

# MASTER THESIS

**Refugee Representations and Discourses in Austrian Newspapers during 1992-1993 and 2015-2016**

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## SUMMARY

Based on the argument that “this is the age of moral panic” (Thompson 1998, 1) the purpose of this study is to analyse dominant refugee discourses in Austrian media and to address the question whether reactions towards refugee movements in the last thirty years were justified or whether they are better classified as moral panics. The term moral panic is used to describe phenomena where individuals or groups of people become defined as a threat to society due to behaviour that is deemed “deviant”.

In order to achieve this research objective a comparative analysis, combining content and discourse analysis, was performed. Two periods, in which increased numbers of displaced people have reached Austria and Europe were chosen for investigation: the refugee movement in the early 1990s in the wake of the Yugoslav wars and the refugee movement of 2015/2016 when primarily Syrians and Afghans pleaded for asylum.

Due to the mixed-methods approach of combining content and discourse analysis, the discursive fields in both investigation periods could be covered to a large extent. Both periods were characterized by heavy debates on the consequences of refugee arrivals for the Austrian society. Prevalent discourses were found to revolve in particular around threats and risks. Hence, refugee discourses can also be referred to as risk discourses, relating to the moral panic concept. The most important finding of this study concerns the persistence of the analysed discourses. Dominant refugee discourses have remained more or less the same over the last sixty years. They are deeply ingrained in society and, if anything, have only become more negative over the years. Only few new topics, such as terrorism, have been absorbed in dominant debates. Due to this persistence, reactions to the two refugee movements cannot be classified as moral panics – despite the strong dominance of concerns and hostility. Moral panics are usually defined as short-lived phenomena. Fear and hostility during the analysed refugee movements, however, were part of the general atmosphere and overall discourse in society and did not erupt suddenly as a result of one particular event.

This thesis demonstrates that critical reflection on dominant discourses in society is indispensable, in particular on discourses revolving around those in society with little or no say, and hence, little or no power to manipulate debates or to establish opposite viewpoints.

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

“Austria has a proud history of helping refugees – but for how much longer?” This question, which at the same time is the headline of an article by Christa Pongratz-Lippitt, published in *The Guardian* in 2016, has preoccupied numerous journalists, experts on migration and political authorities over the last years.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century Austria has welcomed refugees several times. Borders were opened, for example, during the Hungarian uprising in 1956 or during the Prague Spring in 1968 (Wischenbart 1994, 83). A particularly large number of people arrived in the 1990s when the Yugoslav wars took place and more than 100,000 people found refuge in Austria, at least temporarily (Medien-Servicestelle Neue ÖsterreicherInnen 2011). Around twenty years later, again, increasing numbers of people, in particular from war-torn Syria but also from other regions of the Middle East, South-East Europe and Africa, have reached Europe, and also Austria (Eurostat 2018). In this thesis, the flow of people during these two periods of high immigration of displaced people will be referred to as ‘refugee movements’. A refugee is defined by the UNHCR (2017), in short, as “someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence” and has “a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group” (UNHCR 2017).

As the refugee movement of the 1990s and of 2015/2016 both are quite considerable in numbers of displaced people and also temporally relatively close to one another, drawing comparisons seems inviting. Indeed, many journalists ask how managing the population movements from former Yugoslavia and the subsequent integration into society and job market has worked and what we can learn from these previous challenges (cf. Neuhauser 2015; Szigetvari 2016; Zimmer 2015). Moreover, it is also often claimed, for instance in the article by Pongratz-Lippitt, that Austria was more positive towards refugees in the 1990s than it is today. Since the arrival of the refugees from former Yugoslavia, tunes of welcome supposedly have changed and increased scepticism, it is said, can now be felt in the public and political sphere (Pongratz-Lippitt 2016).

The question arises, however, if, indeed, the Austrian approach towards refugees has changed or whether claims of past tunes of welcome are rather based on positive transfigurations or social repression of hostility and racist violence. In addition, the comparisons of refugees are questionable to a great extent, as frequently all refugees are lumped together and moreover, practices of social constructions of ‘refugees’ are widely ignored in public discussions. There is, therefore, the urgent need for an academic analysis and comparison of the two refugee movements.

There are several ways in which this could be done and several points of focus that could be chosen. This thesis will concentrate, in particular, on constructions and representations of refugees in the Austrian news media. Based on an analysis of newspaper articles on the topic, discourses on refugees will be identified and differences between the early 1990s and 2015/2016 discussed. Furthermore, drawing on the concept of moral panic (cf. Cohen 2011; Goode & Ben-Yehuda 1994), it will be decided whether reactions towards the refugee movements in the media were justified or whether they are better classified as overreactions, or even as moral panics, a phenomenon where “a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests” (Cohen 2011, 1).

## 1.1 Research Objective and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to identify how populations movements to Austria were portrayed in the early 1990s and in 2015/2016 in Austrian newspapers and to depict similarities and differences. The focus is put on discourses and constructions of 'refugees'. Moreover, based on this comparative analysis and based also on the argument that "this is the age of moral panic" (Thompson 1998, 1), it will be discussed whether the moral panic concept can be applied to recent debates or to debates on refugees during the Yugoslav wars. Another aim of this research concerns the methodology. This thesis should contribute to the literature of mixed methods, as a discourse and content analysis will be combined.

The main research question of this thesis is:

To what extent do refugee discourses in Austrian newspapers during the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s and during the 2015/2016 period differ and how does this comparison help to decide whether an interpretation of the debates as moral panics might be justified?

In order to answer this research question, several sub-questions need to be addressed:

- How prevalent was the asylum and refugee topic in Austrian media? How many articles dealing with refugees were published in the investigation periods?
- What are the main discourses on refugees that can be identified in Austrian newspapers during the investigation periods? In particular, what kind of risk discourses exist?
- What are the differences between the respective refugee movements in terms of numbers of refugees arriving in Austria and in terms of political responses?
- Can the concept of moral panic be applied to recent or past reactions in Austrian media towards refugee movements? Are the five main criteria of moral panics, identified in the literature (concern, hostility, consensus, disproportionality, and volatility), met?

## 1.2 Scientific Relevance and Societal Relevance

The societal relevance of this research becomes apparent already when considering the conceptual framework and the methodology chosen. The moral panic concept and critical discourse analysis, which will be outlined later, are both approaches which seek to identify workings of power in society. The critical discourse analysis is, even by definition, interested in "revealing societal power operations and invoking a call to social responsibility" (Cotter 2001, 418).

In short, it can only be hoped that the findings of this research will instigate readers to critically reflect on relations and structures of dominance, discrimination, and control manifest in our society. Moreover, a more cautious examination of constructions of realities and constructions of social groups in the media, by the public as well as by the press itself, would be highly welcomed.

Concerning the scientific relevance, three major contributions should be highlighted. First of all, this thesis will widen the focus of the moral panic concept, as suggested for instance by Critcher (2008) and Hier (2016). Based on Critcher's claim that moral panics should be redefined as "*extreme forms of risk discourses integral to the process of moral regulation*" (Critcher 2008, 1140; original emphasis), this thesis will not only employ a discourse analysis but also include the perspective of risk society and moral regulation. Moreover, one of the critiques of the moral panic concept, which will be dealt with in more detail below, concerns the question of disproportionality. Critcher argues that "moral panics are by definition disproportionate reactions to perceived threats" (Critcher 2005, 2). However, the question of how to decide whether a response is appropriate or not has proven to be



difficult. As I will do a comparative study and analyse two similar events in two different time periods, this problem can be addressed. Finally, this thesis will also contribute to the literature on mixed methods, as both a content analysis as well as a discourse analysis will be performed.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In their introduction to “On Why and How We Should Do Journalism Studies” (2009) Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch point out the importance of news. They claim that “news shapes the way we see the world, ourselves and each other” and that “it is the stories of journalists that construct and maintain our shared realities” (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch 2009, 3). The question arises, however, which and how reality/realities is/are constructed and how, subsequently, moral panics can emerge. This chapter, therefore, will address several media-related theories and concepts relevant to my thesis, including critical reflections thereof. An overview of discourse theory will take up on these debates and add a different ontological and epistemological perspective to questions of power, ideology, construction of reality and society, normalism and deviance. Moreover, in the last section, existing literature on immigration and refugee discourses in Austria is discussed. The focus is in particular on developments and changes in these discourses over the last decades, to provide a theoretical basis for my analysis.

Before submerging into theories and debates, however, it is important to clarify some terms and narrow down common definitions. Van Dijk (1988) warns against the use of standard definitions of terms but instead proposes to first, reflect on intuitive associations and second, decide how the terms should be defined for the particular research question (Van Dijk 1988, 3). A seemingly simple and vastly used term, significant for my analysis, is ‘news’. In his publication “News as discourse” Van Dijk presents three different common associations with the term and argues that a distinction between them should be made. First, the word news is generally used for any kind of new information, including personal information. Second, news can also refer to the show or program in which current events or other items are broadcast. Third, the term also defines specific articles or reports that present new information and that are published on TV, on the radio, in newspapers, by online news agencies or on fora. My analysis will be based on the latter notion. This definition is still quite comprehensive. It comprises both, the article or report itself, that is “its physical shape”, and also the content of the item, such as “the latest news about Lebanon” (Van Dijk 1988, 4). However, for this research project this broad definition is sufficient, as I am interested in the big picture and will analyse not only the content of news items but also their context and forms or modes of presentation. Moreover, it is important to underline that my research exclusively takes articles in print newspapers into account. However, the great variety of possible news channels, such as TV or radio is always kept in mind.

Another term that turns out to be surprisingly problematic is that of ‘media’. Generally, media is associated with mass communication and used as an umbrella term for mass media technologies and agencies such as radio, TV, newspapers, films, Internet, etc. It is necessary to differentiate between the terms mass communication and mass media though, where mass media is the channel or the technology through which mass communication takes place. This communication, again, is different than for example face-to-face communication because a wider audience can be reached (Williams 2003, 4). Due to this large audience the significance of media should not be underrated. According to McQuail mass media can “provide an arena of debate” for politics, a “channel of cultural representation and expression” and a “source of images of social reality and materials for forming and maintaining social identity” (McQuail 2005, 4). The next section will deal in more detail with these claims.

### 2.1 Studies of Media Content and Media Effects

Studies of media and mass communication are primarily interested in how media represent and describe the world, how contents are selected and produced for publication and what effects these

contents have on society and public opinion (Williams 2003, 7-8). In this section I will present several concepts relevant for my particular research project.

As this thesis revolves around portrayals of refugees in Austrian newspapers, it is important to consider first of all theories of media representations. The question of how media depict certain groups of people has long been of concern to communication and media scholars. The two concepts of bias and stereotype have a particularly long tradition, with stereotyping dating back as far as 1922, when Walter Lippmann published his seminal work "Public Opinion". Stereotyping can be defined as "the social classification of particular groups and people as often highly simplified and generalized signs, which implicitly or explicitly represent a set of values, judgements and assumptions concerning their behaviour, characteristics or history" (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 299). Bias, on the other hand, describes the tendency to favour "one side in a dispute, or to favour one interpretation or to sympathise with one cause" (Street 2001, 17). Both concepts are highly disputed today, in particular because they assume that an objective reality exists and that deviance from this reality can be assessed (Williams 2003, 163). However, while some authors, such as Martin Barker, go as far as to call stereotyping a "useless tool for investigation of media texts" (Barker 1997, 89) and this criticism might indeed be valid, caution is needed before the concepts of bias and stereotypes are discarded for good. In particular, ideological functions of stereotypes and contributions to socialisation processes and group formations should not be underrated (Perkins 1997, 80). Seiter too, argues that there are indeed some virtues in stereotypes research, particularly regarding interdisciplinary analyses (Seiter 1986, 14). Even though warning against an overly simplistic approach, she calls for a consideration of "the relationship of stereotypes to the legitimization of social power" and a thorough examination of the history, the frequency and the content of stereotypes and their reception in the group in question (Seiter 1986, 25).

Due to these criticisms, however, new concepts concerning media content were developed that focus more on how reality is created rather than reflected (Williams 2003, 124). Two prominent ones are the genre and the narrative theory. As the concept of genre is rarely used for news analysis, I will discuss only the narrative theory; a theory that "examines the ways in which storytelling frames the content and meaning of media messages" (Williams 2003, 141). Particularly interesting about this theory is the idea of opposition. It is argued that stories are organised around "binary oppositions", that is, in every story there is conflict that has to be resolved. In news media, this can result, for example, in the West being portrayed as the 'good' while an opposition force is portrayed as 'evil' (Williams 2003, 141). These binary oppositions do not stem however, from the author him- or herself. Instead, narrative theory is based on the structuralist assumption that, in fact, all news items are reflections of the social patterns in society rather than products of the actual reporters (Williams 2003, 143).

The question of how decisions on the contents and production of news are made is also central to the concepts of labelling, news values and primary definition. Labelling theory focuses on the way media stigmatize certain groups of people and define them as threatening to society (cf. Cohen, 2011, 1). It partly resorts to the ideas of stereotyping but emphasizes the role of powerful and influential social groups in defining deviance. That is, it is argued that certain 'deviant' social acts or behaviour are not intrinsically deviant but are given this attribution (are 'labelled') due to social definition and historical context (O'Sullivan et al. 1994, 160).

The concept of news values looks at the way items are selected for coverage and publication. News values are a kind of informal criteria that guide journalists in their evaluation of which events are worth to become news and which are not. Journalists do not necessarily act on individual perceptions or judgments but are restricted to the news values of their organizations and are also influ-

enced by their training and journalistic background (O'Neill & Harcup 2009, 161-162). This notion also relates to the concept of primary definition. Stuart Hall and his colleagues, who have developed this concept in 1978, argue that authorities, in most cases state officials, have a considerable influence on which issues and social problems find their way into daily news and how they are presented (Hall et al. 1978, 58-59). Journalists can be seen only as secondary definers, who pass these issues and the definitions thereof (generally in a simplified way) on to the public (Cricher 2003, 134). According to this concept, thus, media is subordinate to the powerful in society. Hall et al. also underline the consequences of this preference for the definitions and opinions of authorities, claiming that "primary definition *sets the limit* for all subsequent discussion by *framing what the problem is*" (Hall et al. 1978, 59, original emphasis).

This quote implies the significance to investigate not only the production of media content but also the effects media can have on society and public opinion. Research on the impacts and power of mass communication has long been a focus of media studies and until now, debates continue. Nevertheless, despite some controversies, the three most popular concepts of framing, agenda-setting and priming remain relevant until today.

Walter Lippmann, who was already mentioned in the context of stereotyping, is also often designated as the founder of the agenda-setting theory (McCombs, 2004, 3) – a theory that focuses on how media influence the way audiences evaluate the salience and importance of certain topics (McCombs 2004, 1). Not all events and issues find their ways into newspapers and news programs and also the way information is displayed can vary highly between different media items. According to adherents of the agenda-setting theory, hence, the selection and presentation of news have a great impact on what topics are thought to be most relevant and worth to form a view on (McCombs 2004, 1-2). Since Walter Lippmann's "Public Opinion" published in 1922 and the first formal definition of the concept by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972, the theory was expanded remarkably (Coleman et al. 2009, 147). In particular, the second-level agenda-setting has become a widely accepted additional concept. While traditional (also named 'first-level') agenda-setting focuses solely on the salience of certain topics, second-level agenda-setting is also interested in how these topics are discussed and assessed by the media and, thus, in the public realm. Representations and attributions of people, events or problems come into focus of analysis (Coleman et al. 2009, 149).

Framing is another theory that is interested in the way events and issues are presented in the news and thus understood and interpreted by the audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007, 11). It is often considered equivalent to second-level agenda setting and indeed, it is difficult to differentiate between the concepts. However, two definitions of framing exist. Some scientists use a quite general definition of framing, that resembles the second-level agenda-setting. The second definition, however, focuses on "what frames actually do", including "defining problems, making moral judgments, and supporting remedies" (Entman et al. 2009, 174-175). This focus on what Weaver (2007) calls "a broader range of cognitive processes" is what makes framing distinct from other theoretical perspectives in media effects research (Weaver 2007, 146).

Priming, another common media effects concept, is often considered the extension or consequence of agenda-setting (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007, 11). Similar to first-level agenda-setting, it is more interested in the salience of issues in the media rather than their interpretation by the audience. However, priming goes one step further and also looks at the consequences of certain topics being in the news more often than others. It argues that the selection and salience of issues can have a considerable impact especially on how people evaluate political leaders and authorities (Williams 2003, 182). Due to its focus on the popular assessments of political figures, priming is not of particular relevance to this research project.

As previously mentioned, media effects theory has a long tradition of controversies and debates. Disputes concern not only the question to what extent mass communication could possibly influence public opinion, but also, how public opinion, vice versa, impacts news selection and production processes. These questions point to some weaknesses of the concepts presented above and the need to approach research on media differently. This is when discourse studies are often brought into play, in particular for more comprehensive analyses on texts and talk and the social context and structures of communication.

## 2.2 Discourse Studies

This research project is based primarily on the ideas and concepts developed by one of the most influential discourse theorists: Michel Foucault. Moreover, also the works of Siegfried Jäger and his research team are given careful attention. They have examined and expanded Foucault's theories and follow a particularly critical and political approach to this field of research. They also specifically emphasize that all empirical methods always need to be grounded in theory (S. Jäger, 2012, 11-12). For that reason, this section will first engage with the theoretical assumptions underlying the study of discourses before turning to the techniques and tools in a subsequent chapter.

Discourse studies are an interdisciplinary field, drawing from academic domains such as the social sciences, cultural studies, communication studies, linguistics and many more. Definitions of discourses and discourse analysis hence vary considerably, depending on the type of research questions asked, the underlying scientific assumptions and the academic background of the researchers. One set of definitions, employed in particular in the field of linguistics, focuses solely on questions of language and language use. Another set of definitions expands this rather narrow focus and argues that discourse needs to be understood as "a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language" (Schiffrin et al. 2001, 1). Critical discourse theorists provide a third approach to the concept. They stress the potential of discourse studies for analyses of power relations and dominance and include this critical stance already in their definition. Link, for instance, considers discourse as "an institutionally consolidated concept of speech inasmuch as it determines and consolidates action and thus already exercises power" (Link 1983, 60, as cited and translated in Wodak & Meyer 2001, 34).

Due to the fact that discourse analysis, either way, does acknowledge the significance of texts and talks in the study of the social world, its ideas and concepts have been applied frequently to analyses of media and specifically, the news. Van Dijk, for instance, who originally comes from the field of text linguistics and literary studies, has developed some renowned frameworks for the study of news and racism (Van Dijk 1988, 1). M. Jäger and Wamper, too, consider the study of media discourses as highly relevant. They argue that media do more than reporting. They also convey images, communicate concepts and principles that guide individuals and social groups and influence what is sayable and thinkable in a particular society and what is not (M. Jäger & Wamper, 2017, 88). This argument points again towards the recurring debate on media effects.

According to M. Jäger and S. Jäger, discourse analysis should always also be considered a media effects analysis. However, contrary to other concepts of this field of communication studies, discourse theory claims that news items themselves do not have considerable impacts on the audience. Instead, it is discourses that influence individual behaviour and the collective construction of reality. All members of society, discourse theorists argue, are continuously exposed to particular arguments, symbols and so forth in their everyday life and in particular through mass communication. Even though those contents are only distributed in small doses, they can take hold of individual and collec-

tive consciousness over time (M. Jäger & S. Jäger 2007, 32-33). However, discourse analysis goes yet beyond media effects theory.

To some extent all individuals are involved in the production of what is sayable in a society and what is not and how certain matters should be understood and evaluated. That is, a journalist, for instance, is not the only one responsible for the contents of his articles and the arguments and meanings conveyed. He is always interwoven and entangled in all different kinds of discourses that are prevalent in the social world he lives in and is exposed to. As everyone is interwoven in the discourses of society, everyone is also part of creating them (S. Jäger, 2012, 37). Hence, all members of society possess power. Foucault compares this concept to a net that covers all individuals and challenges the common idea that social power is always necessarily exercised from top to bottom (Williams 2003, 60). This also implies that discourse analysis can be critical, but never ideological. It refuses the existence of an objective truth. Therefore, no one can ever justify his or her power or dominance by claims to truth or by arguing to be in the right (M. Jäger & S. Jäger 2007, 37). This stance on ideology clearly distinguishes discourse analysis from Neo-Marxist approaches, that regard media as an instrument of dominant groups to distribute their ideas and concepts and in this way legitimize and maintain their power (Williams 2003, 52).

Nevertheless, even though discourse theorists like Foucault argue that all members of society possess power to some degree, they do not disregard the fact that some individuals can gain more influence than others and eventually even assert dominance. As pointed out above, power, according to Foucault, is possessed by everyone and all members of society can participate in the construction, perpetuation, and resistance of discourses. Discourses can always change over time and new, often-times anti-hegemonic counter-discourses, may develop. Dominance, on the contrary, restricts this power to a large extent and minimizes or radically removes the possibility for (counter-) discourses to evolve. Exclusion, exploitation, and repression take over and leave no or only very limited room for change or resistance (S. Jäger 2012, 47). This is also the point when critical discourse analysis comes into play, an approach specifically interested in “revealing societal power operations and invoking a call to social responsibility” (Cotter 2001, 418). Due to this focus on workings of power in society critical discourse analysis is most relevant to this research project.

Another relevant concept that should be briefly mentioned here is the concept of normalism. Normalism is interested in the (re-)production of normality in a society and the institutions, techniques and people involved in the process (Link 2013, 202). According to Link, European and North American societies are to a great extent “normalistic” (Link 2013, 202). That is, there is a tendency to always question whether a certain event, trend or behaviour can be considered normal. If this is not the case, there is a strong need for “normalisation”. Normalism becomes also evident in the thirst for numbers and statistics. Statistics provide averages, means, benchmarks and thresholds that can help evaluate normality and decide when action is necessary (M. Jäger & Wamper 2017, 88-89). This idea of normal versus deviant definitely always needs to be considered when analysing discourses. Normalism, hence, is often called a “tool” of critical discourse analysis (M. Jäger & S. Jäger 2007, 61). Since this research project is based on the moral panic concept and therefore largely focuses on social deviance, this tool proves particularly useful.

## 2.3 Moral Panic Concept

The concept of moral panics in media science goes back to Stanley Cohen and his study of youth disturbances in the 1960s in Britain (Thompson 1998, 7). In his seminal work “Folk Devils and Moral Panics”, first published in 1972, Cohen describes this phenomenon as a process where “a condition,

episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests" (Cohen 2011, 1). For better understanding this definition should be expanded by the five criteria for moral panics, identified by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009). First, there is strong concern in the population about the 'deviant' behaviour of a group and the consequences of this behaviour. Second, hostility emerges towards the group responsible for the 'deviant' acts. Third, there is consensus about the threat that the group and the behaviour pose. Fourth, the reaction to the behaviour is disproportionate when regarding the real threat faced. Fifth, moral panics emerge and also subside quite fast; they are volatile (Goode & Ben-Yehuda 2009, 37-43).

It is important to underline here the significance of media representations to moral panics. The group designated as scapegoats or 'folk devils' are usually portrayed in the media as the "personification of the evil" (Hier 2002, 313). This is achieved by stereotypical and pejorative characterizations and the omission and denial of any positive feature or trait of any group member. Only this way, 'folk devils' can serve as targets for the fears and concerns in a society (Hier 2002, 313). Thus, the concepts of stereotypes, bias and labelling, despite some justified points of critiques, can provide useful tools for the analysis of moral panics. Moreover, also theories on how media content is produced should be taken into consideration when examining (alleged) social threats. According to Critcher, in particular the concepts of primary definers, news values and agenda-setting, outlined above, are all closely connected to moral panics (Critcher 2003, 132). However, even though the importance of mass communications to moral panics is indisputable, researchers have come to different conclusions on the particular role of the media and the scope of significance. Cohen, in his classical model of moral panics, sees media as "strategic in the formation of moral panics" (Critcher 2008, 1134). Goode and Ben-Yehuda, on the other hand, ascribe media a much more passive role (Critcher 2008, 1134).

In the previous section Link's concept of 'normalism' has been briefly introduced. This concept should always be kept in mind when analysing moral panics, because behaviour or certain acts can only be considered deviant when normality is first defined. Critcher (2006) clearly points out that deviance is not "the intrinsic property of an act nor a quality possessed by an actor" (Critcher 2006, 31). He goes along with Becker who, in his influential work "Outsiders" argues that deviance "is created by society" (Becker 1963, 8). Becker continues, explaining that "deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'" (Becker 1963, 9). Hence, researchers of moral panics should always bear in mind that European and North American societies are, according to Link (2013), strongly normalistic. Discourses of normality and deviance need to be carefully examined and also contributions of labelling theory should always be considered.

The applicability of the moral panics approach to questions of how societies deal with nonconformity and how they draw moral boundaries is one reason why the concept remains popular until today (Goode & Ben-Yehuda 1994, 58). Another reason concerns its focus on power relations. Moral panics research aims at disclosing "the workings of power", that is, it seeks to identify dominant groups in a society and highlight their role in suppression and nomination of social threats (Critcher 2006, 4). Critcher adds another, slightly controversial, benefit to this field of research. He claims that it is increasingly difficult today to clearly divide political parties and groups according to their ideologies and principles. Consequently, those groups, in particular parties from the right, use "issues about the moral state of the nation" to make themselves distinctive and set themselves apart (Critcher 2006, 3-4). Moral panics studies, thus, gain more and more political relevance.

However, even though the concept of moral panic remains popular until today for reasons just mentioned and has been applied to a wide range of research problems and fields, it has also faced substantial critiques; even the basic criteria outlined above come in for criticism. Hier, for instance, ar-

gues that disproportionality is a futile criterion as it is hard to define what an appropriate reaction to a threat might be. He points out that normative judgments by analysts might influence assumptions about disproportionality more than acceptable (Hier 2016, 415). Critcher, too, lists a vast amount of criticisms to be found in the literature, ranging from critiques of basic terminology to allegations of application ad nauseam (Critcher 2008, 1137-1138). Following Thompson (1998), who proposed to include the perspectives of discourse analysis and risk society to the concept, Critcher argues for a re-definition of moral panics as *“extreme forms of risk discourses integral to the process of moral regulation”* (Critcher 2008, 1140; original emphasis).

This research project will seize Critcher’s suggestions for the following three reasons outlined in his paper *“Moral Panics Analysis: Past Present and Future”* (2008). First, it can be said that discourse analysis and moral panics are more than clearly connected. Discourse analysis, in particular critical discourse analysis, seeks to investigate dominance in a society. Research in this field, as pointed out in a previous section, aims to reveal what can be said and thought in a society, who influences the formation and maintenance of discourses and what consequences these discourses have. Hence, Critcher argues, *“moral panics should be conceptualised as forms of discourses”* (Critcher 2008, 1139).

Second, the concept of risk society also proves useful for moral panics research because folk devils, no matter what kind of ‘deviant group’ may be concerned, always, allegedly, pose risks. According to researchers such as Beck (1992) or Lupton (1999) consciousness of and concerns about risks have gained prominence in modern societies. They claim that social, cultural, political, and economic changes have shattered social order and replaced the feeling of stability with growing concerns about potential risks (Critcher 2003, 265). Critcher argues that *“moral panics, then, may reflect and reinforce this risk consciousness, of which they are an extreme but symptomatic example”* (Critcher 2008, 1140).

Third, moral regulation and moral panics are closely related since moral regulation projects can be defined as a *“form of politics in which some people act to problematise the conduct, values or cultures of others and seek to impose regulation upon them”* (Hunt 1999, 1). Moral regulation has most often concerned the media, drugs, sex or other topics also prone to moral panics. Critcher, thus, understands moral panics as *“an extreme form of moral regulation, most prevalent at times of perceived cultural crisis”* (Critcher 2008, 1140).

The revision of the concept, as proposed by Critcher (2008), is a valuable contribution to moral panics studies and should clearly be taken into account in any research in this field.

## 2.4 Refugee Discourses in Austria and Their Historical Contexts

Discourses of immigration and refugee discourses have not emerged abruptly only in recent times or during periods of increased refugee arrivals in the 1990s. On the contrary, just like any other discourse, discourses on refugees and asylum seekers have evolved over time. They have always had a great impact on setting the limits of what is sayable in society and yet, at the same time, society itself was responsible for their construction, their transformation and even the emergence of counter-discourses. It is, hence, important to examine discourses of refugees that have existed already before the time periods investigated. Moreover, a review of existing literature and historical contexts is crucial to allow for an embedding of newly acquired research results.

An interesting peculiarity concerning refugee discourses surfaces already after a first sighting of the literature: the Austrian self-image in regard to acceptance and perception of refugees is quite con-



tradictory and so is the academic literature. It is often claimed that there used to be a more welcoming attitude towards refugees in Austria in the mid-20th century than there is today. Some authors identify a turn in this welcoming attitude towards a more hostile climate in the 1980s, in particular around 1989 (cf. Heiß & Rathkolb 1995, 7). Others hold that the Austrian attitude towards refugees changed only during the 1990s when Croatian and Bosnian refugees arrived in the course of the Yugoslav wars (cf. Šunjić 1995, 251). However, it is important to underline that numerous examples of hostile discourses and negative representations can be found already before the alleged turning points of 1989 and the 1990s (cf. Zierer 1995 or Valeš 1995). Sometimes these contradictory viewpoints are even outlined in the same sources (cf. the collected edition by Heiß & Rathkolb 1995). This clearly implies that general statements cannot easily be made.

There is, however, an overall agreement in the literature of the 1990s and early 2000s that Austria was always keen to point out that it was not a country of immigration. If anything, it presented itself as a transit country (Bratić 2001, 519). Austria's willingness to host refugees was always connected to the possibility and expectation that refugees would move on to other permanent host countries (Bauböck 1996, 10). This self-image of Austria as a 'transit country' had substantial consequences. Faßmann and Münz for instance, argue that Austria, for a long time, did not establish any clear migration strategies or policies. Instead, legislative initiatives were often based on current events or upcoming elections (Faßmann & Münz 1991, 85). Moreover, accommodation of refugees was found inadequate and unrealistic (Wischenbart 1995, 200) and support for integration was deficient (Alizadeh 1995, 193).

Some of these arguments seem familiar also today. In 2015, for instance, *der Standard* published an article called "Vom Transitland zum Zielland" ("From a Transit Country to a Destination Country"), implying that only in this year Austria turned into a country of immigration (Neuhold 2015). Indeed, as will be shown in the subsequent sections, discourses of immigration remained surprisingly similar over time.

In general, it can be said that refugee discourses in Austria seem to be crisis discourses at the same time. During every refugee movement Austria felt left alone by the international community to handle the situation, the 'crisis'. Refugees are, for the most part, seen as a threat to the Austrian society and state. Moreover, also weather and flood metaphors implying an invasion of immigrants were used since soon after the Second World War and remain until today. It comes of little surprise that refugee discourses were often interlinked to socioeconomic questions, portraying refugees as a burden to the Austrian state, no matter how many refugees arrived or what the economic situation in Austria looked like.

#### 2.4.1 Refugee movements in Austria before the early 1980s

After the Second World War and before the alleged 'turning point' of discourses of immigration in the 1980s, five major groups of refugees arrived in Austria: German refugees in the post-war period, Hungarians in 1956/57, Czechoslovakians in 1968/69, Poles in 1981/82 and Jewish refugees from 1976 to 1990 (Faßmann & Münz 1991, 86-87).

The Hungarian refugees came shortly after the allied occupying powers had left Austria. Austria at that time wanted to make its mark as an independent state and find its place in the divided Europe. Supporting refugees, hence, was of great political importance to the newly re-established state (Valeš 1995, 172). However, Austria's self-declared role during this exceptional situation was more of an 'administrative agency' for the Hungarians and less of a permanent host. That is, it saw its responsibilities in particular in the administration of refugees and the organisation of transfers to other

Western countries. In fact, only around 10% of the 180,288 Hungarians that entered Austria until 1957 chose this country as their permanent residence (Zierer 1995, 163).

Due to this role of 'transfer state' the atmosphere in the country was quite positive when the first refugees arrived. However, as soon as support, recognition and solidarity from other countries started to decrease and refugees had to wait longer in Austria until they could continue to other host countries, the public image of refugees from Hungary deteriorated quickly (Zierer 1995, 169). Refugees suddenly turned into a "humanitarian, political and judicial problem", a burden on the state and Austria increasingly felt left alone by the lack of Western support. Moreover, a justification discourse emerged that pointed out how Austria had already fulfilled its humanitarian obligation by hosting post-war refugees. That is why, so went the argument, the international community needed to recognize that Austria had already reached its limits of hospitality (Zierer 1995, 169). These negative perceptions on refugees and hostile presentations came along with dramatic phrasings. In particular metaphors of flooding were commonly used, that is, reports frequently spoke of "flows", "floods" and even "invasions" of people (Zierer 1995, 169). Moreover, the newly arrived refugees were also suspected of asylum fraud. It was claimed that the Hungarians were misusing their asylum right at the expense of the Austrian local population. Commonly used attributions ranging from "demanding" and "ungrateful" to "parasites" or "impostor" show the severity of these allegations (Zierer 1995, 170).

