex Springer. It was the most circulated newspaper in Germany and has the most number of digital subscribers. In March 2019 its website had 25 million visits making it the most visited news site in Germany. It has publicly stated its centre-right leaning. There is much controversy around Das Bild, to the point where it has received more complaints for breaking the press code than any other publication.

Das Bild has many more short form articles compared to the likes of FAZ and SZ. Their articles typically can be read in a handful of minutes and typically are accompanied by pictures. According to a United Nations Human Rights Commision Report (UNHCR) *Das Bild* had on average 1 source, the lowest of any news source in Germany. With articles being so short and the sources being so minimal, there is the concern that the nuances of issues aren't fully explored.

Even if it seems there is nuance, with the average number of sources being 1, the accuracy of the articles are put into contention as well.

Das Bild has a reputation to be one of the most visible papers at a storefront, this is usually due to the fact that they employ strong, eye-catching headlines and historically nudity. Usually this means controversial headlines that evoke strong emotions, usually ones that are decisive in nature. This is replicated on their website as well. On the 7th of September 2017 the main website had an article titled 'All refugees must go back!' (Blome) prominent on its main page. If someone had clicked the article and read it, they would have noticed that it was still a negative piece, but was in fact an interview with the FDP leader Christian Lindner. In his interview he explains how if a refugee's home country is now safe the logistics should be put into motion to get them back to their homes. He rightfully claims that 'the status as a refugee cannot automatically turn into the status of a permanent resident. People have to return to their home countries if the situation there allows for it." (Blome). Reading the headline for the article clearly paints a different image of what this article is going to be concerning. One would be forgiven for thinking that the article was either accusing Christian of wanting to endanger those who have made perilous journeys or worse, declaring their support for this false message. Thinking that someone would make assumptions based on just the headline is not a stretch by any means. According to a study performed by the *Science Post* and reported on by the *Washington Post*, 59% of news links on the internet are not clicked but are either shared or talked about. This means that approximately 60% of the audience are formulating their opinions on headlines that are vague or outright misleading.

Deutsche Welle

The unique aspect of the *Deutsche Welle* is that it is the only newspaper on this list that is designed to reach foreign markets. *Deutsche Welle* is not a print newspaper, but instead a media focussed news source.One of the interesting things is that the *Deutsche Welle* is mostly funded by Germany's Federal tax system. This means that it should have less desire to use advertising to generate revenue. It has many digital distribution channels and also television and radio based channels. Publicly people perceive it to hold a conservative leaning, although the company stresses it must be independent and impartial, as it interacts with foregin markets more often than other papers.

The DW takes a very pragmatic approach to their reporting. It heavily enforces and supports the humanitarian side of the issue, but also sheds light on the issue that then becomes apparent at home. In a short audio report the publication talks about how the science of fear interacts with the mob mentality behind immigrant policy (Borrud and Goebel). As this is in the science portion of their paper, it is focused more on how our brain works, compared to refugees, refugee policy or their perception. However, the language used in the report calls back to 'refugees' and an 'open-door' policy. These words tend to paint refugees in a more positive, or rather less negative light. The usage of words such as migrants or immigrants usually diminishes the reasons why a person might choose to make that journey.

Following the pragmatic approach, the *DW* also comments on the economic impact of allowing so many refugees to enter. The *DW* reports the cost as 2.4 billion in the first year (2015), and at this rate it would go over the budget of 5.6 billion as more than double the number of refugees

were expected in 2016 ("Refugee crisis 'to cost Germany 10 billion euros'"). Again, while this is

fair reporting, it fails to hit the human element. This has been a theme throughout the papers.

Refugees are reduced to a statistic. This loses the humanitarian aspect of the problem.

An article titled " Refugees on their way to Germany' (Hartmann) is based on a podcast with the

same title. The podcast follows the wording of the article very closely. In this article the situation

of incoming refugees from Hungary is being explained. What is extremely different in this article

compared to others is that some words are seemingly in bold. The words are;

'willingness','help','registered','orderly manner', and several other words that are usually

associated with positive emotions. This may just be a trick to activate search engine activation

and to get more hits on the website. There is always the possibility that this is an attempt to

highlight the positive aspects of refugees without it being too obvious. It is an interesting tactic

that I have not seen employed before.

