

# The Portrayal of Immigrants in STERN Magazine

by

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*I hereby declare that none of the material contained in this thesis has been used in any other submission for any other award. Further that the contents of this thesis are the sole work of the author, except where an acknowledgement has been made for any assistance received.*

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## Statement

I hereby certify that this material which I now submit for assessment on the program of study leading to the award of Master of Arts is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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*Regarde ce chaos depuis que les mots ont quitté les choses*

(R. Berger)

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## Abstract

*Research on the portrayal of minority groups by the print-media has traditionally centred on one of two approaches, namely quantitative content analysis or close qualitative textual analysis. This study is based on the second approach. It employs the methodology of Critical Linguistic Analysis, which constitutes a specific area within the broad area of close qualitative textual analysis.*

*The purpose of this exploratory study is to determine the way in which the German magazine, 'stern', portrays immigrants. It critically examines six articles on immigrants, each of which is considered to reflect in a distinct manner on immigrants in Germany. The articles were published between 1968 and 1993 and therefore span various socio-political phases which may affect portrayal.*

*During the course of the analysis of the various articles, Critical Linguistic Analysis is supplemented with other analytical techniques, which allows all aspects of the 'stern' articles to be analysed. For this reason the study cannot be described as a pure critical linguistic analysis.*

*This study reveals 'stern's' stance on immigrants in Germany. It illustrates how this stance is reflected through linguistic features and visual elements within the articles and also how 'stern's' standpoint on immigrant issues is both affected by and can affect societal perceptions of immigrants.*



# ABBREVIATIONS

<b>BAföG</b>	Bundesausbildungsförderungsgesetz
<b>BfA</b>	Bundesanstalt für Arbeit
<b>Dud</b>	Duden: Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache
<b>DUW</b>	Deutsches Universal Wörterbuch
<b>EMNID</b>	Erforschung der Öffentlichen Meinung, Marktforschung, Meinungsforschung, Nachrichten, Informationen, Dienstleistungen.
<b>FAZ</b>	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
<b>FR</b>	Frankfurter Rundschau
<b>GF</b>	Großes Fremdwörterbuch
<b>Infas</b>	Institut für angewandte Sozialwissenschaft
<b>KF</b>	Kleines Fremdwörterbuch
<b>Stabua</b>	Statistisches Bundesamt
<b>WAZ</b>	Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung
<b>WG</b>	Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache

# Chapter 1

## Background to Study

## 1.1 Aim of Study:

This piece of research aims to critically analyse the portrayal of immigrants in articles from the popular German weekly magazine 'stern'. It seeks to establish how 'stern' defines immigrants and immigration and how it presents these to its readers. In doing so, it examines whether or not 'stern' operates as a societal force which structures issues relating to immigrants in a particular way. 'stern' is considered throughout this dissertation as a barometer for certain societal attitudes in Germany on immigrants at specific times in recent decades. This research also involves investigating whether or not 'stern' aligns itself to particular societal attitudes or whether it exhibits its own particular ideology in relation to immigration into Germany.

As shall be discussed in detail in the following sections and as shall become clear in the analyses of the 'stern' articles, this study is predominantly critical as opposed to descriptive. It is this critical approach which helps analyse the internal workings of 'stern' as a communicator on issues involving immigrants and allows this study to explore the extent to which 'stern' supports or rejects certain attitudes to immigrants.

The next section discusses the critical approach to research in general. This approach provides the basic framework for this study. The following section describes how Critical Linguistic Analysis was developed within the theoretical background described in section 1.2.

## 1.2 Critical Approach to Research:

First of all it is necessary to establish a theoretical framework within which such a critical analysis of 'stern' is possible. For the purposes of this dissertation it is appropriate to employ some of the concepts of Critical Sociology (Habermas, 1971, 1972, 1973) and in particular those of Critical Linguistics (Fowler et al, 1979; Kress and Hodge, 1979; Steiner, 1985).

As a reaction to the dominance of positivism and American behaviourism in the 1970s and 1980s a heated discussion on fundamental methodological problems in the social sciences, including applied linguistics, arose in the 1980s. In relation to sociological research in general, Habermas (1971, 1973) criticises purely positivist science and argues that a science which limits itself to the description and alleged objective representation of facts overlooks the fact that science is conducted by researchers with their own opinions, interests and ideologies. He outlines a model which maintains research must be self-reflective if it is to be legitimate.

By self-reflection Habermas (1973) means that the researcher must be aware of the fact that he/she is part of the system which he/she analyses and that research is not value-free but is also shaped in part by the interests of the researcher. Habermas (1973, 1976) believes that it is only within this framework that one can pursue critical research. In support of this, Dittmar (1982) argues that if researchers lose a certain self-reflective perspective on their research they make science itself an ideology and prevent criticism by ruling out the possibility of rejecting or proving a theory.

The next point to be considered is that critical analysis does not remain descriptive and neutral. The values inspiring critical research are described by Habermas (1981) as 'human interest' values. Critical analysis aims to uncover inequality and to take sides with the powerless. However, the researcher maintains a necessary distance from the subject under investigation while

diagnosing and interpreting (Wodak, 1989).

Critical analysis asks questions such as those of interests and ideology. It chooses the perspective of those who are considered not to be in power, but to be powerless, and critically analyses those in power and those who have the means and opportunities to solve such problems (van Dijk, 1987).

For the purpose of this dissertation it is the linguistic means by which power and power differentials are transmitted which are of interest. This leads directly into the realm of Critical Linguistic Analysis which is described below.

### 1.3 Critical Linguistic Analysis:

Many researchers have stressed the need not only to be descriptive but also to be critical in linguistic research. Wodak (1989), for example, supports this approach by arguing that it is not only important how much is said but even more so how it is put. As Van Dijk (1985) highlights from his research, which is based on critical discourse analysis, there are many domains about which Critical Linguistic Analysis is able to provide relevant insights. Examples include sexist discourse, reporting on racist groups, discourses of governmental authorities etc. The suitability of critical discourse analysis techniques to this research which centres on the discourse within 'stern' on a particular minority is therefore apparent.

Critical Linguistic Analysis has been used frequently in similar studies such as studies of the misrepresentation of industrial disputes and demonstrations by various groups as 'violent riots' in TV news. In these types of studies, critical analysis of language provides the researcher with precise and subtle, but nevertheless powerful, insights which may pinpoint everyday manifestations and social problems in interaction and communication.

#### 1.4 Characteristics of Critical Linguistic Analysis:

The chief characteristics of Critical Linguistic Analysis may be described as follows:

- 1. investigating language situations of social relevance
- 2. including the historical perspective of language situations, since social communication processes (eg. media-reporting) are dynamic.
- 3. taking sides and identifying structures of inequality, domination, ideological distortion etc. in communication processes.
- 4. including proposals for practical correction of communication distortions.

In terms of its practical application Critical Linguistic Analysis may be broken down into three stages namely diagnosis, interpretation and 'therapy' (Wodak, 1989).

This dissertation sets about diagnosing and interpreting specific linguistic features within 'stern' articles which report on immigrants. "Therapy" is referred to in the final chapter of this dissertation in which some suggestions and recommendations for media discourse on immigrants are made.

The next section focuses on the application of Critical Linguistic Analysis to pieces of discourse and illustrates how it can be used to examine a variety of types of discourse and also how the approach to analysis can vary from researcher to researcher. The application of Critical Linguistic Analysis to 'stern' is described later in the chapter on methodology.

### 1.5 Application of Critical Linguistic Analysis:

Methods of Critical Linguistic Analysis may vary according to the piece of discourse under analysis. Some studies may involve large samples and multiple analyses. Others may take the form of small case-studies. For example, research conducted by Brekle (1989) traces the meaning of "important words" throughout newspapers, e.g. "war" throughout the period of World War I to the late 1980s and illustrates in doing so how the roots of fascist propaganda and ideology become manifest. Holly (1989) explores persuasion mechanisms in strategies used by politicians and examines important contradictions between "what is said" and "what is meant".

Strouhal's research (1989) compares three texts and their three textual worlds with each other. The texts all relate to a story of a woman who has had her child taken away from her. Wodak (1989) examines a TV talk show with two well known student leaders during the student movement of 1968 to see how jargon creates 'reality' and how political jargon relates to specific ideologies.

As may be seen from this brief summary of some studies which have been conducted within the area of Critical Linguistics, they generally seek to uncover social processes in pieces of communication relating to people and to make mechanisms of manipulation and discrimination more transparent. In doing so, they illustrate how language can create certain realities and how specific linguistic features may function as indicators of bias or compound perceptions of specific groups. It is for these reasons that Critical Linguistic Analysis is considered relevant for the examination of 'stern' texts on immigrants.

Since Critical Linguistic Analysis seeks to uncover the social processes within written pieces of communication, it is considered appropriate at this stage to briefly discuss some theory on communication in general. However, given the vastness of the area of communication studies, the section below deals



solely with those theories which are considered relevant for the purposes of this research which seeks to critically analyse 'stern''s communication on immigrants. A comprehensive survey of all theories of communication is beyond the scope of this research and is not relevant in a study of an exploratory nature such as this one.

## 1.6 Theory of Communication:

A simple definition of communication is to view it as an information process going on between at least two communicators embedded in a context. One particular theory of communication views it as a mutual act which involves a moral commitment on the part of the communicators. According to this theory of communication the communicator believes what he/she communicates to be true, one intends that which one communicates and that the addressee necessarily takes for granted that the addresser follows these principles. This theory maintains that communicative action is a type of symbolic interaction between two parties which honours certain 'validity claims'. These are the claims that that which is communicated is intelligible, that the content thereof is in accordance with reality and that the intentions or statements of the speaker are to be trusted. This particular theory of communication maintains, therefore, that the addressee's acceptance of a given statement rests on the awareness that, were the validity of the statement to be questioned, the addresser would be able to defend it with good reasons (Habermas, 1984).

However, other models of communication view communication in a much more general way and consider such principles as those described above as ideal goals. These models suggest that one cannot truly understand the intentions of other communicators. This is because the principles of reciprocity and mutuality are considered to be subject to societal power relations. Such relations are not intended to be recognised by the addressee. They may not even be intended by the addresser to be part of the message at all. The existence of social hierarchies in every society means power relations are part of every piece of communication.

The relationship between language and power has been the focus of much research in the 1980s and 1990s. Within the area of media language the role of power relations and, in particular, the extent to which and manner in which

media language affects the beliefs and behaviour of its audience has attracted much attention.

If it is assumed that no purely objective way of representing events exists, then media reports signify them in a particular way according to certain ideologies which exist in the society in which the media operate. Although it is not clear who controls the ideologies in media reports it is often argued that journalism is controlled by more powerful sections of society such as government and industry. Consequently, it is possible that events are often represented within media reports in a manner which supports their interests and ideologies. The power of these sections of society is, therefore, considered as a type of hidden power which mediates between these powerful sections of society and media audiences. This has often led to the suggestion that the media in general have a type of 'hidden agenda' which may lead, for example, to linguistic manipulation. However, while it is possible that representations of events according to the dominant ideologies of society could be used consciously to manipulate audiences, it is also possible that no manipulative intent exists within the media. This would suggest that reporting is conducted in a particular way not to control people but simply because of the way it is ideologically invested (Asher, 1994).

It is obvious from this brief discussion on communication that 'ideal communication' cannot exist in reality due to the effects of societal influences on communication. The role of societal power differentials in language is examined in more detail below. The section below illustrates how language creates a certain 'reality' whereby different parties are shown, perhaps indirectly, to dominate while others are shown to be subordinate. It is necessary to discuss how language can reflect power differentials if the ideologies of 'stern' which may emerge in its articles on immigrants are to be discovered.

## 1.7 Language and Power:

A key element in Critical Linguistic Analysis is the examination of how people are ranked or classified within a piece of text. The general task of Critical Linguistic Analysis is largely based on investigating how language creates a certain reality whereby different parties are shown to dominate and others to be subordinate. For this reason, the tools of Critical Linguistic Analysis are considered particularly relevant for an investigation of ethnic groups within specific texts.

Research has illustrated how language in general can be used to promote and protect political relationships. It has also shown how language can function to efface the effects of domination by one group of another while at the same time delimiting compassion for the dominated group. The consequences of this can be to desensitise dominant groups to the suffering of subordinate groups as oppression is camouflaged linguistically and certain political relationships maintained.

In view of the theories described above, language may be regarded as embodying specific views. Linguistic variation may consequently be considered as reflecting and more importantly expressing structured social differences. It can mediate the relationships of those it describes and therefore force the perpetuation of the social relationships which underpin them (Fowler et al, 1979).

Since it is clear that the effects of language-use may, for reasons mentioned above, be described as undesirable, a practical goal of Critical Linguistic Analysis is to expose linguistic practices which reaffirm and consolidate social inequality and rank people according to existing social hierarchies.

# Chapter 2

## Studies on Portrayal of Immigrants

## 2.1 Introduction:

This chapter examines some studies which have been conducted on the portrayal of ethnic groups in the print-media to date. Firstly, it briefly examines some of the earlier studies conducted on the portrayal of immigrants<sup>1</sup>. The majority of these were conducted in the United States although research from both Great Britain and Australia is also described. The examination of these studies illustrates how research into the print-media's portrayal of immigrants first developed.

The first section of the chapter describes the traditional approach taken to the analysis of minority portrayal. This approach is based largely on content analysis. While this approach does not constitute the basis of the analytical approach taken in this dissertation, it provides a useful insight into media portrayal of immigrants in general.

The second section of this chapter relates to a particular development within research into minority portrayal in the print-media, namely that of close textual analysis. This constitutes the main focus of this chapter. It examines a variety of studies which were mainly conducted in Germany. These studies, although not necessarily definable as critical linguistic studies in the strict sense, share the same theoretical background as this piece of research on 'stern's portrayal and are, for this reason, accorded more importance.

This chapter also serves to illustrate the growth of close textual analysis amongst researchers of the print-media in recent years, particularly in Europe, and to show how it has gained much recognition as a method of analysis of media texts. The broad area of close textual analysis may be considered as

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<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this dissertation the terms 'immigrants' and 'ethnic minority' are used interchangeably. It is recognised, however, that in some instances these terms do not denote the same groups of people.

encompassing the sub-area of Critical Linguistic Analysis. As shall be seen in the chapter on methodology and the analyses of the articles, this study draws from some of the research described in this chapter and uses it alongside the tools of Critical Linguistic Analysis.

## 2.2 Content Analysis - Application and Theory:

In the earlier decades of this century examination of the print-media's portrayal of ethnic minorities and prejudice was rare. It has however, grown in importance and quality more recently in the 1980's and 1990's. Researchers and journalists today not only recognise but stress the role of the print-media in strengthening or weakening prejudiced attitudes in society (Martindale, 1988; Link, 1982, 1983; Schubarth and Stenke, 1992; Jäger and Januschek, 1992; Jäger, 1993, Gerhard, 1993/4).

During the earlier decades of this century most of the research on ethnic group portrayal in the media was conducted in the United States and focused almost exclusively on press coverage of black Americans. Researchers at this time included George Simpson (1936) who studied black news in the Philadelphian press between 1908 and 1932. Simpson found that coverage of black Americans occupied less than 2% of the papers' news space. In earlier research, Gist (1932) analysed major newspapers within the US between 1928 and 1929 and found that almost half of the news on immigrants referred to what was perceived as the anti-social behaviour of black Americans. Gist (1932) also found that the press distorted news on black Americans and emphasised those aspects of black American life which would appear unfamiliar to the American reader.

In their research on the media's portrayal of immigrants, for example, Casiano and Fishman (1969) concentrated specifically on one minority group, in this case Puerto Ricans. Their study focused on the treatment of Puerto Ricans in New York City daily newspapers (two in the Spanish language, two in English) during a six month period. Of primary interest in this study was the difference between the English language and Spanish language newspapers in how they dealt with the needs and problems of Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. Findings revealed that the major focus for both the English language and Spanish language dailies was on the inter-group relations between the



dominant English-speaking society and the Puerto Ricans (the proportion being much higher in the English language papers). Puerto Rican cultural events and creativity were largely ignored by the English language press which also less frequently attributed positive traits to Puerto Ricans and more frequently negative traits.

American Indians as portrayed by English language newspapers in the U.S. was the area of research for Murphy in 1979. Murphy's (1979, p.40) study concentrated on and exposes "plainly misinformed reporting" and discussed the neglect and stereotyping of American Indians by the media. This work is largely descriptive and focuses heavily on specific extracts from newspaper articles.

Around the same time as interest in immigrant portrayal in the print-media was becoming a popular area of research in the United States, researchers in Britain were also investigating how the British print-media presented immigrants to their readers. In their lengthy research on the mass media and race relations in Britain, Hartman and Husband (1971, p.295) suggested that "the use of the image of ethnic conflict derived from the American disorders of the 1960's" was frequently used "as the framework for reporting the British situation". Hartman and Husband (1971) argued that this was due to the fact that the American image was familiar to the English audience and because it fulfilled its expectations of how race relation problems develop.

Further research on British newspapers from Hartman and Husband published in 1974 found that "race" in Britain was portrayed as being concerned mainly with immigration and the control of entry of coloured people to the country, with relations between white and coloured groups, discrimination and hostility between groups and with legislation on immigration. Hartman and Husband (1974, p.145) considered it to be of the greatest significance in their research that in the British press coloured people were not considered as "an integral part of British Society". They concluded from their research that newspapers

represent a perspective on the world in which negroes are considered as "undesirable".

Encouraged by such research as that of Hartman and Husband (1971, 1974) and of other researchers who emphasised the role the British media played in affecting public opinion on immigrants, The Commission for Racial Equality in the UK conducted an investigation into British media and race-relations in 1981. Its report revealed that disproportionate attention was paid to small immigrant groups (eg. Malawi Asians, 1976) and that, when interviewed, readers remembered "trouble incident" stories most often. The commission concluded that the emphasis placed on trouble incident in the coverage of race-related news in the press made it difficult for readers to fail to perceive and recall negative images.

Having a long tradition of immigration in their country, Australian researchers have also explored how the Australian press portrays immigrants. White and White (1983), for example, conducted extensive research on the media and immigrants in Australia. This research was concentrated both on the general portrayal of immigrants in Australian press and on the portrayal of specific groups of immigrants in specific newspapers. Findings suggested that the image of immigrants created in the Melbourne press gave a limited view of life as an immigrant and paid insignificant attention to the cultural and structural pluralism associated with immigration.

An examination of studies conducted on immigrant portrayal in general suggests, however, that the United States has provided the base for much of research carried out on minority portrayals in all areas of the media. The 1980s, in particular, witnessed a substantial increase in research on the media's portrayal of ethnic minorities. In one of the most extensive studies conducted on the portrayal of ethnic groups Sentman (1982, p.508) focused on African - American coverage in the popular "Life Magazine" between 1937 and 1972 and concluded that "'Life' failed to provide its mass audience with an

opportunity for exposure to the everyday life of black America."

Amongst those American researchers to contribute to studies in the 1980s was Martindale (1984, 1986). Martindale (1984) examined newspaper coverage of negroes before, during and after the civil rights movement of this century in the United States. She acknowledged the inadequacies of press coverage of black Americans during this century and illustrated some of the ways press coverage has changed. She concluded that the press's performance with regard to the portrayal of black Americans had not been commendable. Further research by Martindale (1986, p.147) concluded that "the media's manner of reporting interracial conflicts illustrates clearly the media's need for continued improvement in their coverage of blacks - and indeed in their coverage of confrontations in general".

Extensive research by Simon (1984, p.XIII) in the United States "tells how one major section of the print media, namely the leading magazines in the country, covered and interpreted immigration between 1880 and 1980". This period was chosen because it witnessed the arrival of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, the movement to restrict immigration into the U.S. and the implementation of major restrictive pieces of immigration legislation. In all fifteen magazines were analysed. Simon profiled each magazine and summarised its coverage of immigration for the above-mentioned time span. Findings indicated that "the large majority of the magazines surveyed ....were always ambivalent about how many foreigners ought to be allowed to come to our shores .... there were always more people who wanted to settle in the United States than the magazines thought ought to be permitted ; and they seemed always to be coming from the wrong countries" (p.221). Simon (1984) concluded that the most important message from those magazines analysed, with the exception of two, was the desire to sharply reduce the number of immigrants from all countries and also to exclude numbers from certain countries and regions.

More recent research on African-American portrayals in newspaper and magazine photographs in general by Lester and Smith (1990) suggested that there has been a general move towards a fairer and more objective portrayal of negroes in the U.S. In their content analysis of the pictorial treatment of negroes Lester and Smith (1990) found that publications between 1937 and 1952 reflected the early stereotyping common in all publications. However, results showed that between 1957 and 1972 there was an increased willingness among the media to report the causes of African-American unrest. (This period witnessed the rise of the civil rights movement in the U.S). Since coverage of African-Americans increased over the whole period analysed Lester and Smith (1990) concluded that there was an increasing sensitivity amongst editors to portray African-Americans as equal members of society.

This overview of some of the studies conducted on the portrayal of ethnic minorities within print-media in general indicates how the print-media in those countries in which research was conducted have consistently portrayed ethnic minorities in a negative light, albeit to varying degrees. While this finding is, in itself, significant for the purposes of this study it is, however, the methodological approach of the studies described above which merits consideration. These studies concentrate almost exclusively on examining and categorising the manifest content of the magazine and newspaper articles they analyse and may therefore be described as belonging to the American tradition of media analysis which analyses content empirically. One of the first proponents of this mode of research, Berelson, defined this method of analysis, content analysis, as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p.18).

The essence of content analysis consists in making the content of material quantifiable. This is made possible through the establishment of clear categories together with frequency counts of how much or often material is

ascribed to each category. Categories and frequencies form the basis for interpretation of content-analytical findings (Delgado,1972).

Content analysis has, however, many limitations. Its one-sided reliance on quantity often leads to its neglecting important intrinsic characteristics within texts under examination. Since most pieces of communication include intrinsic elements which are not immediately obvious in a relatively crude categorisation procedure based on manifest content, investigations based on content analysis often include frequency counts which rest on uncertain grounds (Kracauer, 1953).

While the variety of studies which have been conducted using content analysis illustrate its validity as an approach to examining media texts, for example, the positivist approach on which it is based, however, clearly ignores many of the nuances of media texts.

The European tradition of textual analysis is, in contrast to the American one, which is founded in positivist theory, interpretative and seeks to penetrate the latent meanings of texts and to reveal the underlying ideologies contained within them. It may therefore be described as qualitative in nature.

Qualitative studies of texts, such as those described in the next section, differ, by definition, from quantitative studies based on content analysis in that they achieve their breakdown of results without special regard for frequencies. Qualitative studies focus less on the content of a text than on its underlying intentions or effects on its readers. In contrast, content analysis focuses first on the straight description of the content of a text itself, if for no other reason than the amount of attention devoted to the counting procedure.

Latent meanings within texts remain inaccessible to content analysis techniques. More complicated texts reverberate with so many latent meanings that to isolate their manifest content and to describe it in a neutral way is not

only impossible but yields few significant results (Kracauer, 1953).

It is the limitations of quantitative content analysis which have contributed to the development of the European tradition of textual analysis. The following section describes some of the studies which have followed the European tradition and have been conducted using qualitative textual analysis. Due to the methodological framework of this dissertation (which is detailed in Chapter 3) as well as to the preponderance of studies conducted within Germany, the studies selected for discussion mainly involve examinations of how media texts in the German language have described ethnic minorities.

The following section illustrates how the qualitative approach to textual analysis has become increasingly popular within the general area of media studies in Germany. To provide a backdrop to the research at hand in this dissertation, however, this section initially describes studies conducted in Germany which subscribed to the American tradition of content analysis. It subsequently describes the current state of research in Germany focusing specifically on qualitative textual analysis. As shall become clear in Chapter 3, this approach to textual analysis lays the foundation for the methodological standpoint of this dissertation.

### 2.3 Content Analysis in German Studies:

Up until 1985 there had been little significant study on the portrayal of foreigners in German media. Studies which had been conducted before this come to the general conclusions that the portrayal was, to varying degrees, a negative one and that it was generally affected by the economic situation of the period in question.

One of the first studies of immigrant portrayal in German media was conducted in 1972 by M. Delgado. Delgado's research is quoted frequently in almost all subsequent studies and may be considered the starting point of research on immigrants in German media. The only other related study in this area in Germany was conducted in 1966 and concentrated on Spanish and German press reports on the "Gastarbeiter-Problem". This research took the form of a seminar paper (Bingemer, 1966).

Delgado's analysis focused on the image of 'ausländische Arbeitnehmer' in the press of North Rhine Westphalia and consisted of both a quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The quantitative method is of greater importance in the study. The qualitative research concentrated on the profiles of "Gastarbeiter" in the media. Eighty four newspapers were examined between the 1/5/66 and 31/8/69.

Results indicated that the North Rhine Westphalian press over-emphasise what Delgado describes as "Sensations - Kriminalität". Only in the earlier period of analysis did "Good-will Information" appear more frequently. Delgado (1972) argued that the press concentrated on the "unusual" aspects of immigrant life in Germany. He concluded that the positive aspects of having "Gastarbeiter" in Germany were given little consideration.

Next to Delgado's research, that of Merten (1986) may be considered the most substantial study to date on immigrants in German media. Merten (1986)

analysed twenty newspapers and articles within an eight month time-frame and discovered that criminality amongst immigrants was the main topic in articles on immigrants. He found that Turkish immigrants were referred to most frequently in articles on crime. It was also found that the "Boulevardpresse" and local press pay particular attention to the threat to collective security and to "Überbevölkerung" in articles published on the immigrant population within Germany. Merten's (1986) research like that of Delgado (1972) and those studies described in the previous section took the form of content analysis.

Besides the two major studies conducted by Delgado (1972) and Merten (1986) other studies provide information on and insights into how the media present "Ausländer" to German audiences. Neumann and Heynen (1985), for example, analysed four German newspapers with the aim of revealing the relationship between the political position of a newspaper and its portrayal of immigrant groups. Findings showed that "Bild-Zeitung" offered the most negative picture of immigrants of all four newspapers and that there was little difference in portrayal in the other three newspapers. On certain issues significant differences were found between the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and Neumann and Heynen (1985) conclude that the political position of these newspapers could account for this. The FAZ was found to show a more favourable life for foreigners in Germany than the FR and approved more often of returning foreigners to their native countries. Neumann and Heynen (1985) argued, therefore, that both the quality of a newspaper and its political position affect how immigrants are presented to audiences.

A detailed study of print media in Bielefeld examined the functions and consequences of reporting on immigrants in Germany both qualitatively and quantitatively (Kollmer and Ruhrmann, 1987). Results of this content analysis showed that the media which were analysed defined the "Ausländerproblem" as a "Türkenproblem". This study also analysed Reader Letters in the print media. Kollmer and Ruhrmann (1987) concluded, as did Delgado (1972) and



Merten (1986) that reports in the press offer what may be described as "(ein) Bild von Ausländern, das u.a. geprägt ist durch die Hervorhebung von Kriminalität der Ausländer...(und) die Betonung einer Bedrohung deutscher Ressourcen durch die (Anwesenheit der) Ausländer...".(p.141).

Galanais (1987) conducted content analyses of two German magazines, namely 'stern' and 'Quick', in a study entitled "Migrantenkriminalität in der Presse". This study focused on the portrayals of immigrants which both magazines present and analysed how these portrayals change as socio-economic conditions in Germany change. The study also investigated whether different groups were portrayed in different ways and whether portrayal differs between the magazines under examination. It examined portrayal between 1960 and 1982.

Findings revealed that the topicality of 'Migrantenkriminalität' was a factor of the socio-economic situation in Germany, being greater in times of recession. In periods of economic crisis emphasis on 'nationality' (vis à vis crime) was greater than in other periods. It was evident in both magazines that certain groups were given preferential treatment while others were portrayed more negatively. Galanais (1987) concluded that the emphasis placed on crime in articles on immigrants fuelled racist sentiment, particularly that directed at Turkish immigrants.

With particular concentration on the Turkish immigrant population, a 1988 analysis of German newspapers aimed to answer the following question - "Wie werden die Ausländer, vor allem aber die Türken in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in der deutschen Presse anlässlich eines bestimmten Ereignisses thematisiert?" (Gökce, 1988, p.1). Gökce examined the German press to measure the impact of the Turkish president, Turgut Özal's visit to Germany between the 4th and 7th of September, 1984. This study differs from the studies of Delgado (1972) and Merten (1986) in that it was entirely qualitative and related to portrayal in a given context (i.e. during the visit of Turgut

Özal). Gökce found that the press portrayed Turkish immigration as the cause of social problems in Germany through its selection of certain material and its omission of necessary explanations.

## 2.4 Qualitative Textual Analysis in German Language Studies:

Gökce's (1988) qualitative approach to the analysis of portrayal may be considered a turning point in research on the portrayal of immigrants in the German print-media. In the late 1980s research began to focus less on the manifest content of the media and more on the norms, beliefs and moral concepts apparent behind this manifest content. Close, qualitative textual analysis became the new tool for many researchers in this area and was applied to unveil prejudice, bias and preferential portrayal at a deeper level than that of content analysis.

This development has been regarded by many researchers as a positive step as the following quote from Gökce (1988, p.182) illustrates:

".... ein Hauptproblem der bisherigen empirischen Untersuchungen bestand darin, daß sie sich weitgehend auf manifeste Textmerkmale konzentrieren. Dadurch bleiben die latenten Sinnzusammenhänge weitgehend unberücksichtigt. Diese Zusammenhänge können durch eine quantitativ verfahrenende Analyse, die die Konnotation und die komplexe semantische Tiefenstruktur der Texte unberücksichtigt läßt, nicht erfaßt werden. Gerade diese latenten Sinnzusammenhänge aber verdienen besonders Interesse, weil sie .... weitere Thematisierungen beinhalten, Stereotype aktivieren oder vermitteln, also Einstellungen der Rezipienten prägen. Diese Einsichten bleiben einer Analyse, die von starr vorstrukturierten Themenhierarchien ausgeht, verschlossen."

This section describes some studies which have been conducted using qualitative textual analysis. The first study referred to was carried out in Austria. With the exception of one other later Austrian study all other studies referred to relate to research in Germany. This, as previously mentioned, allows the research in this dissertation to be placed in perspective. The description of the studies below is, therefore, restricted to a brief summary of the studies. It is neither evaluative nor exhaustive.

An Austrian study conducted by Kather (1986) provides just one example of this alternative approach to the study of media texts. Kather (1986) analysed the language of the conservative Austrian "Presse" of 25.03.86 with the aim of unveiling anti-semitic sentiment. The article under examination related to the court-trial of Kurt Waldheim in Austria. Kather (1986) demonstrated how, through semantic structure, style, forms of argumentation etc., Kurt Waldheim "becomes" the "victim" in the trial scenario, how the Austrian nation is portrayed in a positive light and how the Jewish groups (involved in the trial) are portrayed negatively. He argued that an "Umkehr der Opfer-Täter-Rolle" and a "Verniedlichung der Vergangenheit" were in evidence and suggested that antisemitic allusions in the media had become socially acceptable (Kather, 1986).