Czechoslovakians that were searching for refuge after the invasion of members of the Warsaw Pact in 1968/69 did not come upon a much better climate towards foreigners in Austria than the Hungarians in the 1950s. Yet, while there was still an atmosphere of welcome when the first Hungarians arrived, Czechoslovakian refugees were confronted with hostility very soon. According to Valeš these differences in hospitality were in particular due to UN decisions and funding (Valeš 1995, 172). In 1956, all Hungarian refugees were declared refugees according to the 1951 Refugee Convention during a UN General Assembly meeting and financial support was guaranteed by the institution. Refugees from Czechoslovakia, however, had to apply themselves for asylum in the host countries. Only very few applied and consequently, less money for accommodation was available from the UN. Austria, hence, was afraid of high costs (Valeš 1995, 172). Moreover, also the internal political situation in Austria was quite different in the late 1960s than the mid-1950s. In 1968, Austria had already found its place in the international community and had shown its cooperativeness during the Hungarian refugee movement. The need for political profiling was therefore reduced significantly (Valeš 1995, 172).

It is important to underline that Austria's fears of high costs did not prove true in the end. Also, during this refugee movement Austria was more of a transit or passage country (Valeš 1995, 177). From around 168,000 Czechoslovakians that arrived in 1968/69 only around 12,000 people applied for asylum (Faßmann & Münz 1991, 86). That is, Austria had to cope with the high numbers of refugees in the 1968 crisis only for a short time. The need and expenses for integration measures were therefore very limited (Valeš 1995, 178). Moreover, the small number of asylum applications was also due to a general lack of workforce in Austria at that time. Migrants could stay in Austria more easily even without asylum status as 'guest workers'. These migrant workers, of course, did not have to be state supported (Bauböck, 1996, 10).

Just like the Hungarian and the Czechoslovakian refugees, also the majority of Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union during 1976 and 1990 did not stay in the country (Faßmann & Münz 1991, 87). Austria was more of a safe waiting place on the refugees' journey to the USA or Israel. It is interesting to note, that from a political point of view, the Jewish descent of the refugees was important. Austria

could improve its negative image from the Nazi period and deflect attention from deficient initiatives of reappraisal and clarification (Bauböck 1996, 11).

In 1981/1982, around 120,000 to 180,000 people from Poland arrived in Austria (Faßmann & Münz 1991, 86) after martial law was introduced in their country (Bauböck 1996, 9). Around 33,000 people applied for asylum (Faßmann & Münz 1991, 86). The situation for the Polish refugee was, again, quite different than for the Czechoslovakians during the 1960s. Even though the Czechoslovakians faced rejection and hostility, Austria's asylum politics during the 1968/69 events and also in the 1970s was still quite humane. However, when more refugees from Czechoslovakia arrived at the end of the 1970s without any clear preceding events and also refugees from Poland started to reach Austria due to the introduction of martial law, politicians and newspapers began to demand more restrictive asylum policies. Thereupon asylum measures and asylum procedures were tightened (Valeš 1995, 179). Moreover, the Austrian economy in the 1980s was less favourable than in the 1960s and also the migrant worker programme was reduced significantly between 1981 and 1984 (Bauböck 1996, 10). Hence, there were significantly fewer (legal) options to stay in Austria.

#### 2.4.2 The 1980s and early 1990s

Since the early 1980s attitudes towards foreigners in Austria continued to deteriorate. In particular the year 1989 with the revolution in Romania and the subsequent refugee movement is often considered a turning point in Austria's stance towards refugees and Austrian asylum politics. The right of asylum was disassembled step-by-step by introducing fast-track procedures and visa requirements for important countries of origin and by facilitating deportations (Bauer 2008, 6). Moreover, since 1990, foreigners could be rejected and deported already at the Austrian state border, before given the chance to apply for asylum (Faßmann & Münz 1991, 89). Romanians were also obliged to report the equivalent of at least 5,000 Austrian Schilling during border control in order to prove their 'tourist status'. It should be noted that this measure was introduced already in early 1990, yet before it was even clear how the political situation in Romania looked like and for what reasons the newly arrived people came to Austria (Matouschek & Wodak 1992, 137). That is, intentions of immigration to Austria were already dismissed as undesirable and unjustified before political evaluation took place.

All of these political measures were officially introduced to combat human trafficking and illegal immigration and to protect the Austrian employment market from migrant workforce. In addition, in this time period, Austria started to increasingly conform to the political orientation of the European Community (EC), in particular regarding the member states' positions towards Eastern and South-Eastern European countries (Faßmann & Münz 1991, 89).

Apart from changes in law, also the overall discourse on immigration and asylum evolved further. In general, a more negative and hostile tone was applied during migration debates in the late 1980s and early 1990s and discriminatory language became prevalent. The term 'economic refugee', that became popular already in the course of the 1980s, was adopted as a standard expression (cf. Wischenbart 1995, 207; Bratić 2001, 520). It is used for people that allegedly migrate only for economic reasons and hence, do not qualify for asylum. Another term that is closely connected is 'Scheinasyllant' or 'bogus asylum seeker'. A 'Scheinasyllant' is someone who does not have any valid motives for fleeing his or her country of origin, but who pretends to be in need of protection only in order to benefit from the asylum system (Bauböck 1996, 20). Both terms carry strong implications of dishonesty and fraud. Moreover, apart from negative attributions refugees were often simply subsumed under the term 'migration problem' (Wischenbart 1995, 207). This umbrella term clearly points out the general tone of the debate during the 1980s and 1990s.

#### 2.4.3 The 1990s and the Yugoslav wars

A very prominent refugee movement that many Austrians still have imprinted in their memories is the refugee movement that occurred in the 1990s in the course of the Yugoslav wars. Since this refugee movement is one of two periods of heightened migration that are analysed in this work, a brief overview of the historical context is provided. A more detailed analysis of the pre-war situation in Yugoslavia, the events during the war, the Dayton Agreement of 1995 and the aftermath would be desirable but clearly goes beyond the scope of this study. However, a pool of established academic literature and critical readings on these topics and issues is available and accessible in libraries and on common research databases.

In 1991, the actual breakup of former Yugoslavia started with Slovenia and Croatia declaring independence (Bischof 2013, 23). Only one day after the declaration of independence, war between the Yugoslav People's Army and Slovenian territorial defence forces broke out. This war was settled quite quickly; however, fighting soon relocated to Croatia (Benediek 2003, 56). The Croatian War of Independence was not only longer but also considerably more violent than the Slovenian, including mass atrocities by both, Serb as well as Croat units (Calic 2013, 121). Moreover, a great number of people had to leave their homes in search for security. By the end of 1991, there were around half a million refugees and internally displaced people in Croatia. Many people also moved abroad, in particular to Slovenia and Serbia (Calic 2013, 121-122) and around 13,000 people arrived in Austria (Bauböck 1996, 21). In January 1992, the situation was relieved by a truce, brokered by the UN (Calic 2013, 121). Many refugees could soon move back to their homes and the number of refugees and internally displaced in Croatia was reduced to 260,000 (Calic, 121-122). Also, the majority of Croatian refugees in Austria returned to their homes (Bauböck 1996, 21). It is important to note, though, that the ethnic composition of the newly established Croatia was very different compared to the pre-war state (Calic 2013, 122).

When Milosevic declared the war with Croatia over, fighting again relocated – this time to Bosnia. In October 1992, Bosnia, too, declared independence (Benediek 2003, 58). A brutal and protracted war followed between Bosnians, Serbs and also Croats (Bischof 2013, 23). Numerous appalling atrocities were committed in the course of the war, with the case of Srebrenica forming the most well-known site and event of mass killing that has seared into the country's and Europe's memory (cf. Calic 2013). Moreover, around 4.4 million people had to flee their homes. From this 4.4 million around 1.3 million people were displaced internally and around 500,000 people found refuge in neighbouring countries (Calic 20013, 115). In Austria, around 90,000 Bosnians acquired a temporary right of residence until 1995 (Bauer 2008, 7). At the end of June 1993, the maximum of state-supported refugees was reached with around 47,500 people on relief. The number of refugees hosted by friends and family, however, is not known (Bauböck 1996, 21).

It is important to underline that refugees from Croatia and Bosnia were considered 'de-facto refugees' and not refugees as defined by the 1951 Refugee Convention (Bauer 2008, 7). Bauböck argues that the main reason for this alternative solution of temporary protection was the fear of high numbers of refugees that might have overburdened the newly established restrictive asylum system. Furthermore, the asylum status would have granted the refugees the right to unlimited residence and free access to the job market (Bauböck 1996, 21). The 'de-facto solution' indeed allowed the Austrian state to help more people in a faster way than would have been possible if normal asylum procedures of that time were applied. Moreover, for the Croatian refugees that did return home very soon after the situation settled down the de-facto regulation was very appropriate (Bauböck 1996, 21).

However, for the Bosnian refugees the new regulation was futile. As the war and ethnic cleansing continued, repatriation of Bosnians became more and more difficult. As a consequence, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Social Affairs in Austria decided to open the job market. In this way, the number of state-supported refugees could be reduced to less than 18,000 in 1996. In the case of Bosnian refugees, temporary protection, hence, turned into permanent immigration (Bauböck 1996, 21-22).

#### 2.4.4 Recent refugee movements

The year 1999 constitutes another turning point in Austrian refugee history. For a long time, non-European refugees were only a small minority compared to European refugees in Austria. However, after 1999 this changed. In 2000, most asylum seekers came from Afghanistan, followed by Iranian, Indian and Iraqi citizens (Bauer 2008, 7). The topics connected to migration in general and forced migration in particular, however, remained the same. Insecurity, criminality, threats on the Austrian society and strains on the welfare state were among some of the most commonly addressed topics and issues in the migration debate (Drüeke & Fritsche 2015, 13). After 2000, migration was also increasingly linked to religious fanaticism and terrorism (Drüeke & Fritsche 2015, 13).

In the summer of 2015, the debate on refugees suddenly exploded, provoked by increased numbers of refugees arriving in Europe (M. Jäger & Wamper 2017b, 7). It quickly captured not only the media but also the political realm and the general public. Crisis discourses soon evolved. The evaluation of the situation as critical is particularly manifest in the term 'refugee crisis' that turned into an expression of everyday vocabulary and was used even by authorities and in official papers (M. Jäger & Wamper 2017b, 7).

The vast majority of asylum seekers in Austria in 2015 originally came from Afghanistan and Syria. Around 25,000 primary asylum applications or almost 30% of a total of 85,798 applications were filed by Afghans. Syrians ranked only slightly behind with approximately 24,300 applications, that is, a percentage of around 28% (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2015, 8). In 2016, Afghans and Syrians were still the two largest groups of asylum seekers. However, primary asylum applications were reduced significantly to 11,522 for refugees from Afghanistan and 8,642 for refugees from Syria (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2016, 17-21).

Both countries have a long history of protracted political and violent conflicts. In Afghanistan, the first war after its independence in 1919 took place from 1979 to 1989 when the Soviet Union invaded, occupied the country and waged war, alongside Afghan state troops, against the Islamist Mujahideen group. The fighting provoked massive refugee movements, in particular to neighbouring Pakistan and Iraq (Berger et al. 2016, 12). More than a million Afghans died during the conflict (Barfield 2010, 171). The situation did not settle down after the war officially ended. Instead, "armed conflicts and social disruptions became the norm" (Barfield 2010, 165). In the late 1980s political power struggles developed into civil war and also allowed the Taliban to seize power. Violence continued and with no real government, Afghanistan soon turned into a failed state (Barfield 2010, 6-7). Again, many people had no option but to leave their homelands. The refugee movements also continued when the United States under George W. Bush got involved in the conflict. An end of the crisis and political stabilisation is not in sight. On the contrary, very weak economic performances and population growth due to high fertility rates put even more pressure on the country (Berger et al. 2016, 13).

Even though Syria is still a relatively 'young' state it, too, has quite a history of conflicts and political struggles. Internal political struggles evolved soon after the country became independent in 1946. In 1958, after only 12 years of a 'Republic of Syria', Syria and Egypt merged to form the United Arab Republic. This state, too, did not exist for long. In 1961, a military coup resulted in the break-up of

the republic. In the wake of another coup in 1963, the Ba'ath Party came into power, led by Hafez al-Assad from 1971 until his death in 2000 and his son Bashar al-Assad until today (Berger et al. 2016, 13-14). Over the course of time the Ba'ath regime became increasingly infamous for its violence and brutality. During the Hama massacre in 1982, for instance, between 10,000 and 40,000 people were killed. Imprisonment and torture of opponents occurred on a regular basis (Baczko et al. 2017, 34). Suppression of opposition and demonstrations finally resulted in civil war in 2011, that subsequently provoked massive refugee movements in particular to the neighbouring countries Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. As the situation in the refugee camps in Syria and beyond started to deteriorate and no end of the conflict was in sight, many refugees decided to move on towards Europe (Berger et al. 2016, 14).

In the beginning of increased refugee arrivals in Europe in 2015 media reports in Austria focused on shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea or on the situation of the EU external borders. Questions of humanity and sympathy were particularly topical, and the legitimacy of restrictive European asylum politics was frequently challenged. However, Drüeke & Fritsche (2015) found that when refugees increasingly started to use the so-called 'Balkan route' to reach Western Europe and more refugees arrived also in Austria, a different tone was adopted. Pictures of refugees in camps at the Hungarian or Slovakian borders, at railway stations or on motorways raised debates on the 'right' measures needed, adequate asylum politics, the risks and benefits of hosting refugees and a common European approach to meet the challenges of managing the refugee movement (Drüeke & Fritsche 2015, 12).

Soon concerns about asylum abuse, that were frequently brought up during previous refugee movements, re-surfaced. Another similarity to previous periods of increased migration was the use of weather and flood metaphors and hostile and racist language. In the course of time, refugees quickly turned into a threat to society and internal security that the population needed to be protected of. Hence, tightening of asylum legislation was justified (M. Jäger & Wamper 2017b, 10).

This short literature overview on refugee discourses and their historical contexts showed that the way refugees were perceived in Austria did evolve over time, but at the same time, many significant arguments and concerns persisted. In particular, the fear of invasion that was prevalent in many immigration debates should be underlined. In the subsequent chapters refugee discourses in the early 1990s and in the 2015-2016 period are analysed in more detail, compared to each other and examined with reference to the concept of moral panic.

### 3 METHODOLOGY, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Good research always needs to be clear about what it seeks to investigate and how research is conducted. That is, researchers must clarify the rules they followed, define the steps taken in the process, and justify how they arrived at their conclusions. This is when the terms method and methodology come in. Klaus Krippendorf has nicely described the role of methodology as follows: “Methodology provides a language for talking about the process of research” (Krippendorf 2004, xxi). Besides that, it also “provides the *reasons* for using a particular research ‘recipe’” (Clough & Nutbrown 2012, 25; original emphasis). Methods, on the other hand, are the “ingredients of research” (Clough & Nutbrown 2012, 25).

This chapter will provide an overview of the methods and tools used in my research project. Moreover, the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen approaches and techniques and the question of research quality will be examined. As this research follows a multi-methodical approach, the combination and compatibility of the different methods also need to be addressed. A short section will be dedicated to this issue, followed by a comprehensive part on data collection.

Furthermore, this chapter will also respond to questions of methodology and include explanations and justifications for using certain techniques and for other relevant decisions concerning methods and procedures. However, it is important to underline here that methodology plays a role throughout the whole research process. Clough and Nutbrown point out that “a ‘good methodology’ is more a critical design attitude to be found always at work throughout a study, rather than confined within a brief chapter called ‘Methodology’” (Clough & Nutbrown 2012, 25).

#### 3.1 Discourse Analysis

Naming a section in the methods chapter “discourse analysis” is a bold choice considering the general agreement in the scientific community that discourse analysis should not be considered a method. Instead, it is argued that it is a “theoretical and methodological whole” and discourse analysts are called upon to acknowledge this strong link between theory and method in their research designs (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002, 4). Thus, even though this section will concentrate on the methodological principles of discourse analysis, it is important to always keep in mind also its theoretical foundations as well as other concepts and approaches relevant to this specific research.

As pointed out above, discourse analysis does not constitute a method. Nor are there any methods that are specifically associated with it or restrictions as to which research techniques are appropriate. Almost any method may be applied, provided that it is adequate to achieve the research objectives and corresponds to the means available (Baker et al. 2008, 273). Hence, a good theoretical knowledge is important to decide on suitable methods. A nice illustration of this approach is the toolbox metaphor, initially introduced by Foucault himself (S. Jäger 2012, 19). Researchers, interested in the study of discourse, have a well-stocked methodical toolbox at hand. What kind of instruments they need and choose, depends on the object and problem in question (M. Jäger & S. Jäger 2007, 25). Nevertheless, one requirement concerning the choice of methods exists: since discourse analysis focuses largely on texts and recorded talk, all chosen methods will necessarily need to include textual analysis in some form or another (Wodak 2011, 40). Consequently, analysis will also involve some linguistic concepts. Their significance to discourse analysis, however, is disputed. While some authors such as Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer strongly focus on linguistic categories in their research (cf.

Wodak & Meyer 2001), others, such as Siegfried Jäger, hold that “the linguistic toolbox represents merely one drawer in the discourse-analytical ‘toolbox’” (Jäger 2001, 46). This research project follows more the ideas of Jäger and his colleagues. Therefore, linguistic techniques will play only a minor role.

Despite the general agreement that discourse analysis does not require a specific set of methods and that there are no rules that strictly need to be followed, it is still recommended that researchers take on some guidelines provided by other discourse analysts for planning and pursuing their own studies. By drawing on the experiences of research colleagues and adapting reliable procedures rather than reinventing the wheel, mistakes can be avoided and suggestions by previous studies more easily implemented.

This research project will follow to a large extent the guidelines and recommended procedures outlined by Jäger in his introduction to critical discourse analysis (S. Jäger 2012) and released in slightly adapted versions also in other publications (e.g. Wodak & Meyer 2001). Jäger proposes a two-step approach to discourse analysis. First, a structure analysis should be conducted that mostly focuses on the quantitative description of content and analyses a large pool of material. It delivers an insight into what kind of themes and arguments are most prevalent or most important to the overall discourse and also reveals when certain topics began to gain prominence. (S. Jäger 2012, 95). In this research project, the recommended structure analysis is expanded to a more thorough content analysis, as it is very suitable for covering long and also historical time periods. Second, a qualitative fine analysis of carefully selected texts follows. It is not only interested in the description of the material but also – and specifically – in its interpretation (Keller 2004, 87). Hence, in this step of analysis language and rhetoric play a relevant role (Meyer 2001, 25). The fine analysis is the most important part of discourse research. Jäger underlines that even though discourse analysis should never lack a thorough quantitative analysis, the quantitative aspect is yet “always of less relevance to the significance of discourse analysis than the qualitative” (Jäger 2001, 52). This is also true for this research project. While the quantitative aspect does gain slightly more prominence than recommended by Jäger, in the final overall analysis and during the evaluation of the findings, however, considerably more importance is given to the qualitative fine analysis.

The specific steps of analysis, as suggested by Siegfried Jäger, are outlined in more detail in the subsequent section.

### 3.1.1 Methodical Procedure

As an expert of discourse studies, Siegfried Jäger has developed a set of guidelines to help other researchers perform successful discourse analyses. He offers a very well-structured method that can be easily adapted to fit a wide variety of research projects and includes a range of detailed instructions on how to process material. Below, the most important steps will be briefly outlined. The list is taken from Siegfried Jäger’s “Kritische Diskursanalyse. Eine Einleitung” (Critical Discourse Analysis. An Introduction; Jäger 2012, 90-91) and was translated and slightly adapted to fulfil the requirements of this particular research project. Any additional sources used, and adaptations to the original guidelines made are clearly stated.

1. The first step in any research project is always a clear formulation of the research objectives and the acquirement of a good theoretical knowledge of the field of study (Jäger 2012, 90).

2. Next, the object of investigation needs to be presented and the motivation for choosing this particular topic, time frame and spatial dimension should be clearly addressed (Jäger 2012, 91). The research project will always deal with controversial issues as critical discourse analysis is interested



specifically in workings of power and social inequalities. Consequently, the political background also needs to be outlined briefly (Jäger 2012, 90).

3. The material used in the analysis must be defined precisely. It is important to be clear about the reasons for the choice of material and about potential restrictions, for instance, due to availability issues. Detailed information on material used in this study is included in the section “data collection”.

4. The first analytical step, according to Jäger, should be a structure analysis. In this study, the structure analysis is expanded to a more comprehensive content analysis. A subsequent section in this chapter will deal with the methods used in this step of the research process and outline the reasons for giving more attention to the quantitative aspect of analysis. The content analysis is also crucial for choosing material for the fine analysis.

5. The structure or content analysis is followed by a detailed examination of the selected material. Jäger proposes a five-step approach to this fine analysis. He points out that it is not necessary to follow the analytical steps strictly in the suggested order (Jäger 2012, 98). However, since Jäger’s approach is reliable and approved, this research project will take up this five-step model without any major modifications. More detailed information on the specific questions asked in the fine analysis may be found in the appendix.

First, the institutional context needs to be examined thoroughly. This includes a justification of the material selection, information on the authors and an examination of why the text in question might have been published. Was there, for instance, an event that the text reports or reflects on or does it take on a debate that has been going on for a while already? It is also a good choice to briefly state the genre or section in a news item that the text belongs to (Jäger 2001, 55). Second, after a precise analysis of the institutional framework, researchers should then turn to the text ‘surface’, that is, to how the text presents itself. This includes an examination of the structure of the text and also the layout such as pictures and charts, headlines, subheadings, captions, etc. Moreover, the themes addressed and the links between the themes should be recorded (Jäger 2001, 55). The third step concerns the linguistic and rhetorical means of the texts. Researchers need to examine closely the composition and logic of the text, the argumentation strategies that it pursues, the insinuations and implications that are made and the vocabulary and style used. Above that, the most important actors, references to the sciences or other sources of knowledge as well as symbolism, idioms, sayings and clichés should be identified (Jäger 2001, 55). Fourth, it is important to scrutinize the ideological statements of the material. Questions that need to be asked concern for instance the text’s understanding of society or its image of humankind. Also, the outlook on the future that is offered to the readership can be of great interest to the researcher (Jäger 2001, 56). Fifth, in a final analytical step, all the findings are brought together and interpreted.

6. Since discourse analysis is interested not only in the text material itself but also in the societal and political situation and practices that produce this material, it is crucial to give special attention to the discursive context of the topic in question. Researchers need to consider the temporal and spatial dimension of the discourse and determine, for example, the role of governments and other institutions or people in power, the legislation of the state or socio-political developments (Jäger 2012, 91).

7. Finally, in an overall analysis all results gained during the structure analysis (or content analysis), the fine analysis and the investigation of the discursive context are combined and thoroughly examined.

8. Critical discourse analysis, as implied by its name, calls for social and political critique. It is guided by the aim to uncover power abuse, repression and social injustice. Hence, critique plays a major role throughout the entire research process. All critical findings should be collected, reflected on, and

finally brought together in a concise and comprehensible summary at the end of the study (Jäger 2012, 91).

9. It is not enough to only criticise social inequity and political deficiencies. Instead, any good critical discourse study should also offer proposals on how to avoid or counter problematic discourses and practices (Jäger 2012, 91).

10. Critical reflections on research design, performance and results are a major component of any academic work. Critical discourse analysis goes yet one step further. With its focus on controversial issues, it demands an approach that is even more reflective, mature and in particular, aware of the researcher's role and impact on the study. Hence, it is recommended to openly discuss and reflect on challenges or constraints whenever they come up and include a separate section in the project report offering a more detailed assessment of research quality. The subsequent chapters will deal with these questions of quality and address the limitations as well as benefits of discourse analyses.

### 3.1.2 Strengths and Weaknesses

Discourse analysis is a powerful approach. When carefully adopted, it allows researchers to yield significant results. However, just as any other approach, there are also several weaknesses, that should not be concealed but instead, call for a critical discussion.

The most prominent strength of discourse analysis is its ability to address and respond to complex questions, that might not allow easy explanations (Wodak 1999, 186). This is also the main reason why discourse analysis was chosen as the most adequate data analysis approach for this specific research project. Moreover, discourse analysis is a popular field of study. Researchers can draw on the experiences of their colleagues and a wide range of literature is available. However, this abundance of academic writing on discourse analysis does not prevent it from misunderstandings, confusion, and an incorrect use of the terms. On the contrary, according to Widdowson (1995) it is indeed "extremely fashionable and at the same time extremely uncertain" or in short, "in vogue and vague" (Widdowson 1995, 158). In his view, the main problem is the conceptual confusion about discourse and analysis (Widdowson 1995, 157). He claims that many researchers are not confident about how to delineate the term discourse from text (Widdowson 1995, 157) and also, that critical discourse analysis often tends to be more of an exercise of (biased) interpretation, rather than an analysis in terms of academic standards (Widdowson 1995, 159). Critical discourse analysis, according to Widdowson, is partial in two ways: first, researchers are biased because of their ideological assumptions and their prior judgements on the object of study and, second, texts are selected under the influence of this partiality (Widdowson 1995, 169). To avoid this issue of bias, Widdowson recommends researchers to make way for a greater variety of interpretations and readings and to remind themselves of the possibility that a single text could hold a whole range of different and even contrasting discourses (Widdowson 1995, 169).

Other scientists in the field agree that partiality is a major methodological challenge (e.g. Phillips & Hardy 2000, 73). Ballinger and Payne, however, underline that in fact all research needs to deal with this problem. It is not specific to discourse analysis (Ballinger & Payne 2000, 570). On the contrary, many researchers even argue that discourse analysis has clear advantages over other approaches concerning this issue. Discourse analysis does not claim to be totally free of bias. Instead, it "recognises its own 'partiality'" (Fairclough 1996, 53) and communicates its position openly (Van Dijk 2001, 352-353). Its great demand for reflexivity and reflection helps avoid biased data collection and one-sided interpretations.

The issue of impartiality naturally brings up the topic of research quality. The following section will deal with concepts of validity and reliability and illustrate why quality assessment of discourse analysis is particularly challenging.

### 3.1.3 Quality Assessment

Concepts of reliability and validity, as they are applied in quantitative research, are of little use to qualitative research and in particular, to discourse analysis (Keller 2004, 111). The concept of validity, for instance, assumes that there is a 'real world' that research needs to capture and that all the findings must correspond to. Discourse analysis, however, strongly challenges this assumption. As pointed out elsewhere, it argues that "there is no 'real' world other than one constructed through discourse" (Phillips & Hardy 2002, 79-80). Hence, trying to adopt this concept to discourse analysis without substantial modifications would be a futile undertaking. The concept of reliability, too, proves useless to research in this field. It argues that replications of a measurement or an analysis should always yield the same results (Rössler 2005, 183). Discourse analysis, in contrast, seeks to examine how texts can be read and understood in different ways (Phillips & Hardy 2002, 80). Moreover, it challenges the assumption that the similarity of results achieved by several independent researchers automatically implies that the discourse or phenomenon described actually exists. Similar results could just as well stem from similar assumptions (Wood & Kroger 2000, 165).

Since validity and reliability are problematic concepts in regard to discourse analysis, many scientists have proposed other quality criteria. One proposal concerns the 'completeness' of an analysis. An analysis is 'complete' when no new findings are revealed, even if new data or new analytical instruments are introduced (Meyer 2001, 29). This completeness might appear difficult to achieve. However, the field of what is sayable in a society is very limited. Hence, covering all the arguments and debates on a certain issue is a surprisingly quick task to be done (Jäger 2001, 51). According to Van Dijk, accessibility is the most important quality criteria. He argues that critical discourse analysis in particular, with its aim to stimulate social change, demands that results be accessible to the public and open for discussion and critiques (Meyer 2001, 29). Phillips and Hardy agree that the quality of discourse analysis is best assessed through the audience, that is, the scientific community and also the general public (Phillips & Hardy 2002, 79-80). Another approach to the question of research quality is triangulation. As pointed out elsewhere, discourse analysis is not only interested in the material itself but also in the relationship between the analysed texts and their broader contexts. That is, discourses always need to be analysed from different levels. Checking the findings in one level against the findings in another level helps reduce the issue of bias substantially and thus ensures good research quality (Meyer 2001, 30). Moreover, research quality can also be further improved by methodical triangulation (Wodak 2001, 65).

This research project adopts these suggestions for high research quality by following the principle of 'completeness', attempting to publish its results in accessible media and using a multi-methodical research design. More information on methodological triangulation will be included in the subsequent sections.

## 3.2 Content Analysis

Before turning to the procedures and practices of content analysis, it is important to first discuss some common definitions and their relevance to this particular research project.

Probably the most prominent and most frequently cited definition of content analysis comes from Bernard Berelson (1952, 18; cited in Rössler 2005, 18): "Content analysis is a research technique for

the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” Since its publication this definition has been heavily criticised, and thus considerably modified and expanded. In fact, almost all components of the definition have come in for critique. Rössler, for instance disapproves of the term ‘research technique’. He argues, that, over the decades, content analysis has developed from a simple technique to a proper method (Rössler 2005, 18). ‘Objective’ is another problematic term. As discussed in the previous part of this chapter, the problem of objectivity is common to all areas of research. Even though there is agreement today also within the content analysis field that individual assumptions and perceptions always find their way into scientific investigation, some authors still retain the term objective in their definitions (e.g. Neuendorf 2002, 1). However, they understand objectivity more as intersubjectivity, that is, they do not aim to find ‘true’ facts but rather facts that several different researchers can reproduce and agree on (Neuendorf 2002, 11). This research project needs to be particularly clear about its position towards impartiality in research, in particular due to its multi-methodical approach combining content with discourse analysis. Hence, replacing ‘objective’ with other terms such as ‘intersubjectively comprehensible’, as proposed by Früh (2001, 25), seems highly preferable. Also, the terms ‘quantitative’ and ‘manifest’ have been challenged by many content analysis scholars. Even though content analysis is still associated mostly with quantitative investigation, it is important to underline that it has also been successfully applied to a range of qualitative studies (cf. Mayring 2008). Moreover, content analysis has also been expanded to investigate not only the manifest content of a text but also more hidden messages that are conveyed between the lines. Many researchers claim that latent contents need to find their way into analysis without fail, because otherwise a lot of relevant messages would be lost. Others, such as Riffe and his colleagues, however, argue that content analysis should continue to concentrate on manifest meaning, claiming that “the luxury of latent meaning analysis comes at the interpretative stage, not at the point of coding” (Riffe et al. 2014, 38). This research project goes along with the first viewpoint outlined. Latent meaning needs to be included already in the coding process in order to achieve most comprehensive results and in particular, in view of the discourse analysis that follows.

This short review of Berelson’s definition of content analysis including its critiques demonstrates that it is difficult to come up with a definition that all scholars in this field can agree to (Titscher et al. 2000, 55). Philipp Mayring, a prominent content analysis researcher, thus refuses to add just another definition to the list. Instead, he has come up with a few basic specifics of content analysis that also apply to the analysis as performed in this study (Mayring 2008, 12). According to Mayring, content analysis aims at

- analysing communication (mostly language but also pictures, etc.)
- analysing fixed communication (communication that can be analysed is always recorded in some way or another)
- proceeding in a systematic way; that is, the analysis is guided by rules (replication by others is made possible) and theory (the research is based on theoretical principles)
- drawing conclusions regarding certain aspects of communication such as the intention of the author and the text; the effects of the messages on the reader etc. (Mayring 2008, 2-13)

An important point to add to this list is the aim of content analysis to reduce complexity. This is achieved by classifying the material. First, a system of categories is established and then, the texts, statements or arguments are structured and classified accordingly (Früh 2001, 39-40). What kinds of categories are needed depends on the material available, the research objectives as well as the underlying theoretical principles of the study. These factors also decide what kind of specific procedures are most appropriate for the analysis. However, while discourse analysis is very open as to what kind of techniques could be applied and in what way the research should be designed, content analy-

sis is more restricted. A rough outline of the general procedure of content analysis, as is it also conducted in this research project, is provided in the next section.

### 3.2.1 Methodical Procedure

Any research project has to begin with a clear introduction to the subject of the study, the problems under investigation and the objectives pursued (Rössler 2005, 35). After the formulation of research questions, the existing literature needs to be examined including theoretical works as well as empirical studies (Riffe et al. 2014, 91-92). Next, the sampling of relevant material follows. This step will be dealt with in more detail in a subsequent section of this chapter. It is a good idea to quickly skim through the material before proceeding further and choosing the units of analysis. "The units of analysis are the smallest components of texts in which the occurrence and the characterization of variables (properties, categories) are examined" (Titscher et al. 2000 58). They can vary greatly in scope depending on the research objective. Units of analysis could be, for example, entire newspaper issues, individual news items, or even sentences or words. In this research project, the unit of analysis is the newspaper article.

One of the most important steps is the definition of categories. This task should be done diligently, to avoid problems during the coding of the material. There are a few important requirements that need to be considered: The system of categories should be based on a theoretical framework and correspond with the research objectives. It should be complete; that is, it should be possible to allocate every unit of analysis to (at least) one category. It should be explicit. And, it is recommended to aim for mutually exclusive categories (Merten 1995, 98-99). Moreover, the system of categories has to be completed before the coding process starts. If the categories are found to be inadequate for the material, a new system has to be established and the whole material needs to be recoded (Titscher et al. 2000, 58-59). Hence, it is advisable to do a pre-test before starting the actual coding process to evaluate the system of categories and modify it accordingly. Merten (1995) argues that the pre-test should examine at least twenty units of analysis (Merten 1995, 325). In this research project, it comprised twenty newspaper issues and 49 articles.

Before the coding process may start, it is important to generate a codebook, that explains how to proceed during coding. It is a kind of manual, that usually includes information on all the categories, detailed descriptions of coding criteria, and relevant examples. This is particularly important when multiple coders are working on the same project (Rössler 2005, 20). Because this research study is carried out by only one analyst, the codebook is more reduced. However, it does contain the complete system of categories and is thus included in the appendix of this thesis for reasons of transparency and reproducibility.