Stern.de

In 1995, *stern.de* was one of the first news sources to go online on the German internet. However

, *Stern* the magazine has been around since 1948 and encompases many topics. It has a broadly

left leaning political leaning. It has also faced some controversies over the year; such as posting

an article about Donald Trump labelled 'Sein Kampf' (A play on the book written by Adolf

Hitler- Mein Kampf). It is important to include as the newspaper has a large reach on digital

readership.

In 2016 *Stern* released a very short report concerning the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA)

and how they had caught 40 potential terrorists through the influx of refugees ("Flüchtlinge:

Terrorverdacht in 40 Fällen - BKA ermittelt | STERN.de"). While the safety of everyone is crucial, 40 out of 1.8 million (Keita et al.) refugees is only 0.0022%. This is statistically so small that calling it a 'very serious problem' is not warranted. The article is so short and gives little detail that causes it to be a fear mongering piece. That lack of in depth reporting is designed to allow people to quickly absorb the information that is intended. A good tactic when there aren't layers to the circumstance, as with this article. It must also be noted there is a very short part at the end of the article that does claim that publishing these statistics are indeed fear mongering and not productive. Stern gets a pass for putting the small disclaimer in there, but it could have been avoided if the piece wasn't reported on at all. This then leads to questions about why it was reported then. Is this fear mongering statistic eye catching? In that case it may be intended just to get engagement and potentially more money through advertising and interactions.

On the other hand, *Stern* recognises the danger of pandering to dangerous thoughts and statistics. They delved deep into this concept when they published the opinion piece "Why it was a mistake to take the "worried citizens" seriously" (Sohr). By publishing this they realise and accept that there are ways that reporting can help fan the flames of conspiracy and increase polarisation and concerns. If they understand this, why do they publish headlines and articles that go against this methodology? One possible answer is selective exposure (Knobloch-Westerwick 358). *Stern* is aware that there is an audience that will read articles that are critical, and there is an audience that will not. The same is true for the reverse. By doing this they just maximise their reach and are able to increase engagement and advertisement revenue.

Section 3

After having explored all the news sources and seeing that there are only small but significant differences between them, it might be difficult to try to understand what is happening. Despite there being small, but most definitely present, variance, we can still see differences in some papers that fall into different theories of media and why they may be employed. This section will focus on why a news source may begin to use certain tactics. Some have been alluded to, such as monetary and audience gain- again for long-term monetary gain. Others have not, such as whether there are ulterior motives to influence a voting population. While we might not know for certain if a paper is employing one, both or neither methods, we can still explore the theories across the news sources and ponder what might be occurring.

What was happening before compared to now?

Before the inception of online media there was just physically less media. The advent of the internet has allowed for communication to explode and for more avenues of media to be generated. Large companies aren't the only ones who can report and dispense on the news. Having fewer avenues of media meant that there was also less choice, you had to read one of the handful of papers available. Finally the internet allows for greater access. Papers from fringe political views and even different countries are easier to access than some local papers would have been before the internet.

Now there are so many different sources available, advertising has become competitive. Websites are desperate to have people view and click on their articles. This has led to tactics such as clickbaiting to ensure that there is at least some revenue stream for the websites, after all smaller

creators need revenue to keep sites alive. This however is also being adopted by larger sites as a way to increase their revenue further. Headlines being skewed to maximise profits means that sometimes articles which are helpful for understanding the refugee crisis and how it is affecting people may seem more hidden. So while they still exist the hunt for revenue is making it seem like they are scarcer than they are.

Why is this happening?

Simply it is more profitable to make vague headlines and to flood the place with many articles. The fact that people's attention span is so short to not even click the article but to take the headline as truth is not because of the papers, but it is being exploited by them. If people who view the articles share them because they agree with the headline, then that paper has better econometric statistics to present to investors and also just increases their audience and hence their revenue. There is political affiliation but this is the same as before the internet, people are just more critical about it.