The most recent research conducted on minority portrayal in Germany continues to take the form of discourse analysis, thus resulting in an increasing concentration on linguistic methods of analysis. Gerhard (1993), for example, examined media discourse on 'Ausländer' and argued that refugees and immigrants became the central theme in media discourse in Germany in August 1991. She analysed magazines and newspapers in Germany and discovered that through certain linguistic features such as symbolism and imagery a certain racist perspective had become "normal" within the German print-media. Gerhard (1993, p.15) demonstrated that the repetition of the same symbols and arguments within the media constructed the following image of Germany for example: "Die Bundesrepublik ist im Verhältnis zu Flüchtlingen und Einwandern, wie ein... "Boot" in den "Fluten" mit geöffneten "Schotten" bzw. "Undichtigkeiten"; wie ein Land, bei dem, trotz einer "Belagerung" bzw. "Invasion" die "Einfallstore" weit offenstehen, wie ein "Haus", in dem "Sprengsatz" deponiert wird".

This increasing application of discourse analytical techniques is also evident in research at German universities, such as the research entitled "Rassismus im Mediendiskurs" currently being conducted at Bochum University (Schulte,

research in progress). Schulte analyses the portrayal of refugees in three German newspapers before and after the racist attacks in Hoyerswerda in 1991 and concentrates on the most frequently occurring norms in articles on refugees and the possible effects of these on readers' thoughts and behaviour. Schulte argues that discourse is shaped by socio-political events and thus investigates how the events in Hoyerswerda may have influenced media discourse so that the already existing expectations and opinions of readers would not be contravened. (Schulte's research is still in progress.)

Wodak and Matouschek (1993) conducted critical linguistic analysis on neo-racism towards foreigners in Austria between 1989 and 1991. Their study revealed that neo-racist media discourse occasioned by the population migrations after the collapse of communist Eastern Europe not only targets specific Eastern European ethnic outgroups, but also combines newer prejudices with those directed against other existing traditional and functionally determined outgroups. They argued that while the media are not solely responsible for the contemporary hostility and physical violence towards foreigners, they can strengthen existing stereotypes and frequently offer arguments and metaphors which may serve to legitimate prejudiced attitudes.

Like Gerhard (1993), Jäger (1993) examined the undesirable effects of the metaphors used in the German print-media and also illustrates, for example, how some reports on immigrants within the German print-media resemble reports on war. She cites, for example, the following headlines to illustrate this : "Flüchtlinge sammeln sich an den Grenzen Westeuropas"

(WAZ, 8.8.1991)

"Lage an den Ostgrenzen verschärft "

(WELT, 3/4.8.1991)

"Noch mehr Asylanten in einer Stadt - ein Sprengsatz"

(Spiegel, Nr.30, 1991).

Jäger (1993) suggests that through their use of language the media help make

violent acts against immigrants more acceptable. With specific emphasis on BILD-Zeitung, she shows how refugees are associated with "Blutschande" and "Miethaien" and suggests that such associations are similar to those for Jews in The Third Reich. Jäger (1993) concludes that while the media appear outraged at the racist attacks in Germany recently, they continue to reinforce racist attitudes through their use of language and suggests that although the media do not carry sole responsibility for reinforcing racist attitudes, they do carry a considerable share of the blame.

One of the main proponents of close, qualitative analysis of media texts is Jürgen Link (1982, 1983, 1988, 1992, 1993). In various qualitative textual studies on the portrayal of immigrants in the German print-media, Link has concentrated on analysing the structure of such frequently used symbols as "Fluten", "Stürme" and "Invasionen" and can be credited with exposing the function of such symbols to enable such researchers as Jäger (1993) and Schulte (to date) to further investigate their use and impact (Link 1990, Link 1992, Drews, Gerhard and Link 1985).

In much of his research Link concentrates specifically on the terminology used to describe immigrants in German discourse. He has dedicated much of his research to the use of the term "Asylant" within the media and considers it a "Killwort" which gained much acceptance within the media despite its negative overtones. Research by Link in the 1980s revealed that while the term originated in legal commentaries on asylum laws in the 1970s it had been adopted by the media by 1978. The negative connotations of the term 'Asylant', may be explained by its suffix '-ant', which Link (1988, p.50) describes as having a pseudo-medical and pseudo-psychiatric "Beigeschmack" and which is a feature of terms such as 'Querulant' or 'Simulant' and other terms, which Link argues, generally suggest "üble Charakter".

## 2.5 Conclusion:

A review of studies on the portrayal of ethnic minorities in the print media shows how a biased approach to reporting has continued to exist. It should be noted that most studies did not simply aim to unveil a "presumed prejudice" but rather sought to discover exactly how newspapers and magazines portray immigrants in particular countries. The fact that portrayal was generally found to be of a prejudiced nature is the result of open and critical analysis, and not a foregone conclusion.

Research has traditionally taken the form of content analysis thus exposing manifest content in the print media analysed. More recently research has begun to focus on underlying linguistic structures within the media, and draws from the qualitative analysis approach to examining portrayal.

The review of previous studies into immigrant portrayal shows that although prejudice continues to arise in the print media, its presence has become more subtle. It is the presence of such subtle bias that necessitates new tools for research such as those used in close textual analysis. As is illustrated by, Link (1988, 1992, 1993), Gerhard (1991), Jäger (1993) and Schulte (to date) the effect of such subtle prejudice is no less powerful than those of a more obvious nature.

The efforts of researchers today, to unveil possible bias in the print-media's reporting on ethnic minorities, remain the same as that of researchers of earlier decades but the techniques differ considerably. Recent and current research, as illustrated by the above survey of studies, employs tools which are considered to overcome the limitations of content analysis and to best suit the analysis of the newspapers and magazines.

In view of the fact that prejudice today often exists on a linguistic level as opposed to a thematic one, it seems that traditional content analysis cannot be

used to measure the full extent of prejudice in reports on immigrants. Consequently, research on immigrant portrayal in Germany focuses increasingly on how immigrants are portrayed through metaphor, images, symbols and other stylistic features. In doing so, it reflects the change which has come about in the analysis of immigrant portrayal in general.

The general recognition of the role of linguistic features in affecting the portrayal of ethnic minorities, as typified in the studies described above, has played an important role in the development of the methodological approach taken for this dissertation. This shall become more apparent in the chapter on methodology.



# Chapter 3

## Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction:

This section discusses the methodology which forms the basis of the analysis of the 'stern' articles. It focuses in particular on the application of critical linguistic analysis to texts. Finally, it describes the methodological framework developed for analysis of 'stern' for this dissertation. This framework is devised against the background of close qualitative textual analysis and more specifically critical linguistic analysis which is described below.

As discussed in the previous section of this dissertation, research in the area of communication studies falls into one of two categories namely that of qualitative research and that of quantitative research. Quantitative research generally takes the form of content-analysis as described. However, since this dissertation seeks to penetrate the latent meanings of the 'stern' articles under analysis and investigate intrinsic elements within these articles which supersede overt thematic content it is qualitative in nature and bears some similarity to those studies discussed at the end of the previous section.

It should be noted, however, that although the methodological approach taken in this dissertation draws from the aforementioned studies and is based on the theories of critical linguistic analysis which are described below, it may nevertheless also be described as exploratory. It makes use of research conducted within the area of critical textual analysis but also seeks to discover other aspects of 'stern''s reporting on immigrants which may not necessarily be classified as detectable under the area of critical linguistic analysis should they exist.

Analysis of each article functions on two levels namely a global level and a local level. Global content of an article refers to its overall topic and the most important information expressed by a text e.g. child-benefits allowed for immigrants (Van Dijk, 1988). Global level analysis therefore bears some resemblance to classical content analysis in that it focuses on the themes

contained within an article. However, it goes beyond a mere classification of an article in terms of its dominant theme and also incorporates the examination of sub-topics and sub-propositions contained throughout an article.

Local level examination, by definition, deals with individual sentences, words and word groups which constitute each of the propositions of the article. Much of the analysis of 'stern' articles in this research functions on a local level.

## 3.2 Critical Linguistic Analysis of 'stern' Articles:

### 3.21 Global level:

The analysis of 'stern' articles centres around answering the question of how immigrants are defined in those 'stern' articles selected for analysis. In broad terms it seeks to examine the reference themes within which immigrants are described and to establish whether immigrants are shown to be different, problematic, desirable or otherwise within German society. It also seeks to establish how relations between immigrants and Germany are defined i.e. whether they are defined in cultural terms or in terms of difference in mentality, religion etc.

At the outset analysis is, therefore, based on the overall picture created by the content of an article and by its evaluation of immigrants and immigration per se. Analysis may therefore be described as operating on a global text level (Kather, 1987). At this global level the general theme and manifest content are analysed and described. This level of analysis also focuses on how the content is structured and presented and on what types of argumentation are apparent within the text.

This analysis is accompanied by a closer in-depth analysis of each sentence of the article which involves exploring how the overall picture is created and maintained through specific linguistic features. Analysis may therefore also be described as operating on a local text level (Kather, 1987). At this local level of analysis individual linguistic features are examined. Additional linguistic features which form the basis of local text analysis are described below.

The distinction is made between global text analysis and local text analysis for two reasons. Firstly, this allows an investigation of how specific features at a local level support themes and arguments on a global text level. Secondly,

in contrast it also serves to highlight discrepancies between what is communicated on a global text level and what is transmitted on a local level. In some cases global and local textual features may complement each other and point in the same direction. In other cases, however, linguistic features may paradoxically present different perceptions and attitudes than those presented at a global level. It is not, however, presumed at the outset that such discrepancies exist in 'stern'. The recognition thereof is therefore facilitated by the distinction between global and local levels.

The distinction on text levels is not made explicit in each individual analysis of the 'stern' articles, that is to say, each analysis is not broken down into two separate analyses, one global one local. Each analysis rather incorporates examination on both levels, where appropriate illustrating how the text's global and local levels merge together consistently or how they diverge and possibly contradict each other. It is necessary to bear the distinction between global and local levels in mind so as to avoid over-concentrating on the many individual local features within each article which must also be viewed in terms of the article as a whole i.e. within their global context.

### **3.22 Local level:**

The global structures of the articles under analysis such as their dominant themes play a major role in the presentation of immigrants to readers of 'stern'. As discussed above local structures also contribute to the overall portrayal of the immigrant group in question. At the local level of analysis stylistic phenomena such as lexical choice, syntactic formulations and a number of semantic properties such as presuppositions and implications are therefore examined to discover what type of strategic role they play in the evaluation and description of immigrants in Germany. This analysis seeks therefore to draw inferences about attitudes and ideologies within 'stern' from local stylistic and semantic formulations.

Those local and stylistic formulations which were taken into consideration during the course of local level analysis are listed and described below. The order in which they appear below does not indicate that any one type of formulation was accorded more importance within the analysis.

#### **Lexical choice:**

Under this heading specific terms chosen by the journalist are examined. These terms may relate to immigrants, immigration and/or situations or areas in which either are involved. Examination at a lexical level pays particular attention to words with non-human associations (such as 'case' for person) which are often used in discourses to describe immigrants. Words normally reserved for inanimate objects such as 'intake' or 'rate' are also examined. The use of nominalisation is also of interest (eg. 'growth of immigration' or 'concentration') as together with its associated agent deletion it minimises the role of immigrants as conscious human beings. Use of verbs in conjunction with immigrants is also of importance in the analysis of lexical choice as these determine for example whether or not immigrants appear as agents or direct objects of the actions of others (Sykes, 1985). Within the area of lexical

choice the key words used both throughout an article and within its headline also receive attention as these provide some insight into how the article is defined (Sornig, 1989). Other features examined within this area are the 'labels' applied to immigrants in general and the consistency or inconsistency of the application of these in the various articles analysed. Apart from analysing these specific elements of lexical choice the analysis also looks at the emotional heading of terms within each text and at the connotation of terms used by the journalist within each article.

### **Syntactic formulations:**

Under this area analysis concentrates on patterns of transitivity within an article and looks at how causality is represented. This involves examining how and in what circumstances foreign immigrants are shown as active agents in active roles and how often they are shown to be passive agents upon which other agents such as authorities commit actions. Transitivity indicates relationships between participants and processes and is therefore of prime importance in the representation of causality (Sykes, 1985). Transitivity also distinguishes between agents deliberately performing actions eg. "John closed the door" and objects undergoing processes "The door closed" (Fowler, 1985). Fowler (et al 1979, 1987) has found for example in his extensive research on transitivity and role distribution that subject versus object relations and the general use of active and passive voice signals that minority groups often play the prominent agents in negative contexts. In other contexts they may emerge as somewhat anonymous and powerless. Fowler et al (1979) argue that in such cases language is used to encode a certain power differential. This analysis therefore asks such questions as: What kind of entities are shown to perform certain roles? To whom is agency attributed? What effect does this have on the portrayal of immigrants?

## Verbal Reactions/Quotations:

An important indication in defining the perspective taken on ethnic relations evoking immigrants in Germany within an article comes from analysis of speaker roles within the article (Van Dijk, 1989, 1993; Clayman, 1990; Zelizer, 1989). Quotations may be used to provide a certain tension and interpretation of an event or relationship depending upon their source (eg. immigrants or authorities) and their content. Very often, for example, irrelevant background information is made to appear relevant because of the prominence given it in a quotation. The source and content of a quotation can also be used to suggest factuality, particularly when quotations based on another point of view are not included. The positioning of a quotation within an article also contributes to the manner in which the article may be interpreted (Van Dijk, 1993). For these reasons, the analysis of 'stern' articles will involve answering such questions as: Do the quotations used have a specific news value? Who is quoted and who is not? What does the quotation suggest? Are all parties quoted? Is there a biased use of quotes? Are some parties quoted more frequently than others? How do those quotations used define immigrants within the article?

When analysing quotations and verbal reactions to events it is also necessary to examine how quotation marks are used. Indirect quotations may differ subtly from direct ones and may be used therefore to imply or suggest more or less than is actually the case (Van Dijk, 1993).

One additional factor which is accorded much importance within the analysis of 'stern' is that of 'voice-assigning' (Mowery and Duffy, 1994). Here the analysis at local level seeks to discover whether or not words may be put in the mouths of immigrants. Van Dijk (1984) has found in his research on minority portrayal that the opinions of experts are very often used to replace those of immigrants themselves. It therefore examines whether and how frequently other parties speak on behalf of immigrants. If this is the case,



then it is asked whether positive or negative perceptions of immigrants are promoted or attacked in doing so. While a lack of quotations from immigrants will push them into a passive role and silence their opinion (Van Dijk, 1993), their being spoken for can be more detrimental vis à vis their portrayal (Mowery and Duffy, 1990; Therborn, 1980) and further illustrates the importance of analysing quotations, source, context, positioning etc. within each article on immigrants.

### **Local semantics:**

Since readers not only rely on the overall topics within an article to shape and change their perception of immigrants but also on local meanings and perspectives as expressed through various semantic properties, local semantics are analysed within each article selected for examination. Implications, presuppositions, comparisons, euphemism and vagueness in reporting together contribute to overall strategies which present immigrants in a particular way (Van Dijk, 1993).

Implicitness (whereby only part of the information is expressed in the text itself) is a key property of discourse semantics. Journalists frequently leave inferences to the reader and avoid expressing negative implications or associations directly. As a result, these implications are often not directly obvious to an uncritical reader (Van Dijk, 1993, p.193). The following example taken from the Dutch 'De Telegraaf' illustrates how implicitness can lead to the conclusion that 'foreigners' are generally associated with criminal behaviour: "A shooting in front of a Café where a lot of foreigners used to come". The analysis of 'stern' articles incorporates an analysis of such implicitness to discover how and to what effect it is used in articles on immigrants.

The use of presupposition within 'stern' articles is similarly analysed vis à vis its impact on the portrayal of immigrants at a local text level. Presupposition,

which may be described as a proposition that is assumed to be true for another to be meaningful, is a more subtle form of implication. The following examples indicate the effect presupposition may have on the portrayal of a particular group. The first relates to a report on a speech by Enoch Powell given in Britain in 1985. "Thoughtful analysis of why in some areas *there is rising tension between Asian and Caribbean populations* is rendered dangerous" (Daily Telegraph, Sept. 6, 1985, italics - Van Dijk, 1993). Here, it is presupposed, though not asserted, that there is rising tension between the two populations although it was consistently considered by both populations to be untrue. This presupposition may, therefore, fuel attempts to divide Asians and West Indians (Van Dijk, 1993). Another example of presupposition taken from a report on immigrants in the Dutch 'Volkskrant' reads - "these people are sometimes very intelligent". What is suggested here, albeit indirectly, is the negative proposition that "these people are most often not very intelligent" (Van Dijk, 1988, p.194). A final example of presupposition taken from a German newspaper illustrates how even positive propositions presuppose negative unstated ones. This example reads "Die Gastarbeiter sind gar nicht so schlecht wie man immer sagt". The logical conclusion of this proposition effectively implies that 'Gastarbeiter' are nevertheless 'bad enough' (Delgado, 1972) and further illustrates how the existence of unsaid propositions can be reinforced with a negative impact on the portrayal of immigrants.

With reference to the use of comparisons within 'stern', the analysis at a local level examines how immigrants are presented in relation to Germans, how their culture, mentality etc. is presented and compared in relation to those of Germany and what are the conclusions which may be drawn from those comparisons. Van Dijk (1993) argues that comparison is, for example, frequently used to support a positive self-presentation at the expense of blaming minority groups for social problems.

Research conducted on the use of euphemism in texts on minorities has shown

how it may be employed to efface abuse or exploitation by replacing terms which would denote abuse or exploitation more clearly (Mowery and Duffy, 1990). During the course of this piece of research, the types of euphemisms used to describe events relating to immigrants are analysed to determine how they define these events and the impact this may have on the portrayal of immigrants in the given contexts.

The topic of vagueness is closely related to that of transitivity and role distribution as discussed above. Nominalisations and agentless passives, as illustrated in the example below, are unspecific about the agency of an action and consequently conceal the responsibility of the authorities for negative actions.

(Brixton) "On Saturday, police were petrol bombed, shops looted and cars burned after the shooting of a West Indian woman" (Times, September 30, 1985). The nominalisation ("the shooting") refers to the action of the police, although it is not immediately clear who shot the woman.

In the following example the nominalisation ('attacks') similarly conceals the fact that it was the whites who attacked the Asians.

(Four Asians acquitted). "They were among a mob of 50 Asians who smashed up an East London pub after a series of hammer attacks on other Asians" (Sun, August 14).

While the whites are not explicitly identified, the "mob" of Asians, in contrast, appear as active agents in the scenario thus making their position more explicit. In view of the role of vagueness in reporting it too constitutes a key element in the analysis of 'stern' articles.

This brief overview of the various local semantics illustrates how the relationship between sentences can provide the reader with subjective interpretations of events and situations. These elements of local semantics

chosen to play a role in the analysis of 'stern' constitute a complex set of implications which inevitably affect the portrayal of the immigrants to whom they refer. Analysis therefore firstly identifies each element where it arises and subsequently investigates its influence on portrayal.

### **Implicature:**

The concept of implicature was introduced by Grice (1975) and relates to unstated propositions which may be discovered when one 'reads between the lines'. Often apparently irrelevant remarks can become relevant when considered in the light of some unstated propositions. Implicatures can often be consistent with one another and may therefore add up to the creation of a semantic system with ideologies which serve to reinforce the discourse in question.

### **Style and Rhetoric:**

All meanings created by the above macro- and micro- structures of an article are expressed in actual words and sentences (Wodak, 1989). Lexical registers within the media are not arbitrary and are often revealing vis à vis the stance of those who employ them (Van Dijk, 1993). Analysis therefore incorporates an analysis of the style in which meanings are formulated and of the messages which this style may convey. The examination involves looking at the registers from which terms in the various articles are borrowed and the associations they illicit. It also investigates what, if any, rhetorical operations such as hyperbole, metaphor or contrast are employed to describe immigrants and topics relating to them and to discover which characteristics of immigrants these emphasise or ignore. Sornig (1989) argues for example that an important element which needs to be taken into consideration in the analysis of discourse is that of lexical elements which are used to appeal to the emotions of the reader. The terms, he argues, frequently appeal to such emotions as national or sexual pride or aggressiveness and consequently their

denotative meaning often becomes obscured or blurred.

Choice of metaphor, in particular, can greatly influence the portrayal of a group it relates to. The metaphor used to describe immigrants, immigration and Germany are analysed to discover what semantic fields they are taken from and what associations they consequently have. By analysing metaphors within the articles it becomes apparent whether concepts relating to immigrants are structured positively or negatively (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Clement, 1987).

In sum then the register of each article is analysed in itself to investigate the impact it has on the portrayal of immigrants.

#### **Miscellaneous linguistic features:**

Apart from those micro-features described above, other elements are also examined at local level as to their impact on the portrayal of immigrants in Germany. These include: contrast, generalisation, numbers inaccuracy, nominalisation and labels. Each is described below in terms of how it functions within a text.

#### **Contrast:**

By comparing immigrants to Germans or one group of immigrants to another, a journalist may highlight cultural difference and trigger a certain US versus THEM type of thought process with readers whereby minorities are often attributed negative characteristics (Van Dijk, 1993). By using 'contrast' the journalist also designates minority groups as such. A WE group -THEY group division often then functions to highlight the social distinction of the groups concerned (Van Dijk, 1984).

### Generalisation:

Generalisation within texts often functions to compound stereotypes which already exist. It is one of the most forceful means to support concrete examples which may appear elsewhere in the text (Van Dijk, 1984).

### Numbers:

The use of numbers within reports on immigrants is a common feature as has been documented by much research such as that of Hartman and Husband (1974). The press frequently and consistently provide factual information about the numbers of immigrants coming to or living in a particular country. The so-called 'numbers game' is well known in reporting on immigration also and fits the general tendency amongst the media to rhetorically enhance objectivity by providing figures on immigration. Absolute numbers very often do not only enhance factuality but also operate to emphasise the very concept of large numbers itself and create a picture of hundreds and thousands of immigrants coming to a particular country for example. These messages could often be perceived differently for example if percentage figures were used as opposed to absolute figures (Van Dijk, 1988).

### Inaccuracy:

The analysis of each article also encompasses the examination of propositions which may be considered to be inaccurate or misleading in their content. Factual information such as that contained within Chapter 4 of this dissertation, provides the backdrop against which possible inaccuracies can be measured. Exaggeration and the up-grading of irrelevant information are also examined in the course of this analysis as both impact on the picture of immigrants created within a text.

### 3.3 Visual portrayal:

As the text of most of the articles is accompanied by one or more photographs, these too are analysed as to their effect on the portrayal of immigrants. Analysis of the photographs centres on such factors as content, size and positioning. It should be noted, however, that an extensive semiotic analysis of photographs is beyond the scope of this research, which consists to a much greater extent of close textual analysis. The captions below or beside the various photographs are examined using the same techniques as are applied to the text of each article.

When text and picture co-occur in the printed media the most frequent relationship between them may be described as one of 'anchorage'. This means that the text (in most cases a caption) provides the link between the picture or photograph and the situation being described in the main text. The text simultaneously selects one of several possible interpretations of the picture. Consequently, a picture which is accompanied by a caption is never neutral as the accompanying text inevitably defines it in one way or another (Vestergaard and Schroeder, 1985). Analysis therefore investigates how the captions used anchor photographs and what image emerges as a result of this anchorage. It centres on the question of whether or not this anchorage process serves to reinforce images created throughout the entire text or whether it detracts from the image created elsewhere in the article.

### 3.4 **Headline and Lead:**

The importance of headlines in influencing the total impression of a story has traditionally attracted much interest from researchers in the area of media studies (Emig, 1928, Kingsbury et al, 1934). As headlines often serve to attract a reader's attention and determine the interpretation of a story (Tannenbaum, 1953) they merit examination in themselves and are treated, within the course of this analysis, as being distinct from the text which they precede. The same applies to the lead of each text which, like the headline, establishes the frame of reference within which the facts of a story are revealed. As the journalist is limited in how much information may be included in both the headline and the lead, an analysis of each may be considered an indication of the orientation of a journalist for each particular article or, as Tannenbaum (1953) describes it, as setting the stage for the manner in which the story is read.



### 3.5 Analysis:

In view of this the analysis of each of the six 'stern' articles begins with the examination of the headline. This is followed by an examination of the lead. A brief overview of the content of the article at hand is then given. This overview, entitled 'The Story' is subsequently followed by an analysis of the various elements within the article which are considered to impact on the portrayal of immigrants.

Inclusion of all of the elements within the analysis described in the preceding pages does not preclude the existence of other elements which may be either peculiar to 'stern' or which may only become apparent during the course of the individual analysis of each of the eight articles.

Research is, in this instance, exploratory and neither seeks to actively search for each of the linguistic features already discussed nor ignore others not included within the chosen analytical framework. It is also appropriate to stress at this point that all linguistic features are not considered important for their linguistic role but rather for the manner in which they impact on the portrayal of immigrants. The same applies for non-linguistic features such as photographs, which are not analysed for their photographic style and value but for their contribution to the creation of a certain image of immigrants in Germany.

### 3.6 Conclusion:

An examination described above of the elements, which constitute the framework of analysis for each 'stern' article, indicates how language and to a lesser extent photographs, are used to construct certain realities which relate to immigrants. Fowler et al (1979) argue, for example, that linguistic practices may transform or obscure analyses of reality and also possibly regulate the ideas of readers.

The analysis seeks, therefore, to expose linguistic elements and other textual elements within 'stern' which impact on the portrayal of immigrants.

As may be seen from the overview of the various linguistic elements discussed above, language structures inevitably shape the portrayal of that or those they describe. This research seeks to determine the extent of the impact of language on the portrayal of immigrants and to expose the versions of reality which emerge in each of the 'stern' articles under analysis. Following from Fowler's (1979) theory, it is also of importance in this analysis to investigate whether or not reality is indeed obscured by linguistic practices within 'stern'. It would be preemptive, however, to presume at the outset that this was the case. It is more appropriate to approach each text critically and to analyse distortions of realities as or if they are discovered.

Sykes (1985) illustrates, for example, that while there are plenty of instances where derogatory racial labels are used, within various discourses where the treatment of a particular group may be described as unfavourable, there are also cases where different readerships would fail to agree on whether the treatment of a group was favourable or unfavourable. Judgement is shaped by many factors such as personal ideology, view of the world and evaluative criteria. It must be noted that while these factors impose limits on the degree of confidence with which one can come to a conclusion on discriminatory

language, the tools of linguistic analysis nevertheless allow for the identification of the differential treatment of various parties in language. The establishment of the extent of prejudicial treatment should it be discovered relies on reasoned argument.

The elements described above, both linguistic and non-linguistic, may be described as constituting a skeletal framework of analysis and are not considered to be the sole factors which determine 'stern''s portrayal of immigrants. The same applies for the theories of such researchers as Van Dijk and Wodak. While their theories on textual analysis provide a background to the critical linguistic analysis of texts, they are not so strictly adhered to as to impinge upon the exploratory nature of this dissertation. Neither do they cause other factors, not necessarily detectable using their approaches, to be overlooked.

# Chapter 4

## Immigration into Germany

#### 4.1 Introduction:

This chapter describes immigration into Germany from 1955 to 1994. It examines the system which was put in place to recruit foreigners for work in Germany and consequently looks at how this developed in such a way as to create a large immigrant population. The chapter illustrates some of the difficulties, for both successive governments and immigrants, which accompanied the various stages from initial recruitment through to permanent settlement.

This provides an overview of immigration and related issues and the background information which must be examined before media articles, which describe immigrants, can be analysed. When the topics and problems which define the immigrant situation in Germany are highlighted, the images which emerge from the articles become more meaningful.

This chapter, therefore, ensures that the analysis of portrayal does not take place in a vacuum, but rather that the salient factors which have shaped public opinion and political decisions are taken into consideration. Its content is tailored to relate to the articles chosen for analysis so as to provide information which is relevant to the time in which each article was published.

## 4.2 Background to Recruitment of Workers into Germany:

The economic expansion of post-war Europe led to mass movement of workers from southern to northern Europe. The entry of migrant workers into wealthier Western European countries began around 1945, grew strongly in the fifties and expanded rapidly in the late sixties and early seventies.

Unlike the other wealthy Western European countries, West Germany did not begin recruiting foreign workers until 1956. This can be explained by the fact that West Germany's labour market had recruited vast numbers of refugees from East Germany in the earlier post-war years. West Germany's delay in recruiting foreign workers can also be explained in part by the country's slower post-war recovery (Castles, 1984).

The so-called "Wirtschaftswunder" witnessed increased foreign investment, increased exports and expansion in labour-intensive sectors of the economy and saw the West-German GNP increasing by an average of 9.5% from 1951 to 1956. The resulting increase in demand for labour was coupled with a decrease in supply. In 1960, for example, the number of available jobs exceeded the number of unemployed people. Although technological advances made it possible to replace some workers through capital investments, the shortage of labour could not be sustained. Indications of further shortages of workers in the future led to further pressure from industry to recruit workers from southern European countries which were experiencing a surplus of workers and a shortage of capital (Herrmann, 1992).

Recruitment of foreign workers into West Germany began to grow rapidly in the 1960s with the result that West Germany had reached the same levels as the other countries by 1970 (Castles, 1984).

### 4.3 Recruitment:

As the recruitment of foreign workers grew, West Germany devised a highly organised, official recruitment system. The 'Bundesanstalt für Arbeit' (BfA) established recruitment offices in many Mediterranean countries. Its offices selected, tested and screened workers who were then brought to West Germany. The BfA operated on the basis that it received instructions on recruitment of workers from employers within Germany. Once recruited, employers provided accommodation for these workers - generally in the form of wooden huts on the work sites (Castles, 1984; Tichy, 1993).

The recruitment of foreign workers in Germany officially began with the signing of a German-Italian Agreement in 1955 (despite an unemployment average rate of 5.6%). Subsequent bi-lateral agreements followed with Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and the former Yugoslavia (1968) (Herrmann, 1992, Engelmann, 1991; Mehrländer, 1984). Those workers recruited generally came from agricultural backgrounds and consequently were recruited for unskilled and physically demanding positions (Tichy, 1993).

The legal basis for the recruitment of foreign workers was the 'Arbeitsförderungsgesetz' which obliged the BfA to avoid a scarcity of labour. Between 1955 and 1960 the number of foreign workers in Germany, who were generally referred to as 'Gastarbeiter', rose by 79,700 to 329,000. By the time the impact of the first post-war recession in Germany in 1966/67 was felt, there were already 1,000,000 foreigners working in Germany (Herrmann, 1992).