After an adequate and tested system of categories is established, the coding process may start. In this step of content analysis every unit of analysis is allocated to at least one category (Riffe et al. 2014, 58). It is important that coders remain consistent in their application of the coding criteria throughout the whole process and that, in case there are multiple coders, all coders proceed in the same way. Hence, to ensure that coding was done adequately, reliability should be assessed (Titscher et al. 2000, 60). The next step is the analysis itself. Researchers can evaluate the results achieved during coding by looking at the frequencies of certain occurrences, the mutual dependencies of variables or by more complex multivariate analyses such as factor analysis or cluster analysis. However, it is important to remember that the scale of measurement of the study variables determines what kind of analyses are available (Titscher et al. 2000, 60-61).

The final step of the procedure is the interpretation and presentation of the results (Rössler 2005, 20). In this interpretative stage, the emphasis is put on making inferences from the findings, discuss-

ing the patterns within them, and communicating these results in a comprehensive manner. Moreover, the results also need to be compared to the findings of other related works in order “to support conclusions drawn from other research (multiple operationalism), to gain confidence in the validity of the content analysis at hand, to add another dimension to the intended inferences, or to provide missing information” (Krippendorff 2004, 191). The issue of validity, as well as reliability, in content analysis will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section.

### 3.2.2 Strengths and Weaknesses

In a previous section it has been argued that there are benefits as well as drawback to any scientific approach or method. Naturally, this is true also for content analysis. This section will, on the one hand, illustrate why content analysis can be a good choice for many scientific projects – including this one. On the other hand, it will also openly discuss some of its limitations.

Content analysis is often presented as something very easy to be done or as an almost trivial method. Many critics claim that content analysis is “nothing more than what everyone does when reading a newspaper” (Krippendorff 2004, xxi). Krippendorff, however, counters that content analysis follows scientific standards, aiming at transparency and replicability (Krippendorff 2004, xxi-xxii). Neuendorf adds that “content analysis is as easy – or as difficult – as the researchers determines it to be” (Neuendorf 2002, 2). It is important to underline that this applies also to any other method; researchers always need to decide on the scope and complexity of their study. Riffe and his colleagues put it this way: “Trivial research is trivial research whether it involves quantitative content analysis, experimental research, or qualitative research” (Riffe et al. 2014, 36). Another issue in content analysis concerns the method’s focus on frequencies. Generally, a variable is considered to be more important the more often it appears in a text. However, this is a problematic assumption, since the meaning of a message may sometimes depend solely on the presence of a single symbol or statement. In this thesis, this issue is easily avoided, as content analysis constitutes only one part of the overall analysis. The fine analysis of selected articles will take any important textual component into consideration and evaluate its importance irrespective of the frequency of its occurrence (Riffe et al. 2014, 36).

As already mentioned elsewhere, content analysis always aims at reducing complexity. Consequently, information is inevitably lost. However, this loss of information should not be considered a drawback of content analysis, but rather a benefit. Information needs to be selected, sorted and partly even discharged in order to gain knowledge. Only in this way, it becomes possible to closely compare the texts in question and to analyse their relationships and common patterns (Früh 2001, 39-40). Moreover, classification and quantification allow larger amounts of data to be analysed (Riffe et al. 2014, 38). The reduction of complexity is also the reason why content and discourse analysis are brought together in this research study. At least in this respect, they complement each other perfectly.

Researchers often mention other benefits of content analysis that are not exactly specific to this particular method, but instead, common to textual analysis in general. A prominent strength of textual analysis for instance is that it is unobtrusive. Textual analysis is interested in already existing data. Hence, difficulties regarding the researcher’s influence on the data generation process can be avoided (Krippendorff 2004, 40-41). Moreover, there are no time limits; neither concerning the duration of the analysis process (Früh 2001, 39), nor concerning the date of origin of the material. This means that large-scale, longitudinal, and even historical studies are possible, as long as enough archived material is available (Riffe et al. 2014, 38). Furthermore, because the material used is always recorded in some permanent or at least enduring way, follow-up studies may re-examine the same data using

modified instruments. Finally, textual analysis is, in general, cheaper than other analytical methods (Früh 2001, 39).

### 3.2.3 Quality Assessment

In general, the concept of reliability can be more easily applied to content analysis than discourse analysis. However, reliability strongly depends on the complexity of research. It will be high for simple analyses with easy and clear definitions of categories and low for more complex analyses considering also latent contents. Yet, more intricate analyses also tend to be more interesting. Hence, researchers need to strike a balance between high reliability and high complexity (Riffe et al. 2014, 125). Especially for discourse analysts that are particularly interested in delicate issues, it is important to remember that a complex system of categories involving a large variety of rules is very difficult to apply to large amounts of data. Coders can easily get tired and might have difficulties with being persistent in their coding and interpretations (Riffe et al. 2014, 127).

Krippendorff argues that there are three types of reliability: stability, reproducibility, and accuracy. Stability is high when a repetition of the measurement yields the same results as the prior measurements. In order to assess stability, the observers can recode and reanalyse material at a later point of research (Krippendorff 2004, 215). Reproducibility is given when different analysts can understand and repeat the research process using the same procedures and instruments. To assess reproducibility two or more observers should code and analyse the same material, followed by a close comparison of the results (Krippendorff 2004, 215). Finally, high accuracy is achieved when the analysis has been designed in a way so that the findings indeed correspond to the aim of the research. This can be only assessed by comparison to standards (Krippendorff 2004, 215). However, in particular for the interpretative part of content analysis there are no clear standards available (Krippendorff 2004, 216).

In this research project, the concept of reliability proves somewhat problematic also concerning content analysis. First of all, the system of categories turned out to be rather complex, even though it was continuously simplified throughout the preparation process. Second, only the stability of the research can be assessed accurately. Inter-coder reliability cannot be determined as only one researcher was involved in the coding process. However, due to the focus of the study on the discourse analytical part of research and the significance of other quality criteria, some loss of reliability can be tolerated.

Validity, too, is a difficult concept with regard to this project. As pointed out before, validity assumes that there is a real world that can be captured. It is “that quality of research results that leads us to accept them as true, as speaking about the real world of people, phenomena, events, experiences, and actions” (Krippendorff 2004, 313). This is a problematic assumption that will be dealt with in more detail in the subsequent section when discussing how discourse and content analysis can be combined. However, while the general concept of validity does not prove very useful to this research project, social validity, as proposed for instance by Riffe and his colleagues, does have some relevant benefits. Social validity is achieved when the analysis is important not only to the scientific community but also to a broader audience (Riffe et al. 2014, 158). However, for the research to be important, it has to be made accessible first. Hence, social validity is closely connected to the accessibility criterion outlined in the discourse analysis section. This research project considers both requirements: it examines a highly topical and controversial issue that might be of interest to the general public and seeks to make its results available to this audience.

### 3.3 Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis Combined

In the previous sections content and discourse analysis have been briefly introduced, including their benefits and challenges. However, the major challenge has not yet been addressed clearly enough: compatibility. The two approaches are often claimed to be mutually exclusive, in particular, due to their differences in epistemology and ontology (e.g. Hopf 2004). While discourse analysis assumes that reality is constructed and interpreted and meaning can always change, content analysis does not necessarily reject the notion of an objective reality and stable meaning that can be assessed (Herrera & Braumoeller 2004, 16). Hence, Hardy and her colleagues argue that “for content analysis to form part of a discourse analytic methodology, it is necessary to weaken the assumption that meaning is stable enough to be counted in an objective sense” (Hardy et al. 2004, 20). Another important point to consider is the definition of time frames. As pointed out elsewhere, content analysis research is useful for examining longer time periods. Those periods, though, have to be clearly defined and constant. No adaptations can be made at a later point in the research process. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, follows a more open approach. It always seeks to “extend the time frame” by looking at where discourses come from and how they evolve over time (Herrera & Braumoeller 2004, 18). However, when aiming at investigations of longer time periods and changes in discourses, discourse analysis needs to work with synchronic cuts (Jäger 2001, 52). Hence, it is crucial that researchers are confident about the time frames they need to examine and the most appropriate methods to use in order to find sufficient answers to their research questions. Sometimes, in particular in more complex research projects that seek to cover long periods of time, it proves particularly useful to combine the two approaches and benefit from the advantages of both, discourse as well as content analysis. This triangulatory approach is also chosen in this research project.

As pointed out in a previous section, triangulation of methods is a good way to ensure high research quality. Jick explains that “researchers can improve the accuracy of their judgments by collecting different kinds of data bearing on the same phenomenon” (Jick 1979, 602). Neuendorf agrees that there are many benefits to “approaching a research question from multiple methodological stances” and argues that specifically content and discourse analysis fit together nicely (Neuendorf 2004, 34). Even though they do have very different underlying epistemological and ontological assumptions, they can still constitute enriching complements to each other (Hardy et al. 2004, 19). Content analysis is able to give a discursive study a broader base and assures that the researcher’s personal assumptions do not gain too much influence on the findings. In addition, content analysis “may serve as a stimulant to the conduct of a DA [discourse analysis]” (Neuendorf 2005, 35). Moreover, triangulation of methods calls for scrutiny during the entire research process. Combining content and discourse analyses may encourage researchers to work most carefully and reflect critically on their theoretical and methodological assumptions concerning language and communication (Hardy et al. 2004, 19).

### 3.4 Data Collection

This study is quite complex in many regards: it investigates a delicate topic from a critical perspective, it combines quantitative and qualitative methods, it examines various sample periods and hence, needs to deal with a great amount of material. In order to manage this abundance of material and retrieve adequate data for analysis, careful sampling is essential and needs to take place in several steps. This research, thus, employs multistage sampling and combines several different sampling techniques (cf. Riffe et al. 2014, 110-111).



The following sections illustrate in detail how newspapers, newspaper issues and articles were selected and also explain why these sampling techniques were chosen.

#### 3.4.1 Selection of Newspapers

The Austrian media landscape is quite distinctive. It is characterised by the dominance of only a few newspapers and high entanglement between the publishing companies. A very influential publisher, for instance, is Mediaprint. It owns two of the most popular newspapers in Austria, Kronen Zeitung and Kurier, and several other widespread magazines and is a clear market leader in the region (Steinmaurer 2002, 1). Kronen Zeitung and Kurier, for instance, together have a reach of more than 2.7 million readers per day – a large number for Austria with a population of around 8.7 million (Verein Arge Media-Analysen 2017).

Due to this distinctive media landscape, it is important to be particularly careful when choosing newspapers for investigation and to always bear in mind the research objectives. Hence, for this selection process probability sampling proves inappropriate. Instead, sampling needs to be based on some previous knowledge of what needs to be included in the analysis. This technique is generally referred to as “purposive sampling” (Neuendorf 2002, 88). In order to cover the field of discourses to a maximum extent, those newspapers should be selected that reach a broad audience and are most diverging to each other with regard to ideology and readership composition. On the basis of these criteria, the number of adequate newspapers could be narrowed down easily. A close review of the remaining newspapers in question finally resulted in the selection of one tabloid newspaper, the Kronen Zeitung and one quality newspaper, der Standard.

The Kronen Zeitung is the most popular newspaper in Austria. It is considered to be particularly influential in the forming of public opinion and political promotion, due to its high circulation numbers and reach (Bruck & Stocker 1996, 6-7). According to the latest publication of the association “Verein Arbeitsgemeinschaft Media-Analysen”, in 2017 around 2.24 million people read the tabloid every day, that is, 30.1% of the Austrian population over the age of 14. It is clearly more popular among older and less educated people. Approximately 42% of the 60-69 year olds inform themselves via Kronen Zeitung, as opposed to only 17.3% of the 20-29 year olds. More than 30% of the population with primary education take up the newspaper every day. The share of Kronen Zeitung readers among the population holding an academic degree, however, is around 12% (Verein Arbeitsgemeinschaft Media-Analysen 2017). Even though the Kronen Zeitung is still very popular today, it has lost some of its dominance over the last decade. In 2009 it still had a reach of around 40%, a plus of approximately 600,000 readers compared to today (Verein Arbeitsgemeinschaft Media-Analysen 2009). The loss of dominance can most likely be traced back to the emergence of free daily tabloids such as Österreich and Heute (Fidler 2008, 212) that have managed to quickly capture a considerable share of the media market (see Chart 1). The role of the internet as an increasingly important source of information and news should also not be underrated. However, despite some changes in the media landscape, the Kronen Zeitung remains a dominant newspaper with a strong position in the business and a long tradition and is, thus, very suitable for this analysis.

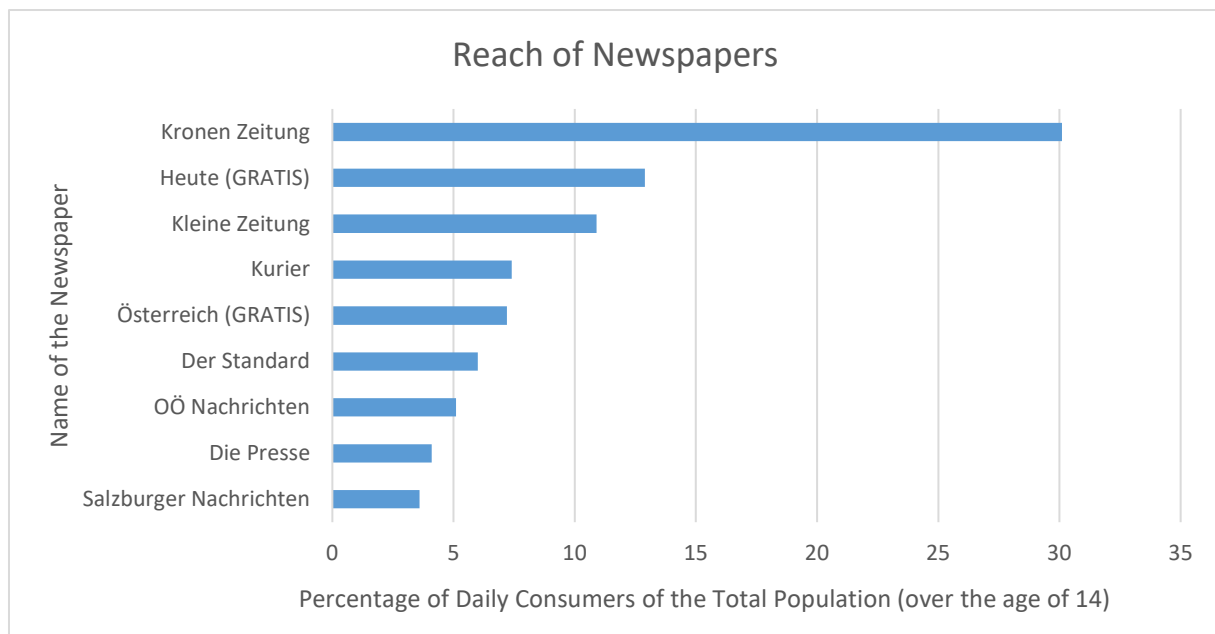


Chart 1: Reach of selected newspapers in 2016/2017 (Verein Arge Media-Analysen 2016/17)

Another reason why the Kronen Zeitung was chosen for analysis is that it is a typical example of the tabloid press and follows all the characteristics of this type of journalism. It is dominated by short articles and a high number of pictures, it uses easy, ordinary language with many emotional expressions and focuses in particular on issues such as crime and catastrophes on the one hand, and celebrity lifestyle and sports on the other (see example of title page, Fig. 1) (Bruck & Stocker 1996, 20-23). Moreover, tabloids always aim at establishing some kind of connection or closeness to the audience and work with strategies such as melodramatization and personalizations of political or economic problems (Bruck & Stocker 1996, 24-26). Just like any other media, tabloids are often classified according to their political spectrum. However, according to Bruck and Stocker, this is a futile practice with respect to this type of journalism. Tabloids are characterised by ideological flexibility and populism and rather concentrate on satisfying the social majority than on any clear political positioning. Constructions of 'us' versus 'them', or 'societal norm' versus 'deviation' are especially significant (Bruck & Stocker 1996, 30-31). The Kronen Zeitung employs this dichotomy particularly often, sometimes to a very problematic extent. More than once the newspaper had to deal with charges of racism. In 2004, some of these charges were even confirmed by court. Judicial proceedings found that the Kronen Zeitung transports anti-Semitic and racist undertones, in particular the "Staberl" column by Richard Nimmerrichter (Fidler 2008, 227). In the last years, however, the Kronen Zeitung became more discreet regarding problematic phrasing (Fidler 2008, 218).



Fig 1: Examples of Kronen Zeitung and der Standard front pages, issued April 18, 2018 (these examples were chosen instead of examples from the material used because the analysed issues of der standard were only available as greyscale scans, pictures retrieved from [www.pressreader.com](http://www.pressreader.com))

Der Standard was chosen as a counterpart to the Kronen Zeitung for this analysis (Fidler 2008, 546). It is a quality broadsheet that is generally allocated to the liberal left on the political spectrum (Lengauer 2007, 111). Founded only in 1988 by Oscar Bronner, it soon developed into an influential newspaper in the Austrian media landscape; however, not with respect to circulation or reach, but in its capacity as a progressive quality newspaper (Lengauer 2007, 112). According to the "Verein Arbeitsgemeinschaft Media-Analysen" (2017) der Standard reaches approximately 444,000 people, that is, around 6% of the Austrian population over the age of 14. Unlike other newspapers, it has managed to retain its readership over the last ten years, with a more or less steady reach of 5% to 6%. The majority of der Standard readers are highly educated. Only around 3% of the population with primary education read the newspaper on a daily basis, as opposed to 14.9% of the population holding an academic degree. In fact, der Standard is the most popular newspaper among highly educated people. It is also slightly more popular with younger than older people. Around 8.5% of the 20-29 year olds inform themselves via der Standard, as against 5.4% of the 60-69 year olds (Verein Arbeitsgemeinschaft Media-Analysen 2017). Der Standard, hence, addresses a completely different target group than the Kronen Zeitung. These differences in target group orientation allow for an investigation of a particularly diverse field of discourses. The choice of the newspapers is therefore considered very appropriate for this research. However, it is important to keep in mind two minor issues: First, der Standard reaches significantly fewer people than the Kronen Zeitung. Second, der Standard was established only in 1988 and hence, the question arises whether it had already found its place in the Austrian media landscape in the investigation period of 1991-1992. Unfortunately, there are no numbers concerning reach available for the 1990s. However, data on circulation implies that der Standard was able to win over a considerable share of the population already very soon after its foundation. According to the Austrian Circulation Service (ÖAK), an average of almost 88,000 issues were distributed on a daily basis in 1994. In 2015 this distribution number was actually even less, with an average of only 83,000 issues circulating every day (Österreichische Auflagenkontrolle 2016). Consequently, it

may be safely assumed that der Standard was sufficiently established in the 1990s sample period and hence qualifies for investigation.

### 3.4.2 Setting the Time Frame

This research project seeks to compare discourses on asylum seekers and refugees in two different time periods: during the conflicts in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s and during the period of heightened refugee migration to the European Union beginning in 2015. The two periods were roughly set at the beginning of this study based on previous knowledge of refugee statistics, the political situation in former Yugoslavia, Syria, and Afghanistan (where the majority of refugees reaching Austria came from), and the reception of these refugees by the host communities. However, even though a rough time frame could be set quite easily, narrowing down the sampling periods turned out to be more difficult. On the one hand, it was important to include all significant events; on the other hand, the amount of material needed to be reduced considerably in order to make data manageable.

The first step in determining adequate investigation periods was to verify whether the rough time frame was set correctly. To do so, asylum statistics were reviewed and checked for increases in application numbers. This approach worked well for the 2015-2016 period. Chart 2 illustrates the trend of asylum applications from 2007 to 2017 using data provided by the Federal Ministry of the Interior (Bundesministerium für Inneres, BMI). It can be seen that there was a clear peak in 2015 with more than 80,000 applications. Chart 3 zooms in on this period. It reveals that numbers increased particularly from May 2015 onwards and started to fall again after November 2016. The majority of asylum seekers in 2015 came from Afghanistan (25,563 applicants), closely followed by Syrian applicants (24,547) (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2015).

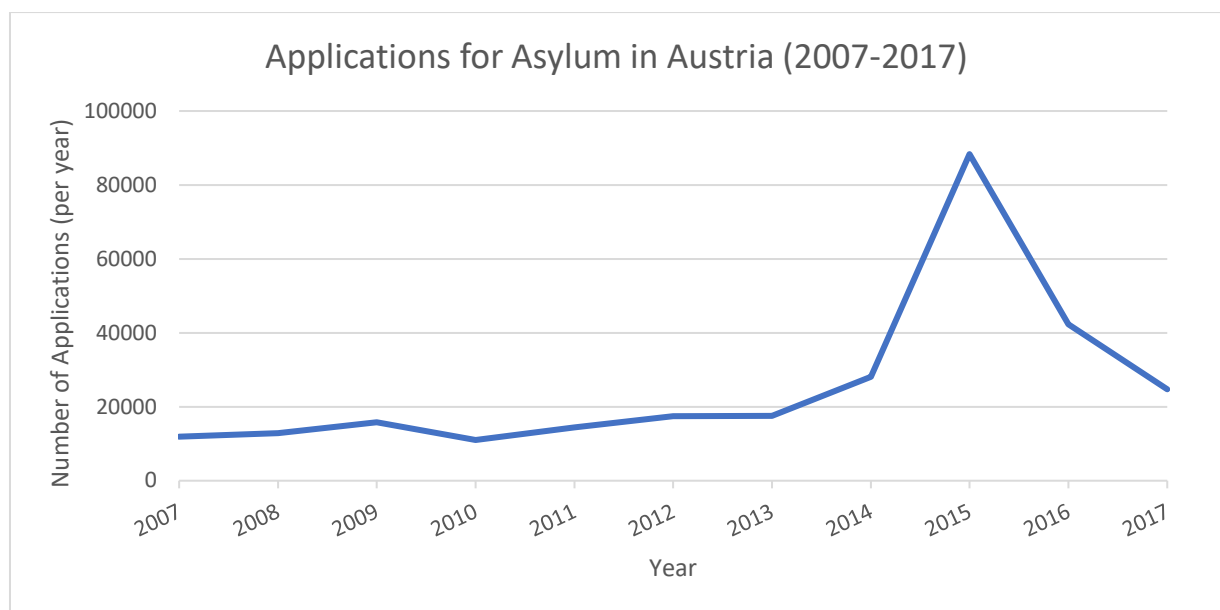


Chart 2: Number of asylum applications in Austria in the period 2007-2017

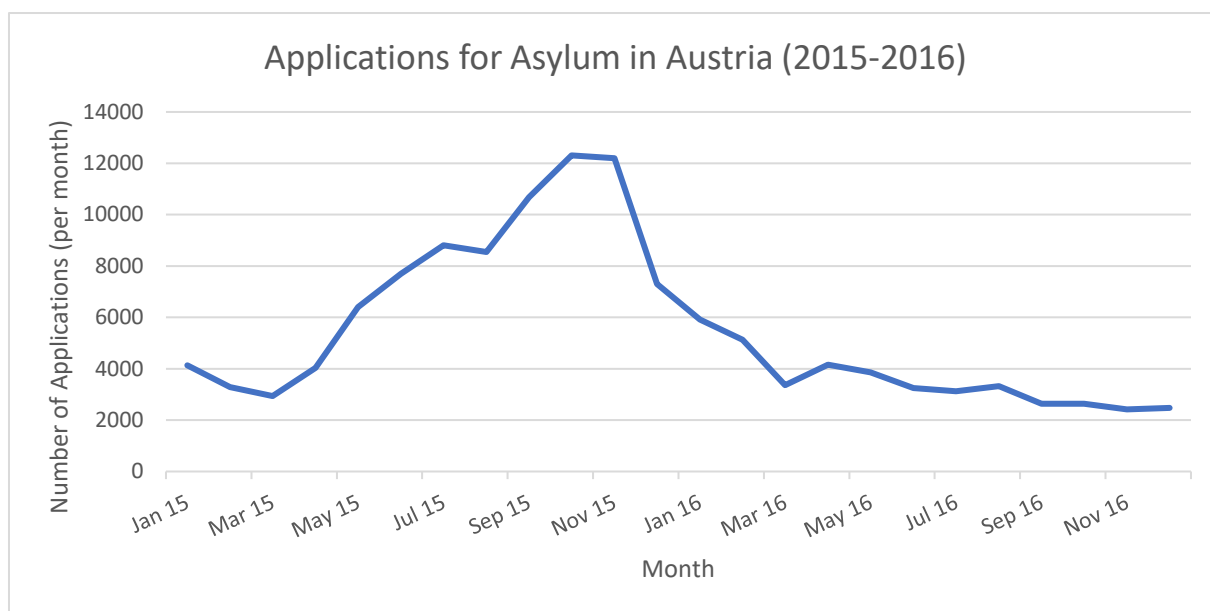


Chart 3: Number of asylum applications in Austria in the period 2015-2016 (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2015 and 2016)

For determining an adequate time frame for the 1990s period, reviewing asylum statistics was not a very useful approach. First of all, reliable data on asylum applications was more difficult to obtain. The Bundesministerium für Inneres provided only annual data and thus it was not possible to restrict the time frame to a period covering only several months. Moreover, most of the people from former Yugoslavia that found refuge in Austria were treated as 'de facto refugees'. They were granted temporary right of residence but were not officially recognised as refugees according to the 1951 Refugee Convention. Consequently, they were also not included in official asylum statistics (Fassmann & Münz 1995, 37). That is, while actually more than 50,000 people from Bosnia-Herzegovina lived as de facto refugees in Austria in 1992 (Bauer 2008, 7), only 1,179 people were registered as asylum seekers and hence appeared in official documents (Bundesministerium für Inneres, n.d.). Due to these issues concerning asylum statistics, for both periods more importance was attached to the second step in setting the time frame.

The second step in determining the investigation periods concerned news coverage of asylum and refugee-related topics and events. Using APA-DeFacto, Austria's largest media database offered by the Austrian Press Agency (Austria Presse Agentur, APA), the numbers of relevant articles published in several selected Austrian daily newspapers were analysed and the time frame could be narrowed down easily. APA-DeFacto offers the possibility of keyword search, which was very useful to extract only those articles that indeed concern refugees and asylum seekers. In order to find appropriate keywords, a few random search queries using the keyword 'Flüchtling' (English: refugee) were performed, and the results, that is, a list of all available articles on refugees, were then scanned for alternative expressions and wordings. The keywords found to be most appropriate were: Asylwerber#, Asylbewerber#, Flüchtling#, Aslyant#, and Asylberechtig#. It has to be noted that the number sign in APA-DeFacto works as a wildcard character. In German nouns describing people are generally adjusted according to the gender of the person in question. Hence, the wildcard character was used to include both masculine and feminine versions of the nouns.

While looking for appropriate keywords by some random search queries, the time frame could already be narrowed down. This was important, because APA-DeFacto demands a fee for every query and hence, the number of queries needed to be kept to a minimum. In the end, the final search query covered the period of April 1992 to December 1993 and April 2015 to December 2016. Newspapers included were: Der Standard, Die Presse and Kurier. The Kronen Zeitung was not included for

two reasons. First, there were no articles available for the 1990s period. Second, the list of articles for the 2015-2016 period included all news items published in any of the regional issues of the Kronen Zeitung. Hence, the results would not have been representative for a singular issue of the newspaper. That is, because the regional section of the newspaper is quite abundant, far too many articles would have been included in the analysis. However, all the other three newspapers followed very similar trends in the amount of refugee and asylum related news coverage (see Chart 4). Consequently, the exclusion of the Kronen Zeitung seemed justified.

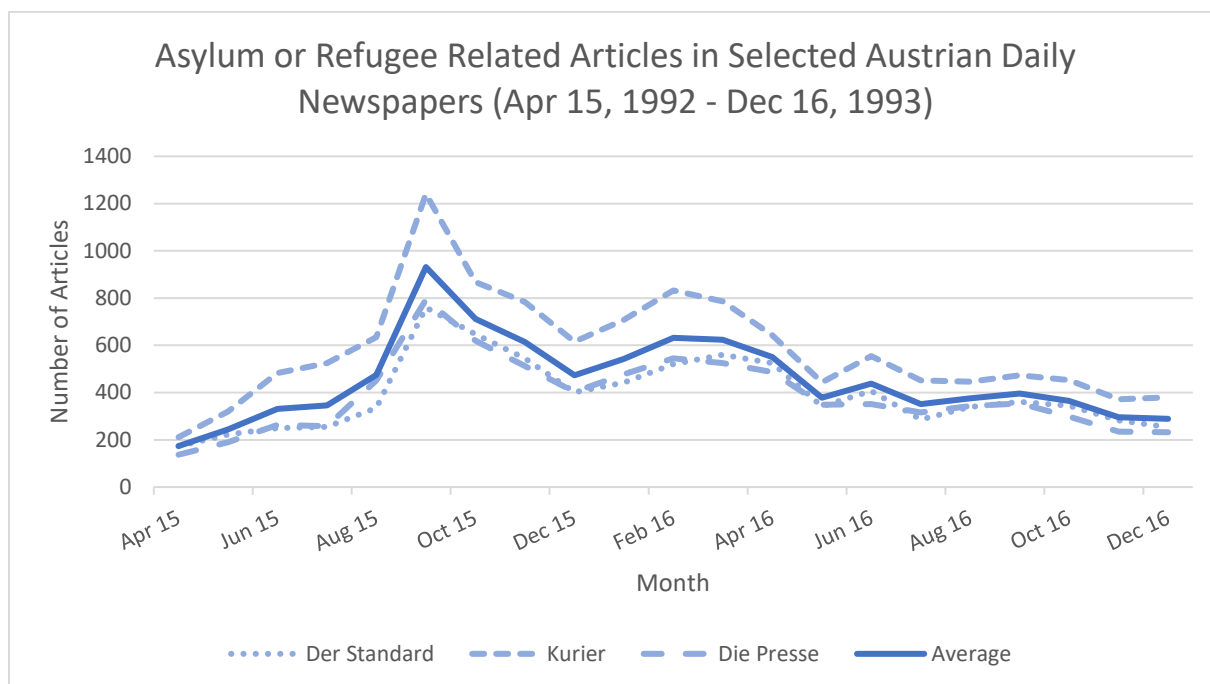


Chart 4: Articles related to asylum or refugees published in selected Austrian daily newspapers (Apr 15, 1992 – Dec 16, 1993) (data retrieved from the APA-DeFacto database)

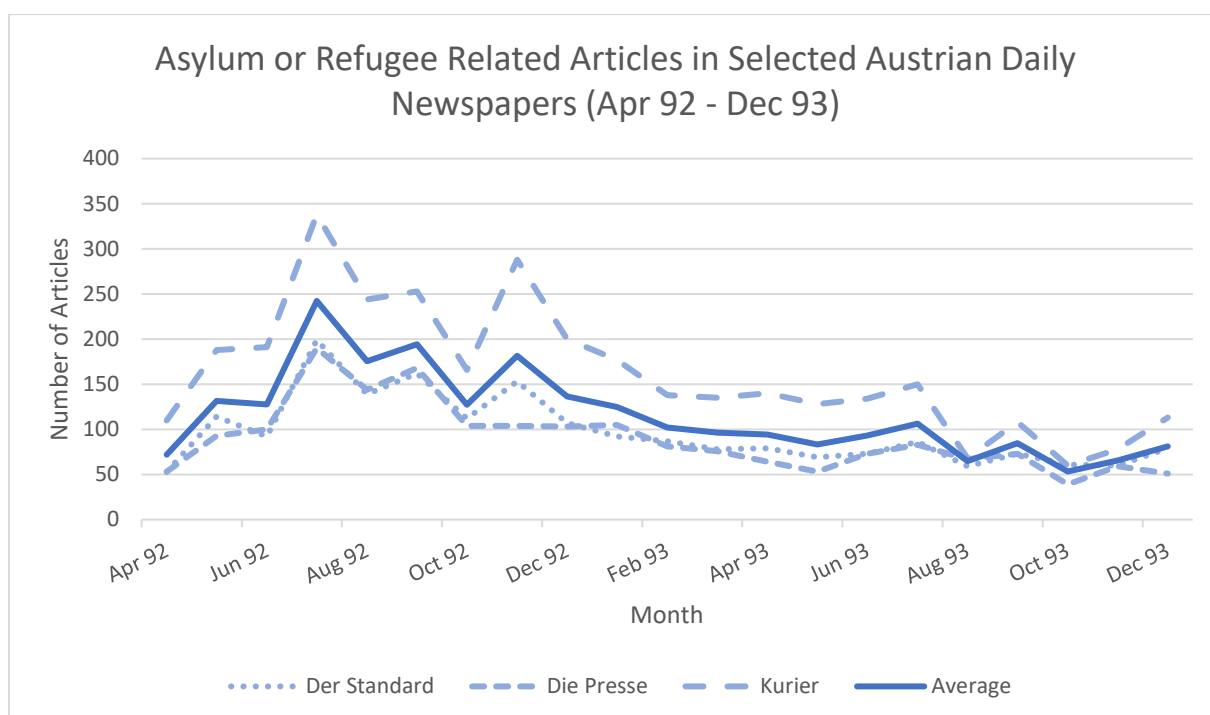


Chart 5: Articles related to asylum or refugees published in selected Austrian daily newspapers (Apr 92 – Dec 93) (Data retrieved from the APA-DeFacto database)

Charts 4 and 5 illustrate how many articles were published in selected Austrian newspapers containing the keywords mentioned above. Clear trends and peaks can be easily depicted. Based on these trends and peaks, the 1990s investigation period was set from May 1992 to January 1993. In this period an average of more than a hundred articles were published every day in the selected newspapers. The peak news coverage in all three newspapers was in July 1992. The 2015-2016 period was set from August 2015 to April 2016. In this period an average of more than 450 articles were published every day. News coverage clearly peaked in September 2015. These results correspond very well to the numbers of asylum applications in the same period, as illustrated above. Asylum applications also had their maximum from September to November 2015. However, while the number of applications fell rapidly after this peak, news coverage remained high for a longer period of time. Hence, a more expanded investigation period of nine months seems adequate. Moreover, expanding the time frame also increases the likelihood that more relevant events are included.