The fact I am even comparing the two events means something. These mass exodus events have a place in the news cycle and the way we report on them changes according to the times they happen. Because we have the experience of the guest worker programs that means we have previous frameworks to look at when we write new stuff. The experiences of the Turkish guest workers built this framework for the refugees entering Germany from 2015-2017. There have been earlier events of migration, but these two are most closely related as they both are pondered through the questions of 'otherness' and 'culture clashes'. It is this problem of culture clashing

that has heated the discussions of supporting refugees and was also the basis around the integration of Turkish guest workers.

Limitations

Research conducted will always have shortfalls and limitations that affect how it should be analysed. My research is not immune to this and by identifying as many limitations present I can be more confident in my final conclusions. If I fail to identify the limitations in my work not only does it become misrepresentative, as the positionality of an author is key to interpreting work, but it becomes inaccurate too. Ignoring potential limitations would be bad scholarship but may also affect scholars who may choose to use this work in the future.

To begin, my research on the Turkish guest workers includes a time period after which there are more charged articles written about the mass exodus. This is because the Guest Worker Programme was never intended by the Federal Republic of Germany to be a permanent migration programme. When guest workers stayed in the country past the programme's dates, then the news had more negatively charged sentiment in it. My research for the refugees is a much narrower time scale, and the 'crisis' is not over. Migration to Europe - and specifically to Germany - continues to this day in spite of the global COVID-19 pandemic and its many travel restrictions. There is still time for more to be published and written about the issue. In fact, if it follows the same pattern as the Turkish guest workers then it won't be until a few years until we see the same level of charge.

Most of the research for this research project was conducted during the first months and major lockdowns of the COVID-19 pandemic. This had several effects on the quality of the research. Firstly libraries operated at a slower pace, reducing access to some materials. Secondly I had to relocate back to a different country where access to materials was inconsistent and although all efforts were made to overcome this problem it should still be considered as a potential weakness.

Finally there is a logistical limitation. My capabilities of research did not extend as far to include the inside working of publications or the thought process behind the publication of each individual article.There may be more going on behind the scenes that can be interpreted, and any attempt to may simply be an over interpretation.

Conclusion

Initially my hypothesis was that there would be more negatively charged articles in modern online media compared to the print media of the 70's and 80's for the guest workers from Turkey. While there will be charged pieces somewhere on the internet, the news sources I focussed on did not necessarily fit my hypothesis.

From the theories analysed earlier, we can clearly see the media, regardless of their leanings and intentions, have become all encompassing in our lives. They are fully aware of their obligations, both to an audience and to their bank accounts.The following quote by McLuhan is one of the most robust ways someone has put this together.

Once we have surrendered our senses and nervous systems to the private

manipulation of those who would try to benefit from taking a lease on our eyes

and ears and nerves, we don't really have any rights left. Leasing our eyes and

ears and nerves to commercial interests is like handing over the common speech

to a private corporation, or like giving the earth's atmosphere to a company as a

monopoly. (McLuhan 73)

Although the sources I analysed did not have more charged content, it did not mean that there

were no differences. I noticed that headlines were more polarised, potentially artificially. As

noted earlier, the vagueness and polarity of the headlines may be attributed to a 'clickbaiting'

tactic to get more engagement. It seems through my research that if the '5 filters' model works

then the changes in engagement tactics are there to increase revenue and potentially to support

the goals of 'the media elite'.

CISLA Addendum

"We must dare to think unthinkable thoughts."[6]

Senator J.William Fulbright

How does someone even begin to put together what has happened since I arrived at Connecticut College in 2018. I was dropped off in front of the college centre all alone and was expected to find my way. It was an unconventional path but I did find my way. Across this journey I learnt much, not all of it I enjoyed. My time at Connecticut College has been shaky and chaotic. That being said it is what I experienced and because of it I see the world in a certain way. The question I am about to explore will be how I see the world and how I feel we should move forward.