The decision to fill positions with foreign workers was generally supported by German society. The arrival of the 1,000,000th 'Gastarbeiter' in 1964 was, for example, celebrated and welcomed by government and media (Engelman, 1991). No noteworthy public discussions on alternative solutions to the

economic problems of the time or social repercussions of such immigration took place. The political parties, trade unions, employer associations, as well as charities and religious groups considered the recruitment of foreigners into Germany as a medium-term, necessary, transitional phase (Herrmann, 1992).

Policies on the recruitment of foreign workers in West Germany were based on the assumption that workers would be recruited, utilised and disposed of according to market requirements in Germany. Workers recruited from abroad were generally regarded as temporary mobile labour units. The entry of dependants into Germany was discouraged as the main focus on recruitment remained the rotation of the flexible, foreign labour force (Castles, 1984).

Throughout the 1960s and up to the beginning of the 1970s, the social conditions of the immigrant population in Germany were not considered by the political parties or the public at large and employers made decisions on the extent and nature of employment of foreigners (Galanaï, 1987; Mehrländer, 1984).



#### 4.4 Immigrants in Germany in the 1960s:

As the immigrant population of Germany grew, some academics addressed the social issues of having a substantial foreign population in Germany. The public, however, generally perceived 'Gastarbeiter' as what Spaich (1991, p.166) describes as "alleinstehende, scheinbar bedürfnislos in Baracklagern und Massenunterkünften lebende Ausländer". The first indication of social tensions between Germans and immigrants in the early 1960s was perhaps reflected in the fact that many Germans openly expressed dissatisfaction at the immigrants' using railway stations as meeting places, due to a lack of other suitable places (Spaich, 1991).

Towards the end of the 1960s, as Germany experienced an economic recession, public and media attention on immigrants became more focused. It concentrated on illegal immigration, relationships between foreign workers and German women and on crimes committed by foreigners in Germany. Public attention focused on the problems which were perceived to be caused by immigrants as opposed to problems experienced by them.

Although the rate of illegal entry into Germany was low in the late 1960s (Bingemer, Meistermann-Seeger and Neubert, 1970), the media generally dramatised it with such reports as:

"Die Zahl der illegalen Gastarbeiter in der Bundesrepublik übersteigt wahrscheinlich viele Vermutungen " (Westfälische Nachrichten Münster, 10.10.68) and

"illegale 'Gastarbeiter' werden zum 'Alptraum' " (Aachener Nachrichten, 5.4.1969).

The topic of 'Gastarbeiter' and German women was described in broad, generalised terms in the late 1960s. 'Gastarbeiter' were generally described

as pushy 'Verfolger' of innocent German girls and as young, single or temporarily separated from their wives, impulsive, jealous and violent-tempered. Many stories centred around the so-called 'Liebesschwüre der Südländer' and how immigrants misled German women.

Italian immigrants were frequently associated with serious theft and causing serious physical injury to others in media reporting in the late 1960s. Greek and Turkish immigrants were mainly associated with murder and manslaughter. The media did not take account of the relatively low percentage of crimes committed by immigrants when compared to Germans nor of many reasons (eg. provocation, average age, poor living conditions) which led to their committing such crimes. Instead, they concentrated on emphasising what were perceived as the different temperaments and codes of honour of Italians. Towards the end of the 1960s, dramatic headlines such as "Italienischer Messerstecher" (Express, Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1.3.68) (Delgado, 1972) also appeared.

In general, the public view of the 1960s was that immigrants were temporary workers in Germany who were to be welcomed as a 'production factor' of German industry and for their contribution to the National Product. Apart from during the recession of 1966/67, they were seen as an asset to the German economy. Socially, they were regarded as not conforming to German way of life and clearly remained a distinct group within German society (Delgado, 1972; Winkler, 1992).

#### 4.5 'Anwerbestopp':

By the middle of 1973 immigrant numbers had reached approximately 2.6 million, one of the first significant peaks in foreign population in Germany (Castles, 1984). The emerging recession at the end of 1973, aggravated by the Oil Crisis and the threatened increase in unemployment, led the West German government to cease the recruitment of foreign non-EEC workers outside Germany and to prevent foreigners from coming into Germany in order to seek work. This decision, which was made in November of 1973, became known as the 'Anwerbestopp' (Herrmann, 1992; Spaich, 1991).

With the introduction of the 'Anwerbestopp' the number of foreign workers began to decline. By September 1976, it had fallen to 1,920,895 (Stabua). Many workers were forced to leave due to the withdrawal of their work permits and others left because they were either unemployed or faced loss of overtime or bonus payments.

However, from the early 1970s those immigrants who had decided to remain in Germany began to bring their families to Germany. This tendency led to the foreign population increasing, despite the 'Anwerbestopp' (Oepen, 1983). From 1977 onwards foreign employment began to grow again. By 1981 it was again approaching 2 million. The aims of the "Anwerbestopp" (i.e. to control the growth of the immigrant population) were clearly not achieved. By September 1982 there were 4.7 million foreigners living in West Germany.

#### 4.6 Phase of Family Reunification:

Even before 1982 it was becoming clear that foreign immigrants were choosing to stay in Germany for a longer time than was originally anticipated. In addition to this, many, particularly Italians, Yugoslavs and Turks, began to bring their spouses and children over to Germany. As a result of this, the birth rate within the foreign population in Germany rose, with large numbers of children being born. This development resulted in a situation where, in 1975, there were more unemployed than employed foreigners in Germany (Castles, 1984). At this point, it became obvious that West Germany had acquired an ethnic minority which had not been anticipated when official recruitment began in 1955 (Castles, 1984; Spaich, 1991; Tichy, 1993). The mobility and flexibility of those workers recruited according to market demands had declined as non-working relatives and dependants were brought into Germany.

As this shift from labour migration to family settlement in Germany began to become apparent in the mid 1970s, conflicts between state and employers on future policy towards foreign workers emerged. These found expression in statements by employers' associations, political parties and various government departments (Castles, 1984). Employers sought to retain foreign workforces and most 'Gastarbeiter' did not wish to return to their countries of origin. In the official terminology of the mid 1970s, 'Gastarbeiter' was replaced by the term, 'ausländische Arbeitnehmer', thus indicating that foreign workers were no longer perceived as temporary guest-workers who would eventually return home (Bielefeld, 1984).

From 1972 onwards, foreign workers had also become more 'visible' in German society. Workers began to move out of 'Wohnheime' into 'Altbauwohnungen', in urban areas. Bielefeld (1984, p.136), for example, describes how throughout the 1970s, immigrants began to no longer be perceived simply as 'workers' - "Der Prozeß des Sichtbarwerdens der

Ausländer für die einheimische Bevölkerung auch in der Öffentlichkeit, d.h. außerhalb der Produktion, der ungefähr 1970 begann, verstärkte sich weiterhin". Immigrants also no longer gathered at railway stations, which had been the case in the 1960s. They settled in specific city areas with their children, who began to attend German schools and Kindergärten. Gradually, sizeable urban areas which were inhabited by large groups of different nationalities became established (Bielefeld, 1984).

With increasing numbers of foreign workers settling in Germany with their families, policies slowly began to be shaped by concern for the corresponding social problems and political tensions. There was a general recognition of the need to improve social conditions for foreigners living in Germany.

June 1973 witnessed the development of an 'Aktionsprogramm zur Ausländerbeschäftigung' from the SPD-FDP government of the time. It emphasised the social and infrastructural conditions associated with 'Ausländerbeschäftigung'. However, the 'Arbeitsmarktlage' remained the central theme in immigration issues. A forced rotation of the workforce was refused at this time but it was stressed that West Germany was not an 'Einwanderungsland' (Mehrländer, 1984).

As late as 1974 Helmut Kohl, in his position as leader of the CDU, held the opinion that foreign workers should not be permitted to renew their residence permits if "arbeitsmarktpolitische Gründe" could be used to justify this. The legal reasoning behind this was that if a foreign worker had no residence permit he/she could not acquire a work permit and would therefore have to leave Germany or be expelled. The emphasis which was placed on the 'Arbeitsmarkt' as opposed to the social conditions of the foreign workers in 'Ausländerpolitik' was thus still in evidence despite increased settlement by foreigners in Germany (Spaich, 1991).

However, from 1976/7, some progress was made regarding the situation of

foreign workers living in Germany by the 'Bundesländer Kommission' which was set up by the SPD-FDP government of that time. Although the Commission reiterated the old assertion that West Germany was not an 'Einwanderungsland' and advocated the continuation of the ban on further recruitment of foreign workers, it did suggest steps for the integration of foreign workers who wished to remain in Germany and for policies to improve conditions for second-generation immigrants (Castles, 1984).

#### 4.7 Turning-point in 'Ausländerpolitik' - Integration:

1978 saw the establishment of 'das Amt des Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Integration der ausländischen Arbeitnehmer und ihrer Familienangehörigen'. The former 'Ministerpräsident' of North-Rhine-Westphalia, Heinz Kühn, was selected as the first ever 'Ausländerbeauftragte' (Ombudsman for Foreigners).

The much observed memorandum from Kühn in September 1979 emphasised "die lange Zeit vernachlässigten sozial- und gesellschaftspolitischen Fragen, die aus der Anwesenheit von rund 4,6 Mio Ausländern in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland resultieren" which had largely been ignored (Mehrländer, 1984, p.91). This report, published in 1979, may be considered the first official attempt to come to grips with the reality of West Germany's new minorities. Up until then, politicians had failed to noticeably address the social issues of immigrant life in Germany such as isolation (Castles, 1984). Kühn regarded failure to acknowledge the social position of immigrants in Germany as one of the central domestic problems of the 1980s (Mehrländer, 1984).

In Spring of 1980 the West German government set up a "Programm für die Weiterentwicklung der Ausländerpolitik" on the basis of the memorandum which had been drawn up by Heinz Kühn. This programme considered the integration of second and third generation foreigners in Germany to be a key issue for future policy on foreigners (Mehrländer, 1984). Amongst its aims were those of making naturalisation easier for second generation immigrants and of introducing measures which would make it possible for second generation immigrants who had no academic qualifications to find work in Germany. However, those affected by this programme and those organisations which worked with immigrants greeted it with contemptuous reactions. It was generally perceived to be too cautious and not resolute enough (Spaich, 1991).

Furthermore, in a statement issued in March 1980 the government (SPD-FDP) reiterated that permanent settlement in Germany was to be seen as the exception rather than the norm. The government supported the integration of foreigners who wished to remain in Germany but considered existing 'Ausländergesetze' as adequate for dealing with integration.

In summary then, the late 1970s and early 1980s saw a change in focus in policies concerning foreign immigrants in Germany. Integration, particularly for second and third generation immigrants, had become a key issue in German society. However, this change in focus failed to find lasting solutions for the myriad of problems which accompanied the arrival and settlement of ethnic minorities in Germany (Tichy, 1993).

There was a marked shift to conservative politics in West Germany in Autumn 1982 when a CDU-CSU-FDP coalition gained power. Chancellor Kohl emphasised the restriction on immigration and the encouragement of repatriation as key issues in his policy (Castles, 1984). A commission which consisted of representatives from 'Bund', 'Länder' and 'Gemeinden' was formed in Autumn 1982 with the following objectives:

1. to integrate those foreigners already living in Germany
2. to limit further immigration
3. to encourage willingness to return to native countries.

Economic and labour market issues once again became the key points in designing 'Ausländerpolitik' (Galanais, 1987). Oepen (1984, p.113) described developments at this stage as follows:

"At least from late 1981 on, and the more so since the change in government in early 1983, all measures in German migration policy seem to serve one goal, which is render the migrant population invisible". This led to increased insecurity, marginalisation and ghettoisation amongst foreigners in Germany,



who as Castles (1983, p.40) describes remained "disponibel für die Ausbeutung auf dem Arbeitsmarkt." Foreigners remained socially identifiable as foreigners and were even at times considered in the public domain as an "Aggressionsobjekt für das Versagen des 'Modells Deutschlands'" (Castles, 1983, p.40).

The suggestions of the commission, set up by the new government, were to become very controversial and many trade unions and religious organisations refused to accept many of the suggestions made. When given a public hearing at the end of 1982 they criticised the government's stance severely (Mehrländer, 1984). However the CDU/CSU/FDP stance on immigration proved popular with a substantial percentage of the public allowing for example the commission to describe the topic of 'Ausländerverdrängung' as a 'Wahlhit' (Castles, 1983, p.40).

The 'Ausländerpolitik' of this time was described by many as an 'Ausländer Raus Politik' and was considered to not only legitimise racist feelings towards immigrants in Germany but also to fuel them. At the same time, failure of government policies to deal with the social conditions of immigrants had inhibiting and damaging effects on the immigrant population (Galanais, 1987).

Constant reiteration by the government that Germany was not an 'Einwanderungsland' left immigrants in doubt as to whether they should strengthen their connections with Germany. Many immigrants maintained a certain 'Heimkehrillusion' but could not give an exact time at which they intended to return home. In many cases children of immigrants sought to remain in Germany and influenced their parents to do so. However, the majority of immigrants were insecure about their plans to stay. The 'Ausländerpolitik' of the time prevented many immigrants from ending what Mehrländer (1984, p.98) describes as "das Provisorische ihres Lebens" and from availing themselves of opportunities which could have helped integrate them into German society.

A growth in racist sentiment accompanied the changing political climate of the early 1980s. Foreign workers became scapegoats for unemployment, social tensions. Policies which aimed at preventing further immigration and encouraging immigrants to return home consequently found much support with the German public. The frequency with which readers' letters supporting these policies were published in the press and the popularity and the growth of citizens' initiatives and 'Wählergemeinschaften' which were also in favour of these policies indicated the extent to which public opinion considered immigrants to be a problem. An opinion poll conducted in March 1982 showed, for example, that 68% of those interviewed were in favour of immigrants returning home, while 49% considered themselves to be 'migrantenfeindlich' (Reister, 1983).

In the early 1980s Turkish immigrants, in particular, were targets for racist treatment (Engelmann, 1991) and entered media debates on immigration more and more frequently (Thränhardt, 1984). Because of family reunification and increased recruitment of Turkish workers since 1961, Turkish immigrants had formed the biggest group of immigrants since the mid 1970s. In 1984, for example, there were 487,000 Turkish immigrants living in Germany as opposed to 195,000 Italians (Bartels, 1991; Spaich, 1991). The socio-cultural differences between Germans and Turks formed much of the basis for hostile attitudes towards Turks amongst the German public. Turks were generally associated with Islamic traditionalists because of the high percentage of Turkish immigrants who came from Anatolia, where Islamic traditions are upheld more strongly than elsewhere in Turkey (Herrmann, 1992). For these reasons, Turkish immigrants were considered in public discussion to be the group of immigrants most socially and culturally different from Germans and the most difficult group to integrate into German society (Herrmann, 1992). Socio-cultural distance between Germans and Italians or Greeks was in contrast, generally perceived as narrower and reconcilable. This was mainly due to the religious backgrounds of these groups (Merten, 1987; Herrmann, 1992).

In 1982 the suicide of a young Turkish girl, Semra Ertan, which, she explained on national radio on the eve of her death, was due to racist treatment by Germans, brought the social situation of immigrants in Germany into public discussion. Other acts of desperation on the part of immigrants also kept the problems of immigrants in Germany in the headlines at the time (Bartels, 1991).

However, hostile attitudes towards foreigners throughout the early 1980s were supported by various groups in Germany. In 1981 a group of academics from a variety of disciplines, known collectively as the 'Heidelberger Kreis', published the extremely right-wing 'Heidelberger Manifest'. This argued that Germany and other European countries were threatened by increased immigration and it therefore advocated repatriation. It categorised nations and cultures in purely biological terms and argued that certain categories were naturally incompatible and as such rendered a multicultural society catastrophic. The authors of this document considered immigrants into Germany as a type of environmental pollution which endangered the German nation.

Sections of the media may also be considered as supporting hostile attitudes to foreigners throughout the early 1980s. In the Autumn of 1980, the FAZ published the arguments of the extreme right-wing astronomer Schmidt Kaler (who later co-wrote the 'Heidelberger Manifest') which may largely be considered "biologistisch rassistisch geprägt" (Thränhardt, 1984, p.124). Around the same time 'Die Zeit' published the plea from the General Secretary of the Red Cross, Jürgen Schilling, for the repatriation of all 'non central Europeans' so as to avoid a "Bruch mit der deutschen Geschichte" (Thränhardt, 1984, p.124).

Later, in 1983, the 'Heinrich Bauer Verlag' had charges brought against it by the relief organisation 'Terre des Hommes' for articles it had published in 'Wochenend' and 'Neue revue'. The article from 'Wochenend' expressed

sympathy for a German man who had sprayed the slogan "Ausländer raus" on a house wall, thus illustrating the racist tensions of the time.

#### 4.8 Social Standing of Immigrants in Germany:

Immigrants who came to work in Germany in earlier decades and have since settled in Germany are heterogeneous in social, ethnic and cultural characteristics. They have, however, all experienced living in what Oepen (1983, p.112) describes as "a transitory socio-cultural, political and economic state." Many have experienced the disintegration of a peasant civilisation, discrimination in relation to labour, housing, education, culture, media supply etc. Many have difficulty living between two worlds and fear losing their identity and culture. Problems also arise because many immigrants went to Germany with high expectations and positive stereotypes in mind and were disappointed having moved there (Darkow et al, 1985).

The continuous emphasis which was placed on 'arbeitsmarktpolitische' issues in 'Ausländerpolitik' and repeated declarations in both political and public domains that Germany is not and was not an 'Einwanderungsland', together with the explicit encouragement of repatriation by successive governments and increasing racism, have made it difficult for immigrant families to plan their futures in Germany (Mehrländer, 1984, Spaich 1991). The uncertainty in obtaining residence entitlement and the power of the authorities has also added to the difficulty (Bartels, 1991; Tichy, 1993; Darkow et al., 1985). Spaich (1991, p.170) considers the immigrant population in Germany as "ein neues Sub-Proletariat" which suffers from language problems, less access to information and "eine alle Lebensbereiche erfassende Rechtsunsicherheit".

Although immigrants who came to work in Germany constitute the majority of foreigners living in Germany, be it as first, second or third generation immigrants, many immigrants have emigrated to Germany for reasons other than employment. Those immigrants who have gone to Germany seeking asylum, for example, constitute a distinct group amongst the foreign population of Germany. For this reason, the immigration situation vis à vis asylum seekers is discussed below.

#### 4.9 Asylum-seekers and Asylum Law in Germany:

Up until 1965 the number of asylum-seekers in Germany was insignificant. This situation was, however, to change dramatically in 1980s (Becker, 1993). The original reference to the granting of asylum in the German 'Grundgesetz' read: "Politisch verfolgte genießen Asylrecht" (Artikel 16, Absatz 2). Germany was thus the only country to give those considered to be politically persecuted an individual right to asylum in its constitution (Herrmann, 1992).

Up to 1973 asylum policies had not been a subject of political or public debate. Asylum-seekers only became a sizeable category in terms of immigration to Germany around 1973. The increase in asylum-seekers occurred parallel to the increase in family reunification amongst foreign workers living in Germany (Wolken, 1988).

Those seeking asylum before the mid-1970s came mainly from Eastern-block countries. They were generally accepted into Germany without difficulty and the granting of asylum was approved without criticism (Wolken, 1988; Herrmann, 1992). Schuth (1984, p.173) describes the willingness of West Germany to accept these asylum-seekers as follows: "Im anti-kommunistischen Konsens für die Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen wurden alle, gleich ob politisch verfolgt oder nicht, sofern sie aus Osteuropa kamen, geduldet".

However, from 1974/5, the number of asylum-seekers took on dimensions. 1977 marked an increase in numbers coming from Africa (Wolken, 1988; Herrmann, 1992). Despite various measures (such as the obligation to hold a visa for some immigrants) being taken to reduce the number of asylum-seekers in Germany, the number rose from 33,136 in 1978 to 107,818 in 1980. Asylum issues gradually became a key topic within public discussion on immigration as the media spoke of the 'Asylantenwelle' and many public figures voiced their dissatisfaction at the numbers of asylum-seekers coming

to Germany. It was at this time, for example, that the 'Oberbürgermeister' of Essen refused to accept an increase in the number of asylum-seekers, giving the following explanation in the FR (25.06.1980): "Damit die Flut nicht über uns kommt". One year later as asylum-seekers remained a key political issue, the 'Ministerpräsident' of Hessen voiced the following statement in the WAZ (10.07.1981): "Es kommt, solange ich in Hessen zu sagen habe, kein Türke mehr ins Land" (Thränhardt, 1984, p.124).

While the number of asylum-seekers dropped dramatically in 1981, 1982 and 1983 they began to rise again in 1984 and have continued to do so reaching 438,191 in 1992 (Stabua). In the mid 1980s the granting of asylum became an important topic of political debate in Germany as the numbers of asylum-seekers had risen so dramatically. However, although asylum issues were constantly debated, no decision was reached as to how asylum policies could be changed and the situation continued (Becker, 1993).

In 1992 on average more than 800 applications for asylum were being made daily in Germany. Most applicants are refused on the basis that they are deemed not to be politically persecuted but rather to have left their home countries for financial reasons (Herrmann, 1992). Those whose applications are refused but who for legal, political or humanitarian reasons are not returned home have the status of 'De-facto Flüchtlinge'. They are not entitled to language tuition or BAFöG but may work in Germany if they obtain an 'Aufenthaltsbefugnis'. 'Kontingent-Flüchtlinge' (such as those who fled from Chile in 1973) consist of groups of limited numbers of asylum-seekers with a special status who receive an immediate 'Aufenthaltsgenehmigung' and 'Arbeitserlaubnis' when accepted into Germany (Tichy, 1993; Spaich, 1991; Herrmann, 1992).

For those who do not belong to either of these groups accommodation is provided in sports halls, old unused buildings and renovated factory halls. They are not permitted to work unless they have been in Germany for 5 years

after application. They also receive limited welfare and in cases of illness and pregnancy help is provided at the discretion of welfare offices (Tichy, 1993; Becker, 1993).

Members of this group often become victims of both illegal 'Schlepperorganisationen' who offer employment opportunities and profiteer by operating in the housing market (Spaich, 1991). Very often conflicts arise between the various groups of asylum-seekers who are housed together such as between Kosovo-Albanians and Romanians or Kurds and Turks (Becker, 1993).

While the number of asylum-seekers continued to rise in the past two decades, the number of those granted asylum has remained low (Spaich, 1991; Herrmann, 1992; Tichy, 1993). The percentage for 1990 was 4.4% while for 1991 it was 6.9% (Herrmann, 1992). In 1988, 7,621 people were granted asylum while 62,983 were refused (Tichy, 1993). The difficulty in distinguishing between those fleeing their native countries for political reasons and those doing so for economic reasons (poverty, unemployment, etc.) has continued to haunt 'Asylpolitik' in Germany. "In der Trennung von "echten" politisch verfolgten und Bewerber mit anderen Motiven liegt das Hauptproblem des deutschen Asylrechts" (Herrmann, 1992, p.31).

The 1992 'Asylverfahrensgesetz' aimed to shorten the duration of the procedure to determine the granting of asylum or otherwise. Authorities now have to decide within two weeks whether or not asylum is founded (Aktuell, 1993). The most significant change in law on asylum in Germany came, however, in July 1993.

Although policies and laws on asylum had been debated by the major political parties since the late 1980s, in 1991/2 the limitation of Article 16 of the Constitution became a key issue. While the CDU and CSU hoped an adaptation to Article 16 would result in a fall in the number of asylum seekers



coming to Germany, the SPD on the other hand, questioned this. (For details on various political positions see Herrmann, 1992, p.34). Asylum thus became a key political issue. Despite differences between the political parties, the new asylum law was passed and came into action on the 1st of July, 1993. Under this law asylum-seekers who come from countries which are deemed to be 'sicher' by German authorities and those who have come to Germany via a third country which is also considered 'sicher' are to be returned to their home country or the 'secure' third country from which they have come. As a result, the number of asylum seekers dropped by approximately 26% in 1993 (Aktuell, 1994).

The passing of the new law on asylum on 1st July 1993 was preceded and followed by much public and media attention. Since 1989 public opinion had become more critical of immigration and in particular of asylum-seekers. An EMNID survey conducted in December of 1991 found that more than 50% of the German population believed that those coming to Germany intensified unemployment and 66% were of the opinion that they were abusing the benefits of the German social system (Mühlum, 1993). On the other hand, changes to asylum laws which seek to reduce the numbers of applications for asylum have been criticised by members of the legal profession, by groups acting on behalf of refugees and the political party 'Die Grünen' (Aktuell, 1993; Herrmann, 1992).

To complete this overview on immigration one more specific group of immigrants is briefly discussed below. A discussion of this group is necessary as it features in the last 'stern' article which is analysed vis à vis its portrayal of immigration.

#### 4.10 Sinti and Roma:

This group of immigrants are of Indian extraction and have travelled across Europe from the 12th century onwards (Spaich, 1991). The biggest number of this group, who have been living in German-speaking central Europe since the 14th century, belong to the Sinti group (Aktuell 1993; Bozic, 1993). Roma are found predominantly in Eastern Europe. Sinti and Roma have a common culture and language in which the term Roma refers to the whole group. There were about 70,000 Sinti and Roma (commonly referred to as 'Zigeuner' in Germany), living in Germany in the early 1990s. Exact figures are difficult to obtain given the difficulty in tracing members of this ethnic group. Many have also become integrated into German society (Boehncke and Wittich, 1991; Spaich, 1991).

Sinti and Roma have suffered discrimination and persecution throughout the centuries as they wandered throughout Europe, most notably under the Nazi regime of World War II (Spaich, 1991; Bozic, 1993). Today they are frequently victims of racist attacks (Aktuell, 1994; Bozic, 1993) and it is argued that they have never been fully accepted by German society even having settled there (Boehncke and Wittich, 1991). Rudko Kawczynski, from the Sinti and Roma Union in Germany, considers the fact that Germany was the only country in The U.N. Commission on Human Rights to reject a resolution for the protection of Sinti and Roma in the summer of 1992 as an example of the systematic prejudice against this group in Germany. He also argues that Germany's signing "Deportationsverträge" with Romania and other Eastern European countries is an attempt to protect the borders in Eastern Germany from immigration by Sinti and Roma and that at these borders "ein richtiges Sieb" functions to select "Roma oder Nicht-Roma" (Bozic, 1993, p.9).

#### 4.11 Immigrants in Germany in the 1990s:

In 1994 there were 6.8 million foreigners living in Germany. 1.5 million of these had a home-country within the EU (Aktuell, 1995). The remainder consisted of immigrants from the traditional 'Anwerbeländer', asylum-seekers, immigrants from Eastern Europe, illegal immigrants and their respective families.

As discussed, asylum issues in the late 1980s and early 1990s brought much public attention to the topic of immigration in general in Germany. Increased racist sentiments amongst sections of the German public in recent years have also contributed to developing public interest in immigrants living in or coming to Germany. Racist attacks on immigrants in Germany, particularly asylum-seekers, have increased in recent years (killing seventeen in 1992) and have been given much world media attention. The most notable attacks have been in Hoyerswerda in 1991, Rostock in 1992 and in May of 1993 when five female Turkish immigrants were burned to death in Solingen (Aktuell, 1995).

An Infas study conducted in August 1991 showed that 40% of the German population considered living with foreign immigrants as positive. This number was indicative of the increased hostility against foreigners in general which had become apparent in the late 1980s and the early 1990s as already discussed. However, as a reaction to the racist attacks of Hoyerswerda, which had taken place in September 1991, this figure rose to 60% in October 1991. This change may be considered as a confirmation of the long existing undecided stance of German society on immigrants.

Hoyerswerda could be considered as becoming a symbol of German racism almost overnight. Reactions to the events in Hoyerswerda also epitomised the different stances on the part of Germans to immigration as a counter-movement which expressed solidarity and concrete support for immigrants and asylum-seekers developed in contrast to the increased extreme right-wing

movement which headed attacks such as that in Hoyerswerda (Winkler, 1992).

The upsurge in violence against immigrants and reactions against this thus intensified public discussion on 'Ausländer' and 'Asylpolitik'. Opinions varied from demands for complete repatriation of all foreigners, calls for 'Rückkehrförderungen', to suggestions of forming a multi-cultural society in Germany (Herrmann, 1992).

As a reaction against the increase in racist attacks nationwide demonstrations were held in the autumn of 1992 and in mid 1993 (Aktuell, 1995).

#### 4.12 Conclusion:

Ever since the first 'Gastarbeiter' arrived in Germany in 1955, Germany has wrestled with the reality of facing all those problems associated with immigration, while its governments still reiterate the 'assertion' that Germany is not an 'Einwanderungsland' (Tichy, 1993; Bartels, 1991). Yet the reality tells a different story. With over 6 million immigrants living in Germany, a large percentage of which intend staying there, Germany has clearly become an 'Einwanderungsland'. While politicians consistently repeat that Germany is not an 'Einwanderungsland' daily life in Germany constantly proves the opposite (Tichy, 1993).

Although the 'arbeitsmarktpolitische' slant of policy and law on immigrants may have diminished steadily over recent years, the failure of successive governments and sections of the public to come to terms with the 'real' immigration situation in Germany hinders progress and renders the future uncertain for many immigrants.

This analysis reveals that immigration into Germany since the recruitment of the first 'Gastarbeiter' could be considered as having gone through a number of stages. The first stage, from the 1960s to the early 1970s, could be defined as one during which immigrants were confronted with a certain cultural animosity and official restriction. The following stage, the mid to late 1970s, was characterised firstly by economic pragmatism on the part of German politicians and later by what may best be described as 'integrationalism'. The third stage, the early 1980s, witnessed the consolidation of the immigrant population within Germany and the subsequent emergence of second and third generations. The principle issue in the final stage, the most recent one, is that Germany has become a multicultural society which exhibits a new racialism as well as anti-racialism.

The preceding analysis of immigration into Germany and its reception by

politicians and the German public in general illustrates the environment in which 'stern' operated while producing articles on immigrants. It is possible that many of those developments mentioned during the course of this chapter have impacted upon the manner in which 'stern' presented immigrants to its readership in those articles selected for analysis.

Having an overview of immigration issues makes an investigation of whether or not 'stern' concentrated on those issues which were topical at a given point in time possible. It also allows for an examination of whether 'stern''s stance on immigration differed from the dominant public or political stances at specific periods in the history of immigration since the late 1960s, the time in which the first article selected for analysis was published.

# Chapter 5

‘stern’

## **5.1 Introduction:**

This section describes the magazine 'stern' which is to be analysed vis à vis its portrayal of immigrants. It explains why 'stern' was selected for analysis and also provides an insight into some of its characteristics and those of its readership which may impact on its presentation of immigrants. It subsequently explains how articles on immigrants were chosen for analysis.