### 3.4.3 Selection of Newspaper Issues and Articles for Content Analysis

Newspapers are a popular data source for studies on mass communication. Hence, an abundant literature exists on the issue of sampling in general and sampling efficiency in particular (Riffe et al. 2014, 113).

The most common probability sampling techniques used also with text analysis are simple random sampling, systematic sampling and stratified sampling. In simple random sampling the researcher generates a list of all the units that might be interesting to the analysis and randomly picks a previously defined number from this collection. With this sampling technique “all units in the population have an equal chance of being selected” (Riffe et al. 2014, 106). Very often however, this method is not very useful because the list is very long or there are special features of the data that need to be considered (Riffe et al. 2014, 106-107). For very comprehensive studies with great amounts of data and long periods under investigation, systematic sampling might be a better choice. “Systematic random sampling consists of selecting every xth unit, either from the sampling frame or in some flow of occurrence over time” (Neuendorf 2002, 84). However, there is a major drawback also to this sampling technique: systematic random sampling does not work well when there is some kind of ‘natural cycle’ to the sampling frame. For instance, the content of newspapers, in general, varies considerably depending on the day of the week. These variations might concern the number of articles, special sections, or advertising. Consequently, if every seventh issue of a newspaper was selected in an analysis, these daily variations would not be considered, resulting at worst in biased interpretation. Thus, a careful selection of the interval is crucial (Krippendorff 2004, 115). Riffe and his colleagues, however, propose another technique instead: the constructed week sampling. The constructed week sampling is one type of stratified random sampling, where one constructed week “is created by randomly selecting an issue for each day of the week” (Riffe et al. 2014, 113). In this way, periodicity is taken into account. Moreover, it has been proven that this technique is very accurate and that only two constructed weeks are needed to adequately represent the content for one year (Riffe et al., 113-114). However, by using only constructed weeks, it is difficult to find out about changes and developments in discourses over long time periods, one of the major benefits of content analysis. Hence, in this research project systematic sampling and constructed week sampling are combined. Starting from the first day in each sample period, every sixth day was chosen. In this way, constructed weeks were automatically created and the issue of bias due to periodicity avoided. At the same time, samples were distributed evenly to cover the whole sampling periods.

This sampling procedure resulted in the selection of 184 newspaper issues. The number of articles on asylum or refugees published in these issues were counted and subsequently, a maximum of three articles per issue was selected for analysis. Again, purposive sampling was chosen for this step. The



selection of articles was based on relevance. That is, in particular the length and placement of the articles were considered. In case no prominent articles were available, subordinate articles, such as editorial comments, were also included. Letters to the editor or articles in the regional section of the *Kronen Zeitung* were entirely excluded from the analysis due to insufficient comparability. Finally, a total of 365 articles have been analysed.

#### 3.4.4 Selection of Articles for Discourse Analysis

As pointed out in a previous section, discourse analysis is a very open approach that does not strictly follow any specific rules or guidelines. Hence, there is also “no typical CDA [critical discourse analysis] way of collecting data” (Meyer 2001, 23). The sampling procedure, just like the methodical procedure in general, is strongly based on research objectives. Phillips and Hardy therefore propose to select articles according to relevance, that is, those texts “that are widely distributed, that are associated with changes in practices, or that were produced in reaction to a particular event” (Phillips & Hardy 2002, 73). This research project adopts this suggestion.

The content analysis provided a good overview of relevant articles and gave first insights into the discursive field. The selection of articles for the discourse analysis was largely based on these findings. The selected texts are, on the one hand, quite prominent articles that are either published on or referred to on the cover page, extend over a large area of the newspaper or catch the reader’s attention in any other way. On the other hand, they can be considered ‘typical’ articles. That is, they represent the major discourse positions in this field (cf. Jäger 2001, 53). The concerns addressed, and the attributions given to refugees in the selected articles can also be found elsewhere.

For every newspaper and every investigation period four articles were analysed in detail, making it a total of sixteen articles. In addition to these sixteen articles, all the other texts and graphics in the respective newspaper issues that were somehow connected to the main analysed article were also briefly examined, in order to get a more complete picture of the discourses in question and their discursive contexts. Moreover, the option to expand data collection was always kept open, because as Meyer points out, during the analysis process new questions might always come up that require new material or a revision of existing data (Meyer 2001, 24). The articles finally included for discourse analysis are listed in the appendix and in the subsequent chapter dealing with the actual analysis.



## 4 ANALYSIS

### 4.1 Content Analysis

In a previous chapter it was pointed out that content analysis is strongly guided by rules and that systematic procedure is of great importance. A structured and systematic approach is already necessary when it comes to establishing the categories or classifying the material and remains important throughout the entire analytical process. Unlike discourse analysis, content analysis, hence, demands a formulation of hypotheses that determine not only what information needs to be recorded but also how the acquired data needs to be evaluated.

This research project is interested in whether there are any differences in the representation of refugees between the two sample periods and between the two newspapers that were chosen for analysis. All formulated hypotheses basically revolve around this question. For reasons of clarity, the hypotheses are numbered and divided into two groups: One group of hypotheses focuses on the analysis of the formal criteria of the material and the prevalence of the refugee-topic in the media. The second group concerns the content of the analysed articles. Those hypotheses focus on how refugees are portrayed in the analysed articles and what concerns and topics are addressed. A general assumption has been formulated for both groups.

- Formal criteria: The topic of asylum and refugees was treated in different amounts and in a different quality in the two newspapers and sample periods.

The selected newspapers and the specific sample periods correlate with:

- H1: the number of articles on refugees published in the analysed newspaper issues;
- H2: the placement of the articles in the analysed newspapers (e.g. front page, newspaper supplement);
- H3: the newspaper section the articles are contained in (e.g. news article, commentary, interview).

- Content-related criteria: There are clear differences between the two newspapers and the sample periods in how refugees are portrayed and what topics and concerns are addressed.

The selected newspapers and the specific sample periods correlate with:

- H4: the evaluation of the asylum topic in the analysed articles;
- H5: the topics addressed in these articles;
- H6: the type of specific concerns addressed;
- H7: (positive and negative) representations of refugees.

These hypotheses influenced the design of the system of categories to a great extent. However, since content analysis in this research is considered as part of or as a preparation for discourse analysis, additional information was recorded that could but not necessarily needed to find its way into evaluation. This approach of 'data exploration' is generally not recommended. It is claimed that researchers always follow some assumptions and hence, data acquisition never comes without hypotheses – the question is just whether they are openly formulated or not (McCarroll 2017, 9). This argument stands to reason and the problem of underlying assumptions influencing research has already been discussed in a previous chapter. Nevertheless, this open approach is followed to allow for a collection of a maximum of information in order to make the selection of articles for discourse analysis easier. Detailed and additional data recorded included for instance the author or source of an argument or

the type of an article. This information could not be used for statistical tests due to issues of comparability. However, it was useful in the process of data collection for the second part of analysis.

In the following sections the results of the data evaluation process are presented. The hypotheses are examined and tested with statistical tests. Comparisons between the two newspapers and the two sample periods are made and the first general statements regarding the research questions can be formulated.

#### 4.1.1 Hypothesis H1

*H1: The number of articles on refugees published in the analysed newspaper issues correlates with the selected newspapers and the specific sample periods*

The first hypothesis concerns the number of articles on refugees and asylum published in the selected newspaper issues. 184 issues were checked for relevant articles, that is, 46 issues per newspaper and period. In one case values are missing, due to problems during the data collection process. In the remaining 183 issues, a total of 1,361 relevant articles were counted. However, this number is not evenly distributed over the entire sample. Table 1 clearly shows that the topic of refugees and asylum was dealt with more often in the 2015-2016 period than in the 1992-1993 period. In the 1992-1993 period, 16 newspaper issues did not mention refugees or asylum at all. While there is a clear difference in numbers of relevant articles between the two periods, the difference between the two newspapers is very small.

*Table 1: Number of relevant articles within selected newspaper issues*

Period	Newspaper	No. of articles on topic	No. of issues analysed	No. of issues with no relevant articles
2015-2016	Kronen Zeitung	589	45	0
	Der Standard	581	46	0
1992 – 1993	Kronen Zeitung	64	46	12
	Der Standard	127	46	4
	Total	1,361	183	16

These numbers already give a first impression of how prevalent the topic of refugees and asylum was in the two sample periods and newspapers in question. However, in order to make valid statements, the data should also be tested and checked for statistical (in)dependence. Moreover, more detailed information on how many articles were published per issue is needed for interpretation. The data was, hence, summarized into five categories, ranging from zero articles published per newspaper issue to 15 articles and more. The contingency Table 2 compares the results for the sample periods as well as for the newspapers. Again, it becomes evident that there are clear differences between the 2015-2016 and the 1992-1993 period. In the sample period 2015-2016 every selected newspaper issue (both Kronen Zeitung and der Standard) contained articles on refugees. In fact, 24 issues contained even 16 or more relevant articles. In the sample period 1992-1993 only 76 out of 92 analysed newspaper issues contained articles on refugees or asylum. None of those issues, however, contained more than five articles. Comparing the frequencies of relevant articles between the two newspapers is more difficult than a comparison between the sample periods. No clear differences or trends can be identified at first sight. In order to check whether there are any dependencies, statistical testing is needed.

Table 2: Number of newspaper issues containing relevant articles

Sample period (both newspapers)	Relevant articles per newspaper issue					Total
	None	1 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 and above	
2015 – 2016	0	4	26	37	24	91
1992 – 1993	16	76	0	0	0	92
Newspaper (both periods)	None	1 – 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16 and above	Total
Kronenzeitung	12	34	14	17	14	91
Der Standard	4	46	12	20	10	92

The most appropriate statistical test for this kind of data is the chi-square test. It basically compares the numbers in categories that are obtained during research with the numbers that are expected (McCarroll 2016, 119). Two important criteria are required by the chi-square test: First, the frequencies in the contingency table need to be independent, that is, summed up they need to equal the sample size (see Table 2). Second, the expected, calculated frequencies should be above 5 (McCarroll 2016, 98-99). However, the ‘less than 5’ criterion is not always followed that strictly. Most authors propose a 20% threshold, arguing that less than 20% of all the cells should have an expected frequency below this limit (Kuckartz et al. 2010, 90). Both criteria are fulfilled by the tested data.

The result of the chi-square test is then a “probability value that represents the chances that a difference at least as large as that between the observed and expected counts could occur just by luck if there was no relationship between the categories in the rows and the categories in the columns” (McCarroll 2016, 119). This value is heavily influenced by the sample size and therefore allows no conclusions about how strong the difference between the observed and expected numbers is. The only information that can be retrieved from this value is whether that difference was most likely due to luck or not (McCarroll 2016, 119). This means that, when testing for instance at the 5 percent level of significance, a significance value of less than 0.05 ( $p < 0.05$ ) would allow a rejection of the null hypothesis. The null hypothesis states that there is no significant association. Hence, the alternative hypothesis could be accepted: a relationship between the variables is likely (McCarroll 2016, 14).

Table 3 shows the calculated significance levels for the two variables ‘number of relevant articles per newspaper issue’ and ‘period’ and the variables ‘relevant articles’ and ‘newspaper’ based on the contingency table above (Table 2). The chi test for the relationship between the variables ‘newspaper’ and ‘relevant articles’ yielded a p-value of 0.144 – a value significantly higher than the 0.05 level. Hence, it is safe to assume that there is no statistical valid association between the two newspapers and the number of articles on refugees published in the selected issues. The H1 hypothesis needs to be rejected for the newspaper variable. The p-value calculated for the relationship between the variables ‘period’ and ‘relevant articles’ however, is very small ( $p < 0,001$ ). This means that this association is significant and, in this case, the H1 hypothesis can be accepted.

However, the question about the strength of the relationship still remains. This is when Cramer’s V coefficient comes into play. Cramer’s V is based on the chi square statistics and “can be considered a measure of the degree of contingency” (McCarroll 2016, 119). It ranges from 0 to 1, where 0 means no association at all between the two variables and 1 implies a very strong relationship. McCarroll proposes to “regard values of less than 0.3 as indicating a small effect, and those of 0.5 or over as a

large effect, with values in between regarded as ‘medium’ (McCarroll 2016, 120). Looking at the data in Table 3, Cramer’s V for the relationship between the variables ‘period’ and ‘number of relevant articles’ is 0.958. As pointed out, an effect size of close to 1 implies a very strong association. Consequently, the hypothesis that there is a relationship between the sample periods and the number of articles on refugees can confidently be accepted.

Table 3: Chi-square tests and Cramer’s V for number of articles per newspaper issue

	Chi-Square Tests			Cramer’s V	
	Value	df	Asympt. Sig. (2-tailed)	Value	Approx. Sig.
sample period	167.800 <sup>a</sup>	4	0.000	0.958	0.000
newspaper	6.858 <sup>b</sup>	4	0.144	0.194	0.144
<sup>a, b</sup> 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5.					

#### 4.1.2 Hypothesis H2

*H2: The placement of the articles in the analysed newspapers correlates with the selected newspapers and the specific sample periods*

The second hypothesis concerns the placement of the analysed articles. It is tempting to analyse again the differences between both, the two sample periods as well as the two newspapers. However, on closer examination of the material it becomes obvious that hypothesis H2 needs to be adapted. Since the Kronen Zeitung and der Standard differ substantially in layout and format, it is not possible to compare the two newspapers with regard to the placement of articles in a sensible way or to perform statistical tests with this data. Instead, it is better to discuss only the differences between the two sample periods and only within the same newspapers.

Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that this part of the content analysis now focuses solely on the selected articles and not on all the articles published in the newspaper issue sample. Since the selection of articles was based on purposive sampling and not on any random sampling technique, it is more difficult to make valid general statements about or inferences from the data. However, this applies mostly to the 2015-2016 period where the number of published articles per newspaper issue was often considerably higher than the maximum number of three articles that were chosen for analysis. For the 1992-1993 period this issue is insignificant. As shown in Table 1 the number of relevant articles per newspaper issue for this sample period was very low. Therefore, almost all articles have found their way into analysis.

For the 2015-2016 period, 119 Kronen Zeitung articles on refugees in 46 newspaper issues have been analysed (see Table 4). It is interesting to note that a comparatively large number of these articles published in the Kronen Zeitung were lead articles (13 articles or 10.9% of all Kronen Zeitung articles analysed in this period). Lead articles in the Kronen Zeitung were defined as those articles that the main headlines on the front page refer to. They were always included in the analysis. Hence, it can also be stated that 10.9% of the analysed newspaper issues had lead articles on refugees. For the 1992-1993 period, 43 articles were analysed. This number is smaller than the number of selected newspaper issues because 12 issues did not contain any relevant articles (see Table 2). Only one single article on refugees (out of 43) in this period can be considered a lead article.

In both periods the number of articles published or referred to on the front page was very small. However, this is not surprising, considering the standard layout of the Kronen Zeitung. As can be seen in Fig. 1, included in a previous chapter, the Kronen Zeitung front page generally contains 1) a very

large main headline referring to the lead article, 2) a large picture covering about half the front page with only a caption or very little text, 3) sometimes a very short summary of other articles, 4) advertisements, 5) information regarding the issue. The Kronen Zeitung does not have first page articles. The main title and the picture generally do not refer to the same article. While the small number of front page references to other articles is not very surprising, it is interesting to note that the number of multi-page articles differs considerably between the two sample periods. More than 30% of all the analysed Kronen Zeitung articles in the 2015-2016 period were longer than one page, compared to less than 7% of the analysed 1992-1993 articles.

*Table 4: Cross-tabulation of placement dataset (Kronen Zeitung only) (Number of analysed Kronen Zeitung articles in the two sample periods categorized by placement)*

	Placement of analysed Kronen Zeitung articles				Total
	Lead story	Front page article / Reference	Multi-page article	Single-page article	
<b>2015-2016</b>	13 (11%)	3 (3%)	37 (31%)	66 (55%)	119 (100%)
<b>1992-1993</b>	1 (2%)	2 (5%)	3 (7%)	37 (86%)	43 (100%)
<b>Total</b>	14	5	40	103	162

For der Standard, the most striking result concerning the placement of articles is that 99 out of 128 analysed 2015-2016 articles (or 77.3%) were published or at least somehow referred to on the front page, either by a short summary, an entry in the table of contents, a headline, et cetera. All articles that were referred to on the front page were included in the analysis. Hence, this number of 77.3% is representative for all analysed newspapers. Moreover, due to the large sample size, it is quite safe to assume a high percentage of relevant front-page articles for the entire population of data. Twenty out of these 99 front page articles were also lead articles. Lead articles in der Standard were defined as those articles that the main headline refers to (see Fig. 1). The main headline is always followed by a short summary of the article. This summary was, of course, included in the analysis.

In the 1992-1993 period a considerably smaller number of articles found their way onto the front page. Only 29% of all analysed articles were published or referred to on the front page and only three out of 75 analysed articles were lead stories (see Table 5). The argument that articles on refugees were placed more prominently in the 2015-2016 period than the 1992-1993 period in both newspapers seems justified. Hence, it also seems legitimate to accept hypothesis H2, that there were indeed considerable differences in the placement of articles between the two sample periods. However, statistical testing is required for verification.

*Table 5: Cross-tabulation of placement dataset (der Standard only) (Number of analysed der Standard articles in the two sample periods categorized by placement)*

	Placement of analysed der Standard articles			Total
	Lead story	Front page article / Reference	Single-page article	
<b>2015-2016</b>	20 (16%)	79 (62%)	29 (23%)	128 (100%)
<b>1992-1993</b>	3 (4%)	19 (25%)	53 (71%)	75 (100%)
<b>Total</b>	23	98	82	203

Again, a chi-square test was performed for both data sets. First, the relationship between the variable 'placement' and the variable 'Kronen Zeitung' was examined. The results are presented in the first row of Table 6. It can be seen that the asymptotic significance is very low ( $p = 0.002$ ), indicating a statistically relevant relationship and that Cramer's V is 0.307, indicating a moderate effect size. However, it has to be underlined here, that for this contingency table 37.5% of the cells had an expected count of less than 5. Hence, the validity of these test results is only limited. In order to address this issue of small expected values, an attempt was made to further combine the placement categories, as proposed in the literature (e.g. Kuckartz 2010, 90). However, the test results did not improve, and a meaningful combination was hard to achieve. Consequently, an alternative test was needed. The most appropriate statistical test for smaller sample sizes is Fisher's exact test (McCarroll 2016, 117). It is generally performed for 2x2 contingency tables. However, already in 1951 Freeman and Halton demonstrated that this test could also be applied to  $r \times c$  tables, that is, tables with more than two rows or columns (Mehta & Patel 2012, 151). The exact p-value calculated in SPSS for the relationship between the variables 'placement' and 'Kronen Zeitung' is 0.01. This value is below the  $p < 0.05$  threshold. Hence, it can be argued that there is a strongly significant difference between the placement of analysed Kronen Zeitung articles in the 2015-2016 period and in the 1992-1993 period.

The relationship between the variables 'placement' and 'der Standard' could be tested with the chi-square test because the expected frequencies in all cells were less than 5. The probability value was found to be below the 0.05 level:  $p < 0.001$  (see Table 6). The null hypothesis can therefore be rejected and instead the H2 hypothesis is likely to be true: The placement of der Standard articles is contingent on the sample period. This association, however, is only moderate. Cramer's V is only 0.474.

Nevertheless, the H2 hypothesis that there is a correlation between the placement of the analysed articles in the selected newspaper issues and the specific sample periods can be accepted for both, the Kronen Zeitung and der Standard.

Table 6: Chi-square test and Cramer's V for placement data

	Chi-Square Tests			Cramer's V	
	Value	df	Asympt. Sig. (2-tailed)	Value	Approx. Sig.
Kronen Zeitung	15.254 <sup>a</sup>	3	0.002	0.307	0.002
Der Standard	45.595 <sup>b</sup>	2	0.000	0.474	0.000
<sup>a</sup> 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5.					
<sup>b</sup> 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5.					

#### 4.1.3 Hypothesis H3

*H3: The variable newspaper section correlates with the selected newspapers and the specific sample periods*

The contingency Table 7 reveals two striking findings: First, in the 2015-2016 period, a very large number of articles were published in special sections on asylum or refugees. In fact, almost 30% of all analysed articles in the 2015-2016 sample period were included in special sections. In particular in der Standard issues articles on refugees were often subsumed under an 'asylum' umbrella theme. Second, it is striking that a clear majority of Kronen Zeitung articles (more than 50% of all analysed Kronen Zeitung articles) focused on politics. These results are surprising, because the Kronen Zeitung is a tabloid newspaper that is not known for having a strong politics focus. Instead, more emphasis is usually put on everyday news and national and local news. However, two restrictions concerning the

validity of these statements need to be underlined: The local section of this newspaper was excluded from the analysis and the articles were selected in a purposive sampling process.

Table 7: Cross-tabulation of section dataset (number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by section)

	Number of analysed articles per period and per newspaper categorized by section					
Sample period (both newspapers)	Lead story / Front page article	Special section	Politics	Current affairs	Others	Total <sup>a</sup>
2015-2016	36 (15%)	71 (29%)	70 (29%)	49 (20%)	17 (7%)	243 (100%)
1992-1993	6 (5%)	0 (0%)	62 (53%)	45 (39%)	3 (3%)	116 (100%)
Newspaper (both periods)	Lead story / Front page article	Special section	Politics	Current affairs	Others	Total <sup>b</sup>
Kronen Zeitung	14 (9%)	9 (6%)	82 (51%)	43 (27%)	14 (9%)	162 (100%)
Der Standard	28 (14%)	62 (31%)	50 (25%)	51 (26%)	6 (3%)	197 (100%)
<sup>a, b</sup> 6 values missing						

The relationship between the variables 'section' and 'sample period' as well as between 'section' and 'newspaper' was found to be significant. Both relationships had probability values below the 0.05 threshold (see Table 8). Moreover, all expected frequencies were below zero and the chi-square test can therefore be considered valid. The effect size for both relationships was moderate. The association between 'section' and 'sample period' (Cramer's V = 0.430) was slightly stronger than between 'section' and 'newspaper' (Cramer's V = 0.384). These results permit a rejection of the null hypothesis that there is no connection between the variables in question. The H3 hypothesis, hence, can be accepted.

Table 8: Chi-square tests and Cramer's V for section data

	Chi-Square Tests			Cramer's V	
	Value	df	Asympt. Sig. (2-tailed)	Value	Approx. Sig.
sample period	66.247 <sup>a</sup>	4	0.000	0.430	0.000
newspaper	52.960 <sup>b</sup>	4	0.000	0.384	0.000
<sup>a, b</sup> 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5.					

#### 4.1.4 Hypothesis H4

*H4: The evaluation of the asylum topic in the analysed articles correlates with the selected newspapers and the specific sample periods*

The first content-related criterion included in the analysis concerned the evaluation of the asylum topic in the analysed articles. Every article was given an evaluation score. That is, the articles were categorized as negative, neutral or positive. 121 articles or, in other words, almost 50% of all analysed articles in the 2015-2016 period reported on refugees and asylum in a negative way (see Table 9).

Reporting in the 1992-1993 period was also mostly neutral and often negative. Around 67% of all analysed articles in this period were neutral and around 30% were negative. Positive reporting in both periods was rare.

It is important to underline here again that the results achieved for the 2015-2016 period only apply to the analysed articles. Because of purposive sampling no inferences can be made about the entire population. The data only allows inferences about prominent articles such as those that were included in the analysis. For the 1992-1993 period, general statements are allowed. Almost all articles were included in the analysis and the results hence apply to the entire population.

Very clear differences in the evaluation of the asylum topic were found between the newspapers (see Table 9). While the Kronen Zeitung reported mostly in a negative way (61% of all analysed Kronen Zeitung articles), reporting in der Standard was generally neutral (67% of all analysed der Standard articles).

Table 9: Cross-tabulation of evaluation dataset (number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by evaluation)

	Number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by evaluation score			
Sample period (both newspapers)	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
2015-2016	121 (49%)	112 (45%)	14 (6%)	247 (100%)
1992-1993	36 (31%)	80 (68%)	2 (2%)	118 (100%)
Newspaper (both periods)	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Kronen Zeitung	99 (61%)	56 (35%)	7 (4%)	162 (100%)
Der Standard	58 (29%)	136 (67%)	9 (4%)	203 (100%)

The argument that there were clear differences between the two sample periods and in particular between the two newspapers regarding evaluation was confirmed by statistical tests (see Table 10). The calculated probability values were very low ( $p < 0.001$ ) and consequently, the H0 hypotheses could be rejected. The effect sizes, however, varied. While the association between 'evaluation' and 'newspaper' was moderate (Cramer's V of 0.332), the association between 'evaluation' and 'sample period' was not very significant (Cramer's V of only 0.215).

Table 10: Chi-square tests and Cramer's V for evaluation data

	Chi-Square Tests			Cramer's V	
	Value	df	Asympt. Sig. (2-tailed)	Value	Approx. Sig.
sample period	16,868 <sup>a</sup>	2	0.000	0.215	0.000
newspaper	40,192 <sup>b</sup>	2	0.000	0.332	0.000
<sup>a, b</sup> 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5.					



#### 4.1.5 Hypothesis H5

*H5: The main topics addressed in these articles correlate with the selected newspapers and the specific sample periods*

The topics addressed in the articles were recorded thoroughly and in detail. This extensive data called not only for an examination of the H5 hypothesis but for a broader analysis. In order to make analysis easier, the data on main topics and subtopics was combined and grouped together under umbrella categories. Table 11 lists the most frequent topics (main topic and subtopics) addressed in the Kronen Zeitung and der Standard in the two sample periods. The number of articles analysed is included in small font size in every row. These numbers are important in order to understand the percentages stated in the table. It is important to stress that the percentage of cases do not sum up to 100% for each newspaper and period because in most cases more than one topic was recorded for every article. A percentage of 22.7 percent in the first row of the table means that 22.7 percent of all analysed articles in the Kronen Zeitung in the 2015-2016 period addressed the topic of ‘stopping migrant movements’ (either as a main or subtopic).

A very striking finding from this data is that one of the most prominent topics addressed in the analysed Kronen Zeitung articles in the 2015-2016 period was ‘crimes by refugees’. In fact, every fifth analysed article in this newspaper and period (20.2%) dealt with this topic. This finding becomes even more remarkable when checking the detailed raw data for the variable ‘main topic’ only. The raw data reveals that in particular ‘sex crimes and sexual harassment’ was a highly topical issue in the Kronen Zeitung in the 2015-2016 period. Nine out of 119 analysed articles (7.6%) in this newspaper and period focused on this topic.

The two most prominent topics in the Kronen Zeitung articles of the 2015-2016 period, however, were ‘stopping the migrant movement’ and ‘numbers of refugees arriving’. These two topics were often mentioned together. That is, in 17 cases or 14.3 percent of all articles, ‘stopping the migrant movement’ and ‘number of refugees arriving’ were addressed in the same article. Other frequently addressed topics concerned the atmosphere in the society, asylum and migration politics and the care of refugees, including for instance questions of accommodation or transportation. ‘Care of refugees’ and ‘atmosphere in the society’ were also very prominent topics in the analysed der Standard articles in the same period. 38.3 percent of all analysed articles in this newspaper and period were concerned with the accommodation and transportation of refugees or questions of care responsibilities. More than 27 percent addressed the attitude towards the newly arrived refugees and the general climate in society. How the Austrian society and political policy makers perceive and evaluate refugees and asylum was also a very topical issue in the 1992-1993 period in both newspapers. In fact, more than half of all analysed der Kronen Zeitung articles and 42.7 percent of all analysed der Standard articles were related to this issue. It is interesting to note that this is not the only similarity between der Standard and Kronen Zeitung articles in this sample period. In both newspapers, ‘care of refugees’ and ‘asylum and migration politics’ ranked very high, with percentages of more than 25%.

*Table 11: Most frequent topics (main topics and subtopics) per newspaper and period*

	order	topic (main topic and subtopic)	count	percentage of cases (%)
<b>Kronen Zeitung 2015-2016</b> <small>119 articles, 361 topics</small>	1.	stopping migrant movements	30	22.7
	2.	numbers of refugees arriving	25	21.0
	3.	atmosphere in society / politics	24	20.2
		crimes by refugees		
		care of refugees		
		asylum and migration politics		

<b>Der Standard 2015-2016</b> 128 articles, 486 topics	1.	atmosphere in society /politics care of refugees	49	38.3
	2.	numbers of refugees arriving in Austria	35	27.3
	3.	stopping migrant movements	30	23.4
<b>Kronen Zeitung 1992-1993</b> 43 articles, 120 topics	1.	atmosphere in society / politics	24	55.8
	2.	asylum and migration politics	19	44.2
	3.	care of refugees	11	25.6
<b>Der Standard 1992-1993</b> 75 articles, 216 topics	1.	atmosphere in society / politics	32	42.7
	2.	care of refugees	27	36.0
	3.	asylum and migration politics	25	33.3

Hypothesis H5 was tested only with the main topic data because this dataset is more significant and easier to evaluate statistically. The main topic categories have been combined to six overarching groups (see Table 12). At a first glance, no striking differences between the two newspapers or the two sample periods can be identified. Only for the umbrella topic ‘flight’ slightly different results are achieved. Under this category topics such as the situation in the countries of origin, the causes of refugee movements or the journeys of refugees are summarized. Hence, a higher score in this category means that more emphasis is put on the experiences and realities of refugees. Table 12 shows that the topic of ‘flight’ was slightly more prevalent in der Standard (13%) than in the Kronen Zeitung (9%) and in the 2015-2016 period (15%) than the 1992-1993 period (9%). It is also interesting to note the differences in the political focus. While international politics were often the main topic in the 2015-2016 period and in der Standard, national politics were in focus in particular in the 1992-1993 and Kronen Zeitung articles. The category ‘others’ includes topics such as numbers of refugees arriving or past refugees. They were summarized in particular to facilitate statistical testing.

Table 12: Cross-tabulation of main topic dataset (number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by topic)

	Number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by main topic						
Sample period (both newspapers)	Social	Austrian politics	Int. poli- tics	Socioec- onomic implic.	Flight	Others	Total <sup>a</sup>
2015-2016	76 (31%)	40 (17%)	58 (24%)	14 (6%)	22 (9%)	32 (13%)	242 (100%)
1992-1993	46 (39%)	30 (26%)	12 (10%)	4 (3%)	18 (15%)	7 (6%)	117 (100%)
Newspaper (both periods)	Social	Austrian politics	Int. poli- tics	Socioec- onomic implic.	Flight	Others	Total <sup>b</sup>
Kronen Zeitung	53 (33%)	36 (23%)	26 (13%)	7 (4%)	14 (9%)	23 (15%)	159 (100%)
Der Standard	69 (35%)	34 (17%)	44 (22%)	11 (5,5%)	26 (13%)	16 (8%)	200
a, b 6 values missing							

The chi-square test for the variables ‘main topic’ and ‘sample period’ yielded a p-value of 0.001 (see Table 13). This means that the H5 hypothesis for these variables can be accepted. However, Cramer’s V of only 0.235 indicates that this association is insignificant. The p-value calculated for the relation-

ship between the variables ‘main topic’ and ‘sample period’ was way beyond the 0.05 threshold. Hence, the relationship can be explained for the most part only with luck and the null hypothesis, that there is most likely no association between those two variables, needs to be accepted.

Table 13: Chi-square tests and Cramer’s V for main topic data

	Chi-Square Tests			Cramer’s V	
	Value	df	Asympt. Sig. (2-tailed)	Value	Approx. Sig.
sample period	19.905 <sup>a</sup>	5	0.001	0.235	0.001
newspaper	7.951 <sup>b</sup>	5	0.159	0.149	0.159
<sup>a, b</sup> 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5.					

#### 4.1.6 Hypothesis H6

*H6: The type of concerns addressed correlates with the selected newspapers and the specific sample periods*

One of the most important variables recorded in the content-related part of analysis is the variable ‘concern’. An extensive list of concerns that the articles on refugees might address was established, based on preliminary screening of the material and relevant literature. In particular, the doctoral dissertation of Gold (2013), the works by Heiss & Rathkolb (1995), Matouschek et al. (1995), M. Jäger & Wamper (2017a & 2017b), Gerhard (1992) and the issue “Die Vierte Gewalt” of the DISS-Journal published by Siegfried Jäger and Jürgen Link (1993) served as the main sources of information. The entire set of concern categories is found in the codebook included in the appendix of this thesis.

Table 14 lists the three most frequent concerns mentioned in the analysed Kronen Zeitung and der Standard articles in the two sample periods. The percentages given in this table again refer to the number of all analysed articles in the newspaper and sample period in question (percentage of cases). For instance, a percentage of 32.8 in the first row means that 32.8 percent of all analysed Kronen Zeitung articles in the 2015-2016 sample period addressed the concern that refugees are flooding, or invading Austria or Europe. This is a considerably high number. However, this concern was not only predominant in the Kronen Zeitung and the 2015-2016 sample period. In fact, in both newspapers and sample periods this concern ranked first or second. In the 2015-2016 period many articles also raised concerns over political decisions concerning asylum and asylum seekers. It was claimed that politicians lack precise plans and measures of how to deal with the newly-arrived refugees and hence followed a chaotic approach to the topic.