1. How do the multiple origins and power dynamics of contemporary society impact us today?

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[6] (Fulbright)

Whether we like it or not we live in a cruel world. A world that has been formed from a history of warfare and short bursts of social development. We live in a world where people still question if there is more that divides us than joins us. Power presents itself in many different ways today. Instead of just being the strongest or most powerful member of a society, it is broken down into more arbitrary factors. If you believe that society is meritocratic then you would have no problem believing that those most educated and capable would be the most powerful in today's society. If you believe that owning the means of production and land was what made you powerful then you would have little problem accepting the rich and dynastic families as those with power. No matter which you give more credence to, the truth to me is that the distribution of power is not evenly distributed.

The framework of uneven power only gets worse. It is within this lopsided system that we as scholars and potential changers are expected to work within. The system is geared towards short term gains and keeping power to those that have it. This makes sense when you think about it more critically, people don't want to give up power when it is all they have. While this all seems very pessimistic, there are avenues for change. Change has been occurring and will continue to happen to redistribute power across the globe. International collaboration after World War II has started to alleviate this change on the political level. While it is still birthed from the colonial powers and gives more power to the permanent nations it has begun that shift. Academia has even begun to shift. Academics such as Edward Said have begun to break this power differential in the academic world. People without power should no longer be studied through the eyes of mysticism but instead with that of realism. There are countless more examples. So whilst there is still a mountain to conquer in terms of stabilising the power in contemporary society, the rocks

have begun to crumble and it is only through participating and reworking the system that we can continue this change.

2. How can one's history (personal, national, institutional) shape possibilities for the future?

Personal

When I look back at my journey at Connecticut College and CISLA, I can't ignore everything that I went through personally. These events have shaped both the way I look at myself, and the way I look at the institutions around me. I suffered major health problems, and since recovering, adapting back to college life has been difficult. When I consider this on a personal level, it means a lot. I can see clearly the influences it has had on me, and how it will affect me going forward. But when I take a step back I realise that I am not alone. Everyone around me has had personal experiences and everyone around the world has them too. Looking outwards, in my opinion, is a way to connect to the world around us and our peers.

When I think of personal experiences I do look at my research. I was so focussed on refugees and other migrant populations. I made my best effort to not just understand the groups I was looking at, but to understand them on a personal level. While one or two accounts that delve deeper aren't going to affect larger conclusions based on these populations, understanding some of the personal issues helped to keep my research human. It helped me feel closer to the people I was reading about, and I felt more charged to understand the issue on multiple levels.

National

Looking back I can sometimes see how my 'nations' history has affected me. It affected what I learned about in my history classes, in my literature classes and sometimes even my science

classes. Few people would argue that it is bad to learn about your own country's history. It is on the same lines that we should be taught about one another's history. In my experience, Europe began to learn this after the second world war and formed the European Union. A way for people to share culture and their experiences with one another. I think it worked for a while, until those with power realised it was reducing the power they held. My own national experience and background is a feeling of betrayal, to leave such a community and declare that we were better alone. We didn't want to share power, we were happy being on top alone (even though that statement is false). Broken possibilities is what I felt, I felt shut off, the rug taken from beneath me. But then I realise that this is what so many people feel like. Their countries were never a part of a bloc, they had to keep their scope limited. Now I feel like I'm privileged and whining, but what I felt before was so strong. It will persuade me to fight for it for everyone going forward.

Researching people who had to leave their homes because of wages, bad conditions and even war has made me think about this question even deeper. What do we mean by our nation's background? Do you mean the place we were born? The place we were brought up? Or the place our parents were from? From me the answer to all of those is somewhere different. If someone flees a country because of persecution, should we force them to identify with their oppressors? If someone's nation is annexed and absorbed into another, which way are they meant to identify? I realise I have just asked many questions, but it's because there are so many possible questions that having one answer is not easy. From my perspective if we want the world to change for the better we need to be aware of our nation, good and bad. But holding allegiances and prejudices will help no one. Let us build on our positive cultures and share that with one another so that we can continue the pursuit of developing this world for the better.