## **5.2 Magazine Profile: 'stern'**

Name: 'stern'

First published: 1st August, 1948

Place of Publication: Hamburg

Political Stance: 'stern' is described in its Editorial Statute as being "progressive liberal" (Sandford, 1976).



### 5.3 Selection of Magazine

'stern' was selected for analysis with reference to the portrayal of immigrants in Germany for a number of reasons. One of the most important reasons for choosing 'stern' was to avoid the typical "well of course BILD" reaction to findings which would be most likely had a newspaper like BILD or a magazine from the 'Boulevardpresse' been selected. Such magazines and newspapers have easily recognisable stances on most political issues including immigration.

However, while 'stern' does not belong to the German Boulevard-Press it may be described as a sensationalist magazine, having itself often been involved in controversy (eg. in 1983 stern was involved in a scandal which centred around its publishing forged diaries from Hitler). A controversial study conducted by Haselhoff (1977) found one third of the editorial sections of 'stern' to be based on liberal political topics. Haselhoff (p.245) also argued, however, that two thirds of articles on world politics in 'stern' were "geeignet, Anhänger westlich-demokratischer Lebensformen zu verunsichern und das Vertrauen in die Zukunft dieser politischen Lebensformen zu schwächen". This sensationalist approach to reporting in 'stern' was a contributing factor in the selection of this particular magazine for analysis as it is of interest to examine which aspects of immigration into Germany (if any) are sensationalised.

It is also of relevance to this research that 'stern' is a popular weekly magazine which focuses on topical issues and political problems. Sandford (1976) described 'stern' as the most distinguished of West Germany's four 'Illustrierte' although it contained gossip and sensationalism. The contents of 'stern' are varied, ranging from politics to fashion. When compared to other 'Illustrierte', 'stern' devotes more space to politics.

Meyn (1979, p.57) argues that 'stern' became a political magazine during the

period between 1959 and 1979. While describing 'stern' (and 'Quick') he suggests - "Auch diese beiden bieten nach wie vor Klatsch und Tratsch über die sogenannte Prominenz, Kriminelles und Sexuelles, Mode und Reisen - üppig und verlockend bebildert. Aber darüberhinaus bemühen sie sich, ihr wöchentliches Millionen-Publikum aus konservativer ('Quick') oder sozialliberaler Sicht ('stern') über politische Probleme und Entwicklungen zu informieren, gelegentlich sogar mit erheblichem Engagement". He adds: "Beide Blätter pflegen auch im politischen Bereich den sogenannten *Enthüllungs-Journalismus*: Bestrebt, Skandale aufzudecken, wittern sie gelegentlich auch dort welche, wo gar keine sind und werden damit dann selbst zum Skandal - was ihnen im Interesse der Publizität und der Auflage vielleicht gar nicht so unrecht ist".

This profile of 'stern' magazine indicates that it presents itself as a type of political educator which seeks to represent liberal politics and to address a large section of the German population. The extent to which these claims are valid in relation to 'stern's portrayal of immigrants is an important factor which is taken into account in this piece of research.

#### 5.4 'stern' Readership:

Circulation of 'stern' amounts to approximately 1.2 million per week (1.3 - 1.4 million if foreign markets are included) and gross readership is estimated to be about 8 million per week (M & M Europe,1994). Possibly 16.5 % of people over 14 years of age in Germany read 'stern' each week. The following table, published by 'stern' itself, gives additional information on the readership of 'stern' (the table is read according to the following example: in comparison to the total population there are 29 % more 30-49 year olds and 28 % less people who are 50 years of age or older amongst 'stern' readers).

#### Composition of 'stern'-readership

Total population		100
47 %	Men	+ 17
53 %	Women	- 15
27 %	14 - 29 years old	+ 8
31 %	30 - 49 years old	+ 29
42 %	50 years or more	- 28
56 %	visited a 'Volksschule'	- 30
27 %	continued attending school	+ 23
17 %	have completed 'Abitur', 'Hochschule', degree	+ 59

Percentage value for total population = 100

Source: Der Stern, 1992.

- 'stern' readers are considered by researchers at 'stern'
- to play an active part in the formation of public opinion
  - to be environmentally aware
  - to be open to new innovations and trends
  - to be mobile and to prefer an active lifestyle.

For the purposes of this research it is relevant that while 24 % of the total population consider the development of greater understanding towards foreigners as "very important", the number of 'stern' readers who have the same belief is greater by 25% 'stern' readers have been found (by 'stern') to be more cosmopolitan (by 53 %), more socially and culturally active (by 27 %) and more willing to enter into public dialogue (by 40 %) than the total population (der Stern, 1992).

A 1992 interview with R. Schmidt-Holz (Herausgeber and Chefredakteur of 'stern') offered the following profile of 'stern' Magazin - "Der STERN ist politisch-ideologisch ungebunden. Er steht dennoch immer auf der Seite der Schwächeren. Er ist niemandes Organ, weder im parteipolitischen noch im gesellschaftspolitischen Sinne. Er handelt für niemanden, er schont niemanden, er befördert niemanden" (Der Stern, 1992, p.11-12). R. Schmidt-Holz added that one of the main tasks of 'stern' was to surprise its readers in a different way each week and that even serious political issues ought to be described in a way which was "interessant und pfiffig", thus suggesting a populist approach to reporting in 'stern' (Der Stern, 1992, p.14). With reference to 'stern's reporters R. Schmidt-Holz explained - "Der STERN-Reporter versucht immer Geschichten nicht theoretisch darzustellen, sondern sie möglichst hautnah zu erleben. Er präsentiert keine Kopfgeburt, sondern er erlebt die Geschichten selbst, mit den Menschen, die in seinem Themenbereich die Handelnden sind" (Der Stern, 1992, p.22).

When asked about the impression amongst some sections of the public that

'stern' is anti business-people R. Schmidt-Holz stated the following: "Der STERN ist überhaupt nicht gegen Unternehmen.... Der STERN ist sicher gegen korrupte und rücksichtslose Formen der Marktwirtschaft" (Der Stern, 1992, p.24). He added that the team of 310 people at 'stern' editing offices work to produce a magazine which contains exclusive information which amuses and provokes and concluded: "sie wollen keine Feindbilder transportieren, sondern gründlich informieren, sie stehen im Zweifel auf der Seite der Schwachen und kontrollieren die Mächtigen, aber ohne ideologische Scheuklappen" (Der Stern, 1992, p.29).

'stern' is also closely associated with extensive photography in its reporting. Photographs feature to a great extent in most articles as can be seen from those articles chosen for analysis. The following quote from Wolfgang Behmken (Art Director at 'stern', 1992) indicates the important role of photographs in 'stern' magazine. "Der STERN ist ohne Fotografie nicht denkbar. Denkt der Leser an STERN, so denkt er erstmal an hervorragende Magazin-Fotografie. STERN-Fotografie ist somit zum Synonym für gute Reportage-Fotografie geworden" (Der Stern, 1992, p.104).

In conclusion, 'stern' is a popular weekly magazine both in Germany and in other countries. Through its selection of topics for publishing and its style of reporting it has both shaped and attracted a specific type of readership which may be broadly described as relatively well educated and liberal and distinctive from the readership of other 'Illustrierte'.

For the research at hand, the profile of 'stern' offered in this section facilitates the analysis of how 'stern' itself portrays the immigrant, with this portrayal being influenced by some, if not all, of the factors highlighted in this section.

It is expected, in view of the profile of 'stern' which is provided above, that 'stern's stance on immigration will be positive in nature and that it will be predominantly sympathetic in its treatment of immigrants and immigrant

issues. The extent to which this is the case is consequently of key interest in this research. As discussed in the opening section of this dissertation, this piece of research intends to discover whether 'stern' aligns itself with dominant societal influences, thus reflecting certain power differentials, or whether it exhibits its own particular ideologies which are in accordance with its self-professed profile discussed above. The next section describes how 'stern''s stance on immigration and immigrants is to be measured. It explains how particular articles from 'stern' have been selected and the final set of articles serves as 'snapshots' of 'stern''s stance at particular points in time.

## 5.5 Selection of Articles for Analysis:

This research consists of an examination of six articles from 'stern'. The articles were published in the following years: 1968, 1969, 1973, 1983, 1991, 1993. The titles of the selected articles read as follows:

"Die deutschen Frauen laufen uns nach" (1968)

"Hilfe, die Türken kommen" (1969)

"Der Italienerkrieg von Aschaffenburg" (1973)

"Bei den Kerlen kann man ja nie wissen" (1983)

"Aufstand gegen die Zukunft" (1991)

"Wer rein will, kommt rein" (1993)

The articles chosen span the last four decades 1960s to 1990s and therewith the various changes in 'Ausländerpolitik' and public opinion on immigration. A correlation between events of the time and the portrayal is made possible for this reason. However, this is not the most important aim of this research. The year of publication of each of the articles may contribute to an explanation of how portrayal was affected by particular events at the time. The time-span i.e. 1968 to 1993 offers some illustration of how portrayal may have changed over the past four decades and how immigrants were/are defined and/or redefined. This time-span was chosen as it was in the late 1960s that the long-term presence of immigrants began to receive substantial recognition in German media. The selection of articles centred on the themes and sub-themes they contained and on the aim to present a sample of varied articles which indicate how portrayal changes.

The six articles selected for examination were taken from a large sample consisting of approximately 150 articles dating from 1961 to 1993. Each of these articles was examined and preliminary categories, based on themes such as 'immigrants as victims' or 'immigrants as threat', were formed. From the various categories six articles in total were chosen. This sample facilitates close critical textual analysis which centres on a qualitative rather than a

quantitative approach. The articles differ in their content and style. They present an overview of the various types of portrayal of immigrants in Germany and are considered to be broadly representative of the most common types of portrayal found in the initial samples described above. For example, the article entitled "Die deutschen Frauen laufen uns nach" (1968) is representative of a category of article which concentrate on sexual encounters between immigrants and German women. Another example of this type of article is "Nix Amore in Castellupo" (1962). Similarly, "Hilfe, die Türken kommen" (1969) represents articles, which have as their main theme, the 'invasion' of Germany by foreigners, another example of this type of article being "ILLEGAL" (1973). Finally, the article entitled "Bei den Kerlen kann man ja nie wissen" (1983) is representative of articles which attribute negative traits to foreigners, as is the case with, for example, the article "Alle Gastarbeiter stinken" (1973).

While similarities exist between the articles chosen and those not selected, it is not suggested that the final sample offers a comprehensive or exhaustive overview of all themes and variations in 'stern's portrayal of immigrants. For the purposes of this research it is the type of coverage of immigrants which is accorded importance as opposed to the quantity thereof.

The following chapter presents the analyses of the six 'stern' articles. A copy of each article is provided in the appendix.



# Chapter 6

## Analyses of Articles

## 6.1 Article 1

### "Die deutschen Frauen laufen uns nach"

'stern', 26.11.68

#### **Preface:**

This four-page article opens with the story of Rudolf Paul, a German 'Kundendienstmonteur' who has been married to Hilde for fifteen years. Rudolf is portrayed as a hard-working husband and father whose life has been destroyed by his wife's falling in love with a young Italian, Antonio Dotoli. The story develops around Rudolf's predicament, all the time implicitly condemning both Hilde and Antonio. Antonio's nationality is a key factor in the story as is illustrated by various references to him.

The focus of the article moves from this domestic scenario to the topic of German-Italian marriages in Germany in general on page 2. The third page of the article focuses on the social lives of the Italian male 'Gastarbeiter' in Germany and in doing so concentrates to a great extent on their encounters with members of the opposite sex (i.e. German women). This remains the key issue for the rest of the article.

The picture of the Italian Gastarbeiter which emerges throughout is one of a sexual threat to German society, even though his sexual prowess is ironically ridiculed throughout.

#### **The Lead:**

The lead of the article, situated in the prominent top right corner position of Page 1 provides the first indication of the slant of the article. The presumably adventurous nature of the Italian 'Gastarbeiter', which, according to the journalist, expresses itself in dance-halls and on the streets of Germany, is accorded prime importance, despite its relative

unimportance vis à vis the Rudolf-Hilde story which is to follow. The evaluations of the journalist have been assigned a prime position and are not merely a marginal conclusion on the Rudolf-Hilde events. Instead they are up-graded to context information, thus applying not only to Antonio, the Italian boyfriend, but to all Italian 'Gastarbeiter'.

This lead informs the reader that Italian 'Gastarbeiter' imagine that "Abenteuer" features in their work-contracts. However, the journalist's lexical choice 'Vorstellung' indicates the unlikelihood of this being true. If adventure in work-contracts exists only in the form of a "Vorstellung" then this excludes its being a reality. The collocational clash of the terms 'Abenteuer' and 'Arbeitsvertrag' further emphasises the unlikelihood of the Italians' "Vorstellung" becoming a reality. As a consequence of this the stance of the Italian 'Gastarbeiter' is already at odds with the German stance. Despite the typical Italian 'guestworker's' impression that adventure is "included" in his work contract, quite the contrary is implied to be true.

The lead then states that the Italian guestworkers feel like "die Größten" while dancing and while on the streets. The term 'Größten' could be associated with gigolo-type or conceited behaviour while the reference to the 'Straße' suggests these Gastarbeiter are interested in 'pick-ups'. The term 'Größten' could also suggest that the Italians consider themselves superior. One is not informed as to whom the Italians compare themselves to but it is most likely the Germans, particularly German men. The choice of the reflexive verb 'sich fühlen' indicates also that their being "die Größten" is not a fact, they themselves only feel like this. This 'feeling' amongst the Italian guestworkers contrasts starkly with their portrayal in the 29x19cm photograph positioned just below the lead which accounts for two thirds of the first page. As can be seen from this photograph the Italian man is considerably smaller than the woman with whom he is dancing. At this early stage of the article there are indications that the

'Gastarbeiter' are being ridiculed, albeit implicitly.

### **The Headline:**

In line with the lead, the headline which reads "Die deutschen Frauen laufen uns nach" suggests a certain naivety on the part of the Italian 'Gastarbeiter' (from whom one presumes this statement comes).

Throughout this article the Italian is ridiculed particularly with reference to his sex life and yet it is suggested in this headline that he actually believes that German women are running after him. Furthermore, the headline is blatantly provocative to both German women and men. It bolsters the notion that Italians present a sexual threat which was evident in the lead.

Hitherto the reader has been offered information on Italian 'guestworkers' in general. An obvious link between this information and the first paragraphs of the article which refer to the Pauls' problems is lacking. This will, however, be explored later in this analysis.

The first paragraphs of this article describe how Hilde and Rudolf Paul's marriage has broken up because of Antonio, an Italian 'Gastarbeiter'. The manner in which this is described provides the first indication of the negative light in which Italians are to be defined in this article. Antonio emerges as a criminal adulterer who has ruined what is portrayed as a model marriage. This is described in detail in the following section.

### **Antonio as criminal adulterer / Break-up of perfect marriage:**

The opening paragraphs of the article immediately evoke a sense of empathy for Rudolf Paul, the hardworking German husband of Hilde. Rudolf, we are told, works at an average job ("Kundendienstmonteur") each day ("Tag für Tag") which involves his travelling between Frankfurt

and Passau. He was happy to return to his wife and pretty daughters (Liliane and Doris) whenever he could. Other details also help build up the image of a family man. We are told, for example, the family lived in a 380,000DM bungalow which was situated in the hamlet, Fracht. Despite the depiction of an idyllic family scene the reader is soon made aware that all is not well in Rudolf's life. Even though he works hard and obviously values his family life, his marriage is not as it has been for the past 15 years. Rudolf's admission - "Ich war ein glücklicher Mann" (line 13-14) presupposes that he is no longer happy.

Before examining the following paragraphs it may be concluded from the above that the Rudolf to whom the reader has been introduced is an amiable, industrious family man, a wholesome, middle-class character. The construction of such a persona makes the break-up of his marriage, which is subsequently described, and his wife's actions, all the more shocking and is designed to gain Rudolf the sympathy of the reader at Antonio's expense.

The happy lifestyle which Rudolf enjoyed is short-lived. Having been exposed to it in detail the reader suddenly learns how Rudolf's wife's exploits cause its ruination. She neglects her husband and children and "das schöne, neue Haus" (line 18) and is no longer the "fleißige und sparsame" spouse (line 21-22) she used to be, but rather demands a cleaning-lady and sends her daughter to boarding school. The journalist's lexical choices when describing these events clearly show his disapproval. Hilde is presented as a woman who neglects ("vernachlässigen"), who demands ("verlangen"), who consumes ("verbrauchen") and who insists ("bestehen"), a woman who appears to have experienced a metamorphic change (lines 19-27). Hilde's 'deterioration' as a wife and mother culminates in her sending her daughter away to school, an action which may be frowned upon, and which calls her maternal loyalties into question. It is perhaps not coincidental that a passive construction is used to explain how the daughter is being sent to boarding school. This puts her in a non-

agentive role, as though she were an object to be pushed aside. The Hilde presented to us is therefore quite different to the hardworking, loving father the reader has found in Paul.

While the crux of the Paul's story is to be Hilde's falling in love with Antonio, the reader is initially presented with irrelevant background information, for example, the price of their bungalow, Hilde's requesting a cleaning lady etc. before Antonio is introduced. Even before any reference is made to Antonio the reader has been offered an interpretation for the story which is to follow. Rudolf appears to play a passive role in the marital problems while Hilde has assumed a negative character and is thus made more responsible.

We are led to believe that this woman fell in love while on a shopping-spree - "die 38jährige Hilde gestand sich bei einem Einkaufsbummel in Stuttgart - verliebt zu haben" (lines 33-36). This would appear to be a simplistic interpretation of the events which may have led to Hilde and Antonio's falling in love. This description may also imply that Hilde was a naive or irresponsible woman, easily susceptible to a man like Antonio who may have overwhelmed her. This shopping-spree may symbolise the safe, middle-class world to which Hilde had previously belonged and Antonio's entrance the first indication of the collapse of this world. It is only after this shopping spree meeting with Antonio that Hilde is drawn by all those actions implicitly condemned by the 'stern' reporter. Even Hilde's purchasing a 400DM Volkswagen takes the form of a crime when discovered by Rudolf (lines 28-32). Never is it suggested that Hilde may have been dissatisfied or unhappy. She remains faceless throughout, her sole contribution being the simplistic "Erklärung" for her leaving Rudolf - "Der Antonio ist so lieb zu mir" (line 39-40).

It could be asked whether or not this was Hilde's "Erklärung" for falling in love with Antonio or was it merely her description of her relationship, her

description of what attracts her to Antonio. While she may have stated this, the journalist's describing it as her "Erklärung" may be a case where an insignificant quotation is up-graded to content information. If the reader is to accept that this was Hilde's sole explanation and indeed her sole comment on the marriage break-up, then it is most probable that Hilde will be viewed as a naive, simple woman who forsakes her hardworking husband, lovely daughters and comfortable lifestyle to go off with a man who is simply "lieb" to her.

The journalist's introduction of Antonio as "der zwölf Jahre jüngere Antonio Dotoli" could also suggest that Hilde was influenced by Antonio's youth and perhaps enjoyed the possibility of being with a younger man. This would consequently depict her as being an uncaring, selfish mother, who thought only of her own happiness.

By the end of this paragraph the reader is informed not only of Antonio's being Italian but of his coming from the "süditalienischen Foggia". Given the widespread assumption that the south of Italy is more underdeveloped and primitive than the north and the unlikelihood of many readers being familiar with the town of Foggia, the Antonio who is presented as the cause of the break-up of a previously solid marriage contrasts starkly to Rudolf who until now has epitomised clean, wholesome living.

Rudolf continues to play the role of the 'good husband' as we are informed that he hoped everything would go back to normal after Hilde's "Beichte". Rudolf's apparent tolerance contrasts starkly with Hilde's selfishness and lack of compassion. Despite her husband's compassion and willingness to forgive, she chooses to remain with Antonio, now referred to as her "schwarzäugige Galan" not from the south of Italy but "aus dem Süden". The reader has already been made aware of Antonio's origins. It is obvious that the journalist's decision to mention the "Süden" here serves only to exaggerate the cultural and social gap between Antonio and Hilde

(or indeed Antonio and Rudolf). The journalist interestingly refers to Hilde at this stage as Frau Paul, perhaps emphasising the adulterous nature of her actions. His reference to Antonio as a "schwarzäugige Galan aus dem Süden" merits some examination. This is examined in the next section of this analysis which deals specifically with the depiction of Italians as a sexual threat for German women.

The journalist's description of Antonio, which highlights his eyes over other characteristics, reduces this man (who has not yet been quoted) to his physical attributes and supports the suggestion made earlier that Hilde liked the idea of being with a younger, attractive man.

The reference to Antonio as a "Galan" suggests he went to much effort to win Hilde and it also defines Antonio as a man who ostentiously woos women. 'Galan' is clearly not a neutral term. It is defined in the dictionaries as "abwertend für Geliebter, Verehrer" (G.F., 1980), and as "Herausgeputzter Mann, der sich mit besonderer Höflichkeit, Zuvorkommenheit um seine Dame bemüht" (D.U.W., 1983). Interestingly, this term is of both Arabic and Spanish origin (Kluge, 1975) but its foreignness obviously makes it suitable for describing Antonio. Given the pejorative nature of the term it highlights further the lower ranking which has been given to Antonio in the Rudolf-Hilde-Antonio scenario.

The information selected to describe Antonio is consistent with depiction of Rudolf's predicament. The negative overtones surrounding this "schwarzäugige Galan aus dem Süden" effectively combine to render Rudolf more pitiful and Hilde more gullible and stupid.

In line 45 it is implicitly suggested that Hilde would have been expected to return to her husband, through the journalist's opening the sentence with the adverbial 'statt dessen' after stating that she would not leave her



"Galan" alone. The selection of quotation from Hilde at this stage - "Schaff dir ruhig eine Freundin an", portrays her as incapable of understanding the problems she has apparently caused her husband. It may also be argued that Hilde's 'advice' to her husband is an incitement to immorality as the reader is led to believe that she 'believes' her husband's problems can be solved by his finding himself a girlfriend. Hilde's 'advice', like the preceding quotations, is made disproportionately important through its positioning in the text. It appears at a stage where Rudolf has come to epitomise forgiveness. It follows, therefore, that Hilde has become increasingly casual vis à vis men-women relationships and is totally unreasonable in her attitude to her loving husband, having met the Italian, Antonio.

This polarisation of Hilde and Rudolf (bad versus good) is given further strength by the journalist's reducing the violence inflicted by Rudolf on Hilde to a mere attempt by a frustrated husband to win back his wife. Even this violence is used against Hilde in the text, who is once again referred to here as Rudolf's "Frau" ("seine Frau"). The reader is informed in lines 48-50 that Rudolf hit her "einmal" and this can be "explained" by his losing his patience. Given the apparent trivialisation of this violence and the implied acceptability thereof, Hilde's calling the police comes to resemble another thoughtless, selfish action.

The hyperbolic description of the events ("mitten in der Nacht", "alle Nachbarn") makes Rudolf's situation appear more embarrassing. The neighbours' reactions are upgraded to a salient factor in the scenario because Rudolf actually speaks of their knowing of his problems. While Rudolf is given space within the article to comment on what may be described as an important, but in this case irrelevant, factor in a marriage break up, Antonio, a key actor in the scenario, is denied an opportunity of speaking, and Hilde receives just a thirteen word space (lines 39 and 46/7).

The trivialisation or apparent justification of Rudolf's violence is further supported at the opening of the next paragraph where Rudolf's problems are referred to as "seine Not". The one-sidedness of the article thus far has reached its peak here. This bias in favour of Rudolf is at Hilde's and Antonio's expense. In what is referred to as his distress ("Not") Rudolf goes to the 'Ausländeramt' and requests that Antonio, "der Italiener", be deported from Germany so that Rudolf's marriage can be saved. The nominalisation of Antonio ("der Italiener"), who becomes a direct object, together with the apparent acceptability of Rudolf's asking the 'Ausländeramt' to deport Antonio, is indicative of how Rudolf gains the status of a tragic victim while Antonio becomes more and more of a villain. There is a suggestion here that if "der Italiener" is removed from the scenario, everything will return to normal. This is verbalised in the quotation from Rudolf (line 58) which states that his marriage can still be saved. The article seems, therefore, to support the belief that if Antonio is deported the marriage can be saved. Hilde is not quoted in relation to the possibility of saving the marriage. It is neither examined nor suggested that the marriage might not have been a happy one. Hilde's opinion is never offered to the reader. The sole reference to the state of the marriage before Hilde engaged in her "Einkaufsbummel" comes from Rudolf (lines 1-3). The reader is told - "Fünfzehn Jahre lang glaubte Rudolf Paul, er führe eine Musterehe". In this sentence Rudolf is the sole subject in leading the marriage. Even in this opening sentence Hilde plays a minor role.

Antonio is, however, ever-present, although he is not allowed to present his description of events. This leaves a considerable amount of scope for the reader to form a negative image of him, not least because the only other sources of reference to his character come from the 'naive' Hilde ("Der Antonio ist so lieb zu mir"), the 'upright' Rudolf ("Weist den Italiener aus") and from the journalist himself ("der zwölf Jahre jüngere Antonio Dotoli aus dem suditalienischen Foggia", "der schwarzäugige Galan aus

dem Süden").

The depiction of Antonio deteriorates further at the end of this paragraph - "Aber das Ausländeramt konnte und durfte nicht helfen". The choice of the modal verb 'dürfen' implies that the 'Ausländeramt' may have wanted to deport Antonio. This in turn would suggest that even the authorities were in agreement with Rudolf and that Antonio's actions merited deportation. At this point in the text adultery is turned into a criminal offence.

The sentence which begins in line 60 suggests that had Antonio been found guilty of "Ehebruch", he could have been deported. This suggestion is strengthened by the lexical choice 'der Bescheid' which implies that the authorities engaged in a decision-making process. Legal advice sought for the examination of this extract assures, however, that it was not possible (at the time this article was published) to be found guilty of "Ehebruch". The suggestion that the 'Ausländeramt' could have deported Antonio, had it been proven he was guilty of "Ehebruch" is therefore unfounded.

The next paragraph contains a rhetorical question from Rudolf which reads - "Wie kann es sein, daß so ein Italiener mehr Schutz genießt als meine Ehe?" The reference to Antonio as "so ein Italiener" presupposes that Antonio is a particular kind of Italian, obviously not of the desirable variety. It also emphasises Antonio's nationality as do the numerous other references found in the preceding paragraphs. At this point it becomes clear that Antonio's nationality is considered a key factor in the marriage breakup. Hilde's deceiving her husband and abandoning her daughters play a subordinate role and are only of relatively minor importance. The heaviest weighting is placed on Antonio's being Italian - a factor which apparently lies at the root of Rudolf's anger ("weist den Italiener aus", "... so ein Italiener...") and which leads the journalist to indulge in making such generalisations as the one apparent in the aforementioned caption.

Furthermore, the reader is told that Rudolf bombards his wife with requests to leave Antonio. The salient point here is her leaving Antonio, not her returning to Rudolf. There is a subtle but telling difference here (lines 70-71).

The manner in which Antonio's leaving the Paul household one evening is described places Antonio once again in a dubious light. We are told he slipped out ("schlüpfte") but was caught by Rudolf, who saw this "vor seinen Augen". The hyperbolic description of events renders Antonio a villain, somebody who even comes to the idyllic Paul household to be with another man's wife. Hilde and Antonio's relationship attains an air of deception similar to that created in the earlier paragraph when Rudolf discovered their affair - "Dann kam Paul dahinter, daß seine Frau heimlich für 400 Mark einen alten Volkswagen erstanden hatte und das Haus verließ, sobald ihr Mann außer Sicht war". The underlined elements of this sentence contribute to the creation of this air of deception.

In the same paragraph the reader is informed how Hilde barricaded herself into the children's room when Rudolf "schlug ... so mit der Faust auf den Tisch". As in the earlier paragraph Rudolf's violent actions are understated and Hilde is consequently portrayed as overreacting. Even Hilde's leaving without saying 'Goodbye' to Rudolf is implicitly upgraded to an impudence (line, 79). Given the problems within the marriage and the irreconcilability of the differences between Hilde and Rudolf, it is clear that such a detail as Hilde's departing "ohne Gruß" does not merit being mentioned.

This occurrence is shown to be the final insult to Rudolf as the reader is told in the next sentence that Rudolf has since filed for divorce (line 80). In addition, it is reported that he has lost interest in having Antonio, who is nominalised once again as "der Nebenbuhler", deported. Rudolf's reason for losing interest is explained in the quotation which follows (lines 83-84): "Wozu? Meine Ehe ist jetzt hin" and it is implied therewith that had

Antonio been deported the marriage might have been saved. Once again the reader is being informed albeit subtly, that it is Antonio's presence in Germany which has caused Rudolf's marital problems.

The information on Antonio which is provided in lines 85-86 contrasts starkly with that which has served to create a Rudolf who is hardworking, and financially comfortable. The reader is told that he works in the "Flaschenspül-Abteilung" at "Südmilch AG". The suggestion that Hilde may later regret leaving Rudolf is strengthened further when one considers the positive details on Rudolf which have been offered to the reader. The positioning within the article of Antonio's admission to loving Hilde interestingly comes after the reader has been informed of Rudolf's hardship ("Not"). Consequently, it may be construed that Antonio smugly enjoyed witnessing Rudolf's pain.

Furthermore, although Antonio says he loves Hilde and that he will marry her, the journalist casts considerable doubt on this. "Ob Hilde Paul je mit Antonio zum Standesamt geht, bleibt indessen abzuwarten. Und wenn sie tatsächlich eines Tages Hilde Dotoli heißen sollte, ist fraglich, ob sie es nicht irgendwann bereut" (lines 92-95).

The terms underlined above in particular strengthen this doubt. It would appear that the marriage is already doomed to be a problematic one, especially since it is also suggested that Hilde may even regret marrying Antonio.

Having defined the Hilde-Antonio scenario as criminal and depicted Antonio as the cause of Rudolf's unhappiness, the journalist has provided a background which allows for the portrayal of Italian 'guestworkers' in general to be viewed in a negative light. As discussed at the beginning of this analysis, the Hilde-Antonio story presents the backdrop for the examination of other Italian 'guestworkers'. The portrayal of Italian

'guestworkers' is the subject of the next section of this analysis which illustrates how Italians emerge as a group of men which is obsessed with sex and which exploits German women and girls in their numerous shallow relationships with them. The concentration on the persistence of Italian men in their quest for sexual gratification also renders them a threat to German women.

### **Italian 'Gastarbeiter' as sex-crazed men / threat for Germans:**

The first indication of the article's concentration on Italian men in general comes in the form of the caption on the second page of the article - "Der italienische Mann spielt gern den Pascha". In a later paragraph of the text, a social consultant, while commenting on German-Italian relationships says "Der Italiener, vor allem der aus dem Süden, ist gern Pascha" (line 15-16). The parallels between this quotation and the caption are obvious. However, the fact that the caption appears without quotation marks and uses the simple present tense implies factuality, i.e. that Italian men unquestionably enjoy playing the role of a "Pascha".