It is interesting to note, that in this ranking of most frequent concerns, concerns about refugees causing problems dominate. Only in the analysed Kronen Zeitung and der Standard articles of the 1992-1993 period, problems faced by refugees are addressed more frequently. Every fifth analysed Kronen Zeitung article in this period deals with the hardship refugees had to face before and during their flight and the consequences of these experiences, for instance traumatising. Der Standard addresses particularly the problems that refugees face in the hosting community. 20 percent of all der Standard articles in the 1992-1993 period discuss issues of hostility and racism. Since almost all articles in this sample period were included in the analysis and only in very few cases article selection was carried out by means of purposive sampling, it is safe to assume that the achieved results apply not only to the analysed articles but to the entire sampling population of the 1992-1993 period.

Table 14: Top 3 most frequent concerns per newspaper and period

	order	concerns	count	percentage of cases
<b>Kronen Zeitung 2015-2016</b> 119 articles, 239 concerns	1.	Refugees flood Austria / Europe	39	32.8
	2.	Chaotic and unsystematic asylum politics	18	15.1
	3.	Refugees increase / cause chaos	16	13.5
<b>Der Standard 2015-2016</b> 128 articles, 320 concerns	1.	Chaotic and unsystematic asylum politics	41	32.0
	2.	Refugees flood Austria / Europe	40	31.3
	3.	Deficient European cooperation	36	28.1
<b>Kronen Zeitung 1992-1993</b> 43 articles, 79 concerns	1.	Refugees flood Austria / Europe	14	32.6
	2.	Refugees experienced hardship	9	20.9
	3.	Refugees spread fear	8	18.6
<b>Der Standard 1992-1993</b> 75 articles, 137 topics	1.	Refugees encounter racism and hostility	15	20.0
	2.	Refugees flood Austria / Europe	14	18.7
	3.	Deficient European cooperation	13	17.3

In a second step of analysis, the categories were combined to two overarching groups ('refugees face problems' and 'refugees cause problems') and nine subgroups. The results for every newspaper and sample period are illustrated in Chart 6. The percentages in this chart do not refer to the number of analysed articles (percentage of cases) but to the total number of concerns mentioned per newspaper and sample period. That is, 27.6% of all concerns mentioned in the Kronen Zeitung in the 2015-2016 period were related to 'flood, chaos and instability'.

It can be seen at first glance that concerns about refugees causing problems clearly dominate in both the Kronen Zeitung and der Standard, and in the 2015-2016 as well as 1992-1993 period. In particular, in the analysed Kronen Zeitung articles of 2015-2016 there is almost no understanding for the problems of refugees. Der Standard, in comparison, addresses the experiences and challenges that refugees need to cope with considerably more often. Moreover, there are also differences between the two sample periods.

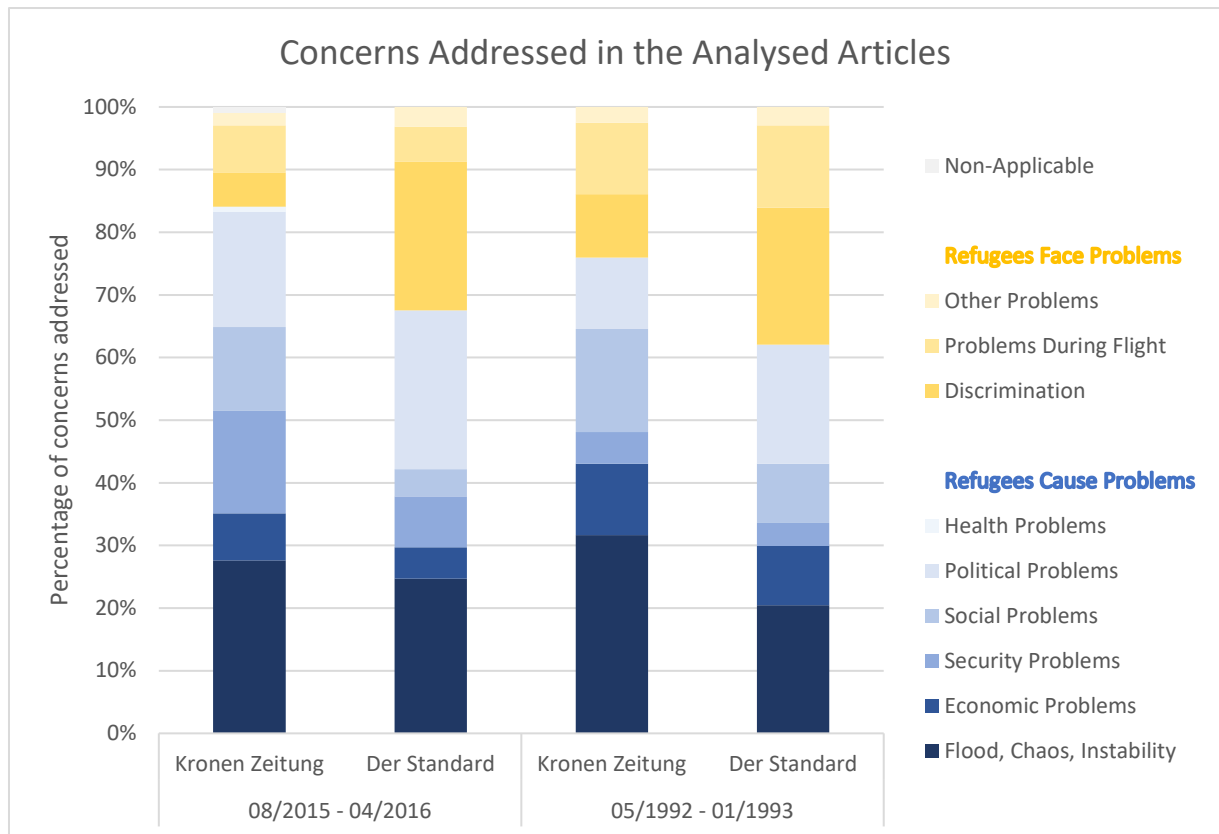


Chart 6: Percentage of concerns addressed in the analysed articles per newspaper and period

The differences between the two newspapers and sample periods with regard to concerns also had to be tested statistically. However, first, data had to be summarized. This was achieved by re-categorization or, in other words, by giving a 'concern score' to every article. If an article focused mainly on refugees causing problems, it was re-categorized as 1. If it focused on refugees facing problems, it was re-categorized as 2. All the other articles fell in the group: mixed. From this data a contingency table was created (Table 15).

Table 15: Cross-tabulation of concern dataset (number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by concern)

	Number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by concerns			
Sample period (both newspapers)	Refugees Cause Problems	Refugees Face Problems	Mixed	Total
2015-2016	164 (70%)	51 (22%)	20 (9%)	235 <sup>a</sup> (100%)
1992-1993	54 (51%)	40 (39%)	11 (10%)	105 <sup>b</sup> (100%)
Newspaper (both periods)	Refugees Cause Problems	Refugees Face Problems	Mixed	Total
Kronen Zeitung	117 (77%)	26 (17%)	8 (5%)	151 <sup>c</sup> (100%)
Der Standard	101 (53%)	65 (34%)	23 (12%)	189 <sup>c</sup> (100%)
<sup>a</sup> 12 values missing, <sup>b</sup> 13 values missing				
<sup>c</sup> 11 values missing, <sup>d</sup> 14 values missing				

Table 15 illustrates the results from Chart 6 in a different way and allows statistical testing. Based on the contingency table a chi-square test was performed. The p-values of  $p = 0.003$  and  $p < 0.001$  are way below the 0.05 threshold. That means that the hypothesis H6 can be accepted: There is a relationship between the type of concern mentioned in the analysed articles and the sample period as well as the specific newspaper. However, it comes as a surprise that the calculated effect sizes are rather low. That is, the association between the variable ‘concern’ and the variables ‘sample period’ and ‘newspaper’ is not very strong.

Table 16: Chi-square tests and Cramer’s V for concern data

	Chi-Square Tests			Cramer’s V	
	Value	df	Asympt. Sig. (2-tailed)	Value	Approx. Sig.
sample period	11.409 <sup>a</sup>	2	0.003	0.183	0.003
newspaper	21.164 <sup>b</sup>	2	0.000	0.249	0.000
<sup>a, b</sup> 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5.					

#### 4.1.7 Hypothesis H7

*H7: Representations of refugees correlate with the selected newspapers and the specific sample periods*

The representations of refugees in the selected articles were analysed in the same way as the concerns. The final list of categories is also included in the codebook that can be found in the appendix. It is important to underline that refugees were generally not characterized or described in a direct way in the analysed articles. Instead, attribution was carried out more covertly, for instance by pointing out certain actions or behaviour rather than traits. Categorization, hence, was a challenging and delicate task and the influence of personal assumptions should not be underrated.

Table 17 lists the most frequent attribution categories. It is striking that the ranking is almost the same for both newspapers and sample periods. The category ‘invasive’ and the category ‘in need of support’ rank first or second in both, the Kronen Zeitung and der Standard and in the 1992-1993 as well as 2015-2016 periods. However, frequencies do differ considerably. 27.7 percent of all analysed Kronen Zeitung articles in the 2015-2016 period portrayed refugees as invasive and 16.8 percent of the articles found refugees to be in need of support. In contrast, in more than 40 percent of der Standard articles in the same period refugees the attribute invasive for refugees could be identified and 41 percent of the articles described refugees as in need of support. Whereas in the Kronen Zeitung the attribution of refugees as invasive or intrusive was particularly dominant, der Standard found refugees to be mostly in need of support.

Table 17: Most frequent attributes per newspaper and period

	order	attributes	count	percentage of cases
<b>Kronen Zeitung 2015-2016</b> 119 articles, 124 attributes	1.	invasive / intrusive / besieging	33	27.7
	2.	in need of support / protection	20	16.8
	3.	aggressive / violent	14	11.8
<b>Der Standard 2015-2016</b> 128 articles, 151 attributes	1.	in need of support / protection	53	41.4
	2.	invasive / intrusive / besieging	52	40.6
	3.	scapegoat / accused / prejudged	7	5.5

<b>Kronen Zeitung 1992-1993</b> 43 articles, 57 attributes	1.	invasive / intrusive / besieging	22	51.2
	2.	in need of support / protection	14	32.6
	3.	parasitic fraudulent	4	9.3
<b>Der Standard 1992-1993</b> 75 articles, 81 attributes	1.	in need of support / protection	42	56.0
	2.	invasive / intrusive / besieging	19	25.3
	3.	threatening (in general) accused/prejudiced	4	5.3

However, from this ranking no general statements can be derived. Hence, in a second step the categories were combined to seven overarching groups. Chart 7 illustrates that refugees, in general, were often described as threatening and as in need of support in both newspapers and sampling periods. This conforms to the findings illustrated in Table 17. In particular, the analysed Kronen Zeitung articles portrayed refugees as threatening. In der Standard articles a higher percentage of neutral or positive attributes could be identified. This applies especially to the 1992-1993 period.

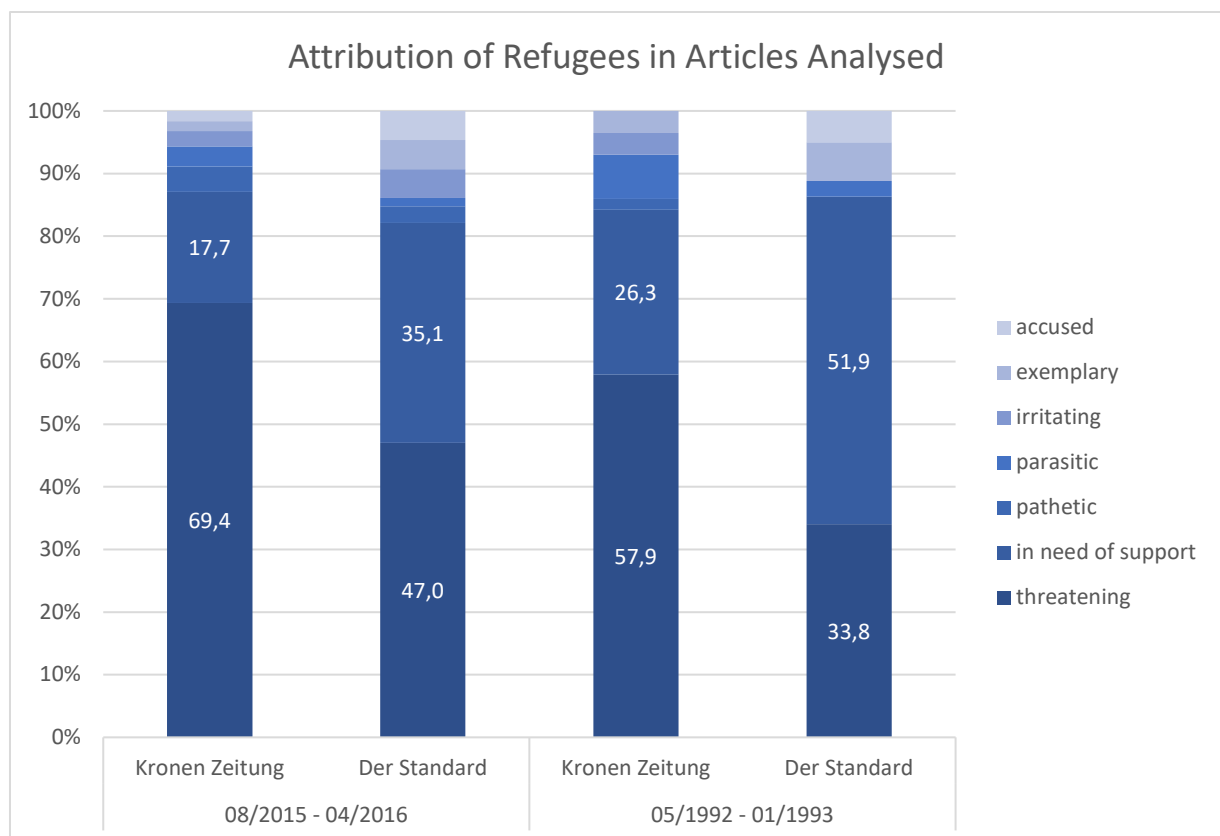


Chart 7: Percentage of attributes addressed in the analysed articles per newspaper and period

In order to allow for statistical testing and statistically valid evaluation of the material, the data on attributes was combined to form two new major categories: negative representation of refugees and positive or neutral representation of refugees. Those articles with a balanced portrayal, that is, an equal number of negative and positive/neutral attributes per article, were assigned to the category 'mixed'. Again, a contingency table (Table 18) was created. At first glance, it can already be seen that there are some major differences between the two sample periods and newspapers. In the 2015-2016 period representations of refugees were for the most part negative. On the contrary, a slight

majority of 1992-1993 articles focused on positive traits of refugees or neutral reporting in this regard. Concerning the newspaper differences, it was found that negative representations clearly dominated in the analysed Kronen Zeitung articles while der Standard was more balanced. Articles with neutral or positive portrayals in der Standard outnumbered articles with negative portrayal by only 15.

Table 18: Cross-tabulation of attribution dataset (number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by attribution)

	Number of analysed articles per newspaper and per period categorized by attribution			
Sample period (both newspapers)	Negative	Positive/neutral	Mixed	Total
2015-2016	110 (59%)	56 (30%)	19 (10%)	185 <sup>a</sup> (100%)
1992-1993	40 (40%)	54 (54%)	6 (6%)	100 <sup>b</sup> (100%)
Newspaper (both periods)	Negative	Positive/neutral	Mixed	Total
Kronen Zeitung	83 (70%)	28 (24%)	7 (6%)	118 <sup>c</sup> (100%)
Der Standard	67 (40%)	82 (49%)	18 (11%)	167 <sup>d</sup> (100%)
<sup>a</sup> 62 values missing, <sup>b</sup> 18 values missing				
<sup>c</sup> 44 values missing, <sup>d</sup> 36 values missing				

Table 19 gives the chi-square test results and Cramer's V coefficients for the contingency data shown above. Both calculated p-values are way below the critical threshold. Therefore, hypothesis H7 can be accepted. There is a correlation between the representation of refugees and the selected newspapers and the specific sample periods. However, Cramer's V values below 0.3 indicate that the associations are rather weak. Some reservations, hence, remain.

Table 19: Chi-square tests and Cramer's V for attribution data

	Chi-Square Tests			Cramer's V	
	Value	df	Asympt. Sig. (2-tailed)	Value	Approx. Sig.
sample period	15.490 <sup>a</sup>	2	0.000	0.233	0.000
newspaper	25.381 <sup>b</sup>	2	0.000	0.298	0.000
<sup>a, b</sup> 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5.					

#### 4.1.8 Other Findings

As pointed out earlier, the variables discussed above were not the only variables recorded during coding. Additional information that could be useful for selecting articles for the discourse analysis was also collected. Particularly interesting are the notes that were taken for every article. Based on the literature, noticeable phrases and wordings were recorded for every article. Gerhard (1992) and M. Jäger and Wamper (2017b), for instance, found that media frequently use specific symbols when talking about refugees and migrants. These symbols are often related to floods and other extreme weather conditions (M. Jäger & Wamper 2017b, 10). Military metaphors are also deployed, in particular words such as 'invasion' or 'a rush of refugees' (Gerhard 1992, 168-169). Hence, wordings falling



into some of these metaphor categories were noted down for every analysed article. It is important to underline that for this part of the analysis the exact phrasing was important. Noticeable words were quoted directly and paraphrases with similar meanings were excluded.

A preliminary sighting of the results showed that indeed, terms such as ‘flood’, ‘wave’, ‘stream’, ‘rush’ and in particular ‘crisis’ were used frequently in the analysed articles. Therefore, the number of articles in which these terms were used at least once was counted and the results are summarized in Table 20. It is important to remember that word compositions are very common in German. That is, several nouns are often combined to form a new single word. In this part of the analysis, thus, not only the simple nouns listed in Table 20, but also compound nouns were included, provided that the terms maintained their primary meaning. The percentages included in the table refer to the number of analysed articles per newspaper and period. A percentage of 18% for the first row, thus, means that 18% of all analysed Kronen Zeitung articles of 2015-2016 contained the word ‘Krise’ or any composed noun using ‘Krise’, for instance ‘Flüchtlingskrise’. It is important to underline that the frequencies do not equal the sample size and the percentages therefore also do not add up to 100%. On the one hand, not every analysed article contained one of the specified terms and, on the other hand, a singular article often contained multiple noticeable phrasings.

The most striking finding from Table 20 is that the term ‘Krise’ (crisis) was found in more than 20% of all analysed 2015-2016 articles and was almost equally prevalent in the Kronen Zeitung and der Standard. On the contrary, only two out of 118 articles from the 1992-1993 sample period contained the term ‘Krise’. The term ‘Strom’ (stream) was quite popular in both periods and both newspapers. While ‘Flut’ (flood) was found primarily in the 1992-1993 articles, ‘Ansturm’ (rush) only occurred in the 2015-2016 analysed articles. In fact, 8 percent of all Kronen Zeitung articles talked about a run of refugees on Austria or Europe.

Table 20: Frequency of selected terms, including percentages of all analysed articles per newspaper and period

		Krise (crisis)	Strom (stream)	Welle (wave)	Flut (flood)	Ansturm (run/rush)
2015-2016	Kronen Zeitung 119 articles	22 (18%)	16 (13%)	10 (8%)	0 (0%)	9 (8%)
	Standard 128 articles	29 (23%)	14 (11%)	6 (5%)	1 (1%)	5 (4%)
1992-1993	Kronen Zeitung 43 articles	1 (2%)	5 (12%)	2 (5%)	3 (7%)	0 (0%)
	Standard 75 articles	1 (1%)	6 (8%)	1 (1%)	4 (5%)	0 (0%)
Total 365 articles		53 (15%)	41 (11%)	19 (5%)	5 (1%)	14 (4%)

## 4.2 Discourse Analysis

The content analytical part of this study provided a good overview of relevant articles and gave first insights into the discursive field. The selection of articles for the discourse analysis was largely based on these findings. Moreover, also relevant events, such as the Paris attacks in November 2015 were taken into consideration. The specific questions asked during the discourse analysis process can be found in the appendix. However, it is important to underline that these questions were more of a guideline than a rigid scheme. Articles were not analysed question by question; instead, a more open approach was chosen.

In the following sections, four articles per investigation period and per newspaper are analysed. Moreover, since discourse analysis aims to examine not only texts and speeches but also discursive contexts, a section on numbers of refugees arriving in Austria, opinion polls on asylum and refugees, and relevant legal changes is included at the end of this chapter.

#### 4.2.1 Kronen Zeitung 2015-2016

The following four Kronen Zeitung articles were chosen for analysis:

- A 1.1 17.11.2015: Thema des Tages (Wer aller komm in unser Land...?)
- A 1.2 23.11.2015: Sturm auf die „Festung Europa“
- A 1.3 10.01.2016: Flüchtlingskurs steht jetzt auf der Kippe
- A 1.4 09.02.2016: Störenfriede außer Landes bringen!

##### *A 1.1 17.11.2015: Thema des Tages (Wer aller komm in unser Land...?)*

Article A 1.1 is a short editorial comment by Peter Gnam, found on page 7 of the newspaper. Gnam is one of the lead columnists of the Kronen Zeitung. His editorial comments are always in line with the newspaper's philosophy. Hence, an analysis of his articles sheds light on the newspapers position in controversial debates (cf. Barbara Toth, quoted in Fidler 2017).

This editorial comment, placed in the special section "Terror in France", reports on the Paris attacks that had happened just four days before, on November 13. Bombs and shootings at six locations, including the Bataclan theatre, left 130 people killed and more than 350 people injured (ZEIT ONLINE n.d.). The article discusses whether there was a relationship between refugees and terrorism. First, two positions on the issue are brought forward. According to Gnam, one side in the debate claims that "illegal, uncontrolled migration should be stopped because terrorists might come on refugee routes". The other side, on the contrary, argues that "refugees should not be seen as synonymous to terrorists". After outlining these two opposing opinions, Gnam quite openly takes position. He goes with the first argument and points out that it is not clear what kind of people are coming to Europe and that they might be dangerous. This stance on the issue is also demonstrated in the title of the article that asks: Who is coming to the country ...? It is important to underline the ellipsis used in this question. The ellipsis implies that there was more to say on the topic but readers themselves are asked to spin the thought further.

Apart from the topic of terrorism, also the number of refugees arriving in Austria is addressed. It is maintained that Austria is "flooded and invaded by foreigners" or, to quote Gnam: "at times we were literally overrun by thousands (?) of refugees". The question mark, that is included also in the original text, implies again, that there is a lack of information on refugees. It is interesting to note that the use of 'we' creates two groups: a 'we' group of Austrians and a 'them' group of foreigners, of 'the others'. In addition, the article also refers to migrants and refugees that came to Austria long ago. Those migrants are portrayed as a problem to Austrian society. In general, the whole attitude towards refugees presented in the article is negative, if not even hostile.

##### *A 1.2 23.11.2015: Sturm auf die „Festung Europa“*

The second article, A 1.2, was chosen because it addresses the topic of border crossings and the concern that refugees provoke instability and chaos. Moreover, article A 1.2 is an eye-catching article with two striking pictures and a headline highlighted in flamboyant red. The title "Storming of 'Fortress Europe'" openly recognizes that Europe has closed its borders and that 'invaders' are not welcome. The fortress metaphor is further employed in the short article and references are made to the

Middle Ages comparing refugees to knights trying to enter a castle. The aim of the article clearly is to warn about high numbers of people that might want to come to Europe. It is claimed that “according to surveys” – the source is not stated – “60 million Africans are about to leave for Europe...”. The author ends the sentence with an ellipsis. Again, this implies that there would be more to say, for instance about the consequences of these people coming to Europe. However, the author decides to let the readers make up their minds themselves. In this case, omission reveals more than any words. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the term ‘Africans’ is used. In general, the article provokes concerns and insecurity in the reader and clearly presents refugees as ‘invaders’ and as a threat to Europa and Austria.

Even more important than the short text, are the two pictures that catch the reader’s attention (see Fig. 2). They, too, convey a message of insecurity with refugees climbing over fences and encountering armed police. It is important to point out that the selection of pictures, just like the use of specific vocabulary, influences how a topic is perceived. Instead of those two pictures that insinuate a threat to Europe, other pictures illustrating the hardship refugees have to face could have been chosen.



Fig 2: “The invasion of ‘Fortress Europe’” (Kronen Zeitung, 23.11.2015)

Moreover, it is striking that another, quite contradictory picture of refugees and a short article is published on the next page of the newspaper. The picture shows a desperate, crying man and a small boy trying to comfort him (see Fig. 3). The short corresponding article reports on the situation for refugees at the Macedonian border. Sympathy is expressed and the hardship that refugees have to face during flight put to the foreground.

The two contradictory articles show that a difference is made between different groups of refugees. Male refugees with black skin colour from Africa are seen as a threat that Europe needs to defend itself of. At the same time, sympathy is expressed for refugees with lighter skin colour, in particular those coming with their families. It is important to note that nowhere in the two articles the reasons

for people leaving their countries are addressed. Hence, it cannot be argued that the differences in portrayal of refugees is solely due to different migration motives.



Fig 3: "Escape in vain: boy comforts father" (Kronen Zeitung, 23.11.2015) The text was originally arranged below the picture.



### *A 1.3 10.01.2016: Flüchtlingskurs steht jetzt auf der Kippe*

Article A 1.3 is a lead story article published on pages 2-3 in the issue of 10.01.2016. The main topics of the article are the 'Cologne incidents' and their consequences on the atmosphere in the society and asylum politics.

In the night of December 31, 2015, to January 1, 2016, several incidents of sexualized assaults occurred in Cologne and some other cities, during New Year's celebrations (Schorer & Schneider 2017, 147). In the first days after the incidents reporting was limited and only occupied local newspapers. However, when statements of affected women describing suspects as "people of Northern African descent" were published and rumours were circulated that the suspects could have been asylum seekers, the events were soon integrated into the prevalent discourse on refugees – in fact, even before any official details were known (Schorer & Schneider 2017, 148). Media also faced heavy critique: it was claimed that the suspects' descent was concealed on purpose in reports published shortly after the incidents happened (Schorer & Schneider 2017, 155).

Article 1.3, too, addresses the question whether information on refugees, in general, is deliberately concealed by politics and media. It even starts with the phrase "What is hidden from us? Nobody trusts them anymore!" – a statement put in quotation marks. This statement could be the quote of an actual person; however, no source is mentioned. Consequently, it is more likely that quotation marks were used as a stylistic element in order to attract the readers' attention and also establish a feeling of closeness or identification.

In their analysis of the Cologne incidents, Schorer and Schneider found that the New Year's Eve of 2015/2016 was a major turning point in the refugee debate (Schorer & Schneider 2017, 147). The author of article A 1.3, too, believes that the incidents have changed the atmosphere in society and politics and that it made politicians realise that there was a need for more restrictive measures and laws. The author even goes as far as to claim that the sad incidents were actually needed to provoke a revision of asylum politics.

Another topic addressed in the article is criminality of refugees in general. A statement by the German Minister of the Interior, Thomas de Maizière, is paraphrased where he points out that criminality among asylum seekers is not disproportionally high. However, it is important to note that already in the next sentence, a differentiation between various groups of refugees is made. Syrian refugees are portrayed as the 'good refugees' with allegedly low rates of criminality. Refugees from the Eastern Balkan and North Africa, on the contrary, are claimed to be more criminal. Even though the author strives towards a neutral language and quotes politicians in high offices in order to achieve high reliability, his or her viewpoint on the refugee debate can be easily identified. It is obvious that the author strongly supports the move towards a more restrictive politics and that criminality is thought of as a major concern.

The article, in fact, is part of a series of articles subsumed in a special section on asylum and the 'Cologne incidents'. All reports and editorial commentaries agree that the 'times of welcome are over' and that steps needed to be taken to reform the asylum system. Political approaches are generally criticised as chaotic and it is claimed that the government did not follow any precise plan on how to deal with the newly arrived refugees. The refugee discourse presented in the articles is clearly part of a crisis discourse. In particular, in the editorial commentaries by Franziska Trost, Dors Vettermann and Kurt Seinitz a harsh tone is employed. Moreover, questions of 'cultural differences' and successful integration are also addressed with regard to the sexist incidents. Schorer and Schneider too, found that after the Cologne incidents allegations of sexist behaviour of immigrants, in particular of Muslim immigrants, became increasingly common. It was often argued that this sexist behaviour was

part of 'their' culture while at the same time, denying any issues of sexism in 'our' Europe (Schorer & Schneider 2017, 151)

#### *A 1.4 09.02.2016: Störenfriede außer Landes bringen!*

Article A 1.4 reports on incidents of disruption and disorderly behaviour among Moroccan refugees at the main train station in the city of Linz. The headline of the article can be translated as "Bring the troublemakers out of the country!" This demand was actually put forward by the then governor of the state of Upper Austria, Josef Pühringer. However, since the source of this demand is not included in the main headline, at a first glance it can be understood as a general request by the author or the newspaper.

As pointed out already in the headline, refugees in the article are described as "Störenfriede" or 'troublemakers' that disturb the local population and even children on their way to school. They are said to provoke fear and insecurity. Instead of social work measures or psychological support, repatriation is seen as the best solution to the problem. This is particularly due to fact that the group of disturbing refugees consisted of mostly Moroccans that have little chances of being granted asylum in Europe. It is important to underline that this article, just like most of the other articles analysed above differentiates between 'good refugees' and 'bad refugees'. Moroccans are definitely counted among the latter group.

The refugees themselves, of course, are given no chance to explain themselves. Neither are there any attempts made to reflect on the difficulties that they had to face on their way to and also in Austria or traumata that they need to deal with. The social aspect of the problem is completely blanked out.

#### 4.2.2 Der Standard 2015-2016

The following four Standard articles were chosen for analysis:

- A 2.1 13.08.2015: Traiskirchen „Symptom für fast vollständiges Versagen“
- A 2.2 24.10.2015: EU-weite Aufteilung der Flüchtlinge ist bisher ein Flop
- A 2.3 17.11.2015: CSU will bayerische Polizei an Grenze zu Österreich
- A 2.4 09/10.01.2016: Frauenrechte als integrationspolitisches Muss

#### *A 2.1 13.08.2015: Traiskirchen „Symptom für fast vollständiges Versagen“:*

Article A 2.1 is part of a special section on pages 2-3 containing only articles on refugees. Three of the four articles in this special section deal with the topic of accommodation and refugee relief. One article critically discusses the restrictive Hungarian asylum politics and the Hungarian government's plan to build a border fence. It is interesting to note that the name given to the special section was "Flüchtlinge", translated to 'refugees' in English. In other issues of der Standard of 2015/2016 either no special name is given to this section or other neutral names such as 'European refugee debate' or 'refugee relief'. Only in one single issue of the analysed 46 der Standard issues of 2015/2016 the special section was termed 'refugee crisis'.

Article A 2.1 discusses the difficult situation of asylum seekers in Austria's largest refugee camp Traiskirchen and political measures to handle the numbers of newly arrived refugees. The article describes the hardship that many residents of the Traiskirchen camp have to face. Accommodation and treatment of refugees is found not only inadequate but inhumane and it is criticised that refugees are restricted in their self-determination. Even though it is clearly stated that the refugee camp is overcrowded, the chaos is not found to be the refugee's fault. Instead, the authorities are held responsible. A critical stance towards the government's approach to the issue is openly expressed.

The title of the article, “Traiskirchen: ‘Symptom of almost complete failure’”, underlines the author’s viewpoint that the government failed in managing the situation. Moreover, the title is a quote from Amnesty International Austria. More quotes are included in the article. The general secretary of AI Austria, Heinz Patzelt, for instance, speaks of a “human rights scandal” with regard to the serious deficits in accommodation. The title of the short summary on the front page, “Traiskirchen: Situation escalates despite freeze on admissions”, implies a more chaotic situation. It leaves the reader with no clue why the situation escalated but instead allows for speculations.

Citations from representatives of both, the Ministry of the Interior and the humanitarian organisation Amnesty international make the article A 2.1 appear balanced and unbiased. However, a bit more importance is given to the humanitarian organisation’s side and doubts towards the validity of the Ministry’s statements are openly articulated.

In general, article A 2.1 expresses sympathy for refugees and puts the hardship they have to face also in Austria in focus.

#### *A 2.2 24.10.2015: EU-weite Aufteilung der Flüchtlinge ist bisher ein Flop:*

Article A 2.2 discusses the numbers of refugees arriving in Europe and the malfunctioning of the relocation programme established by the EU. The programme was introduced to relocate refugees among member states and to relieve pressure from Italy and Greece, the two EU countries that most refugees enter first. The article describes that the EU member states have very different opinions on the management of the refugee movement and that the relocation programme, hence, does not work. The article’s headline, in fact, terms the relocation programme literally a “flop”.

In Austrian politics, disagreement and conflict exist as well, in particular between the two former coalition partners ÖVP (Austrian People’s Party) and SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria). For instance, proposals such as ‘fences’ at the outer EU borders by Foreign Minister Sebastian Kurz, now Chancellor of Austria, and the further establishment of a ‘fortress Europe’ by the Minister of the Interior Johanna Mikl-Leitner (both ÖVP), have been heavily criticised by the social-democratic party.

The tone of this article is a bit more critical towards the high numbers of refugees arriving than article A 2.1. This is implied in particular by the title on the front page: “Number of Syrian refugees in Europe continues to rise”. However, again the government’s lack of actions is covertly criticised, for instance by quoting Gerhard Holzinger, president of the Constitutional Court. Holzinger said that he “would have assumed that that there was an emergency plan for when thousands of people started to get moving,” but for the time being, he argues, it does not seem like it. This quote is also the last paragraph of the article that sticks to the readers mind.