Institutional

I think the institutional aspect of this question is the most interesting. People around the world grow up in a large variety of different institutions. I can only comment on the ones I have experienced, but the fact that we are funnelled through institutions brings some common experiences amongst individuals. Firstly I have been a member of several schools, all at different levels of education. Some of these institutions had other objectives, whether that be a business aspect, or even a religious one. While they all had different approaches to similar styles of work, there is a common thread. Bureaucracy. The lifeblood of institutions is the rules they follow and the systems that they employ. At times I have found these systems and layers of bureaucracy to be excruciating. I would be playing my distaste for bureaucracy down if I did not mention how I feel it restricts those with limited resources or were born into cultures that didn't have formal systems growing up.

It was only at the CISLA banquet in December 2021 that I began to see a different side. The visit by Hagen Maroney and Doreen Vaillancourt Maroney made me realise there is more to bureaucracy than creating arbitrary roadblocks. A lot of their talk I felt out of place, talking about foreign policy from the perspective of the US, as they rightfully noted, is viewed differently by those not from the US. On the other hand, their defence for working under different and challenging administrations was interesting and eye opening. I found their conversations around the dissent channel counterproductive to my thoughts around bureaucracy. Both of them seemed to love their life in bureaucracy and helping others. After thinking about this longer, and looking at my recent research on refugees in Germany and the way they had to follow stringent rules to get asylum status I am beginning to shift my thinking. Bureaucracy is not all bad, but unnecessary bureaucracy is. I don't have the answer to fixing this, but I know that this is something that has impacted me, and will be something I follow in the future to enact change.

3. How can we address the material, spiritual, and ethical challenges facing us today?

Materials are bound by ethics. This is not because there is an inherent connection between the two at a fundamental level, but because human society has reduced them to this position. When we consider the use of materials, it is the privileged 'western' world that hordes materials and blames those we steal resources from for not having enough to help themselves. A system such as this is systematically cruel and unethical, but it goes even further. When we extract natural resources from poorer nations without infrastructure, not only are we stealing wealth, we pollute the environment and cause harm to others. When medicines are created from stolen materials and wealth, they are not shared evenly across the globe. COVID-19 cannot be ignored as integral to my experience both in education and at Connecticut College and CISLA. Current vaccine distribution is unethical. Not taking vaccines that are available to you is akin to stealing it from those who would need it elsewhere. Not helping nations that have been historically exploited is again the same as stealing.

The only way I can see a way out of this hole of conflating materials with ethics is to improve the global communication of the world. Even just reading about other countries would help yes, but we need more intercultural exchange. Being a Fulbright student I fully agree with the words of Senator Fulbright. If we want to build a truly global society that sees everyone as equals we need the full exchange of persons, knowledge and skills.

As I have made very clear in my addendum. I think the world around me is crumbling. I try to stay positive however I know I feel negatively about everything. Spiritually I am broken. From my research and learning about people who have gone through the worst humanitarian crises in modern history, I am left even more broken. There is hope, I can see the progress we are making,

it sometimes just seems as though it's moving too slowly. Everything will be gone before we are doing enough to reverse the direction. Contemplating my broken spirit, I figured 'shouldn't my spirit be private?'. People should have the right to their own spirituality and their own sense of self. A way to tackle that would be to remove spirituality from what we do in this world. I don't like this way either. We should bring ourselves into the world, it is the only way we can truly connect. So then we release our spirit into everything we do in the world? Again no. There is a balance in there. People are in need of healing, and we need time to heal. Let us heal, and when the time is right, we can spread that healing across the globe and motivate the world to build a truly global society.

To close off, my time at CISLA has been turbulent. I have faced personal challenges, shared global challenges and I have the same trials as any other college student. Things were not what I expected. I did not get to study abroad, there was no internship. Although I was able to get some guided research I will always feel like something in me missed out. With that comes the other side. I have built a community of friends and scholars who are like minded. They all share one thing in common, and that is the pursuit to increase our curiosity. If there is one thing I will take away from CISLA it will be the undying desire to find out more.

"Maturity requires a final accommodation between our aspirations and our limitations."[7]

Senator J.William Fulbright

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[7] (Fulbright 240)

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