It may be argued that this caption has been strategically located in the midst of the Rudolf-Antonio story and functions as an implication that Hilde may regret her actions later, given that she may find herself with a man who enjoys being a "Pascha".

Like 'Galan', the term 'Pascha' is not neutral, originally being used as a title for higher ranking Turkish officers. This term is defined as "aufgeblasener, rücksichtsloser Mensch" (K.F., 1982), "(abwertend) jmd. der Frauen als dem Mann untergeordnet ansieht u. sich von ihnen gern bedienen, verwöhnen läßt" (Dud, 1978) and as "umg für aufgeblasener, anspruchsvoller Mann, der sich (von Frauen) bedienen u. verwöhnen läßt" (GF, 1980). Consequently, Italian men acquire all the negative associations of the term 'Pascha' when the term is used to describe them. By using

such terms as 'Pascha' and 'Galan' the journalist not only creates an impression of 'foreignness' but also implies all foreigners are the same since 'foreignness' per se appears to be more important than any difference between Italians and Turks. This 'foreignness' plays a vital role in the creation of the impression that Italians are a threat to Germans.

The article has, at this stage, come full circle, initially focusing (in the headline and lead) on Italian-German relationships in general, then describing the Rudolf-Antonio-Hilde scenario and subsequently returning to the topic of Italian-German relationships. The only obvious link between the domestic story and the generalisations which are to follow reveals itself in the constant emphasising of Antonio's nationality. His being Italian is enough to facilitate the move to concentrating on alleged problems with German-Italian encounters in general. Antonio and Hilde's story is presented initially to allow for an examination of these problems.

From questioning the likelihood that Hilde will have a successful marriage with Antonio, the journalist moves to state that - "für eine deutsche Frau ist die Ehe mit einem italienischen Mann ein Lotteriespiel." Just as a key factor in the argumentation surrounding Antonio is his nationality, there is heavy weighting here on nationality as can be seen from the adjectives of nationality, underlined above. The additional underlined term 'ist', being in the simple present tense, implies factuality. The comparison of marriage to an Italian man to a "Lotteriespiel" implies that it has a one in a million chance of success.

The objectivity of the statistics (which incidentally show that this is not the case) is partially removed through the insertion of the adverb 'zwar' (line 102). The addition of the term 'zwar' together with the next sentence ("Aber Maria Begliatti, Sozialreferentin in italienischen Generalkonsulat in Munchen, weiß: "Auch die meisten der Ehen, die bisher nicht scheiterten, sind unglücklich") suggest the failure rate of marriages between Italians and

Germans may be even higher. The choice of the verb 'wissen' also suggests factuality. When the supposed facts which Maria Begliatti "knows" are examined their truthfulness must be questioned. It is unlikely that one woman could possibly know that the majority of marriages between Italians and Germans which have not already broken up are unhappy. It is not likely that the remaining 3,500 couples have all individually met with Ms Begliatti. This choice of quotation however, supports the argument presented earlier (lines 97-98) that marriages between Italian men and German women are like a "Lotteriespiel" and also strengthens the implication that Hilde Paul may later regret marrying Antonio (lines 94-95). Similar suggestions of factuality may also be found in the following line 108 ("muß es wissen") and line 113 ("kennt").

In the next quotation from Maria Begliatti "der italienische Mann" is described as a "Pascha". The negative connotations of this term have already been discussed. Her subsequent description of him as being "der Chef im Haus" together with Dr. Zezza's references to the "Herrschaftsanspruch" of Italian men (lines 124-125) combine to portray the Italian man as having little regard for the rights of women, as a man who seeks to dominate and control women. In addition, Begliatti's choice of verb in line 120 - 'schaffen', implies that the German woman has not been 'created' for the role of "Dienerin" to an Italian man. This implies social or even biological incompatibility between German women and Italian men.

The caption given a prominent position on the next page, which reads "Der Italiener, vor allem der aus dem Süden, ist ein Pascha und gern Chef im Haus", bears much resemblance to this quotation from Maria Begliatti. However, the way in which the quotation has been altered for the caption creates a subtly different picture of the Italian man. While Maria Begliatti states that the Italian from the south likes to be "Pascha" the caption states that the man is a "Pascha". The use of the simple present tense ("ist")



renders this statement a stereotypical generalisation. Furthermore, while Maria Begliatti states that the Italian man is used to being "der Chef im Haus", the caption states that he likes being "Chef im Haus". This places the Italian man in an active agentive position and implies he decides to be "Chef im Haus".

The quotation marks enclosing the caption imply that the information comes from a knowledgeable source and that the information which it contains is therefore true. By this stage in the text the Italian from the South has been referred to as a "Pascha" three times. While the use of the term by Maria Begliatti may be ascribed to her subjective description of her countrymen, the journalist's choice to use this term in the captions indicates how he wishes to present the Italian man to the reader. The image created is one of an Italian who possesses all the negative traits associated with the term 'Pascha'.

The article then moves on to discuss "die Masse der Gastarbeiter" (line 127). The pejorative collective noun 'Masse' connotes a mob-like group without any sense of direction or purpose. The reader is informed that this "Masse" is not concerned that the German woman does not submit to patriarchal control easily. The use of the simple present tense together with the lack of any quotation from a member of this "Masse" leaves this statement as an unquestionable fact. The only actor in the text who offers an 'explanation' is the head of the 'Centro Italiano' in Wolfsburg. Given that the previous statement pertains to "die Masse", Parenti's ability to speak accurately on behalf of the group as head of a centre in Wolfsburg, must be questioned. His comment (lines 128-130) appear to be an explanation for the high rate of marital breakup between Italians and Germans, because of its positioning after Begliatti's and Zezza's quotations. On closer examination, however, it appears to be acceptably applicable to young men worldwide. His comment presupposes that young German men for example, may want marriage instead of "Abenteuer" and in doing so

renders the Italian man somewhat unusual.

The sentence which follows explains that only 1000 out of the 5000 workers at Wolfsburg brought their families with them (lines 133-136). The positioning of this sentence directly after the suggestion that the Italian men have an unusually strong interest in adventure, implies that the reason that they left their families at home was to enable them to have uninterrupted "Abenteuer" while in Germany. The choice of the transitive verb, 'bringen', suggests these Italian men actually had the choice to bring their families or not to do so. In fact, as both Castles (1984) and Bartels (1991) explain, the original German immigration policies did not allow for families coming to Germany. This was and continued to be discouraged. Furthermore, the fact that many of those young men may neither have been married nor had children is not considered.

The description of how these Italian workers live, whereby the reader learns they live in a residence which is "eingezäunt", implies the men must be guarded. This suggests they pose a threat and are dangerous or even that they behave like animals. The fact that these men are only allowed visits by women up until 22.00 and that these visits are restricted to the canteen only is not condemned but rather made seem rational and acceptable, given the apparent tendency of the Italian man not to treat women well which has been created throughout the text. Consistent with this, it is stated that the Italians are not badly off (line 144-145), with their financial situation being used to measure their welfare.

Halfway through line 147 the article begins to focus on the predicament of the Italian men who live in these enclosed residences. However, in doing so the journalist singles out the sexual aspect of their lives and creates a scene which connotes danger. It is stated that these men need an outlet ("Ventil") for their built-up ("geballte") virility ("Manneskraft") which accumulates as they work on the assembly-line. Even though the reader is

made aware of the unacceptable living conditions of the Italians, they are nevertheless depicted as being a sexual threat to German women and not as human beings with emotional needs.

The following paragraph describes the sexual activities of these Italian men. The men are described as being "lebenshungrig". This suggests that they are sex-starved and once again reference is made to their coming from the "Süden" (line 168) in the same sentence. What is initially referred to as their "Liebesleben" is subsequently described as sordid sexual exploits (lines 172-177) and the suggestion that these men are sex-starved is given further credence in line 166 where it is stated that the men frequent "Zum Bernardo" because 'the right kind of girls' can be found there. It is as if a cause and effect relationship exists between the behaviour of the Italian men and the presence of German women. In addition to this it is implied in lines 167-170 that the Italian men equate German women with prostitutes. It is stated that the prostitutes fulfil the Italians' expectations vis à vis the "Freizügigkeit" of German women. This presupposes that the Italian men expect to have sex with German women whenever they so desire. It must be noted, however, that it has not been stated by any Italian actors in the article that Italian men have such expectations. The insertion of the adjective 'absolut' (line 170) creates the impression that prostitutes are exactly what the sex-crazed men from the South need and want.

Lines 178-184 have many elements which require examination. Firstly, the adjectives 'einfach' (used in the superlative form) and 'anspruchlos' patronise the Italians to whom they refer. Secondly, the inclusion of the terms 'selbst' and 'allerdings' presuppose that these "Einrichtungen" should satisfy the Italians. It is suggested therefore that the "simple, undemanding" men from villages in the south of Italy should be content with the sordid, limited entertainment described in the preceding paragraph.

In line 192, as in line 44, the Italian men are again reduced to their

physical attributes. This concentration on their appearance depersonalises them and depicts them as objects rather than as people. At this stage the suggestion created earlier that the Italian men are sex-crazed is strengthened. It is explained that Don Parenti ensures that nothing other than dancing takes place in his building (lines 195-200). This information may be considered trivial in another context, but in view of previous suggestions it is now upgraded and implies that if Don Parenti did not strictly watch that nothing other than dancing took place all kinds of sordid acts would occur.

Following this it is then explained that Braunschweig is only 30km away from Wolfsburg where the Italians live and that there is a brothel there. The insertion of the information here indicates that the Italian men will inevitably need more than the type of entertainment offered at Don Parenti's. This suggests that their ultimate aim at any social event is to have sex, i.e., they must have a brothel. The reader is also informed here that Don Parenti and the 'Stadtdirektor' of Wolfsburg are satisfied that this brothel is 30km away. This may be because the Italians can find a "Ventil" for their aforementioned "Manneskraft" there, while Wolfsburg will not have to endure having a brothel.

In the paragraph which follows it is stated that the Italians of Wolfsburg go to the brothels every weekend. The suggestion that all 4000 Italians (or possibly all 5000) go there every weekend implies that they are all obsessed with sexual gratification and is in itself absurd. This suggestion typifies the lack of foundation for the various generalisations in the text which serve to consistently portray Italian men as obsessed with sex.

The collective noun 'Stoßtruppe' (line 215), which is used to describe the group of Italian men, has obvious military associations. Its application to describe the movements of the Italian men creates the impression that they will stop at nothing in their quest for sexual gratification. It is also

possible that the use of this military term will define the Italian men as an army of young men who need to be controlled. This complements the image created in line 138 where the reader is informed that the Italians are "eingezäunt" to their residences.

Developing the image of Italians as a threat, it is stated between lines 228 and 233 that only the old established "Boudoirs" conduct business with the Italians. In the following paragraph the fact that Katja and her colleagues abstain from doing business with Italians because a group of Italians once broke the windows of the brothel ("einmal", line 251-259) is made to seem acceptable. (The possibility of it also being an over-reaction and unfounded generalisation about Italian men is not explored). In fact, he states that the prostitutes abstain from doing business with Italians "on principle" ("grundsätzlich") in line 257. The actions of this group of Italian men (which actually consisted, we are told, of 5 men) are made all the more unacceptable and dangerous because of their being condemned by prostitutes, who are not usually considered the most upstanding of citizens.

While describing how Italians frequent the brothels the journalist also reintroduces the well established impression that the Italians are sex-crazed men. This is reflected in the choice of the verb 'begehren' and also through the suggestion that the Italian men are willing to pay "Honorarversprechungen attraktiver Größenordnung" to gain entry to the brothels which refuse to do business with them (lines 235-238). In fact, these "Honorarversprechungen" are ironically referred to as "lumpige 20 Mark" in the next sentence which in contrast, implies that the Italians are mean with their money. This suggestion is given further credence through one of the prostitutes' hyperbolic use of the verb 'pachten'. She is quoted as stating that the Italians seek to "have a lease" on the prostitutes for a mere 20DM. It is suggested here that the Italians want sex for nothing. Much emphasis is placed on the German prostitutes' pride in this section of the text. The reader is informed that they would even refuse money rather

than deal with the Italian men. Furthermore, the contempt which the prostitutes have for Italians is expressed both through the pronominalisation ("die") which depersonalises these people and through the stereotypical description of how these men smell of perspiration and garlic.

In line 260 and consecutive lines, the article states that the "Vereinigung" of Germans and Italians is less complicated in other areas in Germany. This seemingly positive statement about Italians may however simply be a 'face-saving disclaimer' (such as those discussed by Van Dijk, 1993) aimed at preventing the impression that the article is negatively portraying Italians. All information offered thus far has implied the contrary. The use of the comparative ("unkomplizierter") here presupposes that relationships are complicated in Wolfsburg and Braunschweig.

Any positive implications which may have been possible at the opening of the paragraph (line 260) are soon destroyed. The success of relationships in Stuttgart is, for example, explained by the fact that the establishment where the Italians meet the Germans is "gut organisiert". This parallels with the 'eingezäunt' image created in line 138 and also with the suggestion that Don Parenti must be strict at social events (lines 195-200). It suggests that if the premises was not "gut organisiert" dangers would arise. In lines 266-268 the journalist adds disapprovingly (through the insertion of the adverb 'jedoch') that encounters between Italian men and German women also take place on the street which suggests immorality and prostitution once again. His reference to encounters also taking place in "Tanzcafes" similarly connotes immorality, as much space has already been given to the immoral acts associated with dances (lines 187-193).

The article subsequently suggests that Munich is considered a "Paradies" by the Italians. An Italian representative does not state this anywhere in the text. Once again, however, the use of the simple present tense ("besitzt", line 269) suggests factuality even though evidence of a source is lacking.

The next sentence (line 271) explains how German girls are "hunted" in Munich. The positioning of this information directly after the suggestion that Munich is a paradise for Italians links the Italians' paradise with the "hunting" of German girls (despite the absence of the Italians as a subject in the latter sentence). The journalist's choice of metaphor 'Jagd' (line 274) to describe the manner in which German girls are pursued reduces this to a crude, primitive act and suggests that German girls are treated like exploitable objects by the implied subject - Italian men. The choice of 'Jagd' may stem from its use by the 'Kriminalamtman' in line 324 and is clearly a loaded term. In addition to this, the choice of the metaphorical verb 'blühen' (line 273) implies that this "hunting" is thriving and may even connote a potential epidemic which is to begin in Munich. The journalist's lexical choice 'Mädchen' as opposed to 'Frauen' renders the actions of the Italians more unacceptable. Strengthening this implication, the journalist states that it is "nicht möglich" for blond women to pass a group of "Südländer" without being bothered. The simple present tense together with the adjective 'möglich' implies this is a fact, not a generalisation or over-simplification. At this point the image of the 'sex-crazed Italian' has become apparent one more time.

The syntax of this sentence (line 275) contributes to the creation of this image, with the salience lying with the mode ("unbehellig") and with "die Gruppen palavernder Südländer". The positioning of the various syntactical elements leads to the conclusion that German girls simply cannot avoid being harassed by Italian men when passing by. The journalist's describing the "Südländer" as "palavernd" obviously evokes negative associations. This term, of Portuguese origin, is described as pejorative in dictionaries and indicates that these "Südländer" have a "mit viel Gerede vor sich gehende Versammlung" (DUW, 1983) or an "endloses Gerede" (WddG, 1981) on the boulevards of Munich, while attempting to find blond women. Furthermore, while the men were referred to as "Italiener" in the opening sentence of this paragraph by line 277 they are now described as

"Südländer". This exaggerates the foreignness of these 'sex-crazed Italians' and also erroneously suggests that "Südländer" and "Italiener" are one interchangeable group. It is also possible that the Italians have been singled out from all "Südländer" and made the sole perpetrators of the "Jagd". One other point to be made with reference to this paragraph concerns the presupposition contained in line 277-278. The inclusion of the modifier 'vor allem' in this sentence presupposes that passing groups of Italians is also difficult for other women i.e. not just blond women.

The caption which is inserted at this stage of the text, between lines 278 and 279 refers to relationships between Italian men and married German women. This has not been a subtopic in the preceding paragraphs. Its positioning directly after the description of how Italian men "hunt" German women may however lead the reader to the conclusion that Italian men "lie in waiting" for married women while conducting their "Jagd". The by now familiar choice of the simple present tense suggests factuality as in other instances, even though this caption is presumably an adaptation of the quotation from Luigi Rentone which appears at the end of the article (lines 240-244).

Lines 279 to 282 are perhaps the most revealing thus far vis à vis the image of the sex-crazed, immoral Italian man. The syntactical structure of this sentence suggests that "Ansprechen", "Anfassen" and "Beutemachen" follow a calculated sequence. The reader is also informed that this procedure has become a sport which implies that the Italians are oblivious of any immoralities associated with their actions, and that they enjoy this "hunting". Approaching German women has thus been described as a sinister, emotionless act from which Italian men get some pleasure as with sport.

Line 286 refers to the Italian men as "Süditaliens Männer" a subtlety which connotes primitivity and exoticism and which ridicules the men by



suggesting that they (with all their undesirable characteristics) are all southern Italy has to offer. The article then explains how the "verbose charms" of the men do not fail to have an impact on German girls. The lexical choice of 'girls' as opposed to 'women' once again suggests the Italians' actions are more unacceptable given that the term girls can apply to very young teenagers and connotes innocence and vulnerability. It may also apply to prostitutes.

At this stage in the text it is implicitly suggested that the Italians' charms work effectively on German girls because the latter are naive. The text states that these girls are "oft" familiar with "derbere Kost" and it is implied that the "wort- und gestenreiche lockere Charme" of "Suditaliens Männer" consequently act as a lure to them. These girls are therefore placed in an almost passive role and are portrayed as being naively innocent, while the Italian men are depicted as being exploitative, striking at the weak.

Similarly, in the following paragraph (lines 288-297) it is stated that the Italian men have greater success with women who do not come from the "gehobene Schicht". In fact, the reader is informed that it is seldom that women from the "gehobene Schicht" "succumb" to the Italian "Straßenwerbung". The choice of verb 'erliegen' places the women in a somewhat passive role. The description of the Italian men's efforts as "Straßenwerbung auf italienisch" reduces the men to sexual objects, as it implies they flaunt themselves on the streets using their native language as an attraction. This lexical choice together with the choice of verb 'erliegen' presuppose that the Italians exert much effort when pursuing women. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Similar connotations arise here as with the term 'Galan' discussed earlier.

When referring to the German women again in lines 295-297, the journalist alleges that these women (who do not come from "upper classes") are closer ("näher") to the level ("Niveau") of the "Südländer" who come from simple backgrounds. The implications here are twofold. Firstly, it is suggested that only this type of woman is suitable for Italian men. Secondly, it is possible that the Italians are being ridiculed once more, i.e. despite feeling like "die Größten" and trying so hard to woo women with their "Charme" they still apparently only have success with women who do not come from the "upper classes".

The journalist argues that the Italian men consider these women to be "die deutsche Frau". However, he does not interview or quote any Italians when providing such general information. The validity of such a generalised statement is therefore questionable. Furthermore, these women are 'deutsche Frauen'. If, as is presupposed here, they are not "die deutsche Frau" then this suggests only women from other classes (perhaps "die gehobene Schicht") are.

Line 302 draws attention to blond German women once again. It is suggested that blond women are more sought after than others by Italian men. This emphasis on 'blondness' suggests that the Italian men are only interested in the physical attributes of the women they meet. It is also possible here that 'the blond woman' is a symbol of German womanhood, given the familiar, stereotypical portrayal of blond women as German women in other discourses. In line 303 the journalist states that having had an encounter with a blond woman the Italian men tell their friends "wie leicht es ging". This suggests that they have little concern for a relationship per se and are only interested in talking about their encounters afterwards. As in the preceding sentence there is no source given for this

information on Italian men and no Italian is interviewed. When Salvatore T. is quoted in the following sentence the content of his quotation strengthens the earlier suggestion that the men talk freely of their experiences as he describes his first sexual encounter in Germany. The omission of his surname suggests he has committed a crime. The German woman remains anonymous.

These subtle suggestions become explicit accusations in lines 315-330 where it is stated that the police have to deal with rape and attempted rape cases involving Italians again and again. The modifier 'immer wieder' (line 316-7) suggests that rapes and attempted rapes involving Italians have become commonplace, while the insertion of 'denn' (line 315) creates a link with that which was proposed in the information provided on Salvatore T. It is stated in line 321 that the Italians cannot comprehend that they can be with a German woman and not have sex with her. This proposition strengthens the association between Italians and rape. The choice of verb 'begreifen' (line 321) and 'verstehen' (line 326) implies that the Italians are perhaps less intelligent than German men, given the proposition that they expect sex when they meet a German woman and, for example, that they equate prostitutes with German women (lines 165-172).

The introduction of a detective as an actor in this part of the text emphasises the association of criminality with Italian men. The eight-worded description of the detective contrasts starkly to the description of Salvatore T. and lends his subsequent quotation a sense of truth and unquestionability. The information selected for Salvatore T.'s quotation helps sustain the overall impression that Italian men are obsessed with sex and have no feelings for the German women they meet. It is possible that Salvatore T. was merely describing his first experience with a German woman (in a different context). It is the journalist's 'interpretation' that he was describing how easy it was.

The lexical choices in the quotation from the detective are emotive ("Jagd" and "Beute") and suggest that Italian men exploit German women and treat them like objects or animals. However, the use of the imperfect tense here indicates that the detective may have been referring to a particular group of Italian men ("sie") and to a particular incident in the past. The positioning of his quotation at this point, however, defines the situation concerning all Italian men as one where German women are at risk and Italians incapable of accepting a woman's wish not to have sex. Furthermore, the detective adds in lines 326-330 that Italians are hurt when women refuse to have sex with them and in doing so suggests that Italian men view refusal to have sex as an insult.

The piece selected for quotation from Luigi Rentone (lines 331-344) provides information on Italian men which contrasts starkly with all information thus far in the text. Throughout the article numerous propositions pertain to the Italian men actively pursuing German women (e.g. "Jagd auf deutsche Mädchen", "Stoßtruppe ungewöhnlich liebestüchtiger Männlichkeit") and German women have been depicted as being at risk in the presence of Italians, particularly in lines 271-278, 279-287, 315-330. Luigi Rentone, however, firstly describes how Italians have chaste relationships with Italian women before marriage and secondly explains how German women chase the Italian men in Germany.

While Luigi Rentone may be in a position to describe the behaviour of German women towards Italian men, this one sentence is not sufficient to balance the argument which thus far has placed the sole responsibility for male-female encounters on Italian men. The positioning of this one counter-argument at the end of a 344 line text lends it little credence particularly since all suggestions made hitherto have supported the contrary. There is only one exception to this (lines 187-193) where the journalist states that older women stand near Italian men at dances in the hope of "being given a whirl" ("durcheinander gewirbelt zu werden").

This may however, be described as an attempt to ridicule Italian men (as already discussed) and as such offers little in the form of counter-argumentation.

The positioning of this information on how Italian men approach relationships with Italian women also highlights a discrepancy vis à vis their approach to German women. In the preceding paragraph suggestions of rape and violence have been made and these contrast sharply to the image of an "unberührte" Italian woman. The impression that Italian men exploit German but not Italian women, is consequently created. This information is also used to show how little the Italians value German women and how they have double-standards in their treatment of women in general.

In photo 2, on page 2 of the article, one sees a German girl and four young men. The girl has her back to the men, three of whom are looking and smiling at her. She is obviously outnumbered. Nobody is identified as being German or Italian although the caption below the photograph suggests that the blond girl is German and the men are from the "Süden". The caption states that to capture a German girl is a matter of honour and that when the men from the "Süden" meet at the railway station, the hunt for German girls begins. The choice of verb 'sich treffen' suggests the "Jagd" is planned by the Italian men in advance. This suggestion is similar to that created in line 279-280, where the syntax reinforces the suggestion that Italian men plan how to get German women. The link which may be created here is that this German girl is about to be 'captured' as a matter of honour. The terminology used, such as 'erbeuten' and 'Jagd', is similar to that used by the 'Kriminalamtsmann' later in the article and is both emotive and provocative.

The caption above the photo bears much resemblance to the quotation from Luigi Rentone which appears at the end of the article. The personal

pronoun 'wir' has been replaced with the personal pronoun 'sie' and the second sentence has been placed directly after the sentence which explains how Italian men want "eine unberührte Frau", which is not the case in Luigi Rentone's quotation. There is, therefore, a forced coherence between these two sentences and it is clear that the most controversial elements of Luigi Rentone's quotation have been extracted and linked together. The caption therefore implies that the Italian men in the picture will treat this woman differently than women in Italy and will exploit the less strict customs in Germany. The photo symbolises what happens when the "nicht so strenge Bräuche", described in the caption, are the norm.

While Rentone Luigi is perhaps speaking only for his associates, the use of 'sie' in the caption broadens the applicability to all Italians. The use of inverted commas suggests this is a quotation from somebody with experience in this area. However, it is more likely that this is an altered quotation from Luigi Rentone. The adaptations render it more powerful and broaden the applicability to all Italian men.

The last sentence of Luigi Rentone's quotation and consequently the last sentence of the article, places the Italian men back in an active role regarding relationships with German women. It states that sleeping with a married German woman is something prestigious for Italian men. This weakens Luigi Rentone's suggestion in lines 338-340 that German women have an active role in relationships with Italian men. It also consists of a self-incriminating generalisation which supports the general slant of the article.

No evidence in the text, including the Hilde-Antonio story, thus far shows that sleeping with a married German woman is considered as something prestigious by Italian men. This statement may, therefore, be considered as one more attack on the image of Italian men. It also serves to recall the opening of the article which refers to Hilde Paul's affair with Antonio.

The description of these affairs as "eine Sache des Prestiges" suggests that Antonio may be having a relationship with Hilde purely for the associated prestige and supports the subtle condemnation of this affair which was evident in the earlier paragraphs of the article.

### **Ridicule of Italian Immigrants:**

As well as depicting them as sex-crazed and threatening, the journalist also indulges in ridiculing Italian men. This, as mentioned in the section on the lead, is clear from the beginning of the article. In line 215/6 Italian men are described, for example, as "ungewöhnlich liebestüchtig". The reader is, however, subsequently informed that it is only the Italians themselves who believe this ("wie die Italiener selber von sich meinen", line 216/7). This presupposes that others, like the journalist, do not think of them in this way. Obvious parallels exist between this and the fifth and sixth lines of the lead of this story ("Sie fühlen sich als die Größten") which may also be considered as ridiculing Italian men.

The insertion of the adverb 'jedoch' in the opening sentence of the next paragraph (line 218) strengthens the suggestion that the Italian men are not "ungewöhnlich liebestüchtig" as does the subsequent quotation from the owners of the brothel (line 226-227). The accuracy of this quotation is made to appear unquestionable through the description of "die Bewohnerinnen" as "vielseitig erfahren" (line 224).

The relevance and usefulness of seeking such a quotation must be questioned. It is clearly meant to ridicule the Italian men as any other function is difficult to determine. Furthermore, the caption given prominent position at the top of the same page, which reads "Italiener sind in der Liebe nicht besser als andere", bears a remarkable resemblance to this quotation. This indicates that the journalist himself is prepared to ridicule the Italians as no source is given for this quotation. Without the

ascription of a source this information may be considered as merely a subjective, journalistic inclusion.

The ridiculing of the Italian men is also apparent again in line 241, where the prostitute uses the diminutive 'Operette' and states that the Italians offer these in return for staying "die ganze Nacht" (line 242). The incongruity of 'Operetten' and 'die ganze Nacht' implies a certain naivety on the part of the Italian men.

This ridiculing of The Italian men classifies them as an 'out-group' and is consistent with the overall portrayal of them as obsessed with sex even if it does not highlight the threat which this obsession is believed to cause. Furthermore, by ridiculing the sexual competency of Italian men the journalist is also suggesting that Hilde Paul has made a mistake by starting a relationship with an Italian man.

### **Visuals and Captions:**

The photographs on the 3rd and 4th pages of the article also contribute to the condemnation of Hilde's affair with the Italian, Antonio. While the text of page 3 focuses on the social lives of the Italian men the visuals concentrate on the earlier subtopic of German-Italian marriages. The largest proportion of space on page 3 is in fact accorded to a photo of an Italian man and German woman who are 'playing' bride and groom for an evening in a bar (Photo 3). This couple have no key roles in the article and any relevance in relation to Hilde and Antonio is lacking. The image which is portrayed however, is consistent with the suggestions made throughout the article that Italian-German marriages do not last and that Italian men seek only to exploit German women in their quest for sexual gratification. The Italian man in the photograph has his arm around the German woman and is smiling. She in contrast, appears to be drunk or doped and is wearing a veil on her head. The picture presents a tasteless



event.

The two photographs positioned directly below this large photo are much smaller and illustrate how German-Italian marriages can be successful and happy (Photos 4 and 5). It is obvious that, based on space alone, prominence has been accorded to a negative visual portrayal (187cm<sup>2</sup> versus 54cm<sup>2</sup>).

The caption which accompanies the two smaller photographs support the suggestions that Italian-German marriages do not last. The factive verb 'sein' and the temporal adverb 'oft' combine to imply that Italian-German marriages do not endure. The second sentence of the caption which refers to a happy German-Italian couple contains the conjunction 'aber' which suggests that Renzo and M. Bellini are exceptions and thus merit being mentioned.

The photographs on the final page of the article also serve to recall the initial story concerning Hilde and Antonio. Photo 6 of Antonio is of the kind usually used for criminals, having a neutral background and being only 18cm<sup>2</sup>. Antonio looks like a dubious character in this photograph, both because of his hairstyle, which covers his eyes, and because of the side angle from which the photograph has been taken. This is the only picture of Antonio which is found in the article. The caption below the photo explains how Hilde forsook her marriage of fifteen years, her husband, two children and her bungalow to be with Antonio. This photo of Antonio together with the numerous subtle criticisms throughout the article suggest that Hilde has made a mistake.

This suggestion is bolstered by photos 7 and 8 which are positioned directly beside the photograph of Antonio. These two photographs present a picture of a happy family and a contented housewife/mother/wife. Photo 7 shows Rudolf Paul with his arms around his two daughters in what is presumably

the family garden, with the bungalow in the background. Photo 8 shows Hilde Paul smiling while sitting in an armchair, presumably in her bungalow. The ornaments, flowers and curtains in the background help symbolise what has been portrayed verbally throughout as an idyllic family setting which was subsequently destroyed with the entry of Antonio.

It is unlikely that the positioning of these three photographs was arbitrary. The article opened with the Hilde-Antonio-Rudolf story and then digressed to a number of other more general topics relating to Italian men. The insertion of the photographs at this point reminds the reader of the initial story. They illustrate the 'negative' aspects of Hilde's falling in love with Antonio.