#### *A 2.3 17.11.2015: CSU will bayerische Polizei an Grenze zu Österreich*

Article A 2.3 was chosen because it was published on the same day as article A1.1, that is, only four days after the incidents in Paris. The article discusses border controls between Germany and Austria. In the wake of the Paris attacks, border controls between Germany and France were increased and intensified. The border management between Germany and Austria, however, remained unaffected. According to the German police, quoted in the article, cooperation between Austrian and German police at the border worked very well and refugees were “not controlled and registered differently than some days before.” Nevertheless, the Bavarian Prime Minister and head of the CSU party, Horst Seehofer, and the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, Joachim Herrmann (CSU), demanded more police and increased controls “in the light of terror threats”. They also offered support by the Bavarian police forces to the state police.

Even though no comments on these issues are openly made in the article, it seems as though the author of the article is slightly ridiculing the Bavarian demands and offers. For instance, the speaker of the German Ministry of the Interior is quoted, saying that the “offer by Bavaria has been noted”, but the state police were capable to “handle the situation by itself”.

The article also addresses internal German political conflicts. The Bavarian Minister of Finance, Markus Söder, for example, had criticised Chancellor Angela Merkel’s approach to the refugee movement and the opening of borders and demanded a change in policy. He also linked his demands to the Paris attacks, hence, establishing a connection between refugees and terrorism.

Even though some of the people quoted in the article, such as Söder, argue that refugees increase terrorist threats, the article itself does not make this implication at any point. However, on the front page ‘refugees’ and ‘terrorism’ are connected nevertheless. The short summary of the lead article on the Paris attacks, called “Criticism against Paris: Warnings ignored”, includes a list of “related articles” found in the issue. One of the entries in the list is called “Flüchtlinge in Europa” – ‘refugees in Europe’ and refers to the special section on refugees that also contains article A 2.3. Consequently, even though the author of the article was very keen not to make any connection between the two topics of ‘refugees’ and ‘terrorism’ in the report, the connection was still implied by the composition of articles in the issue. It is likely that the person responsible for the list of ‘related articles’ on the front page was not the same person as the author of article A 2.3.

#### *A 2.4 09/10.01.2016: Frauenrechte als integrationspolitisches Muss*

Article A 2.4 was chosen because it was published on the same day as article A 1.4 and also covers the Cologne incidents. It deals in particular with the topic of women’s rights in connection to migrants and is most likely based on an interview with Maria Rösslhumer, director of the Austrian autonomous Women’s shelter and anti-violence expert, because only she is referred to and quoted.

In the article, Maria Rösslhumer argues that European societies hosting refugees will face great challenges in the future regarding women’s rights. She holds that integration politics should, thus, focus in particular on communicating women’s rights to refugees through workshops, in German courses and during events organised by migrants’ communities or religious groups.

It is important to underline that Rösslhumer also makes references to another group of migrants, Chechens that came to Austria between 2005 and 2010. She claims that violence against women and children was particularly high among members of this community because there was a lack of understanding of women’s rights. According to her, the suspects of the Cologne incidents and most of the refugees arriving in Austria also come from “very patriarchal countries”, where “women are wearing a veil in the public”, where “men are not looking in women’s eyes or shake their hands”. She claims that “those men” have the same attitudes “like our fathers and grandfathers had” but contrary to the last generations of European men, migrants to Europe are now confronted with liberal European women that make use of their right to move around freely – day and night.

It is important to point out how Rösslhumer clearly constructs two groups in society when speaking of refugees. One group is the ‘us’ group, that is, the local Austrian community in which, according to Rösslhumer, patriarchy was also an issue in the past but then women have emancipated themselves and claimed their rights. The other group are ‘the others’. Rösslhumer speaks of “those men” that she finds to have antediluvian and questionable attitudes and that allegedly do not treat women right. In her understanding only these two groups exist in Austria.

Moreover, it needs to be underlined that only Rösslhumer has her say in the article. That is why it is likely that the text was based on an interview. However, it is not stated anywhere if she was indeed



interviewed or if her statements were taken from another source. Nor is there any explanation indicated as to why no other experts' or other women's opinions were integrated into the text. By giving more people a say, different viewpoints and even counter-arguments might have emerged.

Two other articles that were published on the same page as article A 2.4, also covered the Cologne incidents. One article is an interview with Rafael Behr, Police scientist. The other one briefly addresses the accusations made against Cologne's Police president Wolfgang Albers of deliberately concealing the suspects' descent. In neither of the articles refugees are generalized and accused of problematic attitudes towards women as in article A 2.4. On the contrary, in the interview with Rafael Behr, the expert even argues that "it is irrelevant whether the offenders were refugees or not" and points out that the incidents were "violations of decency and human rights" and that they needed to be prosecuted as such.

#### 4.2.3 Kronen Zeitung 1992-1993

The following four Kronen Zeitung articles from the 1992/1993 period were chosen for analysis:

- A 3.1 18.07.1992: Flüchtlingstragödie: Grünes Licht aus Wien und Rom für Bosnier-Züge
- A 3.2 30.07.1992: Parteienkrach um Ausländerpolitik: ÖVP attackiert Minister Löschnak
- A 3.3 22.10.1992: Vranitzky & Busek lehnen das Haider-Ultimatum ab!
- A 3.4 27.11.1992: „Nur“ arm?

##### *A 3.1 18.07.1992: Flüchtlingstragödie: Grünes Licht aus Wien und Rom für Bosnier-Züge*

Article A 3.1 covers an incident where around 2,000 Bosnians were locked in two trains at the Slovenia-Croatia border for about 24 hours. This situation was due to refusals of Croatia and Slovenia to take in more refugees. Croatia only allowed the train to pass the country and Slovenia denied access until other countries promised to take in the refugees (cf. article A 4.3). In the end, the situation was actually resolved as Slovenia demanded: Austria decided to allow one train to enter. However, the government pointed out that this was an exceptional situation and that Austria would continue to hold on to its visa regulations.

The article does not really deal with the political side of the incident. Instead, it focuses more on the hardship refugees have to face and expresses sympathy. It is mentioned also that the people stuck in the train are in particularly dire straits because after having to leave their homes they did not arrive at a peaceful place but instead found themselves locked in a train at a border without knowing what will happen to them.

In the article the "Ferien in Frieden" ("Holidays in peace") programme is also shortly addressed, a programme initiated by the Minister of the Interior, Franz Löschnak, to allow Bosnian children and their mothers to have some vacation in peaceful Austria. The article terms this programme an "act of humanity" and cites all the organisations and associations that were willing to donate money, including the Kronen Zeitung.

In general, this article takes on a surprisingly positive stance towards refugees. Sympathy is expressed several times and a focus is put on the difficulties refugees face during flight. Moreover, at no point in the article, the Bosnians right to refuge is challenged.

##### *A 3.2 30.07.1992: Parteienkrach um Ausländerpolitik: ÖVP attackiert Minister Löschnak*

Article A 3.2 discusses disagreements between the ÖVP (Austrian People's Party) and the SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria) regarding the Austrian asylum and migration politics and referring also

to the train incident that was addressed in article A 3.1. Ingrid Korosec, General Secretary of the ÖVP, accuses the Minister of the Interior, Franz Löschner, of a hard-hearted approach towards Bosnian refugees and argues that he hesitated to take in the Bosnians locked in the train at the Slovenia-Croatia border. The SPÖ, of course, counters. The Central Secretary, Peter Marizzi, for instance, argues that Austria's reaction to the Bosnian refugee movement was exemplary but, at the same time it needed to be understood that Austria cannot "carry the whole load by itself."

This article adds a slightly different aspect to the 'train incident'. This time the political consequences are put to the foreground and the portrayal of refugees is not entirely positive. Instead, several concerns regarding the number of displaced people are addressed. For example, it is implied that there is a lack of European cooperation and that Austria needs to take care not to be overwhelmed by newly arrived refugees.

What is particularly interesting about this article is the picture that is included right above the text (see Fig. 4). It shows a castle built on an island in a lake or river with a sign saying 'Europe'. In the back of the picture there is a huge wall or dam with a sign 'ASYLANTEN' or 'refugees'. This wall that is protecting the 'fortress Europe' from the 'flood of refugees', however, has huge cracks. The picture, hence, implies first, that refugees need to be kept out of Europe and second, that the walls around Europe might burst and an 'invasion' of refugees could be expected.

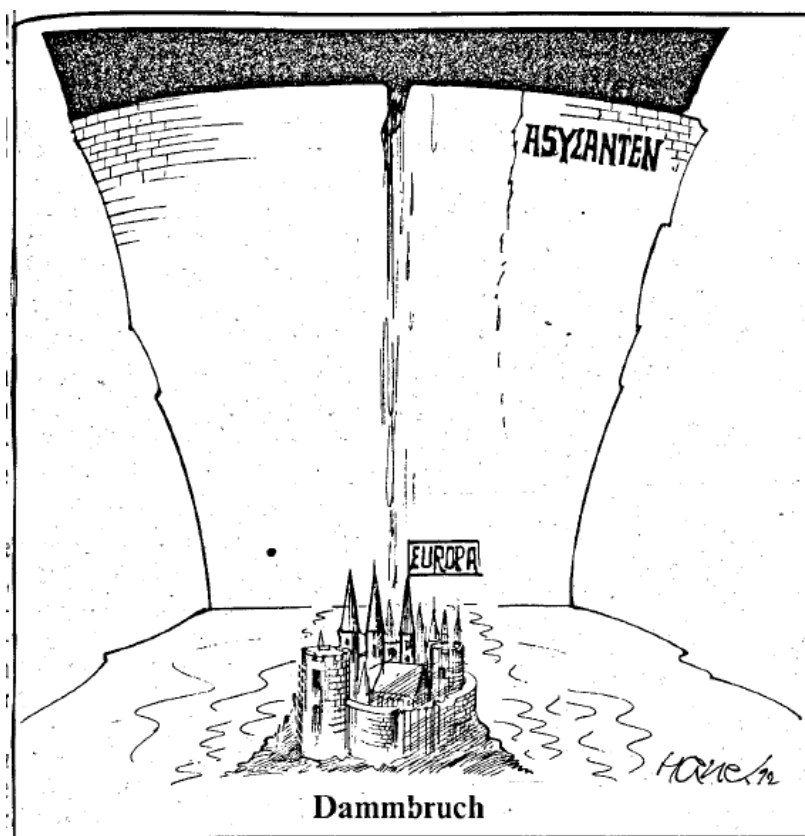


Fig 4: "Breach in the Dyke" (Kronen Zeitung, 30.07.1992)

In addition, the term 'Asylant', used in this picture, should be briefly discussed. It was used primarily in the 1980s and 1990s (cf. Ruhrmann 1993, 203), clearly has a negative connotation and can be seen as the counter-term to 'Flüchtling'. According to M. Jäger and S. Jäger (1992), the term Asylant was used when talking about a 'mass exodus' or when talking about 'bad' and 'fraudulent' refugees, that is, those refugees that allegedly abuse the asylum system (M. Jäger & S. Jäger 1993, 55). The term 'Flüchtling', on the contrary, was applied to 'good' refugees that qualify for asylum status and that

‘really’ faced political persecution. It was particularly often used for people from Eastern Europe (M. Jäger & S. Jäger 1993, 55) and for describing people that looked similar to ‘us’ (Ruhrmann 1993, 204). The two terms were, hence, again used to differentiate between different groups of refugees and between ‘them’ and ‘us’ in general with ‘Flüchtlinge’ being closer to ‘us’ and ‘Asylanten’ being very different.

Consequently, using the term ‘Asylant’ increases the negative connotation of refugees in the already quite dramatic picture (Fig. 4) even further. It is interesting to note that the picture also changes the meaning conveyed in the article. While the text itself is relatively balanced regarding the attitude towards the newly arrived Bosnians, the picture clearly expresses concerns. These concerns are to some extent also transferred to the article and make the statements appear in a more negative light.

### *A 3.3 22.10.1992 Vranitzky & Busek lehnen das Haider-Ultimatum ab!*

Article 3.3 is a lead story article that covers the petition for a referendum on migration that the right-wing populist party FPÖ threatened to initiate in case the government did not implement the party’s demands for a more restrictive asylum system and immigration laws.

The article describes that the government was not going to accept the ultimatum issued by the FPÖ. Instead, chancellor Franz Vranitzky pointed out that the FPÖ was ‘lagging behind’. Vranitzky assured that the interests of the Austrian population always came first in the government’s politics and that the measures taken were sufficient to handle the refugee movement. Moreover, the success of Austrian politics, according to Vranitzky, was evident considering the fact that no incidents like in Rostock-Lichterhagen had occurred in Austria. The incidents in Rostock-Lichterhagen in Germany took place in August 1992 with right-wing juveniles attacking an asylum seeker accommodation centre, using even incendiary devices. These attacks finally led to a four-day riot. What was most striking about this incident was the crowd of spectators that did not try to hold back the attackers but instead cheered and applauded (NDR 2017a). Dieckmann, a journalist for the weekly newspaper Die Zeit, even speaks of a “Crystal Night”-remake referring to the pogroms against Jews in November 1938 (Dieckmann 2012).

In view of this, the argument made by Vranitzky is highly questionable. It implies that the quality of politics is measured only by the number of violent incidents and the reactions thereon by the population. In fact, arguments like this hinder any debate on political improvements. Moreover, the government’s criticisms of the FPÖ petition for a referendum did not really concern the actual demands made by the FPÖ. According to Chancellor Vranitzky, most of the measures demanded were already implemented in one way or another anyway. The government and the FPÖ, hence, seem to have had similar viewpoints on the topic of asylum seekers and migrants.

It is important to highlight the headline on the front-page summary of the article: “Government refuses FPÖ-ultimatum”. This is a neutral headline that matches the corresponding article. For the sub-headline, however, a quote by the government (no particular person mentioned) was chosen: “We master the immigrants problem.” Even though the sub-headline, at a first glance, conveys feelings of security and control, it actually implies the opposite notion at the same time: that there is a big issue that needs to be taken care of. In the article, the ÖVP General Secretary also points out this issue of insecurity. According to him, the petition might stoke fears among Austrians, fears that the government was actually trying to alleviate.

The petition, in the end, did take place, but it was a great defeat for the FPÖ: only 7,4% of the population entitled to vote supported it. Instead, many demonstrations against xenophobia were organised around Austria. The ‘Lichtermeer’ protest in Vienna on 23.01.1993 even constitutes the largest demonstration in the Second Republic of Austria. Moreover, the aggressive tone in the FPÖ against

immigrants resulted in the secession of the more liberal wing of the party and the foundation of the Liberal Forum (Bauböck 1996, 22).

#### A 3.4 27.11.1992: „Nur“ arm?

Article 3.4 is an editorial comment by Peter Gnam that addresses the atmosphere in Germany towards migrants and refugees after the deadly attacks against Turkish people in Mölln on November 23, 1992.

Already before the Mölln incidents, several racist attacks had occurred in Germany such as the Rostock-Lichtenhagen incidents mentioned earlier or the Hoyerswerda attacks against accommodation centres for foreigners and refugees (NDR 2017b). It is often claimed that these incidents caused a shift in the refugee discourse and that they also provoked changes in asylum politics. The asylum article in the German Basic Law was, in effect, abolished in May 1993 (M. Jäger & Wamper 2017, 26).

In article A 3.4, Gnam forecasts this tightening of German asylum laws. However, according to him, not only the violent incidents are responsible for this turn in German asylum politics. Gnam also finds that the German population has reached “its limits of emotional carrying capacity”. In the original text this phrase is put in parenthesis too. However, it is not clear whether the statement is a quote or whether Gnam himself has come up with this argument.

Gnam also holds that the German laws will be modelled on the Austrian asylum legislation. In Austria, he says, less asylum applications are filed, and the applications are also more quickly handled. Hence, a situation like in Germany, where “thousands of people have to wait in asylum seeker accommodation centres until their application is considered” can be avoided. It is important to note that the indication of crowded accommodation centres is very likely to be a hint at the Rostock incidents, because the centre attacked during the incidents was also found highly overcrowded (NDR 2017b).

In the next paragraph Gnam points out that while Germany is taking the Austrian asylum system as an example, Amnesty International criticises Austria for turning into a “fortress” with a “detering effect on refugees.” Gnam openly dismisses Amnesty International’s criticisms and closes his article by asking “What would those Austrians say, that are unemployed, can’t find an apartment, receive minimum pension or are “simply” poor?” In this question it actually seems as though Gnam wanted to play off poor members of the local population against the newly arrived refugees. In general, the whole article seems to be targeted on warning against refugees and migrants. Moreover, implications are made that refugees are responsible for stoking or increasing right-wing radicalism and that they are a threat that Austria, or Germany, needs to defend itself of. No sympathy for the victims of the Mölln incidents is addressed at any point.

#### 4.2.4 Der Standard 1992-1993

The following four der Standard articles from the 1992/1993 period were chosen for the analysis:

- A 4.1 18.06.1992: „Müssen das Problem allein lösen“
- A 4.2 06.07.1992: Kinderkreuzzug in Neuhaus: „80 Flüchtlinge sind genug“
- A 4.3 18.07.1992: Flüchtlingsdrama in Slowenien: 2000 in angehaltenen Zügen
- A 4.4 28.09.1992: Brandanschlag gegen Asylbewerberheim

##### A 4.1 18.06.1992: „Müssen das Problem allein lösen“

Article 4.1 is an article with a short summary on the front page that addresses the number of displaced people arriving in Austria and the implications of this refugee movement, such as political measures or the need for accommodation.

One particularly important issue addressed is Germany's restrictive asylum politics and its effect on Austria. It is stated that the Austrian Minister of Interior, Franz Löschnak, attempted to persuade Germany to take back its Visa regulations for Bosnian people. However, his efforts were unsuccessful and Austria, hence, needed to "solve the problem itself", as already implied in the title of the article. Furthermore, also in the short summary article on the front-page, it is stated that Austria now "needed to cope with the tide of refugees from Bosnia on its own." The title and the short statement both clearly imply that the arrival of refugees was not only not welcomed but even considered as problematic. Moreover, the word choice also conveys frustration by the Austrian government with being left alone in this situation.

The article also addresses the fear that Austria, in the wake of Germany's restrictive immigration laws, would soon reach its limits regarding accommodation for and care of refugees. It is argued that restrictions in asylum and migration politics would be inevitable also in Austria, in case the number of refugees exceeded Austria's hosting capacities. This argument is directly followed by a paragraph outlining examples of accommodation issues. For instance, the article reports that Vienna decided to erect a 'tent camp' in an adjacent municipality due to a lack of sleeping quarters in the city. The situation in Vienna, in general, is described as quite tense. By arranging the topics and concerns addressed in the article in this specific way, that is, by discussing concerns about accommodation of refugees directly after bringing forward the argument that more restrictive measures are needed in case of capacity overloads, the author covertly establishes a connection. This makes the article convey a more critical viewpoint, despite of the seemingly neutral writing style.

In general, this article employs a high-level style of writing and at a first glance follows the conducts of balanced reporting. At a second glance, however, it becomes obvious that the refugee movement is considered problematic and that numbers of refugees arriving in Austria are found to be critically high.

#### *A 4.2 06.07.1992: Kinderkreuzzug in Neuhaus: „80 Flüchtlinge sind genug“*

Article A 4.2 reports on a demonstration against refugees in Neuhaus, a small municipality in Lower Austria of 400 people that hosted around 300 asylum seekers in two former hotel buildings.

The protests were provoked by an incident that had happened just one week before. During the traditional firemen's celebration, a funfair operator started to affront immigrants and a brawl followed. Refugees from the accommodation centre wanted to conciliate. However, their efforts were soon cut off when the head of the funfair operators suddenly pulled a gun and fired. A refugee from Kosovo and a Styrian visitor were severely injured.

What is particularly striking about this event was that first reports to the local police charged one of the refugees with shooting. Only after a house search the actual course of events surfaced. Moreover, only one day after the incident the mayor of Neuhaus, Werner Fürnwein (SPÖ), sent out leaflets that also made the refugees responsible for the shooting and accused them of other violent offenses such as knife attacks and fights with iron bars. Based on these allegations, the mayor called for a demonstration against the Austrian asylum politics.

250 people followed his appeal. The demonstration was loaded with racist slogans and speeches. Even though the mayor assured that anyone could talk, the local priest was soon booed off the stage due to his more critical perspective on the issue. On the contrary, another demonstrator that com-

pared refugees to Jews “that we also got rid of” provoked laughing. Moreover, a few neo-Nazi people also joined the protests.

It is interesting to note the mayor’s stance towards immigration as presented in the article by means of a short quote. The mayor explains that immigration restrictions were needed in order to avoid an increase in racism. According to him, a whole generation would grow into racists, if no measures were taken. However, Fürnwein does not explain this argument further. Another interesting quote included in the article addresses the concerns that Austrians are at a disadvantage compared to refugees. A woman argues that “immigrants have all the rights, but the Austrians are only allowed to pay the bills”.

This quote is followed by a description of the situation in the accommodation centre during the demonstrations. The article describes how women and children were not daring to leave their rooms, and that the building was even guarded by police. A Kurdish refugee is quoted who describes how the “situation had worsened”; he did not even dare to go to inns or discos in the neighbouring villages anymore. Hence, the argument that “immigrants have all the rights” put forward by the woman, is clearly contradicted.

Another interesting peculiarity worth mentioning concerns the title of the article: “Kinderkreuzzug in Neuhaus” – “children’s crusade in Neuhaus”. The demonstration is termed a ‘crusade’, a term that can be used in German for very heated campaigns. In this context, the term, however, hints at the Christian crusades during the Middle Ages. The author, in this way, slightly ridicules the demonstration, in particular, by including ‘children’ to the phrase. In fact, a large number of children joined the protests. However, it is striking that the mayor of Neuhaus that initiated the demonstration was, at the same time, the principal of the local school. Whether there was any connection will remain unknown.

Article 4.2 is, in general, very critical with the racist demonstration and the racist allegations made against refugees. This critical viewpoint is not expressed directly. Instead, the author indicates the absurdity of some of the arguments and illustrates how refugees are put down as scapegoats. It is interesting to note also that both sides in the asylum and migration debate were allowed to speak in the article.

#### *A 4.3 18.07.1992: Flüchtlingsdrama in Slowenien: 2000 in angehaltenen Zügen*

Article 4.3 covers the ‘train incident’, just like article 3.1 published on the same day in the Kronen Zeitung.

Der Standard article, too, underlines the hardship that the Bosnian refugees face during their flight from home and expresses sympathy towards them several times. However, unlike article 3.1, this report provides more detailed information on the incident, the political reaction to the incident and Austrian asylum politics in general. Moreover, in the last section of the article, another topic is addressed: the return of Bosnian refugees. Manfred Matzka, responsible for issues of asylum in the Austrian Ministry of the Interior, is quoted, reporting that around half of the Bosnian refugees in Austria did not want to return to their homelands. Despite this fact, Matzka defended the refusal of Bosnian asylum applications. He claimed that by granting asylum status to Bosnians, they would have no possibility to return at a later point. According to him, temporal right of residence (‘de facto regulation’) was the better way to go. However, since “the refugee problem would not be solved in a few days”, as pointed out by the Minister of the Interior, the Minister himself, the Social Minister and federal politicians have agreed to partly open the job market to refugees.

As pointed out before, this article, just like article 3.1, puts forward the difficulties refugees are facing on their way to a safe place to live and the need for relief by the Austrian state and society. However, the paragraph on the return of refugees adds a slightly negative touch to the whole article. Even though the author is keen to use neutral language and report in an unbiased manner, concerns are conveyed about the fact that a great number of Bosnians were most likely going to stay in the country.

#### *A 4.4 28.09.1992: Brandanschlag gegen Asylbewerberheim*

Article 4.4 covers the arson attack against an asylum seekers' accommodation centre in Karpfenberg, Styria on the night of September 22 to 23, 1992.

The arson attack was only one of several racist incidents that had happened in the city. Already on September 14, several houses, including the accommodation centre Ramsaur, were daubed with swastikas and 'Foreigners must go!'-slogans. On September 19, the centre received an anonymous phone call by a "representative of the neo-Nazi group", threatening the centre with attacks.

This incident was reported to the police; however, no direct measures were taken. Hence, the refugees organised security measures such as guard duties themselves. As the incident on September 22 showed, these security measures have indeed paid off. An incendiary device exploded in the entrance of the accommodation centre. Fortunately, nobody was injured.

The article continues with a report on the investigation measures taken. It is stated that on September 25, the police "finally" got active and arrested an Iranian refugee. The Iranian was accused of being responsible not only for the arson attack but also for the defacement of the buildings. These allegations were based on the refugee's criticisms and alleged 'agitation' against Austrian asylum politics and the accommodation centre. However, the refugee's alibi could soon be confirmed.

The author of the article also contacted several police representatives to learn more about the ongoing investigations. However, none of the contacted persons or departments could provide any useful information and nobody was willing to comment on the false arrest of the Iranian refugee. One of the officers, that did not want to be named in the article, claimed that the defacement of the buildings was found "harmless", even though the offenders were not yet apprehended.

Article 4.4 is very clear about its view on the incident. The police are found to be incapable of correct investigation and reluctant to investigate when risks concern refugees or migrants. Especially the last paragraph of the article, in which the author describes his search for information about ongoing investigations, casts an unfavourable light on the police. Moreover, the poor work of the investigators is also pointed out in the sub-headline: "Threats by Neo-Nazis, but refugee arrested". It also hints at the issue of 'scapegoating'. In the article the author clearly demonstrates how refugees are put down as scapegoats and how they are guiltlessly made responsible for criminal incidents in order to have someone to blame and close an issue. Hence, refugees are found to be in need of support and protection.

In general, a very critical stance on Austria's perception of foreigners is taken up. The article insinuates the need for critical reflection and control of authorities. Moreover, it also makes the reader feel that there is a need to stand up for the most vulnerable in society.

#### 4.2.5 Discursive Contexts

As pointed out before, discourse analysis calls not only for an investigation of exemplary texts, speeches or other discursive practices but also seeks to include into analysis the contexts the discour-

ses are embedded in and relevant additional information. In the literature chapter the development of discourses on refugees over the last sixty years has been briefly outlined. In this section, statistics on refugee arrivals, opinion polls on immigration and relevant changes in laws in the two investigation periods are shortly addressed. Some of these points were brought up already in previous chapters. In this chapter this information is now summarized and presented in a more comprehensible manner.

A comparison of the numbers of refugees arriving in Austria is particularly important in order to decide whether concerns about ‘invasions’ or ‘floods’ of refugees were understandable or clearly exaggerated. Unfortunately, no precise data on refugees arriving in Austria could be found for the 1992/1993 period. This is due to the fact that refugees from Yugoslavia were accommodated under the ‘de facto’ regulation and hence, were not included in official refugee statistics. Bauer assumes that around 50,000 Bosnians arrived in Austria in 1992 (Bauer 2008, 7). Another 15,000 people from other states applied for asylum in the same year (Bundesministerium für Inneres, n.d.), summing up to approximately 65,000 refugees arriving in 1992. It is important to point out that it is not known how many refugees from former Yugoslavia were hosted by relatives and friends (Bauböck 1996, 21). In 2015, 85,798 primary asylum applications were filed: 25,200 from Afghan refugees, 24,352 from Syrian refugees and 13,319 from Iraqi refugees (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2015). These numbers were considerably higher than the year before, when only 28,004 primary asylum applications were filed in total (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2014). In 2016, numbers of asylum applications dropped again to around 39,905, with 11,522 applications by Afghans and 8,642 applications by Syrians (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2016). Hence, the numbers of refugees arriving in Austria clearly peaked in 2015 (see also Chart 2).

In order to learn more about prevailing views on refugees in the Austrian society, some relevant opinion polls were also analysed. For the 1992/1993 period only one relevant survey was found, quoted in Bergmann (1992). The survey was conducted by the Austrian news magazine Profil in late September 1992. It found that almost 70% of the population at that time agreed with the Austrian politics of ‘closing the borders’. In contrast, in early summer, 52% of the population had still considered Austria capable of hosting more refugees (Bergmann 1992, 450). In the 2015/2016 period numerous survey on refugees, immigration and the atmosphere in the society were conducted and made available. The Eurobarometer survey of 2015 found that 66% of the Austrians considered ‘migration’ to be the most important issue that the European Union needed to deal with (Europäische Kommission 2015, 2). The Imas report published in the same year also identified strong links between perceptions of EU politics and the refugee movements. The European Union, in general, faced heavy critique. However, also Austrian politics came in for criticisms. In fact, 69% of Austrians were found to be displeased with the way Austrian politics dealt with the increased numbers of refugees coming to the country. The majority of the survey’s participants believed that the job market and the housing market would be seriously affected by the newly arrived asylum seekers. Moreover, cultural diversity was rather seen as a threat than as an enrichment to society (Imas 2015, 1-2). The Marketagent survey, also published in 2015, showed similar results. It, too, identified several concerns in the society. 83.7% of the population were found to be worried about the refugee movement, with particularly high percentages of concerned people among the right-wing populist FPÖ electorate (96.3%), followed by the Christian democratic ÖVP electorate (75.8%) and the social-democratic SPÖ electorate (72.0%) (Schwabl 2015, 6). Socioeconomic concerns and concerns about criminality ranked highest. 69.1% of the survey participants thought that refugees strain the Austrian welfare system. Another 65.8% claimed that social conflicts would increase and 63.1% were afraid of problems in the education system. 60.1% of the participants mentioned increased Islamization as a major concern, 55.7% mentioned increased criminality (Schwabl 2015, 21). These surveys all confirm the results obtained during



content and discourse analysis presented in previous sections of this thesis; thus, improving also the validity of the findings.

Both investigation periods were characterised not only by a strong dominance of the refugee theme in society and politics but also by legal changes concerning asylum and immigration. It is important to underline that legal reforms in the 1990s started already before the refugee movements from former Yugoslavia. Already in 1990 new regulations regarding state care and accommodation of foreigners were passed. In June 1992, the newly established Asylum Law came into force, followed by a new Alien's Law in January 1993. The new Residence Law came into force in July 1993 (Bergmann 1992, 435). According to Bergmann, the sequence of the legal changes did not make sense from a legal point of view; however, they were reactions to political events (Bergmann 1992, 435-436). Legal changes in state care, for instance, came first due to criticisms by the Austrian Court of Audit concerning the situation of accommodation of refugees. Adaptations in the alien's law were based on demands by the European Economic Area (EEA) (Bergmann 1992, 436). Apart from these newly established and adapted laws, visa regulations were introduced for people with Yugoslavian or Serbian passports (Bergmann 1992, 450).

In the 2015/2016 period, the most significant legal change was the 'temporary asylum' measure passed in January 2016. It allows repatriations of recognised refugees after three years if the situation in their home country has improved (Kurier 2016). In addition, stricter rules concerning family reunion were passed that were criticised heavily by the UNHCR (Medien-Servicestelle Neue Österreicher/innen 2016a). In January 2016 the Austrian government also introduced so called 'Obergrenzen', that is, limits on refugee entrances. The limit was set at 127,500 asylum applications until 2019, with 37,500 applications for 2016, 35,000 applications for 2017, 30,000 for 2018 and only 25,000 for 2019 (Medien-Servicestelle Neue Österreicher/innen 2016b). Due to European law and the 1951 Refugee Convention, these values can only be understood as guiding values. Every single asylum application needs to be considered also in the future. Nevertheless, the 'Obergrenzen' that were grandly announced by the then-Minister of the Interior, Johanna Mikl-Leitner, had considerable political consequences. First, Slovenia started to restrict the movement of refugees through the country. Other neighbouring countries followed, including Macedonia, that soon closed its border to Greece. The 'Balkan route', hence, was considered as shut down. (Gutschker 2016).

Comparing the two investigation periods, it can be said that there are several resemblances. In both periods, considerable numbers of refugees arrived in Austria. Even though precise statistics are not available for the years 1992 and 1993, it can be assumed that Austria hosted more than 65,000 refugees in 1992 and around 85,000 in the 2015. It is important to underline, that Austria had experienced times of heightened migration already before the 1990s as pointed out in a previous chapter. In 1956/1957, for instance, more than 180,000 Hungarians found refuge in Austria (Zierer 1995, 163). Even if most of the refugees moved on to other countries, and the political situation as well as financing was different, these previous refugee movements, too, required management and political as well as social measures.

Moreover, in both periods, several new laws and regulations concerning migration and refugees were passed. However, while the measures taken in 2015/2016 were a clear reaction to the refugee movements at the time, legal changes in the 1990s were initiated already before the Yugoslav wars. Bergmann argues that the reforms were most likely a consequence of the fall of the iron curtain and the opening towards the East (Bergmann 1992, 435).

Unfortunately, due to a lack of relevant available opinion surveys from the early 1990s, no comparisons can be made between the attitudes towards refugees and migrants in the two investigation

periods. However, it should be underlined that the results achieved by the 2015/2016 surveys resembled the results obtained during content and discourse analysis.

## 5 RESULTS

In a final step, all the results achieved during content and discourse analysis are combined and compared. In order to present the findings as clearly as possible, they are structured according to the research questions outlined in the introductory chapter. First, the sub-questions will be addressed before turning to the main research question.

### 5.1 Research Question 1

How prevalent was the asylum and refugee topic in Austrian media? How many articles dealing with refugees were published in the periods of spring 1991 to end of 1992 and spring 2015 to end of 2016?

There were clear differences regarding the prevalence of the refugee topic between the two investigation periods. 191 relevant articles were detected in 82 analysed Kronen Zeitung and der Standard issues published from May 1992 to January 1993. From August 2015 to April 2016, on the contrary, 1,170 articles in 91 analysed newspaper issues covered asylum seekers and refugees. In fact, while none of the 1991/1992 issues contained more than five relevant news items, the majority of the 2015/2016 issues dealt with the refugee topic in more than six articles. The differences between the two newspapers, that is, between the Kronen Zeitung and der Standard, however, were insignificant.

The placement of the articles also differed considerably. In the 2015/2016 period around 11% of all analysed Kronen Zeitung articles were lead stories, as opposed to only 2% in the 1992/1993 period. Moreover, also the percentage of multi-page articles was considerably higher for the more recent investigation period. Differences were even more striking for der Standard. In 2015/2016 the vast majority of articles analysed were published or at least referred to on the front page. In the 1992/1993 period the percentage was only around 28%.

However, while the two investigation periods differed regarding prevalence of the refugee topic, it has to be underlined that still, in both periods, the arrival of displaced people in Austria has preoccupied politics, the media, and the general public to a great extent.

### 5.2 Research Question 2

What are the main discourses on refugees that can be identified in Austrian newspapers during the investigation periods? In particular, what kind of risk discourses exist?

The main discourses on refugees in the 2015/2016 period can be summarized by only one term: crisis. In more than 20% of all analysed articles in this period the term 'Krise' (English: crisis) was mentioned explicitly. In many other articles, the situation was described as critical in a more implicit way. It is important to consider that the term 'crisis' always implies exceptional circumstances that require action. It is assumed that there was a state of normality before 'the crisis' that needed to be re-established.

The closely related term 'risk discourse' also applies to refugee discourses of this time period, since refugees have been frequently portrayed as 'threats' to society. Fears of refugee 'invasions' or 'floods' were particularly dominant. Hence, demands for stopping the migrant movement were one of the most frequently discussed topics of this time period. Politics, in general, was hotly debated in

the media. In many articles, Austrian politics was found to deal with the asylum issue in a chaotic way. Moreover, Austria was also found to be left alone by the European community in handling the situation.

A particularly interesting discourse that emerged after the Cologne incidents revolved around refugees as a 'threat to women'. Refugees were considered sexist and lacking in understanding of women's rights. In general, it was often claimed that refugees had a different set of values than the local population and hence, courses were needed to teach them about 'European moral concepts'. It is interesting to note that this is a good example of a 'we' versus 'them' discourse that was very prevalent in this time period. However, while both newspapers investigated contributed to the risk and crisis discourses, some differences could be detected: The Kronen Zeitung portrayed refugees, for the most part, as threatening. Notably editorial comments, that are common in this tabloid, were found to employ particularly problematic language and spread hostile viewpoints. Der Standard, on the other hand, portrayed refugees as invasive and as in need of support and protection in equal measure. However, in general, hostile reporting was prevalent in both newspapers. In fact, in 2015/2016, almost half of all analysed articles reported on the asylum question in a negative way.

In the 1991/1992 period articles on refugees took on a bit more of a neutral tone and dealt in particular with perceptions of refugees in the Austrian society. Moreover, concerns about the problems refugees have to face during flight and upon their arrival in Austria were more frequently addressed. However, risk discourses and, in particular, fears of invasion were also prevalent in this time period. What is interesting about refugee discourses specifically of the early 1990s, is that refugees were often portrayed as parasitic. The argument that refugees profit considerably from the state's welfare system while the local population needed to work hard to earn their money was frequently brought up. A big difference was made between 'real' refugees, that are welcomed with sympathy and those 'other' refugees, that were claimed to abuse the asylum system. This difference was also pointed out by employing two different terms: 'Asylanten' and 'Flüchtlinge'.

Thus, risk discourses portraying refugees as a 'threat' to society were prevalent in both time periods. Moreover, the concerns addressed, and the portrayal of refugees did not change considerably over the years. Instead, by sighting relevant literature on migration in Austria it was found that some of the dominant, hostile arguments were brought forward already during previous refugee movements. Already since the 1950s refugees were thought to cause high costs and were often accused of abusing the asylum and welfare system. Besides, numbers of people arriving were generally always considered too high. Metaphors of floods, storms and invasions were employed frequently during all periods of increased immigration. Hence, refugee discourses in Austria in the last sixty years can be clearly considered as forms of risk discourses.

### 5.3 Research Question 3

What are the differences between the refugee movements in terms of numbers of refugees arriving in Austria and the political reactions?

It is true that the numbers of refugees arriving in 2015/2016 and in 1992/1993 were considerable. In the recent refugee movement around 85,000 people applied for asylum in Austria, in the 1990s around 65,000 people arrived in the country. Yet, these two refugee movements were not the only periods when Austria faced increased migration. In fact, already shortly after the Second World War Austria hosted around 180,000 people fleeing from Hungary (Zierer 1995, 163). It is worth mentioning, however, that the refugee movements before the year 2000 and after 2000 differed considerably from each other regarding the origin of the asylum seekers. Before 2000, the majority of refugees ar-

riving in Austria came from European countries. After the turn of the century, on the contrary, most asylum applications were filed by people from non-European countries, such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq or Syria. This question of descent was particularly frequently addressed in the 'Cologne' debates and should not be underrated (Bauer 2008, 7).

Legal changes concerning migration and asylum were passed in both investigation periods. However, while the adaptations in the 2015/2016 period were indeed a direct consequence of the refugee movement, the measures taken in the 1990s were already planned before the Yugoslav wars and the subsequent displacement of Croatians and Bosnians.

#### 5.4 Research Question 4

Can the moral panics concept be applied to recent or past reactions in Austrian media towards refugee movements? Are the five main criteria of moral panics, identified in the literature (concern, hostility, consensus, disproportionality, and volatility), met?

In order to decide whether an interpretation of the refugees debates of the 1990s and of the 2015/2016 period as moral panics is justified, the findings of this study are examined drawing on the five criteria of moral panics, identified by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009).

Goode and Ben-Yehuda found that, first, during a moral panic, there is strong concern in the population about the 'deviant' behaviour of a group and the consequences of this behaviour. Second, hostility emerges towards the group responsible for the 'deviant' acts. Third, there is consensus about the threat that the group and the behaviour pose. Fourth, the reaction to the behaviour is disproportionate when regarding the real threat faced and fifth, moral panics emerge and also subside quite fast; they are volatile (Goode & Ben-Yehuda 2009, 37-43).

It is true that refugee discourses in the two investigation periods were laden with concerns and fears. However, as pointed out above, refugees were continuously portrayed as a threat and almost constantly suspected of committing misdeeds. There was no clear focus on one specific 'deviant' behaviour and hostility did not erupt suddenly as a result of one particular event but, instead, was part of the general atmosphere in society. The question of disproportionality is more difficult to answer. This criterion has also come under heavy criticisms from the academic community (cf. Hier 2016, 415). However, regarding the fact that Austria has faced and managed several refugee movements before, the crisis discourse employed in particular in the 2015/2016 period can be considered as an overreaction. While it is true that the refugee movements have changed in scope and occurred under different political circumstances, it is important to underline that risk discourses concerning refugees remained more or less the same over the years. Hence, the fears and concerns prevalent in the dominant refugee discourses are most likely not or not entirely based on real threats or incidents. The fifth criterion, concerning volatility, for sure, does not apply to the refugee movements analysed. Even though the refugee and asylum topics were very fast to gain prominence in the media, it is important to underline that the refugee discourses themselves have persisted in Austria since the Second World War and have only slightly changed in the last years to include topics such as terrorism or Islamism.

The sexual assaults in Cologne during New Year's Eve in 2015/2016 constitute an exception to the arguments just brought forward. This incident had clearly provoked concerns in the population and encouraged debates on how refugees would affect society. Moreover, it represented a clear turning point in the refugee debates and reinforced the 'we' versus 'them' discourses. It is interesting to note that there was agreement that refugees could possibly pose a threat towards women even across the

political and social spectrum. The discourses on the Cologne incidents also clearly meet the volatility criterion. Concerns about sexual harassment and assaults by asylum seekers emerged very quickly after the attacks and also subsided quite fast. However, whether the reaction to the incidents was disproportionate or not is indeed difficult to decide. It can only be noted that no events of similar scope have occurred ever since in Austria.

The Cologne debates also correspond very well to the definition of moral panics as “*extreme forms of risk discourses integral to the process of moral regulation*” provided by Critcher (2008, 1140; original emphasis). Indeed, a risk discourse identifying refugees as potentially threatening to women dominated the refugee debates after the incident. While cultural differences were problematized already before, in particular regarding the treatment of and respect towards women, the dominant discourse emerging after the New Year Eve’s assaults took on a whole new dimension and thus, can indeed be described as an extreme form of an already existing risk discourse. Moreover, the concept of moral regulation, as suggested by Critcher (2008), can also be applied to the Cologne incidents. It is interesting to note how refugees, after the turn of the year, were increasingly lumped together and put under general suspicion. Existing demands that refugees needed coaching in the field of women’s rights were repeated emphatically. Moreover, the need for other political measures was hotly debated, such as repatriation of delinquent refugees, limits on refugee entrances and a generally more restrictive asylum system (Schorer & Schenider 2017, 156). In Germany, sexual crime legislation was also tightened at the end of 2016 (Jäger & Wamper 2017, 178). The call for legal measures demonstrate how the Cologne incidents were considered almost as a state of emergency and how the need to ‘re-establish normality’ dominated prevalent discourses.

To sum up, refugee movements in the 1992/1993 and 2015/2016 period in general do not meet the five criteria of moral panics identified by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009). Even though strong concerns about refugees existed in society during both periods and hostility was prevalent, the concerned and hostile attitudes were not based on certain specific incidents. Instead, it can be said that the negative stance towards refugees is part of an overall negative discourse. Moreover, for similar reasons the moral panic concept as defined by Critcher (2008) also seems inapplicable to the analysed refugee movements. It is true that the refugee discourses in the early 1990s and after 2015 were risk discourses. However, these discourses did not erupt suddenly but have existed for a long time before in one form or another. The Cologne attacks, however, did provoke an atmosphere of fear and concerns. Hence, the moral panic concept might be useful for further analysis of these particular incidents and the consequences on refugee perceptions. A more detailed study linking refugee discourses with gender discourses of the 2015/2016 refugee movement is highly recommended.

## 5.5 Main Research Question

To what extent do refugee discourses in Austrian news media during the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s and during the 2015-2016 period differ and how does this comparison help to decide whether an interpretation of the debates as moral panics might be justified?

Based on the results outlined above and the four sub-research questions, the main research question can be answered without difficulty. In fact, to avoid repetition, the main finding of this thesis is summarized as briefly as possible.

Refugee discourses in Austrian news media during the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s and during the 2015-2016 period were found to barely differ from each other. Most of the topics and concerns addressed were the same for both investigation periods. In fact, it was found that refugee discourses did not change much since the end of the Second World War. Instead, over the years they have be-

come ingrained in society, and became even more negative. They are very persistent and don't allow counter-discourses to exist besides them. Refugee discourses, in general, are risk discourses that focus on the threats immigrants and asylum seekers might pose to Austrian society. They are common expressions of xenophobia and strongly related to concepts of 'we' versus 'them'.

Since refugee discourses are generally negative and did not erupt suddenly as a reaction to specific events, neither in the 1992/1993 period, nor in the 2015/2016 period, the moral panic concept was found inapplicable. Only the discourses revolving around the Cologne incidents were found to be exceptional and might qualify for definition as a moral panic. However, more research is needed on this specific event to verify this assumption.

## 6 REFLECTIONS

Discourse analysis calls for critical reflection throughout the whole research process and at many points in this study, limitations have already been addressed. The aim of this section is to briefly summarize the most relevant limitations, reflect on possibilities for improvement and discuss further interesting research questions that have arisen during research.

The greatest limitation of this project regarding methods and research techniques was the deficit of coders for content analysis. A greater number of coders could have increased reliability as comparisons of coding results could have offered valuable clues as to whether the research process was indeed reproducible. Moreover, the number of articles to be analysed during content analysis was critically high for only one coder. More coders could have alleviated this issue as well. Another possibility would have been to reduce the scope of the research project.

In retrospect, the scope of this research could have been easily reduced without great losses in information gain. In fact, the analysis of the historical and political context suffered due to the large amount of time invested in the analysis of the numerous articles for content analysis. More contextual information, however, would have surely added to the results achieved during this project. It is, hence, recommended for future similar research projects to either increase available resources or to narrow down the field of study. It might be advisable to focus, for instance, on particular events in one period only and instead expand the literature review and contextual analysis with regard to other relevant population movements.

However, there is also a positive side to this wide range of this research project. This study provides a good overview of existing arguments and concerns and allows more specific research to take these results as a solid basis or starting point. Moreover, this study also demonstrates which fields of refugee discourses might require further investigation. One particularly interesting question that has come up during discourse analysis is the connection between refugee discourses and gender discourses. A comprehensive analysis of the Cologne assaults of New Year's Eve 2015/2016 lends itself to this kind of research. As pointed out before, future investigation of these incidents and in this field is highly welcomed.



## 7 CONCLUSION

Based on the argument that “this is the age of moral panic” (Thompson 1998, 1) this study aimed to analyse dominant refugee discourses in Austrian media during the last thirty years with regard to the moral panic concept. The main focus was on comparisons of refugee discourses of the early 1990s and of 2015/2016 and the question as to whether reactions towards the two major refugee movements in Austria were justified or whether they are better classified as overreactions, or even, moral panics. The two investigation periods, 1992/1993 and 2015/2016, were chosen, on the one hand, based on the exceptionally high numbers of people arriving in Austria and the intense media coverage. On the other hand, comparing the two periods in a scientific study seemed inviting as comparisons were also often drawn in the media arguing that Austria had a more positive attitude towards refugees in the 1990s than today.

In this study it was shown that attitudes towards refugees in the two investigation periods did not differ considerably from each other. In fact, it was found that the main discourses on refugees actually did not change much over the last sixty years. This is striking, in particular because the socio-economic and political circumstances have changed indeed. Refugee discourses were and continue to be dominated first and foremost by concerns. Refugee discourses are risk discourses, associating refugees with threats and crisis. The fear of ‘crisis’ and expectations of a state of emergency captured many of the debates.

Even though concerns and risks are so prevalent in the analysed discursive fields, reactions towards the two population movements cannot be generally classified as moral panics. Definitions of moral panics always include volatility, that is, moral panics are said to emerge and disperse quite fast. Hostility and concerns in Austrian refugee discourses, however, were found to be persistent and durable. It seems that it is rather the counter-discourses, those discourses that take a more positive stance towards immigration, that are volatile.

Because dominant discourses are so deeply ingrained in society, it is difficult for refugees and those showing solidarity to influence them or to develop counter-ideas and arguments, firm enough to withstand pressure from prevalent opinions. Moreover, refugees have a hard time in making themselves heard. They are not given the chance to speak in common media or in political debates and face difficulties when trying to establish other communication channels. Hence, it can be said, that refugees clearly lack in power in the hosting communities.

It is high time to give refugees the opportunity to have their say and to allow them to participate in the Austrian society and, consequently, in the creation and development of major discourses. It is also high time to acknowledge that Austria has been a country of immigration for a long time already and that refugees have the right to be considered part of society. Moreover, people need to be made aware of how discourses are created and how little they are often based on actual facts and figures. Almost the same refugee discourses have persisted over the last sixty years, irrespective of socio-economic or political circumstances. This demonstrates that many concerns that are prevalent in society might be arbitrary and require critical reflection. This study hopes to encourage people to critically reflect particularly on discourses revolving around those that have no or only little power in society and speak up for those in need.

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## APPENDIX A

### List of All Analysed Newspaper Articles

NEWSPAPER	DATE	FULL TITLE OF ARTICLE
Kronen Zeitung	01.08.2015	Traiskirchen: Flüchtlings-Stopp
Kronen Zeitung	01.08.2015	Politik inoffiziell: Österreicher-Beschimpfung wegen Chaos in Flüchtlingsfrage
Kronen Zeitung	01.08.2015	Schlepperunwesen belastet derzeit massiv die Gerichte
Kronen Zeitung	07.08.2015	Asyl: Noch immer 1500 ohne Betten
Kronen Zeitung	07.08.2015	„Asyl-Assistenzeinsatz“ des Heeres in Kasernen
Kronen Zeitung	13.08.2015	Politik inoffiziell
Kronen Zeitung	19.08.2015	Unfall: Flüchtlinge irrten auf S1 umher!
Kronen Zeitung	19.08.2015	Behörden-Team sagt klar: "Wir stoßen an unsere Grenzen"
Kronen Zeitung	25.08.2015	Unfalldrama bei Schlepperkonvoi – 37 Verletzte
Kronen Zeitung	25.08.2015	Asyl-Krise: Minister Kurz fordert die EU zum Handeln auf!
Kronen Zeitung	25.08.2015	Asyl-Einsatzgruppe berät heute Heeresaktion für Flüchtlinge
Kronen Zeitung	31.08.2015	Nach Flüchtlings-Drama macht Polizei an Grenzen dicht
Kronen Zeitung	31.08.2015	„Gott möge uns helfen diese Verbrechen zu verhindern!“
Kronen Zeitung	31.08.2015	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	06.09.2015	Die Nacht der Menschlichkeit
Kronen Zeitung	06.09.2015	Kanzler Faymann: „Das war nicht anders möglich“
Kronen Zeitung	06.09.2015	"Unser Marsch in die Freiheit"
Kronen Zeitung	12.09.2015	Merkel von Bayerns CSU scharf attackiert
Kronen Zeitung	12.09.2015	4000 Terroristen als Flüchtlinge getarnt?
Kronen Zeitung	12.09.2015	Dramatischer Appell von Ortschaft
Kronen Zeitung	18.09.2015	Abendessen in Brüssel statt EU-Sondergipfel
Kronen Zeitung	18.09.2015	„Alarmstufe Rot“ an unseren Grenzübergängen
Kronen Zeitung	18.09.2015	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	24.09.2015	Milliarden, um Flüchtlinge von Europa fernzuhalten
Kronen Zeitung	24.09.2015	„Asyl-Geheimbericht“ sorgt für Wirbel
Kronen Zeitung	24.09.2015	Angela Merkels Quoten fallen
Kronen Zeitung	30.09.2015	An unserer Südost-Grenze droht jetzt Gewalteinatz
Kronen Zeitung	30.09.2015	Kurz: Müssen Überforderung Österreichs rasch stoppen
Kronen Zeitung	30.09.2015	Flüchtlinge: Aufnahme in Lagern gestoppt
Kronen Zeitung	06.10.2015	Türkei und EU: Machtpoker in der Asyl-Krise!
Kronen Zeitung	06.10.2015	Asylwerber-„Hotspot“ als EU-Drehtür für Flüchtlinge
Kronen Zeitung	12.10.2015	Serben betrogen als „arme Kosovaren“
Kronen Zeitung	18.10.2015	Irrer sticht auf Politikerin ein
Kronen Zeitung	18.10.2015	Ansturm auf Grenzen im Süden erwartet
Kronen Zeitung	18.10.2015	Was uns Flüchtlinge nächstes Jahr kosten
Kronen Zeitung	24.10.2015	Eine neue Flüchtlingswelle nach Wiener Syriengipfel!
Kronen Zeitung	24.10.2015	Kritik an Krisen-Management wächst!
Kronen Zeitung	24.10.2015	Flüchtlingsbub stürzt in die Tiefe
Kronen Zeitung	30.10.2015	Eine Völkerwanderung, die vorerst nicht zu stoppen ist
Kronen Zeitung	30.10.2015	"Die Kollegen sind ebenso überfordert wie wir"

Kronen Zeitung	30.10.2015	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	05.11.2015	90% der Flüchtlinge bis zu zwei Jahre lang arbeitslos
Kronen Zeitung	05.11.2015	Flüchtlings-Krise: Die Lügen der Schlepper-Mafia
Kronen Zeitung	05.11.2015	A-4-Drama: Prozess in Ungarn
Kronen Zeitung	11.11.2015	6 wichtige Fragen und Antworten zur Flüchtlingskrise
Kronen Zeitung	11.11.2015	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	17.11.2015	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	17.11.2015	"Wir haben ein Recht auf Krieg"
Kronen Zeitung	17.11.2015	Aufräumen nach Randalen an Grenze
Kronen Zeitung	23.11.2015	Sturm auf die „Festung Europa“
Kronen Zeitung	23.11.2015	Die Flucht war vergeblich: Bub tröstet Vater
Kronen Zeitung	23.11.2015	Klartext
Kronen Zeitung	29.11.2015	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	29.11.2015	Flucht in ein neues Leben als "Schulfach"
Kronen Zeitung	29.11.2015	Demonstranten statt Flüchtlinge
Kronen Zeitung	05.12.2015	Wie EU-Grenzschutz Zeit vertrödelt
Kronen Zeitung	05.12.2015	Flüchtlingshalle als Schlachtfeld
Kronen Zeitung	05.12.2015	"In einer brenzligen Situation"
Kronen Zeitung	11.12.2015	Bei den Kosten für Flüchtlinge Grenze der Belastbarkeit erreicht
Kronen Zeitung	11.12.2015	In Asylwerber-Heim 2 Pistolen entdeckt!
Kronen Zeitung	11.12.2015	Neues Schleusensystem für Flüchtlinge
Kronen Zeitung	17.12.2015	„Unmenschliche Wahl“: Haft oder zurück in das Bürgerkriegsland
Kronen Zeitung	17.12.2015	„Flucht darf nicht weitergehen“
Kronen Zeitung	17.12.2015	Gefasste Paris-Terrorhelfer im Dauerverhör
Kronen Zeitung	23.12.2015	Zahlreiche Burn-out-Fälle bei Polizisten nach Asyl-Einsätzen
Kronen Zeitung	23.12.2015	Die meisten Länder erfüllen Asyl-Quote weiterhin nicht
Kronen Zeitung	23.12.2015	Paris-Terrorhelfer schon in Griechenland in Haft
Kronen Zeitung	29.12.2015	Kärnten wurde zur Drehscheibe für 3000 Flüchtlinge pro Tag
Kronen Zeitung	29.12.2015	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	04.01.2016	Neuer, heftiger Streit in Koalition um Obergrenzen Ja oder Nein
Kronen Zeitung	04.01.2016	Bayerns CSU verstärkt Druck auf Wende in der Flüchtlingspolitik!
Kronen Zeitung	04.01.2016	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	10.01.2016	Flüchtlingskurs steht jetzt auf der Kippe
Kronen Zeitung	10.01.2016	„Jetzt Notbremsung bei der Einladungs-Politik“
Kronen Zeitung	10.01.2016	Null Toleranz zeigen: Diese Täter muss man sofort abschieben!
Kronen Zeitung	16.01.2016	Schon an der Grenze abweisen
Kronen Zeitung	16.01.2016	Erstes Schwimmhallen-Verbot für die männlichen Flüchtlinge
Kronen Zeitung	16.01.2016	Eine Stadt im Ausnahmezustand
Kronen Zeitung	22.01.2016	Europaweites Lob, dass Österreich aktiv wurde
Kronen Zeitung	22.01.2016	Darabos sieht Niessl-Kurs durch Obergrenze vollauf bestätigt!
Kronen Zeitung	22.01.2016	Wienerin von Sex-Mob bedroht
Kronen Zeitung	28.01.2016	Politik inoffiziell
Kronen Zeitung	28.01.2016	Asylwerber erstach 22-jährige Helferin
Kronen Zeitung	03.02.2016	Chaos um Zahl der Abschiebefälle
Kronen Zeitung	03.02.2016	Sanktionen-Vertrag für mangelnde Integration
Kronen Zeitung	03.02.2016	Österreich wächst und wächst
Kronen Zeitung	09.02.2016	Störenfriede außer Landes bringen!

Kronen Zeitung	09.02.2016	Kurz an der Balkanroute: „Flüchtlingskrise zentral“
Kronen Zeitung	09.02.2016	Merkel sucht Hilfe bei Erdoğan
Kronen Zeitung	15.02.2016	Nur einen Monat nach Obergrenze schon 10.000 Anträge auf Asyl
Kronen Zeitung	15.02.2016	Faymanns Wende in der Flüchtlingskrise
Kronen Zeitung	15.02.2016	Afghane beraubt Dolmetscher
Kronen Zeitung	21.02.2016	Applaus aus Bayern für die Obergrenzen
Kronen Zeitung	21.02.2016	Fastenaktion für syrische Kinder
Kronen Zeitung	27.02.2016	Nächste Provokation aus Athen
Kronen Zeitung	04.03.2016	Überfüllte Flüchtlingslager: Jeder will weg!
Kronen Zeitung	04.03.2016	„Kommen Sie nicht nach Europa!“
Kronen Zeitung	04.03.2016	Flüchtlings-Gipfel: Türkei will „auch über EU-Beitritt reden“
Kronen Zeitung	10.03.2016	Balkanroute zu – Ungarn verhängt Krisenzustand
Kronen Zeitung	10.03.2016	Griechen räumen Flüchtlingslager
Kronen Zeitung	10.03.2016	Asylwerber (34) als Sex-Täter: Iraker missbrauchte Mädchen
Kronen Zeitung	16.03.2016	Grüne toben über „Grenzen zu“ und wollen sofortige Öffnung!
Kronen Zeitung	16.03.2016	Warnung vor Pakt mit der Türkei
Kronen Zeitung	16.03.2016	Flucht-Anleitung führte in den Tod
Kronen Zeitung	22.03.2016	Unsere Polizisten am Todesfluss
Kronen Zeitung	22.03.2016	„Haben wichtige Verpflichtung“
Kronen Zeitung	28.03.2016	Das Lager der Vergessenen
Kronen Zeitung	28.03.2016	25 „Asyl-Anschläge“
Kronen Zeitung	28.03.2016	Asylwerber als Sextäter
Kronen Zeitung	03.04.2016	Kanzler Faymann warnt vor Katastrophe am Brenner
Kronen Zeitung	03.04.2016	Asyl: Abschiebungen starten
Kronen Zeitung	09.04.2016	Machen alles gegen Brenner-Schließung
Kronen Zeitung	09.04.2016	Afghane missbraucht 13-jähriges Mädchen
Kronen Zeitung	15.04.2016	Schweiz: Panzer an die Grenze
Kronen Zeitung	15.04.2016	Schlepper in Haft: Zweijähriger und 15 Kinder in Lkw gepfercht
Kronen Zeitung	21.04.2016	Aufgestiegen oder weggelobt, Herr Sobotka?
Kronen Zeitung	27.04.2016	Politik inoffiziell
Kronen Zeitung	27.04.2016	Trotz Mehrausgaben soll unser Budgetdefizit bis 2020 sinken
Kronen Zeitung	27.04.2016	Fünf Verletzte in Wien bei zwei Bandenkriegen binnen 24 Stunden
Der Standard	01.08.2015	Bund will Asylquartiere erzwingen
Der Standard	01.08.2015	Quartiersuche mit NGO und Polizei
Der Standard	01.08.2015	Zurück in die Zukunft
Der Standard	07.08.2015	"Ich habe Babys auf der Straße schlafen sehen"
Der Standard	07.08.2015	Mehr als 200 tote Flüchtlinge vor Libyen befürchtet
Der Standard	07.08.2015	Ministerien verhandeln Heeres-Assistenzeinsatz
Der Standard	13.08.2015	Traiskirchen "Symptom für fast vollständiges Versagen"
Der Standard	13.08.2015	Orbán's messerscharfer Kampf gegen Flüchtlinge
Der Standard	13.08.2015	Dem Massengrab Mittelmeer gerade noch entkommen
Der Standard	19.08.2015	Durchgriffsrecht als Notmaßnahme "okay"
Der Standard	19.08.2015	Flüchtlinge: UNHCR ruft zur Unterstützung Griechenlands auf
Der Standard	19.08.2015	Europa als Wille und Vorstellung
Der Standard	25.08.2015	Merkel verurteilt Hassbotschaften gegen Flüchtlinge
Der Standard	25.08.2015	Ein Selfie der Überlebenden des Mittelmeers

Der Standard	25.08.2015	Balkanroute bleibt bedeutsam
Der Standard	31.08.2015	LKW-Kontrollen sollen Schlepper stoppen
Der Standard	31.08.2015	Ungarn will Flüchtlinge an Grenze internieren
Der Standard	31.08.2015	Die erste Hilfe unterm zugigen Flugdach
Der Standard	06.09.2015	Das Geschäft mit der Flucht
Der Standard	06.09.2015	Verzweiflungsmarsch nach Österreich
Der Standard	06.09.2015	Auf der ungarischen Autobahn erstickt
Der Standard	12.09.2015	Ein Topf für viel Integration
Der Standard	12.09.2015	10.000 Flüchtlinge pro Tag: Nickeldorf "total überfordert"
Der Standard	12.09.2015	Vom Nutzen und Glück zu helfen
Der Standard	18.09.2015	Flüchtlinge wollen schnell durch Kroatien durch
Der Standard	18.09.2015	Ein paar Stunden Ruhe am Badeteich und in den Hallen
Der Standard	18.09.2015	EU drängt auf Quote, Finanzspritze für Türkei
Der Standard	24.09.2015	Neue Grenzbefestigungen, neue Milliardengaben
Der Standard	24.09.2015	Grenzschließung: Kritik an Kroatien
Der Standard	24.09.2015	Von Sorgenfalten und vielen offenen Fragen
Der Standard	30.09.2015	Flüchtlinge: Ökonomen für rasche Arbeitsmarkttöffnung
Der Standard	30.09.2015	Züge brachten 140.000 Flüchtlinge gen Deutschland
Der Standard	30.09.2015	Notquartiere müssen Verteilerzentren entlasten
Der Standard	06.10.2015	Erdogan reagiert auf EU-Angebot zurückhaltend
Der Standard	06.10.2015	Spekulation über 1,5 Millionen Flüchtlinge in Berlin
Der Standard	06.10.2015	Neonazi-Schmierereien an Flüchtlingshaus
Der Standard	12.10.2015	Grenzzäune machen Schlepperei erst möglich
Der Standard	12.10.2015	Grenzfall als Routinefall
Der Standard	12.10.2015	Der Faktor Flüchtling
Der Standard	18.10.2015	Einig nur bei Flüchtlingsabwehr, Streit um Verteilung
Der Standard	18.10.2015	Das Leben nach dem Fall
Der Standard	18.10.2015	Kuchenessen in Traiskirchen
Der Standard	24.10.2015	Die EU-weite Aufteilung der Flüchtlinge ist bisher ein Flop
Der Standard	24.10.2015	Schreckensbilder kann ich keine teilen
Der Standard	24.10.2015	"Flüchtlinge gehen, Nachbarn bleiben"
Der Standard	30.10.2015	Vom Transitland zum Zielland
Der Standard	30.10.2015	"Flächendeckende Deutschkurse gehören ab Tag eins angeboten"
Der Standard	30.10.2015	"Wir haben hier alle ein ziemlich mulmiges Gefühl"
Der Standard	05.11.2015	Verpflichtende "Werteschulung" für Flüchtlinge
Der Standard	05.11.2015	"Frontex müsste auf unsere Bitten besser reagieren"
Der Standard	05.11.2015	Fluchthilfeaktionen haben strafrechtliche Folgen
Der Standard	17.11.2015	CSU will bayerische Polizei an Grenze zu Österreich
Der Standard	17.11.2015	Polen schlägt die Türen für Asylsuchende zu
Der Standard	17.11.2015	Weitere tausende Flüchtlingsankünfte aus Slowenien
Der Standard	23.11.2015	Im Wettlauf gegen den Winter
Der Standard	23.11.2015	Kein Dach über dem Kopf auf Lesbos
Der Standard	23.11.2015	Deutlich weniger Ankünfte in Spielfeld und Slowenien
Der Standard	30.11.2015	Erdogan schwänzt "seinen" EU-Gipfel
Der Standard	30.11.2015	1500 Neuankünfte in Spielfeld
Der Standard	30.11.2015	Grüne gegen Asylverschärfung
Der Standard	05.12.2015	Kleine Schritte in der großen Krise