### **Conclusion:**

The topics explored by the journalist in the course of the article serve to illustrate how the Italian-German relationships in general are undesirable. Hilde's story provides the initial opportunity to explore this opinion and enables the journalist to develop it. He does this by firstly introducing Hilde, Antonio and Rudolf by digressing to Italian-German relationships, in general and by then returning to the Paul story in the photographs at the end of the article.

The picture of Italian men which emerges is one of men who are preoccupied with sex and who therefore pose a threat not only to German women but also to German men as they seek to have as much experience with girls, prostitutes and married women as possible.

The Italian representatives in this article contribute to the creation of such a picture. Antonio does not compare favourably with Rudolf. The comments from Maria Begliatti, Ferdinando Zezza, Don Parenti, Salvatore T. and Luigi Rentoni highlight negative characteristics of Italian men. The

positioning of their quotations at intervals throughout the text maintains the thematic structure of the article i.e. that Italians present problems and threats.

When these quotations are presented sequentially they define the article and strengthen the interpretation plan for the article. They provide a less than favourable depiction of Italian men in Germany. Like the quotations, the use of photographs also facilitates the development of the interpretation plan. The photographs selected for this article are consistent with the images created verbally.

The structure of this article (based on the dominant theme of Italian men and German women) and its content contribute largely to the overall negative portrayal of Italians. In addition, however, local structures such as lexical choice and semantic properties combine with strategically positioned quotations and photographs to present an image of Italian men which renders their presence in Germany a threatening problem.

The intermittent ridiculing of the Italian men in the text does not detract from this image of a threat. It simply diverts from the global theme but is an integral part of the macrostructure which establishes a negative image.

## 6.2 Article 2

### "Hilfe, die Türken kommen"

'stern', 20/04/69

#### **Preface:**

This article is based on the arrival of 800 Turkish men in Germany. The journalist explains how the men claimed they were tourists planning to have a holiday in Germany. However, the legality of their coming to Germany becomes the key factor in the story as it is strongly suggested that they were actually planning to work as 'Gastarbeiter' in Germany. German officials dismiss Turkish claims that the men were on holiday while Turkish diplomats express their disappointment at the officials' refusal to allow the group of men to cross the German-Austrian border. While the legality or illegality of the Turkish men's actions is not a salient factor in this analysis, the analysis focuses on how suggestions of illegality are consistently reinforced throughout while the likelihood that some men may indeed have planned to remain in Germany for a holiday is not considered. The Turkish actors in this story emerge as a group of exotic men from primitive backgrounds who failed in their transparent plan to delude hardened German officials. The arrival of these men in Germany is defined as an almost military-style operation, with German officials playing the role of defenders.

#### **The Headline:**

The headline of this article has historical associations and consequently defines the situation which is described as one of fear, threat and confrontation. The exclamation 'Hilfe' presupposes that problems will arise as help is needed. These problems are caused by the arrival of "die Türken". This appellative expression, used as a headline, has its origins in the Turkish invasion of Vienna in 1683 when this cry for help was first heard. This was the second invasion of Vienna by Turkish armies and culminated in a battle at

Kohlenberg on the 12th of September 1693. It is also most likely that this phrase would be associated with the experiences of World War II, with which the phrase "Hilfe, die Russen kommen" is connected. Although the journalist may have intended to use this expression ironically, it nevertheless defines a situation in which Germany needs assistance and where a confrontation between Germany and Turks exists. It is suggested that the entry of these Turks needs to be prevented, that they must not be allowed to come to Germany.

### **The Lead:**

The lead explains that 800 "Muselmanen" want to come illegally to Germany. The lexical choice 'Muselman' emphasises the 'foreignness' of the men involved when compared to the alternative term 'Türken' used in the headline. Use of this term is described as "veraltet, noch scherzh" in Duden (1978) and Grimm (1984) explains that term is an "Umdeutung des arab. Moslem" (p.2738). It appears, therefore, that it connotes more than the neutral term 'Türken'.

The choice of adverb 'illegal' together with the modal verb 'wollen' suggests these men were aware of the illegal act they were about to commit. At this early stage of the article it has therefore been stated that the Turks want to come illegally to Germany. Suggestions of illegality are reinforced throughout the article. However, the other possibility, suggested by the Turks, that they are not illegally seeking to work in Germany is not explored to the same extent.

The headline and lead combine, therefore, to depict a scenario where 800 exotic men seek to 'invade' Germany and where resistance to this is needed.

### **Turkish immigrants as Invaders:**

As suggested above the scenario involving the arrival of 800 Turks in Germany has been defined in confrontational terms. Suggestions of confrontation are consistently strengthened throughout the article through military imagery and a register more appropriate to that of a battle between two armies. Lines 22-23 cite newspaper captions which read "Türken auf dem Rückmarsch in die Heimat" and thus presents the Turkish men as an army which is leaving Germany and returning to its home country. The caption below Photo 1 of this article contains the verb 'belagern' which may be used to describe the actions of an army. The collective noun 'Hundertschaft', found in line 25, also suggests an army and is a somewhat redundant term as the exact number of Turks i.e. 800 has been mentioned twice so far. The actions of these "Hundertschaften" are described using the adverb 'lautstark' (line 27) which may suggest that the Turkish men are behaving like a mob. The reference to the Turkish men as "Männer im besten Alter" (line 6) also has subtle military connotations, as armies generally consist of fit, young men.

The presupposition contained in lines 55-56 creates perhaps the most powerful military image used to describe the arrival of the Turkish men. These lines presuppose that the arrival is a "Türkeninvasion", as the reader is informed that this is the second "Türkeninvasion", with one having taken place during the previous week. The collective noun 'Konvoi' (line 67-68) found in the quotation from the policy inspector also creates the impression that an organised, military-style group of men gained illegal entry into Germany a week beforehand.

### **Turkish immigrants as 'Foreigners':**

Throughout this article the Turkish men in question are presented as exotic creatures, although an explicit comparison between Germans and Turks is not

made. This 'foreignness' is highlighted through lexical choice, through the up-grading of irrelevant information, through the constant references to Germany and Turkey and through repetition of adjectives of nationality. Each of these is discussed in more detail below.

#### Lexical choice:

The connotations of the term 'Muselman' which is found in the lead of the article have already been discussed. The positioning of this term in the lead however, emphasises the foreignness of the men at the outset. This impression of foreignness is then further supported in the opening paragraph of the article where the journalist describes how a "Karawane" (line 1) came to the German-Austrian border at daybreak. The term is repeated in line 69. The term 'Karawane' is defined as a word of Italian and Persian origins which means "Kamelreitergruppe" (Mackensen, 1983), as "ein morgenländ. Wort, reisende Gesellschaft, bes. von Kaufleuten und Pilgern" (Grimm, 1984) and as "durch unbewohnte Gebiete (bes. Wüsten) reisende Gruppe von Kaufleuten, Forschern, Pilgern usw (bes. in Asien, Afrika)" (G.F., 1980). Although other definitions, such as that in Duden (1978, p.1425), illustrate an alternative meaning (i.e. "größere Anzahl, Kolonne von Personen od. Fahrzeugen, die sich in einem langen Zug hintereinander fortbewegen") which does not have the same connotations as those above, the possibility exists that, within the context of this article, the term 'Karawane' connotes 'foreignness' due to the term's origins and its application to describe groups of people travelling through deserts on camels.

#### Upgraded irrelevant information:

The journalist's selection of specific details pertaining to Turkish actors in the article similarly strengthens the notion that the Turkish men are exotic and implicitly contrasts the Turks to German citizens. For example, the reader is made aware of the name of the Turkish travel agency with which the group

travelled in line 15 ("Bozfor"). In line 111 the journalist states that the Turkish diplomats drank "Mokka" while discussing the situation and subsequently adds that they smoked "Orientzigaretten (line 112). The details may be considered irrelevant in a story based on the legality/illegality of a large group of immigrants seeking entry into Germany. However, they serve to symbolise foreignness, in particular, foreign traditions. When positioned in a text where reference is also made to "Karawane" and "Muselmanen" they establish the Turkish men as a distinct group which is foreign in its practices and language.

#### References to Germany and Turkey/Adjectives of Nationality:

While an article describing the entry of a Turkish group into Germany will inevitably make some reference to Germany and Turkey by virtue of its topic, constant reiteration of such terms as 'deutsch', 'türkisch', 'Deutschland' etc. may also serve to exacerbate 'difference' albeit implicitly.

Germany is referred to six times within the article and Turkey is also referred to a total of six times. While the number of references in this case is relatively unimportant, the type of reference reveals how the suggestion of 'foreignness' may be further supported. Reference to Germany involves either of two official names i.e. "Deutschland" (lines 17, 111 etc.) and "die Bundesrepublik" (caption accompanying Photo 3). In contrast, Turkey is not referred to as 'die Türkei' despite numerous adjectives of nationality ("türkisch") being apparent in the text and the presence of "die Türken" in the headline. Instead, Turkey is referred to as "Anatolien" (lines 15 and 99), "Heimat" (line 23), "Heimatland" (line 84), "Bosporus" (caption accompanying Photo 5), and as the "Orient" (line 93). The terms 'Anatolien', 'Bosporus' and 'Orient', although similar in broad geographical terms vary considerably in their exact location and size. This indicates that geographical precision is foresaken while 'foreignness' is reinforced.



Anatolia is the modern name for Asia Minor and is derived from the Greek 'anatole' which means 'rising of the sun'. In ancient geography it referred to the land mass east of the Aegean Sea but now generally refers to the area occupied by Asiatic Turkey (Brockhaus, 1982). The Orient may, on the other hand, be defined as "Vorderasien mit Ägypten u. Mittelasien sowie die von ihrer Kultur beeinflussten Gebiete" (Ullstein, 1969) or as "Orient vorder u. mittelasiatische Länder (veraltet) Osten" (Duden, 1980). This clearly refers to a different region than that which comes under the title of Anatolia. Both of these terms differ in their definitions from the term 'Bosporus' which refers to the straits between Europe and Asia which connect the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara (Brockhaus, 1982). All that these terms seem to have in common are their connotations of 'foreignness' or exoticism.

When compared with the neutral 'Türkei', these terms, which connote exoticism and 'foreignness', consequently suggest that the Turkish men are unusual or strange. The journalist's application of such a term to describe Turkey is consistent with the general lexical framework of the article which emphasises the cultural differences between Turkey and Germany.

### **Depersonalisation of Turkish actors:**

As discussed, the Turkish actors within this story are presented as being exotic and strange from a German perspective. In addition, they are also intermittently depersonalised on a lexical level. This is evident in such lexical terms as 'Karawane', (lines 1 and 69), 'Bussen' (line 2), 'Insassen', (line 5), 'Abgewiesenen' (line 24) and 'anatolische Reisende' (line 57). Each of these five references refers specifically to the same group of Turkish men. Each term is, however, distanced, albeit to varying degrees, from the humans to whom it refers.

The first two terms place much salience on the mode of transport used by the people in question while the third term renders the Turkish men faceless and

anonymous. The fourth term, being derived from the transitive verb 'abweisen', degrades the Turkish men to the status of rejects, defining them perhaps as direct objects on which the action of 'abweisen' was conducted. This nominalisation also reduces the men to less active, thinking human agents. The final term listed above places salience on the actions of the men i.e. that they were travelling towards Germany. The positioning of the adjective 'anatolisch' before 'Reisende' also defines these men by their nationality and has connotations similar to those discussed earlier. The term 'Gastarbeitermarkt' (lines 17-18) suggests that immigrants, like the Turks under discussion are like goods which are traded on the employment markets. It is clear from an analysis of these terms used to describe the Turkish men that they contain no strong emotional loading. If replaced with a term such as 'Arbeitssuchende' or 'junge Männer' for example the human associations evoked would be much stronger.

#### **Ridicule of Turkish immigrants:**

In lines 116-122 the journalist engages in subtly ridiculing the Turkish men by defining their coming to Germany as their having discovered their "Liebe" for German "landschaftliche Schönheiten". The irony here serves to 'confirm' that the men were not tourists but intending to enter Germany illegally as the likelihood of the men "loving" German scenery is doubtful. Further traces of ridicule are also detectable in lines 6-7 where the verb 'versichern' is used in conjunction with the Turkish men's trying to explain that they were tourists. In view of all the propositions within the text which indicate that the men were not tourists, to describe them as "assuring" the authorities that they were tourists not only indirectly describes them as being deceitful but also suggests their assurances were transparent.

In lines 55-73 it is suggested that an isolated incident whereby the German authorities adopted a lenient approach to the entry of a group of Turks resulted in the sudden arrival a week later of 800 others who are described as

being "erwartungsfroh". The impression created is that once word of a slackened border patrol was heard in Turkey, a vast number of Turkish citizens grouped together and subsequently tried to exploit the situation.

The possibility that this "Türkeninvasion" was unrelated to the previous one is not considered in the article but rather a link between the two is made appear probable. The authorities' actions are thus justified in this article.

### **Contrast between Turkish actors and German actors:**

From line 1 of this article the Turkish men are polarised as an army of exotic young men. In contrast, the German actors are presented as efficient guardians of German legislation, as men who execute their duties thoroughly. This polarisation is reflected both in the language used to describe the Turkish men ("Muselmanen", "anatolische Reisende") and in the journalist's description of the events of the day.

While the Turkish men are described as arriving "mit den phantasie reichsten Erklärungen" and "abenteuerlichen Beglaubigungsschreiben" (lines 105-108), the German actors in the story possess "Informationen" and percentage breakdowns of the number of Turkish men who seek work - "Nach unseren Informationen wollen mindestens 70 Prozent der Türken bei uns arbeiten" (lines 45-47). The German representatives epitomise efficiency and objectivity while the Turkish actors resemble a group of naive men only capable of drawing up blatantly incredible excuses for coming to Germany.

The quotations offered from the Turkish actors also contrast starkly to those from the German actors. The first quotation from the Turks offered to the reader apparently comes from all 800 occupants of the buses (somewhat incredible in itself) and reads "Wir Touristi" (lines 9-10). The inclusion of an expression in pidgin German subtly highlights the 'foreignness' of the group once again and contrasts starkly to the familiar, colloquial language of

the spokesperson for the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior (lines 42-54) which includes the terms 'ja wohl' and 'doch' and uses the term 'Witz' in its non-literal sense. The language of the German spokesperson creates a certain feigned solidarity (Sornig, 1989) with the reader which may gain support for the German representative at the expense of the Turkish representatives. The language of the German representative may also be considered somewhat hyperbolic not only because of the dismissal of Turkish explanations as a "Witz" but also because of the insertion of the modifier 'nicht einmal' (lines 51-52) which presupposes that some of the men may have even more 'vices' than those mentioned. This quotation from the German representative renders the German stance on the issue more acceptable and also exaggerates the distance between the two groups involved.

Furthermore, the explanation for coming to Germany by Omer Abace (lines 99-104) is rendered doubtful because of its positioning in the text. It appears after Turkish explanations have been referred to as a "Witz", after reference to "Paragraph 5 des Ausländergesetzes", which stresses that foreign workers must have relevant documentation (lines 74-85) and directly after it has been implied that somebody illegally recruited the Turkish men for work in Germany (line 86-92). In addition, the sentence which follows Omer Abace's statement dismisses Turkish explanations as "phantasiereich" and "abenteuerlich". The positioning of this counter-argument here casts further doubt on the plausibility of Omer Abace's comments.

It must also be noted that Omer Abace is the only one of the 800 Turkish men to be interviewed. In contrast, German actors participate in the discussion a total of three times (lines 43-54, lines 62-68, lines 105-109).

### **Illegality of Turks' actions:**

As discussed, the question as to whether the Turkish men were coming to work illegally or on a holiday to Germany is not a factor in this analysis. The

manner in which the situation is defined linguistically and visually is the subject of examination.

At the outset the illegality of the men's plans is given salience. The reader is informed in line 1 that the men arrived "im Morgengrauen", a detail which may suggest the men hoped they would not be noticed. In lines 10 and 11 the journalist chooses the reflexive verb 'sich herausstellen' which suggests that it was already obvious that not all men were tourists and that this eventually 'came to light' or 'proved itself' to be the case. His mentioning that it did not take much time to 'prove' that most of the men were not tourists also implies that this was unmistakably clear. Lines 14-19 state, using the factive verb 'sein' ("war") which has a non-negotiable meaning, that the men were coming to stimulate the German "Gastarbeitermarkt". The addition of the modifier 'wirklich' (line 12) presupposes that all other Turkish men were not tourists. The factive verb 'sein' appears in line 12 also. The source of this assertion is not offered, the information is simply presented as a 'fact'. These lines effectively negate the explanation from the Turkish men in lines 9-10 because of their positioning and define the Turkish groups plans as unquestionably illegal. This may be described as putting "words in the mouths of a silent (or silenced) subordinate group - words that promote the ... perceptions of the rulers" (Mowery and Duffy, 1990, p.165) and creates a negative perception of the Turkish group.

As previously discussed, the comments from the spokesperson from the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior being colloquial and slightly hyperbolic, further reinforce suggestions of illegality. His mentioning that the officials could not allow the men to enter Germany before knowing whether or not they had criminal records or contagious diseases suggests that this may have been an element in the decision to refuse entry. This contradicts the earlier suggestion that they simply needed relevant work-permits. It may also suggest that criminals and men with serious diseases were illegally trying to come to Germany. This suggestion detracts from the harshness of the authorities'

actions in this instance and also justifies them. In a subsequent paragraph, however, the reader is informed of the arbitrary approach taken by the authorities in the previous week. The actions of the authorities are not examined and it is not questioned whether the laissez-faire approach may itself be a contributory factor to the attempted entry of the 800 Turkish men a week later. Nor is it examined why a change in policy came about. Perhaps to examine this would be inconsistent with the presentation of an efficient execution of duty on the part of the German authorities.

Allegations of illegality are further strengthened in the presupposition contained in lines 86-91 where it is explained that neither the police nor the Ministry of the Interior could determine who had recruited the "Heerscharen" for work in Germany. By stating this, the journalist presupposes that a dubious recruitment scheme was in operation. However, the existence thereof is not supported elsewhere in the text and it is possible that such a scheme did not exist. Such a suggestion merely intensifies suggestions of illegality.

Lines 91-97 explain how the Turkish men answered in a "stereotypical" manner when questioned about the possibility of having been recruited. The choice of the adverb 'stereotyp' implies that Turkish men reply in the same fashion continuously. Furthermore, by its definition, the adverb "stereotyp" suggests that such explanations as "Wir Touristi" are always inevitably offered by immigrants in general.

Lines 110-116 explain how the Turkish diplomats did not attempt to explain the actions of their countrymen "objectively". This firstly presupposes that a need existed for them to do so and secondly suggests that the diplomats may have explained the actions subjectively. The inclusion of the adverb 'objektiv' (line 115-116) which suggests the existence of such a subjectivity also suggests that the diplomats may have condoned the attempts by the group of Turkish men.

The use of the subjunctive ("sei" and "hätten", lines 118 and 122 respectively) in the question whether or not it was strange ("merkwürdig") or not that 2000 Turks had "discovered their love for the scenic beauty of Germany" (lines 119-122) implies that this was indeed "merkwürdig". The irony in these lines is obvious, as the coming to Germany of Turkish men is described in terms of their "discovering" their "love" for Germany's scenery. To suggest that the young men are strongly attracted to German scenery is indirectly stating that they were most likely coming to work in Germany. This subtle suggestion further bolsters notions of illegality.

Such a suggestion, together with the other propositions referring to the illegality of the Turks' actions, render the comment from the Turkish official (lines 36-41) unbelievable and his question rhetorical. His asking why Turkish men should not come to Germany is 'answered' by the preceding suggestion in lines 10-18, by the quotations from the German spokesperson (lines 43-54) and the 'Polizeiinspektor' (lines 62-68, lines 105-109). In fact, the quotation from the Turkish official and lines 105-109 may be described as a face-saving disclaimer (Van Dijk, 1983) aimed at allowing for a 'balanced' discussion of the event. However, in view of all the propositions contained in the text which support the suggestion that nearly all 800 men were acting illegally his quotation appears to be self-incriminating and indirectly supports the general slant of the article which is defined largely by the quotations of the German officials.

### **Contradictory reporting:**

Although this article is supposedly based on the successful handling of a 'threatening' situation by German authorities and thus claims to present a factual summary of what happened, certain inaccuracies merit examination.

While the caption on the right hand side of Photo 3 'explains' how German authorities fulfilled their duties and refused to allow any Turks to enter

Germany ("kein Türke"), lines 11-13 state that 44 of the men were indeed tourists. This would suggest that these men were allowed to enter Germany. The caption therefore tells a different story and serves perhaps only to preserve the impression that the authorities were thorough in their work and made no exceptions.

Although the visual portrayals in this article are discussed in the next section, Photo 3 possibly exhibits a further inaccuracy and will therefore be examined here. Lines 4-6 state that all 800 "Insassen" of the buses were male. The question from one of the Turkish officials in lines 39-41 also refers to males ("unsere Männer"). Reference to Turkish men is also made in line 127 and the caption beside Photo 7 refers to male Turks as it contains the masculine form of the noun, 'Türke'. Similarly, the term 'Gastarbeiter' found in the lead referred almost exclusively to young males at the time this article was published.

However, in the background of Photo 3 a woman may be seen. As the numerous references to men, cited above, lead to the conclusion that only men were involved in the journey to Germany, this renders the appropriateness of Photo 3 to the event at hand questionable. It is possible that this photograph does not refer to the particular situation on which the article is based, but is rather a photograph from a similar situation and has been inserted here to sustain the impression that a vast number of foreigners who plan to remain for a long duration in Germany. The excessive amount of baggage in the foreground of the photograph bolsters the notion that the Turks were not on holiday but did, in fact, intend working in Germany.

### **Visuals and Captions:**

The first photograph of the article being 221cm<sup>2</sup> in size is the largest in the article. It shows three Turkish men in the foreground who are distanced from



the large group of men in the background. The photograph suggests that these three men are leaders discussing the circumstances and due to their physical distance from the others are perhaps devising a plan for the others, e.g., an attempt to gain entry to Germany. This impression corresponds with the suggestion in lines 105-109 that the Turks invented imaginative and adventurous explanations for their coming to Germany.

The caption anchors the military definition of the events by stating that the large number of men shown in the visual were "besieging" the border area while German officials were forced to guard the border. The vastness of the photograph itself supports suggestions of an ominous "Türkeninvasion" (line 56), "Heerscharen" (lines 86-87) or mob (line 27).

The smaller photograph (37.5cm<sup>2</sup>), Photo 2, when juxtaposed with Photo 1 creates the impression that the German official shown held back the numerous "Türken" who were 'invading'. His expression is serious and he is wearing an official uniform which clearly displays a badge which reads "Bayerische Grenzpolizei".

The caption anchors this impression also as it explains how the officials collected the passports and sought valid work-permits albeit in vain. The addition of the adverb 'vergebens' suggests the officials had been told by the Turkish men that they would indeed find the necessary work-permits in the passports. This further supports suggestions of deception. The caption also presupposes that all men wished to work in Germany and would therefore have required "gültige Arbeitspapiere". It is perfectly acceptable that, if the men were merely coming to Germany as tourists, they would not have such "Arbeitspapiere". However, this presupposition (along with other suggestions and propositions in the text) effectively excludes such a possibility from examination.

Photo 3 has been previously discussed. At this point, it is sufficient to

reiterate that the positioning of the baggage to the foreground of the photograph suggests that the Turkish men intend to remain for a long time in Germany and supports the impression created in Photos 1 and 2.

The caption to the right of Photo 3 implies that the Turkish men tried to 'talk their way' into Germany. The efficiency of the 'Grenzpolizei' is highlighted once more through the adjective 'hart' which also implies the Turkish men were possibly naive in attempting to gain entry by complimenting such 'Grenzpolizei'. Photo 2, as described, presents a stern looking 'Grenzpolizist' which also renders Turkish attempts at flattery somewhat naive and fruitless.

Similarly, quotations from German authorities within the text present them as unyielding in this instance. By suggesting that the men engaged in complimenting the officials, the journalist also inadvertently stresses the illegality of their actions once more. If the men were refused entry for vacation purposes then it is likely they would have tried all avenues to cross the border. This possibility is effectively disregarded.

The caption to the left of Photo 3 is a quotation from the General Consulate which appears again at the end of the article. By positioning it here, however, it may function as a statement from the Turkish men in the photograph who are expressing their "love" for Germany. Such an emphatic expression as this may cause certain concern amongst readers, as throughout, the arrival of Turks has been described in negative terms, with suggestions of "eine ansteckende Krankheit" (lines 53-54) and an obvious concentration on 'foreignness'.

Photo 4 shows one of the Turkish men kneeling while praying. The photograph is the second largest in the article being almost 103.5cm<sup>2</sup>. The space accorded this photograph may be indicative of 'stern's interpretative plan for the article. The religious beliefs and actions of one man in a group

consisting of 800 men would, in another context, most likely be irrelevant and unworthy of journalistic examination. However, this photograph highlights the Islamic traditions of the group and thus reinforces the group's 'foreignness' and ultimately its incompatibility with German society. The emphasis which is placed on the religious beliefs of the Turkish men also manifests itself in the journalist's lexical choice of 'Muselmanen' in the lead of the story as mentioned. The fact that the men are Muslims is unimportant vis à vis their not having the relevant "Arbeitspapiere" but is used to establish them as an 'out-group' which must be treated with severe bureaucratic caution.

The caption below the photograph states that the man is asking Allah to help the Turks in their attempts to come to Germany. It must be questioned, however, whether or not the journalist is qualified to state what his subject is praying for. His praying is presumably a private affair. The caption may be a case of the journalist speaking for his subject and strengthens the suggestion that the Turks were willing to take extreme measures to gain entry. The caption may also suggest that even Allah played a role in the "Türkeninvasion" and thus defines the confrontation as one between German officials and a powerful Islamic force from which Germany is to be protected.

The insertion of the adverb 'vergebens' may, in contrast, suggest that Allah did not 'condone' the actions of the Turkish men and therefore did not help them. This suggestion supports the interpretation of the group's actions as being illegal and therefore wrong. The likelihood that the man photographed is merely praying as part of his Islamic duties is not examined.

While this man's name may indeed be 'Ali', it is also possible that this name has simply been given to him by the journalist. While all other actors, both German and Turkish, have been referred to by their first and second names, this actor's surname has been omitted. The name 'Ali' may possibly be considered as a 'stern' marker for Turkish men. This is evidenced in other

articles in 'stern' such as "Mit Ali und Kofi und du und du" (19/3/87). Article 4 (20/1/1983) which, as shall be described later, opens "He, Ali du nix anfasse" illustrates how the name is frequently applied by Germans to Turks in a stereotypical fashion. Had the man in Photo 4 been asked for his name, it is probable he would have given his full name.

The final photograph, Photo 5, illustrates how some of the Turkish men had to replace a tyre on one of their vehicles before departing. As in Photo 4 the information provided in the photograph is redundant and bears no relevance to the situation under discussion. The function of this photograph may consequently be to highlight the primitivism of the entire Turkish 'operation'. In view of the military imagery detectable in the article, this photograph may also symbolise a 'failed operation' on behalf of the Turks.

### **Conclusion:**

In his research on newspaper portrayals of immigrants Van Dijk (1988) found that immigrants were frequently viewed as objects of government actions and as people who must be controlled by governmental routines. Similarities between Van Dijk's findings and those of this analysis are obvious.

Throughout this article the effectiveness of the 'Grenzpolizei' is implicitly praised and the reactions of the authorities upgraded to define the situation. The group of Turkish men emerges as being 'foreign', as trying to delude an efficient German force and slyly exploit a once-off lapse in German bureaucracy. The actual event itself (Turks coming to Germany and being refused entry) is frequently downgraded as details such as the mode of transport, the type of coffee, the actions of Ali etc. are highlighted. The dominant topic is seen from the point of view of the receiving society, hence this over-concentration on such details which symbolise 'foreignness'.

The immigrants are depicted as posing a threat and as being incompatible with

German society. O'Brien (1988) argues that in the early 1970s many Germans felt their society was under siege from a foreign element and thus exhibited similar feelings of anti-semitism to those which surfaced around 1873. He refers to a prominent pamphlet in the anti-semitic campaign of the late 1800s which was entitled "The Victory of Judaism over Teutonism". O'Brien suggests that certain parallels may exist between this pamphlet and some media articles of the 1970s such as the article from "Der Spiegel" in 1973 which had the title "Die Türkische Invasion" and which expressed the renewed fear of foreigners by Germans. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the journalist in this 'stern' article uses a similar metaphor to describe the arrival of Turks in Germany. This metaphor may relate to a certain fear in German society at the time and may illustrate the journalists's role of strengthening and/or supporting public opinion. Furthermore, the image of a foreign force invading Germany is also evident in another 'stern' article which was published in 1978 (1978/1). This article has a similar theme to the one under analysis here and is entitled "Invasion aus Karatschi". It deals with the immigration of Pakistanis to Berlin. Although published at a different stage in the history of immigration to Germany, it illustrates that the same imagery and register can be applied to define immigration into Germany as a military operation which threatens the status-quo in Germany.

The register of yet another article from 'stern' (1972/25) bears much resemblance to Article 2 in its historical military association. The impression is created that a war-like invasion is about to be caused by a foreign group. This is supported by lexical choices such as 'Invasion', 'Bosporus', 'Heerscharen' which are identical to those of Article 2 and terms such as 'Schreckensruf', 'kriegerisch' and 'vorgedrungen'. The title of the article reads "Die Türken kommen" (which is a repetition of that of Article 2) and together with the reference to the Turkish invasion of Vienna, also defines the arrival of the Turks in confrontational terms so that the overall image which emerges is one of a threatening, foreign element.

### 6.3 Article 3

#### "Der Italienerkrieg von Aschaffenburg"

'stern', 17/05/73

#### **Preface:**

This article describes how some youths from Schweinheim, Bavaria and some unnamed Italian youths fought on the streets of Schweinheim. The fighting resulted in the death of a German youth - "Robbi". The journalist describes how tensions had built up between local youths and Italians and concentrates on the rivalry between the two groups with regard to their meeting and dancing with German women. The fighting and tensions are described in war-like terms. The sexual practices of the Italians play a key role in the description of the events while the attitude of the German youths is largely considered to be narrow-minded or even naive.

Although both groups emerge as having engaged in violent behaviour, it is the Italians who appear in the more negative light. Their injuries are not discussed. Both the text and visuals concentrate exclusively on the injuries incurred by the German youths. This results in the Italian youths being depicted as perpetrators as opposed to victims in any way.