Der Standard	05.12.2015	Zivilgesellschaft in der Ägäis
Der Standard	05.12.2015	Nicht so tun als würde man Tausende abschieben"
Der Standard	11.12.2015	"Kanzler tritt die Flucht aus der Verantwortung an"
Der Standard	11.12.2015	Einstiger ÖVP-Stadtrat sorgt für Lücke im Zaun
Der Standard	11.12.2015	Mehr Zaun, weniger Flüchtlinge
Der Standard	17.12.2015	Die Willigen suchen nach einem Ausweg
Der Standard	17.12.2015	Was tun mit den Flüchtlingen?
Der Standard	17.12.2015	Grenzzaun: "Uns ist das nicht eingefallen"
Der Standard	23.12.2015	2016 bis zu 120.000 Flüchtlinge erwartet
Der Standard	23.12.2015	Deutschland schiebt jetzt schneller ab
Der Standard	23.12.2015	Italien fordert von Europa mehr Familiensinn
Der Standard	29.12.2015	CSU: Integration verpflichtend
Der Standard	02.01.2016	Die Wildheit des Religiösen einhegen"
Der Standard	02.01.2016	Auf der Suche nach dem guten in der Wiener Hofburg
Der Standard	10.01.2016	Frauenrechte als integrationspolitisches Muss
Der Standard	10.01.2016	SPÖ-Asylvorschläge laut Experten bedenklich
Der Standard	10.01.2016	"Ein Teil Koran, vier Teile Machismo"
Der Standard	16.01.2016	"Sie werden nicht mehr ins Land gelassen"
Der Standard	16.01.2016	Kanzlerin Merkel gerät an ihre Grenzen
Der Standard	16.01.2016	Österreich: Dublin-Fälle blockieren Asylsystem
Der Standard	22.01.2016	"Richtungsschwenk" der SPÖ ruft Kritiker auf Plan
Der Standard	22.01.2016	VP will Flüchtlinge ab 37.500 Ansuchen zurückweisen
Der Standard	22.01.2016	"Ich fürchte, wir können es nicht schaffen"
Der Standard	28.01.2016	EU-Staatenbericht zeichnet düsteres Bild
Der Standard	28.01.2016	Sport und Fun war, Flüchtlingsleid ist
Der Standard	28.01.2016	Beunruhigung in Schweden
Der Standard	03.02.2016	SPÖ und ÖVP graut voreinander
Der Standard	03.02.2016	Gefahr für Kinderflüchtlinge
Der Standard	03.02.2016	"Gravierende Mängel" in Athen
Der Standard	09.02.2016	Kein Monat mehr ohne Ahmet
Der Standard	09.02.2016	Konrad koordiniert Kampagne für Asylquartiere aus Holz
Der Standard	09.02.2016	Bosnisches Rezept - ohne Patent
Der Standard	15.02.2016	Wenige Lichtblicke in München
Der Standard	15.02.2016	Mehr oder weniger Demokratie in Zeiten der Krise
Der Standard	19.02.2016	EU zerlegt Österreichs Obergrenze
Der Standard	19.02.2016	Uno: Griechenland vor Flüchtlingsstau
Der Standard	19.02.2016	Sorge vor Überforderung auf Balkanroute
Der Standard	27.02.2016	Athen zeigt Regierung in Wien die kalte Schulter
Der Standard	27.02.2016	580 Flüchtlinge pro Tag dürfen in den Norden
Der Standard	27.02.2016	Der Tagn, als Europa anfang, anders zu werden
Der Standard	04.03.2016	Tsipras fordert Strafen für EU-Abweichler
Der Standard	04.03.2016	Österreich bleibt bei Asylanträgen im EU-Spitzenfeld
Der Standard	04.03.2016	Wertekurse: "Wir Österreicher sind wie Zwiebeln"
Der Standard	10.03.2016	Westbalkanroute bleibt doch geschlossen
Der Standard	10.03.2016	Wertekurse werden via AMS österreichweit zur Pflicht
Der Standard	10.03.2016	Österreich: Anzeigen gegen Asylwerber leicht gestiegen
Der Standard	22.03.2016	Schwarz gegen Schwarz im Spendenstreit

Der Standard	22.03.2016	Die neues Gefangenen und ihre ratlosen Wächter
Der Standard	22.03.2016	<a href="#">Das Jahr, in dem Rassismus ganz normal wurde</a>
Der Standard	28.03.2016	"EU-Türkei-Deal bringt Schleppern mehr Macht"
Der Standard	28.03.2016	NGO: "Untragbare Zustände" in Traglufthalle Hall
Der Standard	28.03.2016	Räumung des Flüchtlingslager in Idomeni begonnen
Der Standard	03.04.2016	Neun Minister mit einer neuen Mission
Der Standard	03.04.2016	Bund gibt Quartiere für Flüchtlinge an Stadt Wien ab
Der Standard	03.04.2016	Amnesty: Ankara schiebt massenhaft Syrer ab
Der Standard	09.04.2016	Novelle soll Asylrecht außer Kraft setzen
Der Standard	09.04.2016	Ministerien verlangen mehr Geld wegen Flüchtlingskrise
Der Standard	09.04.2016	Berlin meldet weniger Ankünfte
Der Standard	15.04.2016	"Das wäre ein strache-Förderprogramm"
Der Standard	15.04.2016	Stimmung gegen Brenner-"Mauer" eskaliert
Der Standard	15.04.2016	Asylnovelle noch härter: Längere Haft
Der Standard	21.04.2016	Erst 103 syrische Flüchtlinge umgesiedelt
Der Standard	21.04.2016	Syrische Ärzte in Österreich in den Starlöchern
Der Standard	21.04.2016	Bootsunglück: UNHCR befürchtet bis zu 500 Todesopfer
Der Standard	27.04.2016	Asylwerberjobs: Warten auf Arbeit und Antwort
Der Standard	27.04.2016	Der steinige Weg ins neue Leben
Der Standard	27.04.2016	Arbeitsmarkt: Bis 2020 steigen Kosten um zwei Milliarden
Kronen Zeitung	01.05.1992	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	07.05.1992	Staberl
Kronen Zeitung	25.05.1992	Das Leben geht weiter
Kronen Zeitung	31.05.1992	Kroatien, Bosnien flehen USA an: "Schickt Kriegsschiffe zu Hilfe"
Kronen Zeitung	06.06.1992	Politik inoffiziell
Kronen Zeitung	12.06.1992	Kampf gegen illegale Ausländer
Kronen Zeitung	18.06.1992	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	18.06.1992	Staberl
Kronen Zeitung	30.06.1992	Blinder Haß auf Ausländer: Ein Jahr Haft für Steirer
Kronen Zeitung	12.07.1992	Bosnien im Würgegriff der Serben-Milizen
Kronen Zeitung	18.07.1992	Flüchtlingstragödie: Grünes Licht aus Wien und Rom für Bosnier-Züge
Kronen Zeitung	24.07.1992	Staberl
Kronen Zeitung	24.07.1992	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	24.07.1992	700 Kinder wurden getötet, Tausende verletzt!
Kronen Zeitung	30.07.1992	Parteienkrach um Ausländerpolitik: ÖVP attackiert Minister Löschnak
Kronen Zeitung	30.07.1992	Mehr als 2 Millionen auf der Flucht
Kronen Zeitung	30.07.1992	Staberl
Kronen Zeitung	05.08.1992	Hesoun: Neue Kontrollen im Kampf gegen Schwarzarbeit
Kronen Zeitung	11.08.1992	Jetzt Riesenkrach in der SPÖ um die Flüchtlingspolitik Franz Löschnaks
Kronen Zeitung	17.08.1992	Na, dann los!
Kronen Zeitung	29.08.1992	Bereits viele tausend russische Söldner auf der serbischen Seite
Kronen Zeitung	04.09.1992	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	10.09.1992	Exekutive kommt mit Abschiebungen illegaler Ausländer kaum nach

Kronen Zeitung	16.09.1992	Neue Verhandlungen mit Kroatien über Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen
Kronen Zeitung	16.09.1992	50 Lehrer im Flüchtlingseinsatz
Kronen Zeitung	28.09.1992	Staberl
Kronen Zeitung	04.10.1992	Staberl
Kronen Zeitung	16.10.1992	Gewaltige Flut von Asylwerbern kostet Deutschland 50 Milliarden
Kronen Zeitung	16.10.1992	Thema des Tages
Kronen Zeitung	22.10.1992	Vranitzky & Busek lehnen das Haider-Ultimatum ab!
Kronen Zeitung	28.10.1992	Löschnak: Haider will nur seine Zugkraft testen!
Kronen Zeitung	09.11.1992	Steine, Farbbeutel und Eier gegen Weizsäcker bei Friedenskundgebung
Kronen Zeitung	15.11.1992	Asylanten werden zurückgeschickt
Kronen Zeitung	15.11.1992	Flüchtlinge harren am Wurzenpaß weiter aus!
Kronen Zeitung	27.11.1992	Ausländische Kinder: Konflikt um Eingliederung an unseren Schulen
Kronen Zeitung	27.11.1992	"Nur" arm?
Kronen Zeitung	03.12.1992	Gesetz ermöglicht nun schärfere Gangart gegen illegale Ausländer
Kronen Zeitung	03.12.1992	Nicht unbegrenzt
Kronen Zeitung	03.12.1992	Ich gehe nicht zum Volksbegehren
Kronen Zeitung	15.12.1992	Kanzler: Österreichs EG-Beitritt als Chance und Herausforderung
Kronen Zeitung	15.12.1992	Tag für Tag
Kronen Zeitung	21.12.1992	Staberl
Kronen Zeitung	02.01.1993	Wer Ängste bewusst fördert, handelt gegen die Interessen Österreichs
Der Standard	01.05.1992	Starte in Pole-Position
Der Standard	01.05.1992	Bosnien beschlagnahmt Armee-Waffen
Der Standard	01.05.1992	Beschäftigung für Härtefälle
Der Standard	07.05.1992	Grenzen dicht für Flüchtlinge
Der Standard	07.05.1992	Slowenien von Flüchtlingen überfüllt
Der Standard	07.05.1992	Länder sollen Flüchtlinge mitfinanzieren
Der Standard	13.05.1992	Gefängnis-Odyssee eines Flüchtlings
Der Standard	19.05.1992	Flüchtlinge in Waggonen am Agramer Bahnhof
Der Standard	25.05.1992	"Europäisierung des Asylrechts"
Der Standard	25.05.1992	Belgrad reagiert auf Bakers Warnung kühl
Der Standard	25.05.1992	"Gemeinsgefährlicher Unsinn"
Der Standard	31.05.1992	FP-General für offene Grenzen
Der Standard	06.06.1992	Asyl-recht verschärft
Der Standard	12.06.1992	Lokalausweis in Traiskirchen
Der Standard	18.06.1992	"Müssen das Problem allein lösen"
Der Standard	18.06.1992	Privatquartiere und "passende Familien"
Der Standard	24.06.1992	Zilk: "Notschrei an Europa" für bosnische Flüchtlinge
Der Standard	30.06.1992	Ärztliche Flüchtlingshilfe
Der Standard	30.06.1992	"Durch Flüchtlingsflut droht Destabilisierung"
Der Standard	06.07.1992	Kinderkreuzzug in Neuhaus: "80 Flüchtlinge sind genug"
Der Standard	12.07.1992	Asylant wehrte sich: Prozeß im Landesgericht
Der Standard	18.07.1992	Flüchtlingsdrama in Slowenien: 2000 in angehaltenen Zügen
Der Standard	18.07.1992	7000 Flüchtlinge sitzen in Bosnien in der Falle
Der Standard	24.07.1992	UN-Hochkommissar: Europa muß seine Grenzen öffnen



Der Standard	24.07.1992	Kurden-Geschwister von der Abschiebung in den Irak bedroht
Der Standard	30.07.1992	Spannungen zwischen Nachbarn
Der Standard	30.07.1992	"Die Zeit läuft uns davon"
Der Standard	05.08.1992	Ratzenböck: Embargo erübrigt Intervention
Der Standard	11.08.1992	Nur wenig ist unwiderbringlich verloren
Der Standard	11.08.1992	Vom Flüchtlingslager ins Festspielhaus
Der Standard	17.08.1992	Endstation Teplice für Flüchtlinge aus Bosnien
Der Standard	17.08.1992	Sie kamen aus Bosnien, um Ferien im Frieden zu erleben
Der Standard	23.08.1992	Belebter Markt unter Granatenfeuer
Der Standard	29.08.1992	Widerstandscamp gegen Grenzeinsatz des Heeres
Der Standard	29.08.1992	Rechtsradikalismus wird eine "soziale Bewegung"
Der Standard	29.08.1992	"Ein bisschen stehlen gehen"
Der Standard	04.09.1992	Auch Kanzler für Winterquartier AKH
Der Standard	04.09.1992	Aktionstag im Widerstandscamp
Der Standard	04.09.1992	"Ex-Stasi-Leute an den Anschlägen in Rostock beteiligt"
Der Standard	10.09.1992	Israel besorgt über deutschen Neonazismus
Der Standard	10.09.1992	Kohl übt Selbstkritik: "Manches falsch gemacht"
Der Standard	16.09.1992	Neuer Hilfsappell Österreichs
Der Standard	16.09.1992	Asylanten und deutscher Rechtsruck
Der Standard	16.09.1992	Neue Angriffe auf Heime der Asylbewerber
Der Standard	28.09.1992	Brandanschlag gegen Asylbewerberheim
Der Standard	28.09.1992	Brand in Sachsenhausen vermutlich gelegt
Der Standard	04.10.1992	Was tun gegen den Terror von rechts
Der Standard	10.10.1992	Vorwürfe gegen Asylpolitik
Der Standard	10.10.1992	"Sind mitten in einer Völkerwanderung"
Der Standard	16.10.1992	Bundespräsident Klestil sagt nein zu Haisers Ausländer-Volksbegehren
Der Standard	22.10.1992	Für legale Arbeit
Der Standard	22.10.1992	Betriebskontrollen statt Ausweis
Der Standard	22.10.1992	"Brandstifter im Parlament"
Der Standard	28.10.1992	"Wir sind keine Ghettoschule"
Der Standard	28.10.1992	Löschnak predigt "Weg der Mitte"
Der Standard	28.10.1992	"Selbsttäuschung als Programm" Österreich ist Einwanderungsland
Der Standard	03.11.1992	Kohl droht mit "Staatsnotstand"
Der Standard	09.11.1992	Spießrutenlauf für Bonner Politiker in Berlin
Der Standard	09.11.1992	Caritas Präsident plädiert für Kurswechsel in Ausländerpolitik
Der Standard	15.11.1992	Erleichterung nach geglückter Flucht
Der Standard	15.11.1992	Psycho-Krieg gegen Flüchtlinge
Der Standard	15.11.1992	Bosnier hoffen auf London
Der Standard	21.11.1992	"Zu dumm für Nationalsozialismus"
Der Standard	27.11.1992	Urteil gegen Schweizer Neonazi geheimgehalten
Der Standard	27.11.1992	Brandanschlag Mölln: Bundesanwalt verhaftet einen Rechtsterroristen
Der Standard	27.11.1992	"Österreich für Flüchtlinge nicht sicher"
Der Standard	09.12.1992	"Ab nächstem Sommer wird Asylantenflut eingedämmt"
Der Standard	09.12.1992	Nach langem Ringen: Deutsche Einigung in der Asylfrage
Der Standard	09.12.1992	Salzburg befürchtet BRD Asylgesetz

Der Standard	21.12.1992	"Wovon befreit? Vom Leben"?
Der Standard	21.12.1992	Volksanwälte für Ausländer da
Der Standard	27.12.1992	"Radikalismus nicht herbeireden"
Der Standard	02.01.1993	Konflikt FPÖ – Kirche verschärft
Der Standard	08.01.1993	"Eine Zwangsbalkanisierung"
Der Standard	14.01.1993	"FPÖ agiert mit falschen Zahlen"

## APPENDIX B

### The Code Book Used During Content Analysis

<b>1. newspaper</b>	insert code
1	Der Standard
2	Neue Kronen Zeitung
<b>2. date</b>	insert date: DD.MM.YYYY
<b>3. no. of articles on topic</b>	insert the number of articles referring to refugees in the newspaper, including comments
999	no articles

remarks: number of articles where refugees or asylum seekers are referred to; words that should be mentioned: 'Flüchtling', 'Asylbewerber', 'Asylwerber', 'Asylant', 'Geflüchteter' or unambiguous periphrases; plural and feminine versions also valid

<b>4. title</b>	insert full title
999	no title

remarks: for each newspaper included in the analysis up to three articles are chosen based on their prominence (length and prominence of the article, content is focused on refugees and asylum and concerns are addressed); in case there are no prominent articles, subordinate articles are also included (comments, ...); letters to the editor and articles part of the regional part of Kronen Zeitung are excluded; if the article does not have any title but is part of a series, the name of the series is inserted

<b>5. title on title page</b>	insert the title of the lead story on the title page (if applicable)
-------------------------------	--

<b>6. no.</b>	insert continuous numbering, starting with 001
---------------	--

<b>7. page number</b>	insert page number as mentioned in the paper
-----------------------	--

<b>8. size</b>	insert code, what is the approximate size of the article
----------------	--

1	$\leq \frac{1}{4}$ page
2	$\leq \frac{1}{2}$ page
3	$\leq \frac{3}{4}$ page
4	$\leq$ full page
5	exceeding one page

remarks: this only approximate measurement was chosen because Kronen Zeitung and Standard differ considerably in their format and layout (Kronen Zeitung includes significantly more pictures); counting lines and deriving characters as proposed in the literature (e.g. Rössler 2005) is not efficient here; measuring the area of the article (another proposed strategy) does not work either as articles from Kronen Zeitung from 2015/2016 were obtained electronically and cannot be measured adequately; an article is coded as 5 only if it would not fit, even if arranged differently, on one page of the newspaper (including pictures), a shorter article spread over two pages is still coded as 1 to 4

<b>9. placement</b>	insert code; where in the newspaper is the article located
---------------------	--

1	lead story
2	front page article
3	article with short summary on front page
4	article that is referred to on front page (e.g. table of contents)
5	multi-page article in newspaper
6	articles on one page
7	newspaper supplement
999	non-applicable/unable to determine

remarks: the lead story is defined here as the most prominent story mentioned on the front page (most salient headline and, where applicable, first article); if the article is placed in a separate special issue or supplement it is coded as 7; articles that are less than one page in size but spread over two pages are still coded as 5; articles are given the lowest code applicable (that is, a multi-page article with a short summary on the front page is coded as 3 and not as 5)

**10. type of article** insert code; of what type is the article

1	brief news
2	news article
3	feature / report / analysis
4	account (report)
5	profile
6	interview
7	commentary
8	ironical comment
9	picture / cartoon with text
999	non-applicable/unable to determine

remarks: brief news are very short one-column articles that do not necessarily give answer to all of the Five W (and one H) questions (unlike news articles); an account (report) is defined here as an article about an event that the author actually experienced or a place that he or she visited

**11. section** insert code; which section does the article belong to

10	lead story
20	special section (about refugees)
30	politics
31	international politics
32	national or local politics
40	news (excl. politics)
41	international news
42	national or local news
50	economy/business/finance
60	culture/art
70	science/education
80	commentary
90	front page
999	non-applicable/unable to determine

remarks: caution – the sections mentioned in the newspaper vary slightly from the codes used here; articles are coded as 20 if it is placed in a section declared as special section or focal topic (in German generally named ‘Schwerpunkt’ or ‘Thema’);

<b>12. main topic</b>	insert code; what are the main topics addressed;
010	numbers of refugees arriving in Austria / Europe
020	capacity to take in refugees
030	past refugee movements
040	situation at border crossings
<b>100</b>	<b>social</b>
110	atmosphere in society / politics
111	refusal / racism / hostility / extremism
112	fears / concerns
113	support / solidarity (culture of welcome)
120	integration / values
130	gender
140	education
150	religion
160	criminality / crimes by refugees
161	drug crimes
162	sex crimes / sexual assault / sexual harassment
163	(other) violent offences
164	illegality
165	abuse or misuse of asylum system / immigration fraud
170	crimes against refugees
180	terrorism
190	care of refugees (accommodation, transportation, etc.)
191	support for refugees
192	lack of support, insufficient care
193	responsibilities; who takes refugees in; who caters for them
<b>200</b>	<b>Austrian politics</b>
210	asylum and migration politics
211	limits on refugee entrances (Obergrenze)
212	(petition for a) referendum on migration, e.g. Ausländervolksbegehren; anti-immigration campaigns
213	opening of borders
214	deportation / repatriation
220	security policy
221	frontier protection
222	human trafficking (prohibition; measures against; prosecution)
230	cultural and social politics in Austria / integration issues
<b>300</b>	<b>European/ International politics</b>
310	EU external border protection
320	stopping migrant movements (towards EU and within EU)
330	refugee relocation / refugee admission quotas
340	Dublin regulation; third-country regulation; secure countries of origin
350	power politics

360	world politics / international summits / negotiations / deals
370	national politics in another state (e.g. German politics)
<b>400</b>	<b>socioeconomics / economic implications for state</b>
410	short term costs for state (accommodation, social benefits, etc.)
420	long term costs for state (minimum benefit system, health costs, etc.)
430	economic benefits for state (economic growth, more contributors to social system,...)
440	labour market
450	demography
<b>500</b>	<b>flight</b>
510	countries of origin of refugees
511	list of countries; statistical description
512	situation in the countries of origin
520	causes of refugee movements
530	reasons for flight; legitimacy of refugees
540	journeys of refugees (incl. destinations and stopovers)
550	human trafficking, "escape helpers" (Fluchthelfer); (experiences with human traffickers)
560	personal story / experiences / reports
<b>600</b>	<b>news /media coverage</b>
<b>700</b>	<b>does not primarily concern refugees</b>
999	non-applicable/ unable to determine

remark: only topics are addressed here, not the tone of the article; if an article for example refers critically to the culture of welcome it is coded here as 112, the tone of the article is noted under point 13 (general evaluation); careful coding is essential, caution is needed particularly when deciding whether to code the topic of an article as politics or whether to include it in another category; if the article for example discusses illegality from a political perspective (e.g. measures to restrict illegal immigration) it is coded as 220 or any of the subcategories (depending on context) and not 164

<b>13. sub-topic</b>	insert code; the same codes as above apply
<b>14. statistics</b>	insert code; are statistics and sources mentioned
0	no statistics or data on refugees mentioned
1	statistics mentioned; no sources included
2	statistics mentioned, some sources included
3	statistics mentioned, all sources included;

remarks: when only one statistical publication is mentioned and sources are given, code as 3

<b>15. general evaluation</b>	insert code, how does the article evaluate the topic
-2	negative
-1	concerned
0	neutral
1	positive

negative: *hostile* and *concerned* reporting; focus only on problems; generalisations are made; most refugees are portrayed negatively; problematic language is used

concerned: *concerned* reporting about refugees; fears and worries are addressed; focus mostly on problems

neutral: no judgmental information and language, different views are brought up (in equal amounts), refugees not lumped together, more differentiated viewpoint

positive: benefits of welcoming refugees put to the foreground, more positive representations, no othering of refugees, portrayals widely differentiated

**16. concerns** insert code; which issue is addressed

**100 Problems caused by refugees**

101 Refugees pour into / flood Austria / Europe

102 Refugees increase / cause social, economic or political instability / chaos

103 Refugees overburden / strain public administration (incl. executive and judicial authorities)

**110 Economic Concerns**

111 Refugees are detrimental to the economy

112 Refugees are detrimental to / put pressure on the labour market and employees

113 Refugees cause high costs for the state / Refugees receive excessive social benefits

114 Refugees take advantage of the social benefit system / abuse the welfare system

115 Refugees (or other not-eligible people) abuse the asylum system / Refugees did not escape war or prosecution but moved for economic reasons ("economic refugees")/ refugees are not eligible to asylum

**120 Security Concerns**

121 Criminality rises due to refugees / Refugees are criminal / aggressive

122 Control over immigration is lost / needs to be preserved / regained

123 Illegal immigration and illegal migrant smuggling threaten state security

124 Terrorist threat levels rise

**130 Social and Societal Concerns**

131 Austrian / European culture is at risk due to refugee immigration

132 Refugees spread fear and make locals feel insecure / Nobody listens to concerns and problems of locals / Refugees part society

133 Refugees stoke or increase right-wing radicalism and racism

134 Refugees are not willing to integrate

135 Refugees have values incompatible with Austrian / European / German values

136 Refugees show a lack of respect for women and women's rights / Refugees are a threat to women

137 Refugees have a problematic attitude towards religion / introduce fundamentalist Islam to Austria

138 Austrians / Locals are at a disadvantage compared to refugees / Austrians / Locals feel disadvantaged or wronged

139 Refugees do not express any gratitude towards Austrians or the Austrian state

**140 Political concerns**

141 Deficient European cooperation / some states left alone by European partners to handle refugees

142	Politicians lack precise plans and measures of how to deal with the numbers of refugees / no clear guidelines or operation procedures are developed / the way politics deal with refugees and asylum is chaotic
143	International deals concerning illegal migration are problematic and costly (e.g.: deal with Turkey to curtail mobility)
<b>150</b>	<b>Health concerns</b>
151	Refugees introduce and/or spread diseases
<b>200</b>	<b>Problems faced by refugees</b>
201	Refugees cannot return to their country of origin
202	Stricter immigration laws put refugees at higher risk
203	Situation for refugees in non-European receiving countries (e.g. Libya, Turkey) is intolerable or problematic; in particular accommodation and political situation
<b>210</b>	<b>Discrimination</b>
211	Refugees encounter racist and hostile behaviour and communication (incl. attacks / abuse)
212	Rumours and false reports on refugees circulate and spread; Refugees are guiltlessly blamed for offences, misdeeds or social plight; Refugees are scapegoats; reports on refugees are deliberately misinterpreted, concealed or adapted
213	Accommodation of refugees and treatment in refugee camps are inadequate and inhumane / accommodation is insufficient
214	Refugees are treated badly or discriminated against by public authorities or executive authorities; Refugees face considerable difficulties regarding asylum procedures
215	Refugees face difficulties (institutional, political and societal) regarding integration
216	Social benefits for refugees are insufficient; Refugees face difficulties regarding access to social benefits; Refugees are discriminated against regarding social benefits
217	Asylum seekers have no access to the full labour market / Refugees have difficulties finding work
218	Refugees are pushed into criminal activities or illegal conditions (regarding residence or work)
219	Refugees are restricted in their self-determination (everyday mobility, choice of residence, etc.)
<b>220</b>	<b>Experiences during flight</b>
221	Refugees are victims of people smugglers or escape helpers / Refugees are mistreated by smugglers
222	Refugees are traumatized / Refugees had to go through terrible experiences / Refugees are exhausted from stresses and strains / Refugees die on their way
999	non-applicable / unable to determine
<b>17. explicitness</b>	insert code; how explicitly are the concerns conveyed
0	implicit
1	explicit
999	non-applicable/unable to determine



<b>18. originator</b>	insert code; who is the originator, the source of the argument
<b>100</b>	<b>author of the article</b>
101	author of commentary
102	author of letter to the editor
103	creator of picture(s) / cartoon(s)
<b>200</b>	<b>Austrian politicians</b>
210	President
220	Government and Ministries
221	Chancellor
222	Vice chancellor
223	Foreign Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
224	Minister / Ministry of the Interior
225	Minister / Ministry of Social Affairs
226	Other Minister/ Ministry
230	(Member of) Parliament / National and Federal Council
240	Other state politicians
241	SPÖ-Politician
242	ÖVP-Politician
243	FPÖ-Politician
244	Grünen-Politician
245	Politician of other parties
250	federal politicians
260	regional / local politicians
270	other non-state political group / figure
280	public administration / civil service
281	military personnel
282	police personnel
290	intelligence service
<b>300</b>	<b>Foreign Politicians</b>
310	Politicians or institutions of other European States
320	Member of the European Parliament (individual)
330	World Politicians
340	(members of) EU agencies or organizations
<b>400</b>	<b>non-party political groups / organisation</b>
410	right-wing groups (e.g. Pegida)
420	leftist groups
<b>500</b>	<b>Economics</b>
510	employer's association
520	industry, business, corporations
<b>600</b>	<b>Social world</b>
610	sciences, institutions of education; experts
620	religious institutions and figures
630	social welfare (state and NGOs), charitable associations / institutions
631	official social welfare workers
632	official social welfare volunteers
633	private volunteers

640	citizen's group
650	journalist, editor; other newspapers
660	public figure
670	International Organisations (individuals and general; excl. members of European Parliament)
<b>800</b>	<b>individuals</b>
810	refugees and asylum seekers
820	readers of the newspaper / authors of letters to the editors (in general)
999	non-applicable/unable to determine
<b>19. attribution refugees</b>	insert code, which attribution for refugees is chosen
<b>100</b>	<b>parasitic – schmarotzerisch, Schmarotzer, Parasit, Schnorrer</b>
110	demanding / picky / particular – anspruchsvoll, wählerisch
120	ungrateful - undankbar
130	lazy – faul, arbeitsscheu
<b>200</b>	<b>threatening / dangerous – Bedrohung, Gefahr, Täter</b>
210	fraudulent – betrügerisch, gaunerisch, Betrüger, hintergehen
220	aggressive / violent – aggressive, unbeherrscht, angriffslustig, provokant, provozierend, gewalttätig
230	criminal
231	illegal (in terms of residence act)
232	illegally employed – Schwarzarbeit, Pusch, pfuschen
233	drug trafficking – Dealer, Drogenhandel
240	invasive / intrusive / besieging – Belagerung, Eindringling, Invasion
250	infectious – Krankheit, ansteckend
260	misogynistic / sexist – Frauenfeindlich, Frauenhaß, Missachtung
270	islamistic / terrorist – Islamist, IS, Fanatiker, Fundamentalist
<b>300</b>	<b>pathetic / pitiful – mitleiderregend, bemitleidenswert, Opfer</b>
310	ignorant / savage / uneducated / backward – ignorant, ungebildet, unzi- vilisiert, Gesindel, asozial
320	infantile / naive / immature – kindisch, dumm, naiv, unreif
330	careless / negligent / undisciplined – nachlässig, undiszipliniert
340	apathetic / passive – apathisch, abgestumpft, gleichgültig, teilnahmslos, passiv
350	irresponsible – verantwortungslos
360	cowardly – feig, Feigling
<b>400</b>	<b>irritating – ärgerlich, lästig, Unruhestifter, Störenfried</b>
410	noisy – laut, lärmend
420	dirty / untidy – schmutzig, dreckig
430	unwilling to integrate / unintegrated – integrationsunwillig, nicht inte- griert
<b>500</b>	<b>model – vorbildlich, Vorzeigeflüchtling</b>
510	successful – erfolgreich
520	helpful – hilfsbereit
530	fascinating / exotic – exotisch, spannend
540	diligent / hard-working / motivated – fleißig, arbeitseifrig, motiviert

550	educated – gebildet, bildungsnah
560	integrated – integriert, angepasst, integrationswillig
570	flexible / adaptable – anpassungsfähig, flexibel
580	thankful – dankbar
<b>600</b>	<b>needy / in need of support / protection – hilfsbedürftig, schutzbedürftig</b>
610	impoverished / destitute – verarmt
620	lonely / socially isolated – einsam, isoliert
630	vulnerable / at risk – verletzlich, gefährdet
<b>700</b>	<b>accused / prejudged – Sündenbock, Beschuldigter</b>
<b>999</b>	<b>non-applicable/unable to determine</b>

remark: this is only to be filled out if a general attribution is made; attributions to individuals are coded as 999

<b>20. explicitness</b>	insert code; see point 16.
<b>21. originator</b>	insert code; see point 17.
<b>22. quotes</b>	insert relevant quotes
<b>23. remarks</b>	insert remarks when necessary

## APPENDIX C

### Discourse Analysis – Methodological Procedure

Adapted from Jäger, 2012 (99-102)

#### **Institutional context:**

- newspaper issue
  - How is the article in question related to other articles?
  - Where is the article placed?
  - Is the article highlighted in any way? Is the importance of the article pointed out somewhere?
- genre
  - What kind of genre does the text belong to?
  - What is the function of the article? What is the function of the genre that the article belongs to traditionally?
- historical events or traditions
  - Does the article refer to or covertly hint at historical events or traditions?
  - How have these events or traditions been discussed earlier in the newspaper?
- author of the article
  - Who is the author of the article?
  - What is her/his ideological position in general?
  - Does s/he belong to the editorial staff of the newspaper?
  - What is her/his significance in the formation of discourses (in the newspaper, or elsewhere)?
- editorial staff / authors
  - What people does the editorial staff consist off?
  - How did the editorial staff develop?
  - What authors write for the newspaper? Do most of them belong to the editorial staff or does the newspaper employ many freelancers?

#### **Content and Layout**

- content
  - What is the aim of the article?
  - What was the motivation for the author to write the article?
- references
  - What other strands of discourses does the article refer to? What themes or discursive fragments does the article refer to?
  - Apart from the main topic, what other subtopics are mentioned?
- Presentation / Design
  - What is the layout of the article?
  - Are pictures or diagrams etc. included and what are their functions?
  - What is the effect of the layout or the graphics on the reader?

#### **Linguistic and Rhetoric Means**

- Structure:
  - How is the article structured?

- What is the effect or function of this structure? What is the effect or function of the individual paragraphs?
- Symbols
  - Does the article comprise any symbols, any metaphors?
  - What is their function?
- Language
  - What kind of language does the author use? More conciliatory, militant, intimidating or authoritative?
  - Is a more scholarly, literary, complex, colloquial, or high-level language used? Are words from any alternative scene used?
  - Does the reader require any previous knowledge to understand the whole meaning (that is, all references or implications conveyed) of the language used? Does the reader require a certain educational background to fully understand the meaning of all words?
  - What kind of readership may possess this kind of previous knowledge or education? (this can shed light on the question: What kind of readership is addressed?)
  - How do linguistic elements hint at values, norms or previous knowledge and in this way, establish a connection that may remain longer in the reader's mind?
  - What stylistic elements (devices) are employed? (metaphors, symbols, idioms?) What are their functions?
  - Can any implicature be found in the text?
  - What tenses are used? Why does the author refer to future, past or present? Are there any changes in tenses?
  - Does the author use conjunctive structures? Does he use these structures to distance himself from a certain topic?
  - What pronouns are used in the article? What kind of people are behind the pronouns? Is the pronoun "we" used? Who is meant with it?
  - What attributes are used to describe people or events?
  - How does the author argue? What are the devices used? e.g. denial, relativisation, generalisation, ...
  - Does the text have any special features? Are parts highlighted, are many questions asked, many quotes included (direct and indirect speech)?
  - Are there any missing references, misleading quotes or does the text include simply wrong information?

### **Ideology**

- In general, what kind of understandings and ideas (on society, humankind, etc.) are conveyed?
- What outlook for the future is presented?

### **Comprehensive analysis**

- What message is conveyed?
- What is the target group?
- What is the effect of the article?
- What is the effect of the article on the main and subordinate discourses in this subject area? How is the article related to the hegemonial discourse?
- What is the discursive context?