#### **The Headline:**

The headline of the article describes the fighting between the German youths and the Italians as an "Italienerkrieg". While both Germans and Italians have inevitably to be involved in a 'war' the salience is placed on "Italiener" here because of the lexical choice 'Italienerkrieg'. The Italian involvement in the "Krieg" is thus highlighted and causality is unambiguous. The involvement of German actors has been subtly underemphasised therewith.

### **The Lead:**

The lead of this article gives prime location to the mode of the actions of the two groups emphasising, for example, the weapons used. It also describes the event as fighting between "Bayern" and "Südländer". This hyperbolic categorisation gives a more global definition of events and suggests that the "Krieg" was on a larger scale than in fact it was. The connotations of the term 'Südländer' have been discussed in the analysis of Article 1 ("Die deutschen Frauen laufen uns nach").

### **Setting of scene:**

The article opens with a narrative style and describes the bar in which the German youths were before the fighting. The scene is described as a homely one with emphasis placed, for example, on the decor ("Kuhfell", line 5, "Kruzifix", line 6, "Holztische", line 7) and the atmosphere ("ein gemütliches Haus", lines 3-4). This concentration on irrelevant detail bears much similarity to that found in Article 1 in which the Paul family household is described. As in Article 1, the setting of the scene in such an idyllic way renders its ruination all the more dramatic and unacceptable. This, in turn, highlights the damage caused by the Italians in the story and indirectly portrays them in a negative light. It also illustrates their unsuitability for German society.

Furthermore, the description of the scene before the fighting contrasts starkly to images of war and bloodshed which are subsequently introduced in the text and therefore serves to dramatise the fighting which took place between the Italians and the German locals. The dramatisation of the fighting between the two groups is discussed in the next section which also examines the use of war imagery in this article.

## Events defined as War:

As is indicated in the headline of the article, imagery of war is employed by the journalist in his description of events. The impression that a war-like encounter was taking place is continued throughout the article. Lines 19 to 45 present a staccato-like description of what was happening at the time ("Gegen 21 Uhr.... Dort....Dann....Ihm....Schließlich....Das nächste...."). Lines 47 to 48 describe the events as "dieses für Schweinheim schlimmen Tages", an expression which could, for example, also apply had Schweinheim been besieged or captured by an army. In line 58 the fighting is described as "Die Schlacht von Schweinheim" which suggests much bloodshed and that the fighting was similar to other historical 'battles'. Line 248 similarly describes the event as "Völkerschlacht" and in doing so emphasises the role nationality ("Völker") played in the scene. It is ironic that this particular term is usually applied, for example, to the 'Leipzigerschlacht' of 1813 which marked the way to German nationhood while in this article it is used to describe a street fight involving young men (Kluge, 1975). A staccato-like description of the evening similar to that mentioned above also appears between line 178 and 186 ("Gegen 21 Uhr ... verließen ... hinterher ... telefonierten ... Hilfe ... holten Verstärkung ... Schließlich standen ... 30 bis 40 Mann..."). This dramatises the fighting and reinforces the notions of war created elsewhere in the text.

The manner in which police involvement in events is described also dramatises the scene. The reader is informed (lines 178-196) that the Italians left the bar at 21.00 to seek support from other Italians, that the Germans sought reinforcement in nearby bars, that the police noticed a gathering of young men at 21.26 and that seconds later the fighting broke out. The overall impression is that the police were helpless in the face of the by then large group of Italian and German youths who had had twenty-six minutes to gather together. However, it could be asked what the police actually did between the time they noted a "verdächtige Versammlung von Jugendlichen" (lines 189- 191) and



arrived at the scene. It is possible that the behaviour of the police is being described inaccurately so as to support the overall dramatisation of the situation being described. It would be illogical to assume that they passively allowed such a dangerous situation to develop.

The most obvious parallels between the events in Schweinheim and a war are apparent between the lines 194 and 215. The journalist compares the fighting in Schweinheim to the battle between "Germanen" and "Römer" in 260AD and states that the same types of weapons were used on both occasions. The onlooker's quotation, "Es hat gerummst und geballert" (lines 203-204), strengthens the suggestion that a war or battle was unfolding. The caption below Photo 5, which shows the weapons used, repeats this quotation and continues the theme of war by describing the scene of the fighting as a "Schlachtfeld".

The female German actors in the article subtly reinforce the imagery of war throughout the article. Reminiscent of many stereotypical war scenarios in other discourses, it is a young girl who brings 'the dreadful news' that the young men are violently fighting in this story (lines 29-35). Similarly, it is a female worker who describes the unfolding violence in dramatic terms (lines 43-45, lines 203-205).

All of these features discussed above combine to create the impression that the fighting resembles a war in which each group, particularly the Italians, are seen to attempt to inflict as much pain as possible on the other and to solve the "Reibereien" through violent means.

#### **Presentation of German actors:**

The article opens with a description of the scene in the "Zum Ochsen" bar where "Eddie", "Bast" and "Robbi" play with dice and listen to music. The three youths are described as "Burschen" which suggests they were innocent,

harmless, young men. The harmlessness or childishness of the Schweinheimer youths is consistently reinforced throughout the article. For example, the 'Diskothekenchef', Bühler, describes the Schweinheimer youths as "Beschützer" and as "die Schweinheimer Typen", both of which suggest that the youths were neighbourly, not threatening and which possibly create a feigned familiarity with the reader. The journalist also explains how Gabriele, a local girl, ran back to what are described as "den weniger temperamentvollen Schweinheimer Jungen" (lines 160-162).

With reference to the "Reibereien" between the Schweinheimer youths and the Italians, the journalist explains how the former frequently had less success with women - "immer häufiger den kürzeren zogen" (lines 112-115). He describes their reaction to this situation as their resorting to drinking alcohol and mumbling amongst each other. He then lists six insulting names in succession which the locals allegedly called the Italians. The quotation from Heinz Bühler in lines 115-116 presupposes that the Schweinheimer youths lack charm in their pursuit of women. The resulting picture is, therefore, one in which the locals emerge as an inadequate group of young men who resort to childish name-calling in their frustration. In addition, the treatment of Italians by the local Germans before the actual fighting is described only using the verb 'beleidigen' (caption below Photo 2) and, as such, reduces the prejudicial nature of relations between the groups to mere 'insulting'.

It is not argued, however, that the German actors in the story emerge as completely blameless or tolerant. Their actions are neither glorified nor condoned. The quotations inserted between lines 77 and 80 and lines 84 and 85 highlight their potential for racist behaviour as does the reference to Italians as "Itaker", which is pejorative. The final two paragraphs of the article treat their actions ironically and illustrate their prejudice and intolerance.

However, despite the journalist's disapproval of the racist attitudes and

behaviour of the German youths, he does render their actions somewhat more excusable through his description of them, through his contrasting description of the Italian actors in the story (see below) and through his selective use of quotation. Combined together, these elements portray the German youths as having a lesser role in the brutality of the events which took place in Schweinheim.

### **Presentation of Italian actors:**

As in Article 1, the association of Italians with strong sexual desires and male honour play an important role in the image of the Italian actors in this story. Lines 88 to 96 depict the Italians as men who are passively led ("gelockt") in to the disco by the presence of the German women as though this was beyond their natural control. Many quotations throughout the article pertain to the sexual practices of the Italians - "Die Itaker packen einem beim Tanzen immer gleich auf den Hintern oder an die Brust" (lines 104-107), "Die Italiener wollen immer gleich mit einem schlafen" (lines 153-154). These quotations define Italians in general as being unquestionably obsessed with sex and as incapable of controlling their sexual desires both through their being in the simple present tense, which suggests factuality, and through the terms they contain - "die Itaker" and "die Italiener", which treat Italians as one homogeneous group. The isolated incident referred to by Gabriele in lines 155 to 159 is also made to appear indicative of what all Italians are capable of rather than as a particular once-off event.

As was the case in Article 1 with the Italian 'Gastarbeiter' and in Article 2 with the Turkish actors, the Italian actors are not quoted directly but spoken for, both by the journalist and the German actors in the article. Lines 97 to 99, 104 to 107, 115 to 116 and 131 to 135 provide examples of this. Together these quotations function to portray the Italians as overly interested in sex with German women and as proud and temperamental. This one-sided view of Italians sustains the overall negative picture of Italians which is

developed within the article as a whole.

### **Establishment of Culpability:**

While the German actors in the story are neither praised nor supported for their actions, their involvement in this fatal event is somewhat diluted. This is due both to the journalist's concentration on their frustration at having 'their' women pursued by Italians and through his portraying them as childish, narrow-minded youths ("Burschen") who call names and insult ("beleidigen") as already mentioned.

In contrast, the Italian actors are shown to be over-interested in sex and unwilling to accept the norms in Schweinheim. Unlike the German actors they are shown to resort not to verbal but to physical abuse. They consequently emerge as a much more powerful group in terms of violence. In this way the aforementioned "Burschen" are seen as victims of a faceless but ominous group of violent Italians. While the Italians were indeed culpable for the death of Wolfgang Weil, the over-concentration on their violence and the depiction of the German actors as being relatively innocent suggest that they held more blame in the whole scenario than did the Germans.

Between lines 208 and 209 a quotation which reads "Die Schweine stechen mich tot" is inserted. Although it is not attributed to any one person in particular, it is made appear to refer to the Italian youths as the reader is subsequently informed of how "Robbi" lay bleeding on the ground. The fact that no source is made available and that it is unlikely that a dying person would in fact be in a position to shout such a sentence so loudly as to be heard over all others suggests that the inclusion of such a quotation serves to merely add to the sense of drama already created and to further highlight the culpability of the Italian youths and the helplessness of the victim.

The structuring of this article also contributes to apportioning more blame to

the Italian youths. It makes the violence used against the Germans seem entirely unmotivated in the earlier part of the text. The reader is some way into the text before the background of racialism is made evident. Only in line 75 does it become clear that the attack was in fact initiated by the Germans. This 'staging' of the narrative is a subtle but nonetheless powerful device which also affects the portrayal of the Italian actors in a negative way.

The heading at the top of the article reads "Fremdenhaß". This suggests that the article deals with racism directed at foreigners living in Germany as indeed it does. It is interesting, however, that this racism is aligned with something akin to backwardness on the part of German youths and as something which "selbstbewußte junge Leute wie Carlo, Luigi oder Piero" should merely find "gar nicht lustig" (lines 127-129). The "Fremdenhaß" is reduced, therefore, to a type of male competitiveness. The actions of the Italian men consequently appear to be exaggerated and without much foundation.

### **Visuals and Captions:**

The text of this article is accompanied by five photographs which are in turn each accompanied by a caption. It is significant vis à vis the portrayal of the Italians that the photographs do not contain any Italian actors involved in the scene. The exclusive visual concentration on the German actors *in the story* effectively and subtly portrays them in a sympathetic light as it draws attention to their suffering and that of their families and friends. At the same time it highlights the wrong-doings of the Italians and plays down the suffering incurred by them. In all, the visuals view the situation from a German perspective only.

Photo 1 shows the one of the Germans injured in the "Italienerkrieg". Its caption contains the question "Wie konnte das eigentlich passieren?" The implied answer is, in view of the definition of events provided in the story,

because Italians are not able to accept German norms and resort easily to violence. This subtly compounds the suggestion throughout the text that the Italians are the root of the problem in Schweinheim and not some of the locals.

Photo 3 shows the victim of the fighting with his wife. Again this evokes sympathy for the Germans in the story. The fact that this picture is included at all, while none of the Italians directly involved are either photographed or quoted indicates the extent to which the German perspective dominates within this article. Photo 4 shows the burial of the victim. This similarly evokes sympathy and typifies the concentration on the German actors. Reference is made again in the caption which accompanies this photo to the wife of the man killed in the fighting and functions in the same way as in Photo 3.

This choice of photographs may also lead to the attention of the reader only being focused on the death of the young German man and in doing so may also detract from the other important, albeit more difficult to describe in concrete, factual terms, issue of racial tension in Schweinheim.

Photo 5 presents the weapons used by the fighting groups and describes the objects used in the fighting as "Waffenarsenal" which reinforces the war theme of the article. This photo can also be considered as contributing to the dramatisation elsewhere in the article.

Photo 2 is a small picture of the bar at which the fighting took place. It illustrates how the bar is typical both in size and appearance and therefore bolsters the creation of an idyllic scene which was described in the opening paragraph of the text. It also perhaps functions as a symbol for everyday German life and its juxtaposition with victims of bloody fighting may therefore indirectly suggest its being endangered or threatened. This, in turn, subtly suggests that it is the presence of Italians, who are considered throughout as the cause of such fighting, which creates such a danger or

threat.

### **Conclusion:**

In this article Italians emerge as a group of men who are sexually obsessed and who present a threat to the local youths in Schweinheim. The quotations from the German actors in the article together with the journalist's personal comments on the Italians create this impression. The theme of war which runs through the article and the journalist's visual and verbal concentration on the weapons used by the rival groups highlights the severity of the Italians' reaction to the locals. It is suggested that the Italians orchestrated a well planned attack on a prejudiced but nevertheless naive group of Schweinheimer "Burschen". The broader contributory factors to what is described as "Reibereien" (line 110) are not fully addressed. The journalist concentrates solely on the sexual practices of the Italians and the reaction of the locals to this. These provide the framework within which the events and actors are defined. As a result, the Italians emerge as a group which wishes to continue with its sexual practices involving German women and which is willing to cause an "Italienerkrieg" in its attempt to do so. The sole 'justification' for their violence appears to be their unwillingness to 'share' German women and not a more sinister form of racist tension which may exist between them and the locals.

In research on discrimination, Tsiakalos (1983) finds that racist attacks are very often described in press reports without their whole context being described. He suggests that this enables the playing-down of prejudice and prevents reinforcing the fact that it actually exists. Tsiakalos (1983, p. 14) also illustrates how many racist encounters appear within the media under the heading of "Wirtshausschlägereien", whereby motives for violence are often treated as "ungeklärt" even if they had been clearly expressed by victims or attackers.

While this article, unlike those cited by Tsiakalos (1983), appears under the heading of "Fremdenhaß" the story revolves very much around the specific setting in the public house and on the competition between the Italians and the Germans for the attention of German women. "Fremdenhaß" may perhaps be best described as an undercurrent within this article rather than as a topic which is explored in its entirety. In this sense, therefore, this 'stern' article follows Tsiakalos' (1983) argument that more sinister issues, like racism, are often dismissed and replaced with less worrying issues such as macho competitiveness. The emphasis placed on the weapons and eye-witness descriptions within this article support this argument. While specific and relatively unimportant details are sensationalised, this may well be to the detriment of a more open acknowledgement of the possibility that a more important issue, like racism, surfaces with such a "Wirtschaftsschlägerei" as that in Schweinheim.

The issue at hand within this article is not as easily definable as a 'clash' between two groups of young men. While the Italian actors are indeed not innocent of committing serious, violent acts, the full extent of incidents which may have preceded this event may need to be explored to provide a perspective which may lead to the Italians emerging in quite a different form than they do within the article as it stands. The behaviour of the Italians and the Germans is described in this article as a type of macho brawl. The broader picture, which may have led to such fighting is left almost entirely unexplored. The sole inference that racist attitudes may have played a role comes in the form of a quotation from one of the German actors, who uses the derogatory term 'Itaker' when referring to Italians. Apart from this, no other part of the text makes direct reference to the possibility of there being a more serious background to that which led to the killing in Schweinheim. The way in which the story is structured is, as described above, also instrumental in trivialising the racist actions of the Germans, thereby rendering the Italians 'more guilty'. There appears, therefore, to be a disparity between the classification of the article as one which relates to racism and its thematic



content, linguistic style and narrative structure.

It is possible that this 'stern' article, while obviously focusing to a great extent on the death of a young German man, also, whether deliberately or inadvertently, defines the Italian actors as particularly violent. This may follow not least because of the key term 'Italienerkrieg' in the title and the possible justification or de-emphasising of the role of the German actors in the story. The manner in which the Germans are depicted greatly affects the depiction of the Italian actors. It is exactly because of this interdependence between the portrayal of the two groups that the Italian actors emerge as being more culpable and not just because they killed a German man.

There is a suggestion within this article that Italians and Germans in general cannot live together without friction. This, as opposed to racist sentiments, appears to be the reason offered for the fighting between the groups of youths albeit implicitly. It manifests itself, for example, through the definition of the street-fight as a battle which resembles fighting between "Germanen" and "Römer". This effectively suggests that 'Germans' and 'Romans' have never had a harmonious relationship and that what happened in Schweinheim is the result of a type of inherent incompatibility between the two. Other elements within the story, such as the juxtaposition of terms like 'Bayern' and 'Südländer' in the lead, and the description of the fighting as an 'Italienerkrieg' or 'Völkerschlacht' also support the suggestion of incompatibility. This concentration on the inability of Italians to mix with Germans leads to their being depicted as incapable of living in German society and sustains the image of them as an out-group.

#### 6.4 Article 4

**Bei den Kerlen kann man ja nie wissen".**

'stern', 10/03/83

##### **Preface:**

This article describes how school-children in the city of Cologne dress themselves in such a way as to appear as Turkish children to investigate how they would be treated on the streets of Cologne. In general, the children reported negative experiences.

The Germany depicted in this article is harsh in its day to day treatment of Turkish children. The behaviour of Germans is a key theme in the article and is used to develop this image of Germany. This article illustrates how Turkish children are confronted with a different reality than their German counterparts on a daily basis. It does so by focusing on the general behaviour of Germans. The article intermittently ridicules Germans in its attempt to portray them as the cause of the problems which face Turkish children in Germany.

Throughout, the children's 'experiment' is viewed as a positive action on behalf of the school-children and their teacher. However, the article may also be considered simplistic in its reliance on the experiment to prove the existence of prejudice in Germany at the time this article was published. It also exhibits a certain degree of prejudice itself in relation to how it views Turks in Germany. These points will be discussed in more detail in the analysis below.

### **The Headline:**

The headline of this article consists of a quotation from one of the German actors in the story. Its being situated just below the subheading "Ausländer" indirectly states who "Kerle" applies to (i.e. to the foreigners).

Having read the text it becomes clear that this quotation, which has been chosen as the headline, serves to reveal the prejudice which exists among Germans when they are confronted with 'Ausländer' or more specifically Turkish children. However, the possibility also exists that, the collocation of 'Ausländer' and the proposition 'Bei den Kerlen kann man ja nie wissen' can lead to the conclusion that foreigners cannot be trusted. While the choice and location of the quotation as a headline may indeed have been decided upon to suggest the opposite and to expose prejudice within German society, it must also be considered that frequently only headlines of articles are read. As early as 1928 Emig argued that headlines were a most important factor in the formation of public opinion. For this reason, the choice of headline could perhaps lead to a rather different interpretation of the aim of the article.

The function of this quotation/headline presumably rests with the journalist's aim to expose prejudice and to make 'stern' readers aware of the daily realities which Turkish children deal with. The exposition of prejudice vis à vis Turkish children within this article and the manner in which this reflects on German society is discussed in the section below entitled 'Prejudice of Germans'.

### **The Lead:**

In contrast to the headline of this article which suggests that one should be cautious when encountering Turkish youths, the lead of the article states clearly that Turkish children are accorded undesirable treatment.

On closer examination of the lead it may be seen how the journalist in fact equates 'having a Turkish appearance' ("sich als Türken verkleiden") with 'having a bad experience' ("schlimme Erfahrungen machen"). This equation is facilitated by the insertion of the coordinating conjunction "und" which places both clauses (i.e. appearing to be Turkish and having a bad experience) on the same level. What subtly emerges from this structure is a type of foregone conclusion, that being Turkish inevitably leads to having negative experiences.

### **Turks as victims / Importance of 'experiment':**

Turkish children, as represented by the German school-children in this article, are portrayed as victims of Germans' actions. The article opens with a German shop-assistant harshly addressing a child in the imperative, albeit in pidgin German. The child is told not to touch anything and is then forced to discontinue playing with the game because the shop assistant unplugs it. In lines 95 to 100 the journalist explains how two other children experienced being treated with suspicion because of their Turkish appearance. Again in lines 101 to 116 the reader is informed of how an old woman clutched her handbag tightly when the 'Turks' approached and how other children received a comparatively small amount of "Eßkastanien" because of their foreign appearance.

One of the school children describes the overall feeling experienced by 'Turkish children' in lines 121-128. She explains how, as a Turkish child, people looked at her from top to bottom and gave the impression they were disgusted. This, she explains, resulted in her becoming quite insecure.

From these extracts it is clear that the journalist exposes how Turkish children can be treated by Germans. The overriding impression he/she conveys is that the Turkish children are treated differently than German children and that the treatment accorded them is prejudiced and obviously at odds with the norms

for German children.

When compared with Articles 1, 2 and 3, it is clear that this article projects an 'ausländerfreundliches' picture in which immigrants are shown as victims. As such, it suggests the emergence of an 'anti-racist' stance on the part of 'stern' which was perhaps an attempt made by the magazine in the early 1980s to display a liberal conscience in relation to immigrant issues.

One particular reason why the journalist may view the 'experiment' as so particularly useful is because of its having been initiated by an 'experiment' which was conducted by a 'stern' reporter (lines 42-57). It is possible that the description of the experiment and indeed the article itself functions to draw attention to 'stern's' efforts to tackle prejudice in German society.

However, the manner in which the journalist arrives at the conclusion that immigrants are the victims of racism is based solely on reference to a chronology of anecdotal evidence which is made available by the children's 'experiment'. By classifying prejudice as a 'finding of an experiment' the journalist effectively casts some doubt as to whether it actually existed or not within German society. Furthermore, the reliance on the children's reports to ascertain the existence and extent of prejudice implies tangible evidence was required to prove prejudice was to be found in the Germany of the early 1980s. In view of the information on racist attitudes towards Turks which is provided in the section on immigration in this dissertation, the emphasis placed on the 'experiment's' confirmation that Germans behaved prejudicially towards Turkish children seems to be inappropriate and perhaps even redundant.

#### **'Türken' as opposed to 'Ausländer':**

The subheading of this article interestingly reads "Ausländer" even though the article relates specifically to the experiences of Turkish children. While

Turkish immigrants are indeed a sub-group of the large group of 'Ausländer' living in Germany, the use of this term in an article which refers specifically to Turks merits some consideration.

This term encompasses all ethnic groups in Germany and, ignoring all cultural, linguistic and physical characteristics of the groups subsumed by the term, implies one homogenous group which in reality is entirely heterogenous. Thränhardt (1984) found (the year after this article was published) that the term 'Ausländer' was gaining much acceptance in Germany as a generic term for immigrants. Furthermore, he argued that the term was only used with reference to a specific type of 'Ausländer'. He found it did not apply to American or Japanese business people. Neither did it apply to Dutch or Austrians. Thränhardt (1984, p.116) argued, for these reasons, that the term 'Ausländer' is used only to emphasise "das Fremde, das Andersartige".

This appears to be the case in this article whereby the term 'Ausländer' refers specifically to the Turks who have, as discussed in the section on immigration, traditionally appeared as being most 'foreign' to sections of the German population.

Since the article does not refer to different groups of foreigners but solely to Turks, the use of this term defines Turks as 'Fremde' or 'Andersartige' at the outset. Its application specifically to Turks also indicates the lower status of this group and suggests once again that the 'foreignness' of this group is a feature in how they are perceived in this article.

The caption which accompanies Photograph 1 contains the compound noun 'Türkenfeindlichkeit'. This lexical choice as opposed to that of 'Ausländerfeindlichkeit', further illustrates the distinction accorded Turkish immigrants. It suggests that various kinds of 'Feindlichkeit' or perhaps various degrees of 'Feindlichkeit' exist in German society.

The compound noun 'Türkenwitze' contained in line 135 similarly indicates the particular status of Turkish immigrants. In fact, it could be argued that the particular treatment accorded Turks and the difficulty some Germans have in fully accepting Turks into Germany is reflected in the lexical choices of this article. The fact that these terms are used in this 'stern' article but do not, for example, appear in any of the dictionaries referred to in the course of this analysis also illustrates how 'stern' adopted the public discourse on Turks of the time. This may, in fact, not only indicate that 'stern' provides a measure of the prejudice which existed in German society at the time this article was published but also that it itself is guilty of showing some prejudice. This is discussed in the section entitled 'Ambivalence' which follows later in this analysis.

### **Prejudice of Germans:**

While this article attempts to explore the extent of the "schlimme Erfahrungen" had by Turkish children, an obvious corollary, which may even be considered a main theme of this article, is the depiction of German actors as biased and insensitive. Throughout the article many encounters between Germans and Turks are described in such a way as to illustrate the problematic attitude of Germans to Turkish immigrants.

The opening paragraph of the article exhibits how a German shop-assistant adjusts her language when addressing one of the children playing the role of a Turkish child. She is quoted using a form of pidgin German which includes an unconventional word-order, the slang form of 'nichts', the appellative 'He' and the verb 'anfassen' which is neither conjugated with the subject 'du' nor used in its infinitive form. In addition to this she also addresses the boy as 'Ali' without knowing his name. Her doing so indicates that this name is used as a stereotypical name or indeed 'label' for all Turkish youths. (The use of this name by Germans has also been discussed in the analysis of Article 2). This name is obviously a symbol of 'foreignness' and difference and perhaps

signifies a different cultural background or religion for Germans. The shop assistant was not aware of the boy's origin or religious beliefs. It was his appearance alone which renders this name 'suitable'.

Together with the quotation in pidgin German an adverb, namely 'barsch', is inserted to emphasise the manner in which the woman deals with the boy. Given the content and form of her address this adverb is somewhat redundant and perhaps serves to further highlight the harsh approach taken by the shop assistant. In this first paragraph emphasis is also placed on the nationality of the shop assistant ("die deutsche Verkäuferin", line 2). The adjective of nationality too may be considered somewhat redundant. It would be considered superfluous in another context to state that a woman working in a German toy-shop was German. Here, however, its collocation with the blunt imperative "He, Ali du nix anfasse" associates the harshness or bluntness with the shop assistant's being German.

In lines 101-108 the reactions of an old woman are similarly used to expose the type of treatment which Turkish children must face. The woman is reported as clutching her hand-bag under her arm when she sees the children approaching her. This woman's reactions are subtly condemned or at least exposed as being unacceptable by the description of her as "ein altes Mütterchen". This diminutive is not a neutral term particularly when collocated with the adjective 'alt'. While the diminutive 'Mütterchen' may be employed to suggest a 'harmless old woman', here it serves to both suggest that the woman in question is both narrow-minded and prejudiced. Her choice of noun ("Kerlen", line 107) which is pejorative in this instance also indicates the negative attitude which she has to Turks.

The journalist's selection of both the incident involving the shop assistant and that involving the "Mütterchen" offer the reader a type of spectrum with which to measure the extent of prejudice and proves that it is not confined to one type of person or age group.



In lines 108-116 the journalist selects the experience which the children had while purchasing some "Eßkastanien". This incident, involving a male "Verkäufer", provides more tangible evidence of the prejudicial treatment accorded Turkish children by Germans. The fact that STERN-Fotograf conducted a "Testverkauf" lends further credence to the finding that the children were treated unfairly. As with the "deutsche Verkäuferin" and the "altes Mütterchen" the image of Germans which emerges is not a favourable one and the incident involving the "Verkäufer" at the "Eßkastanien" stand adds a new dimension to the spectrum mentioned above.

Similarly, between lines 95 and 100 the journalist describes how two of the children are suspected of stealing in one of the department stores simply because of their 'Turkish' appearance. This completes the chronology of incidents which together complete a picture of prejudiced Germans.

Two other points of reference within the text also contribute to the formation of the picture mentioned above. The first may be found between lines 53 and 57. Here the journalist makes reference to the experiences of the STERN-reporter who had pretended to be a Turkish road-sweeper in Frankfurt. Using the passive, he describes how the reporter was thrown out of restaurants and defamed ("diffamiert", line 55), pestered ("angepöbelt", line 56) and even beaten by Germans ("von Deutschen", line 55). The use of the passive here subtly suggests that the reporter was treated like an object as for each action he occupied a non-agentive role. More important, however, in relation to this article, is that although the experiences of the reporter are peripheral to the pictures created by the children's experiment, they serve to lend credence to the findings of the children's experiment and therefore reinforce the notion created that Germans are prejudiced against Turks.

The second point of reference which helps form this negative picture of Germans appears in lines 124 to 128. Here, one of the children involved in the experiment describes how people look Turkish children up and down as

though they were almost disgusted ("angeekelt", line 126/7). This, along with the incidents mentioned earlier, suggests that outer appearance is of extreme importance to Germans. Personal appearance is also shown here to be an important factor in how one is treated. The quotation from this child serves to illustrate that Germans perceive a Turkish child solely by his/her appearance. The child's choice of term, 'die Leute' is somewhat all-encompassing, implying most or even all people behave in the same way. The quotation between lines 37 and 41 similarly suggests that all Germans treat Turkish children in the same way.

### **Quotations and Selectivity:**

This article contains nine quotations (excluding the headline). Seven of these reflect negatively on Germans regardless of whether they are from the German actors or the children. This consistent negativity presents a global picture of Germans for which there exists no counter-image in the article.

In addition to this, each of the results from the experiment consistently portrays Germans in the same way. Only the negative incidences are presented to the reader. The journalist's selectivity vis à vis incidents which are seen to epitomise prejudicial behaviour on the part of the Germans suggests that prejudice permeates all aspects of day to day life. This selectivity on behalf of the journalist implies that there are no exceptions to 'the rule' that Germans i.e. all Germans treat Turkish children in a biased fashion.

The results of the children's experiment are accepted readily. A certain perspective which may facilitate a more balanced or less black and white analysis of events is perhaps lacking. This does however, not suggest that any of the findings by the children or assumptions by the journalist are false. It merely suggests that those findings may require a context which would not lead to the conclusion that all Germans behave in a consistently prejudiced

fashion.

### **Argumentation and Ambivalence:**

As already discussed, this article sets about exposing the prejudice which confronts Turkish children on a daily basis. This is clear from the lead to the final quotation which concludes the article.

However, the article itself inadvertently falls into the trap of stereotyping Turks. This ambivalence is apparent in lines 9 to 15. In this part of the article the journalist describes the style in which the children are dressed and how they behave. In doing so, he/she uses the genitive case i.e. "das gebrochene Deutsch der Türken" and suggests therewith that Turks speak broken German only. Furthermore, the use of the definite article 'der' suggests that all Turks speak this type of German i.e. that this broken German is the 'language of the Turks'.

The journalist understandably describes the youths as having "schwarze Haare" as this is presumably the most likely colouring amongst Turks (although not exclusively so). However, as in the case of the language of the Turks, his description of the clothing ("abgewetzt", line 10) similarly presumes that this is the normal type of clothes for Turks. In any other circumstance to state in 'stern' that Turks per se had black hair, spoke 'gebrochenes Deutsch' and wore clothing which was 'abgewetzt' would be unacceptable. While the journalist is not stating this directly here, his/her phrasing of the information between lines 9 and 15 is perhaps indicative of the stereotypes held.

This perhaps constitutes what Sykes (1985) would classify as a 'Freudian slip' in reporting on immigrants or minorities. Sykes (1985, p.85) argues that "on occasions, information content may favour a party while treatment of them in

lexical choice or syntax .... may be unfavourable (and vice versa)". This finding may be applicable here. It is obvious that the journalist sought to expose the prejudice and stereotypes within German society yet, in doing so, ironically, he/she supports them.

Another aspect of this article which indicates an ambivalent stance on the part of the journalist in relation to prejudice, is the manner in which the "vier Türken, einer Italiener und einer Jugoslawe" (lines 69-70) from the class are dealt with in the text. The journalist states that these children did not wish to take part in the 'experiment' because they were familiar with prejudice from their own experience (lines 70-75). What is revealing is the fact that the experiences which these children could relate to the entire class are overlooked. The journalist's admiration for the German children's efforts appears to overshadow any recognition of the feelings of the other children. Furthermore, this effectively suggests that any experiences which these children have reported need to be 'confirmed' by the other children. Although the journalist is not responsible for planning the 'experiment' in such a way, his/her failure to acknowledge the importance of the Turkish, Italian and Yugoslavian children in any project on discovering prejudice exhibits a certain one-sidedness which in itself borders on prejudice. It also illustrates the over-reliance on the 'experiment' within this article which was mentioned earlier in this analysis.

### **Visuals and Captions:**

The article is accompanied by three photographs. Although, the photographs show the German children involved in the experiment, an analysis of them from the point of view of the portrayal of Turks is revealing.

Photo 1 shows the eight German children who dressed up as Turkish children for the experiment. It places them in the forefront of the article and the caption anchors them as types of admirable characters who test

"Türkenfeindlichkeit". The fact that the Turkish, Italian and Yugoslavian children are not included in the photo once again indicates the importance accorded those children who dressed up and the 'experiment' itself.

Photo 1 is much smaller than the two which follow, being just 56cm<sup>2</sup> as opposed to 240cm<sup>2</sup>. The other two photos show the children dressed as Turkish children. The size accorded photos 2 and 3 highlights the 'foreignness' of the appearance of the children. The juxtaposition of these photos with the smaller one of the German children also highlights the difference between the German and the 'Turkish' children. The photos may also be described as setting up a type of 'before-and-after' scenario in which the outward appearance of Turkish children emerges as being particularly 'foreign' when compared to that of the German children.

This 'before-and-after' scenario also supports the idea that the 'experiment' was important for the discovery of prejudice. The contrast between Photo 1 and Photos 2 and 3 suggests that much effort went into preparations for the experiment, thereby lending it a type of scientific quality.

The second and third photos may also be considered as stereotypically portraying Turkish children in terms of dress. In these photos 'Turkish children' are shown in ragged, uncoordinated clothing. Such a portrayal functions similarly to the adjective 'abgewetzt' (line 10) in stereotypically defining Turks as dressing in a particular way.

The captions accompanying the photographs on the other hand bolster the suggestion that the children had negative experiences as they encountered different Germans. The caption accompanying Photo 2 reiterates that some of the children were treated with suspicion and that people looked at them as though disgusted. Similarly, the caption accompanying Photo 3 quotes the shop assistant as she addressed the boy in the toy-shop. The caption which appears below Photo 1 has been discussed in the section entitled 'Türken as

opposed to Ausländer'. The inclusion of these rather bland photographs may also subtly reinforce the suggestion that the German actors were particularly prejudiced as the innocence of the well-intentioned children acts as a backdrop to the German actors who emerge all the more unfavourably as a result.

### **Conclusion:**

Throughout this article Turks have been shown to suffer prejudicial treatment while living in Germany. Their fate is considered to be under the control of the Germans who consistently treat them with suspicion and/or contempt.

This article illustrates how Turkish children were viewed by some sections of the German public as being not only different but also threatening. Throughout, the journalist does not refute any of the findings of the schoolchildren's experiment. On the contrary, he openly supports and strengthens them. He portrays Germans as being prejudiced and supports the finding by the children that a definite discrepancy exists between the treatment accorded German children and Turkish children in public.

The existence of "Türkenfeindlichkeit" is revealed throughout the article. The journalist's lexical choice itself indicates that at this time Turks were subjected to a particular and unique form of racism. The reasons or background for this prejudice are however not explored. The journalist does not endeavour to offer any explanation as to why this "Türkenfeindlichkeit" exists in its then form but merely confirms how it has permeated everyday life.

This lack of examination of background factors possibly reinforces the impression maintained throughout that some Germans are inexplicably prejudiced as it is coupled with a chronology of 'prejudiced incidences' which receive descriptive as opposed to analytical attention. The journalist's emphasis on the 'Germanness' of the German actors together with his ridicule of these also contribute to the suggestion that this prejudice or

'Türkenfeindlichkeit' is typically German. It could also be argued that, in contrast to some of Van Dijk's (1988) findings on the portrayal of prejudice in the media, this article portrays prejudice as an almost integral part of German society. As discussed in the section of this dissertation which deals with previous studies on the portrayal of immigrants in the media, Van Dijk (1988) found that prejudice is usually described in 'individualistic' terms rather than as something which forms part of the fabric of a society. In this article the journalist focuses on individual incidents to illustrate the existence of prejudice within German society but not to the detriment of illustrating how rampant this prejudice is. Instead he/she presents this prejudice as extending beyond the mere individual incidents selected both through his/her linguistic style and selectivity.

It must, however, also be noted that the journalist also supports this 'Türkenfeindlichkeit'. While he/she obviously takes a stance which condemns prejudice, he/she ironically reveals his/her own prejudiced attitudes on Turks through lexical choice, visual portrayal and the over-estimation of the importance of the 'experiment'. It is perhaps this inadvertent revelation of the journalist's personal prejudice which is most indicative of the extent to which 'Türkenfeindlichkeit' existed in the Germany of the early 1980s.

While this article cannot be considered as exhibiting an anti-foreigner stance of the same degree as that of Articles 1, 2 and 3, neither can it be regarded as having a stance which could be described as completely 'pro-Turk'. What it appears to offer is a type of 'pro-Turk' stance, which is simply engineered through the use of anecdotes and quotations, to appear as anti-racist at a time of increased racist activity. As such, it may be considered as exemplifying an attempt by 'stern' to appear 'enlightening' while at the same time confusing community relations.

## 6.5 Article 5

### "Aufstand gegen die Zukunft"

'stern', 17/10/1991

#### **Preface:**

This article describes problems associated with immigration into Germany. It concentrates on attitudes of the German "Volk" to immigrants and draws parallels between the recent racist attacks on immigrants and growth in racist activity and the crimes committed under Hitler. It openly criticises German society and the problems it has in accepting people of foreign origin and suggests that the German nation has not yet come to terms with its Nazi past.

While acknowledging that Germany has become a country with a large immigrant population, the article also describes the country as being in a crisis because of immigration. It suggests a variety of reasons as to why immigration and issues related to this are met with resistance and contempt. It arrives at the overall conclusion that this is largely if not totally attributable to Germany's fear of the future which would involve the acceptance of a multicultural society. However, the article offers no foundation for such a conclusion.

It overtly portrays foreigners as victims of a society which appears unable, or at least unwilling to accept any type of foreign element. However, its strategy and pattern of argumentation inadvertently reveals its own prejudice, as do some of the lexical choices. Parallels with the ambivalence discussed in Article 4 are found in this article. This results in the transparent, and at times exaggerated, criticisms waged at Germany being at odds with the underlying propositions of the article. The arguments and pleas of the journalist are ironically cloaked in contradiction which, when analysed more closely, illustrates an ambivalence which is perhaps more poignant than that exposed in the previous analyses of the other 'stern' articles.



### **The Headline:**

The headline reads "Aufstand gegen die Zukunft". Given that the article relates to the racist treatment of immigrants in Germany, it implies that this problem is a type of rebellion against the future. It suggests that a type of in-depth analysis of German society, which would allow the situation to be described in this way, may follow. However, as shall become clear in the course of this analysis, no convincing arguments are brought forward to validate such a definition of events. In contrast, the article criticises Germany in hyperbolic fashion and offers various incoherent 'reasons' as to why racism is so rampant in Germany. The 'reasons' selected by the journalist result in Germany's being portrayed in a negative light. This is examined in detail in the section which follows.

### **Depiction of Germany:**

In this article the treatment of foreigners in Germany is discussed in terms of its reflection on German society. The article relates, therefore, both to Germany and to the foreigners living there. The latter constitute the main subject of analysis. However, an analysis of how German society is described must precede an analysis of immigrant portrayal as the depiction of Germany in itself contributes to the portrayal of the foreigners. The two are intrinsically woven together throughout.

Racism, or at least racist treatment of foreign immigrants, is considered in this article to be a general characteristic of the German nation. The journalist creates this impression, in part, by drawing parallels between the German population of today and that at the time of the SS through such references as "die Auferstehung des Nazitums" (lines 50-51) and "die Enkel der SA-Generation" (lines 70-73). Reference is also made to Auschwitz and Treblinka, (line 87), whereby it is suggested that the atrocities associated with these places are about to recur. In the final paragraph of the article the

journalist similarly refers to the racist activists of today as "Nachläufer Hitlers" (line 192-3) and argues that they can no longer be tolerated but must be confronted. In selecting these terms with which to refer to Germany and Germans, the journalist defines modern Germany as almost being on a par with that at the time of Hitler.

Sustaining this image, the journalist also suggests that racism is supported by vast numbers of Germans. He makes reference, for example, to "eine breite Schicht stillschweigender Sympathisanten" (lines 94-96) which he states may be found "im gesitteten deutschen Bürgertum" (lines 97-98). The vague adjective 'breit' allows the impression of huge numbers of people to be created. The adjective 'deutsch' in the second part of the sentence is superfluous but serves to strengthen the suggestion that the racism the journalist refers to is a German phenomenon much like in Article 4, line 2 ("die deutsche Verkäuferin"). In the same paragraph reference is also made to "Millionen" who, it is stated, say or think "richtig so" when they see the pictures of a new "Nazi-Anschlag" (line 105-6). Again this creates the impression of huge support for racist activity. The journalist's description of people's condoning racist attacks as their saying or thinking "richtig so" implies he has first hand experience with these "Millionen" as it almost functions as a quotation. It also suggests that huge sections of the German population are extremely callous and relish seeing others brutally attacked.

This image of a Nazi-type Germany is reinforced through the subsequent depiction of Germany as a country which is suffering from a disease, in this case racism. With reference to German history, the journalist refers to a "Krankheitsgeschichte" (line 175). He describes how a fever ("Fieber", line 18) which is ignited ("entzündet", line 19) by the "Asylantenfrage" (line 20) is shaking ("schüttelt", line 19) the nation. He similarly refers to "die Symptome" (line 46-7) of this illness as being worrying ("beunruhigend", line 47-8) and to the "Diagnose" thereof (line 52). This idea of Germany being personified and suffering from a fever suggests racism permeates the entire

country, that Germany is diseased to the core. The reference to those Germans living during Hitler's time as a "Generation" by definition also suggests that every German felt and acted in the same way i.e. according to SS aims and demands. In addition, the journalist refers to the state of German society as an indication of its "physischen Zustand" (line 45). This also personifies Germany and sustains its image as a 'diseased' country. The image is supported further by the reference to "Psychologen und Soziologen" in line 54 who, the reader is informed, seek to explain the 'disease' which is portrayed as having taken over Germany.

Diverging from the image of disease, the journalist also suggests that fear on the part of Germans may be the cause of the racism he describes. He refers, for example, to the fear of Germans as "die Angst der reichen Westdeutschen" thereby suggesting that an element of greed exists which causes "the rich Germans" to fear immigration (lines 58-59). Eastern Germans are, in contrast, described in generalised terms as being poor and as suffering from "Verunsicherung" (line 56). These simplified generalisations suggest that the dominant traits of wealth and poverty of west and east Germans respectively affect how Germans treat immigrants. However, when considered in more detail, it appears unusual and contradictory that both wealth and poverty are used to offer a semblance of an explanation for racist activity in Germany.

One additional strategy which contributes to the depiction of Germany as an inherently racist country emerges in the question in line 153 to 155. In this question the journalist indulges in the collocation 'der deutsche Fremdenhaß'. This suggests that German racism is distinct from that of other countries and reinforces the suggestion throughout that Germany, both because of its past and because of a disease-like vice, is particularly racist.

The depiction of Germany and Germans as described above, sets the backdrop for the depiction of foreigners living in Germany as victims of a cruel host society. The journalist's 'reversed-racism' i.e. his attacking German society

per se for being entirely and deeply racist, presents the reader with a type of polarisation which shows Germany and Germans to be unquestionably and almost incurably racist. This, in turn, facilitates the portrayal of foreigners as the victimised party. This simplistic, one-sided presentation of Germany allows for the presentation of immigrants as being hopelessly aggrieved. The detailed description of how the "Enkel der SA-Generation" have the expression "Heil Hitler" tattooed on themselves, sing the "Horst-Wessel-Lied" and terrorise towns and villages while armed (lines 72-75) lends a type of physical tangibility to the fate of foreigners in Germany. The article suggests, therefore, that there is a definite inevitability about their suffering at the hands of the "Enkel der SA-Generation" (line 72-3). The portrayal of immigrants as a group which suffers is discussed further in the next section of this analysis.

#### **Immigrants as victims:**

As discussed in the section above, the overt and relatively provocative depiction of Germany as a country in which foreign immigrants will suffer has, as an inevitable consequence, the emergence of foreigners as passive victims of cruel SA-style agents. The article suggests, in fact, that no foreigner will be untainted by German xenophobia, since it is shown to permeate all aspects of German society as a disease does a body.

It is interesting that this article takes such a stance on portrayal of host and immigrant. Some researchers, as mentioned in the analysis of Article 4, argue that the media generally deal with the racist treatment of immigrants in terms of individual, once-off events such as a club's refusal to allow an immigrant to enter, and not in terms of racism being a characteristic of the host society in general (van Dijk, 1988). In contrast, this article sets about defining 'Fremdenhaß' as something specifically German, something which has not disappeared from German society within recent times. It presents a type of foregone conclusion in its portrayal of Germany that immigrants suffer in a

variety of ways, without having to specify any one type of incident.

### **Argumentation and Ambivalence:**

Despite the aforementioned blatant depiction of foreigners as victims of a racism which surrounds them, the article exhibits numerous contradictions which actually show a certain tolerance or at least justification for the prejudicial treatment of immigrants or at least specific groups of immigrants. The strategies of argumentation employed to condemn the racism apparent in German society may, therefore, ironically be considered as inadvertently condoning it to a certain extent.

With reference to the extent of racism in Germany the journalist cites, for example, how Italians are beaten on the streets of Germany (lines 113-122). This indeed lends tangible evidence to the argument maintained throughout, that Germany is a racist country, but upon close examination three elements of this sentence subtly justify racism aimed at certain other nationalities. Firstly, the singling out of one group of foreigners ("Italiener") as victims of racism suggests that a hierarchical structure exists vis à vis the extent of racist treatment inflicted upon foreigners. The journalist seeks to show how unacceptable the racism apparent in Germany is by implying Italians, in particular, should under no circumstance be victimised. This argument presupposes that other groups, perhaps non-European groups, presumably being lower down in the hierarchy, may more acceptably be accorded a certain degree of racist treatment. This presupposition is strengthened by the apposition - "Angehörige eines Nachbarvolks" (line 113-114) whereby the suggestion seems to be that by virtue of Italy's being a neighbouring country of Germany the racist treatment of Italian immigrants is unacceptable. The assumption therein is that racism directed at other more distant nations is perhaps less unacceptable. The relative clause "mit dem wir in engster Tuchfühlung leben" (lines 114-116) similarly suggests that because Germans have such close physical contact with Italians any racist treatment of them is

unacceptable. This presupposes that if contact was not so "eng", as is the case with other nations, this treatment might have more justification. In its entirety then, this argumentation may imply that while it is ludicrous to permit the beating of Italian neighbours it is more acceptable (or at least less difficult to understand) that other types of foreigners should be subjected to racist treatment. As already mentioned, this presupposition and implicature is, however, both subtle and indirect.

The second pattern of argumentation exhibits a type of implicature which is less subtle than that described above. In this second instance (lines 137-152) the journalist seeks to condemn the racist treatment of foreigners by Germans by suggesting that the immigration situation could be worse than it was in Germany at the time this article was written. It is suggested that the situation is not bad enough to merit the reactions apparent at that time. The obvious corollary of this is, however, that the reactions, which are overtly condemned throughout, might be excusable were the immigration situation indeed worse in Germany. What is revealing here is the manner in which the journalist describes the situation as not being bad enough to merit the reactions he describes in the article. He states, for example, that the vast majority of foreigners living in Germany come from EC countries, or countries like Poland, which plan to become members of the EC. He adds that only ("nur", line 146) a small percentage ("ein verschwindend kleiner Prozentsatz", line 146-7) come from non-European countries. Then the journalist implies that Germany should almost be content with its immigration situation which involves predominantly EU-type immigrants, as France and England, in contrast, are faced with "Millionenmassen von Afrikanern und Asiaten" (lines 149-151). The corollary of this particular sub-argument may be described as suggesting that the immigration of EC citizens, or those who may possibly become EC citizens in the future, is more desirable for Germany than the immigration of Africans or Asians.

When referring to the future the journalist also indirectly excludes non-EC

immigrants from playing a part in immigration in Germany. Between lines 89 and 98 he describes how Europe is on its way to political union and that "jedermann" (line 129) will soon be able to move to whatever country he/she wishes. He adds that the word 'Ausländer' will therefore lose its meaning to a large degree. This illustrates that he envisages immigration only within the boundaries of the EC. It also suggests that the term 'Ausländer' will then only apply to non-EC citizens.

In view of those points discussed above, the article, while obviously attempting to appease Germans vis à vis immigration and the problems associated therewith, inadvertently compounds racist behaviour by suggesting some foreigners are more desirable than others. This argument is founded on an assumption that some foreigners, by virtue of their country of origin alone (EC versus Africa for example), are deemed more favourable. It is also worthy of comment that those immigrants who are seen to be more favourable are described as "Völker" (line 142-3) while the immigrants referred to as living in France or England, who appear to be less favourable are referred to in terms of the country from which they come ("Afrikaner", line 150). This may serve to rank the latter as being more foreign or at least to lend a type of geographical distance to them, especially since Italians, with whom a certain 'closeness' has already been established, are referred to within this article as a "Nachbarvolk" (line 114).

Despite condemning racist attitudes towards foreigners, the journalist also indirectly links immigrants with social problems (lines 34-40). Foreigners are, for example, described as posing a less serious problem than murders which take place on the streets of Germany, than the pollution of the environment and drug-addiction. By considering foreigners as creating a problem which is "weit weniger bedrohlich" (line 35-6) as the aforementioned, the journalist is at the same time presupposing foreigners create a problem, even if it is a relatively less threatening one.

Situated just above this presupposition is another subtle classification of foreigners as a problem and therewith a similar partial justification of some type of racist feeling to that already discussed (lines 29-34). Here it is argued that racist violence and hysterical reaction to immigration within Germany are disproportionate to the problems associated with immigration. The suggestion that racist behaviour relates disproportionately to the "realen Proportionen des Problems" (line 33-4) effectively but subtly defines immigrants as a problem. It also possibly implies that were the proportions of the problem greater, racist behaviour and possibly a greater "Ausbruch an Gewalt" (line 30-1) would be more acceptable, since it is indirectly argued that racist behaviour, as it stands, may be condemned only because it is disproportionate.

That such forms of argumentation as these are detectable in an article which openly condemns racism and all vices associated with it, may be indicative of the 'Freudian slip' type of reporting also apparent in the article entitled "Bei den Kerlen kann man ja nie wissen" (Article 4). In this case the journalist employs argumentation which ironically exhibits the existence of attitudes which he/she in fact seeks to condemn. These attitudes may indirectly condone and propagate a form of racist thinking albeit in a subtle fashion. Such ambivalence in the reporting on foreigners therefore negates some of the attempts by the journalist to counteract racism. The terminology and imagery employed by the journalist in this article may also contribute to the portrayal of immigrants in a less than positive light. These are therefore analysed in the section which follows.

### **Immigrants as a Problem for Germany:**

The lexical choices and imagery which relate to immigrants in this article may be considered as depicting immigrants as a threatening problem. When taken individually, specific terms may not cause negative images of foreigners to be formed, however, when coupled together they may support already negative impressions which are created elsewhere in the text.



Throughout the article foreigners are, for example, repeatedly referred to through aquatic metaphor. This is particularly evident where the journalist refers to a "Zustrom von Immigranten" rising up to a stage of "Uferlose" which necessitates an "Eindämmung" (line 24-28). Some lines later reference is made to the "Armutswelle der dritten Welt" (line 60) which also complements the image of Germany being 'flooded'.

The use of such water imagery by journalists has been heavily documented by researchers such as Gerhard (1991, 1993, 1993/4), Jäger (1993) and Link (1993) as explained in chapter 2 of this dissertation which looks at research in the area of media portrayal of immigrants. As explained these researchers find that this type of imagery, which defines foreigners as flooding a weak, penetrable Germany not only causes fear amongst German readers but also leads to the inevitable assumption that 'the floods' must be controlled and resistance, in whatever form, offered. As may be seen in this article the 'rising up' ("anschwillt", line 25-6) of 'floods of foreigners' ("Zustrom", line 24) is indeed shown to logically necessitate an "Eindämmung" (line 27) which presumably would take the form of repatriation of some immigrants and refusal to allow others to enter.

While such metaphor may be simply dismissed as journalistic subjectivity the possibility nevertheless exists, as suggested by the aforementioned researchers, that they may elicit some type of negative reaction, albeit subconsciously. They also illustrate how immigration is viewed ethnocentrically within this article. Each of the images created by the terms described above concentrates on the effects of immigration on Germany and presents immigration as something which Germany must deal with.

Other lexical choices within this article, though not aquatic in origin, may similarly be considered to be somewhat negative. Reference is made here specifically to the terms 'Ausländerhysterie' (line 29-30) and 'Asylantenfrage' (lines 21). The compound noun 'Ausländerhysterie' suggests that a general

feeling of hysteria is caused by the presence of 'Ausländer' in Germany. While immigrants may have been considered problematic by some sections of the German public and politicians alike, to define the general reaction to immigrants as 'hysterical' implies the situation is out of control and that emotions are running high. The compound noun 'Asylantenfrage' similarly defines the situation vis à vis asylum-seekers as problematic. By defining it as a 'Frage' it is suggested that a solution or 'answer' must be found for a question or problem at hand. It is also suggested therewith that the situation regarding asylum-seekers in Germany is in need of solution i.e. that it cannot continue as it has previously done. This notion of 'control' is also evident in the description of immigration as "ein unkontrollierter Zustrom" (lines 24) whereby it is presupposed that the "Zustrom" must be controlled.

One further lexical choice within this article which is revealing in relation to the argumentation and ambivalence discussed earlier is that of "Barriere" (line 119). With reference to the racist attacks and deterioration of Germany's treatment of immigrants, the journalist uses a rhetorical question to suggest that 'barriers' have broken down within the minds of the Germans and that this is what has caused such racism (lines 119-122). To suggest that the breaking of barriers results in such blatant racism may, in turn, suggest that racism is controlled behind a type of front and only becomes unacceptable when a certain threshold of this front is crossed. This also serves to sustain the suggestion made earlier that a certain 'proportion' of 'hysteria' is to be expected in relation to immigration (lines 29-34). The other side of this argument suggests that if these barriers are not broken, no risk exists for immigrants living in Germany. A subtle conclusion which may be deduced from this argument is that a certain level of racism is tolerable within German society so long as it is kept back to some extent.

### **Incoherence in macro-structure:**

As mentioned in the section on the headline of this article, racism in Germany is defined by the journalist as an "Aufstand" against the future. What becomes clear as the article develops is, however, that the arguments offered do not suggest a correlation between a rebellion against the future on the part of Germans but rather centre on portraying Germany as an inherently racist country. As illustrated in the section on the depiction of Germany, racism is 'explained' by the suggestion that Germany suffers from a disease-like racism which is the same as that at the time of Hitler. The section on argumentation and ambivalence also illustrated how the unacceptable treatment of immigrants was considered to be linked to an innate xenophobia on the part of Germans.

Throughout the article the journalist also makes other suggestions as to why Germans behave in a racist fashion towards immigrants. For example, in lines 2-4 he suggests Germany is "in einer ernsten Krise". Subsequent references are made to "Unsicherheit" (line 10-11), to "Verunsicherung" (line 56), to "Angst" (line 58) and to "der moralische Zerfall der Industriegesellschaft" (line 62-64).

Towards the end of the article attention is drawn to the idea, contained in the headline, that what causes racist activity in Germany is actually an "Aufstand gegen die Zukunft" (line 156-7). Yet nothing which has been stated between the headline and this suggestion supports this idea, even though it is expressed in what is made appear to be a rhetorical question. The suitability of a rhetorical question is therefore questionable.

The only apparent link between the suggestion contained in lines 156 to 157 and the rest of the article is a forced one which appears in lines 166 to 168. Here it is stated in the form of a fact, through use of the simple past tense, that Hitler was "im letzten Grunde ein Aufstand gegen die Zukunft". This statement is neither developed nor supported elsewhere in the text. It is also

unlikely that it can be considered as a commonly accepted interpretation of Hitler's actions and motivations. It therefore presumably functions to create the impression that modern Germany is indeed rebelling against the future.

However, even after creating some semblance of coherence, the journalist returns to depicting Germany as suffering from a type of racist disease which has proven its existence in Germany's history (lines 172-178). No connection is made between this history and an "Aufstand".

Perhaps this incoherence in the structure of the content of the article is symptomatic of the journalist's obvious intention to severely criticise Germany at all costs. The article clearly, as already discussed, attacks Germany and exhibits a large degree of 'reversed racism'. To classify racist actions as an "Aufstand" may function to lend the consistent criticism of Germany some credence, that is to shroud it with a type of psychological backing.

This incoherence typifies the superficial manner in which the racism which is directed at immigrants in Germany is dealt with in this article, in the same way as the arguments discussed in the section on argumentation and ambivalence. Both of these aspects illustrate how the article fails to either fully criticise Germany or present a sympathetic view of immigration.

### **Conclusion:**

While this article seeks to highlight the plight of immigrants in Germany, it may ironically be considered as also compounding certain forms or degrees of prejudice against immigrants. This ambivalence is perhaps of the same subtle nature as that apparent in Article 4 in which common stereotypes and types of prejudice appear, despite the article's obvious intention to condemn them.

The reversed racism, waged against Germany, together with the forms of

argumentation described during the course of this analysis, may even lend credence to a certain degree of racist behaviour. On a superficial level, as discussed, he is attempting to argue against the perception of immigration as a problem but the arguments chosen actually imply the opposite.

Furthermore, the incoherent structure of the content of this article indicates that the examination of racism in Germany lacks any credible foundation. The condemnation of racism in this article may, therefore, be considered as an exaggerated verbal attack on Germany and as failing to reasonably deal with the topic of racism as it really exists.

The aims of the article, to denounce racist activity, are achieved only on a superficial level. Hidden, subconscious messages abound throughout the article below the level of superficiality. These messages are reflected through the forms of argumentation and the reversed racism which are, in turn, coloured by certain lexical choices and imagery. Analysed in its entirety then, this article epitomises the ambivalence detectable in 'stern's reporting on immigrants. It fights both for and against immigrants, the former being more easily detectable, the latter being much more subtle and not directly obvious to the uncritical reader.

Analysed as one article in a series of many on immigrants, this article may also indicate the ambivalence in 'stern's reporting per se. While Article 1, for example, portrayed immigrants (i.e. Italian 'Gastarbeiter') as attacking Germany and Article 2, Turks as invading Germany, this article, at least on one level, shows the immigrant as a victim of Germany's attacks. It could therefore be argued that a turn-about has taken place in the stance of reporters in 'stern' on immigrants. The socio-political contexts within which these various attitudes towards foreigners exist may have influenced the change in reporting, as journalistic tendencies were shaped or controlled by the perceived attitudes of their general readership. This is explored further in the final chapter of this dissertation.

The final chapter also explores the ambivalence believed to exist in 'stern's reporting in general. It does so by examining the conclusions drawn from the analyses of the various articles. The micro-ambivalence apparent in individual articles, such as this one, together with the macro-ambivalence apparent in 'stern's stance on immigration in general which is reflected in the changes in portrayal over time, suggest that 'stern' may not have one particular view on immigration.

It may also be argued, in view of the findings of this particular analysis, that 'stern' does not intentionally seek to negatively portray immigrants but that it often fails to support thematic content, which aims to support immigrants, with its style of argumentation and the terminology and imagery it employs. This failure is typified within this article which offers a strangely inconsistent mix of positive and negative elements, each equally discriminatory.

## 6.6 Article 6

"Wer rein will, kommt rein"

'stern', 29/04/93

### **Preface:**

This article looks at recent immigration into Germany. In particular, it deals with the increase in immigrants coming from Eastern Europe and the inability of border guards to cope with the numbers attempting to cross the borders illegally. Throughout the article immigrants are described as coming to Germany under the guise of seeking asylum. As a result, alleged abuse of German asylum laws features strongly in the article.

Germany is portrayed as a country which is almost under siege from Eastern Europeans who, in many cases, risk their lives to gain entry into it. The problem of illegal immigration is shown to be growing, however, the causes of this immigration are not explored in any detail. It is consistently implied throughout this article that economic factors are the main motivation for which people come, or at least attempt to come, to Germany.

The article does not distinguish between the various groups of immigrants coming to Germany. It describes the situation only in terms of 'Germany' and 'immigrants'. Those attempting to gain entry into Germany are regarded as one homogenous group of non-Germans who, for the same reasons, illegally enter Germany or attempt to do so. The overall impression is that Germany is under siege and it is suggested that it must be protected.

Throughout the article the journalists focus, for example, on refugees, asylum-seekers and illegal workers, each of whom obviously have different reasons for coming to Germany. This illustrates that a certain ambiguity as to what type of immigration is being addressed by the article exists. It appears, as shall be discussed during the course of this analysis, that important differences

between the various groups of immigrants referred to are overlooked in the creation of the impression of one huge force which comes to Germany for reasons of wealth.

### **The Headline:**

The headline of this article reads "Wer rein will, kommt rein". It has many implications, all of which reflect negatively on the asylum situation in Germany. Firstly, it defines the situation at the outset as one which is out of control. The relative pronoun 'wer' suggests in itself that anybody who so desires can come into Germany. The comprehensiveness of 'wer' also suggests all kinds of undesirable elements and therefore connotes a real sense of threat. The use of 'kommen' in the simple present tense suggests factuality and that people inevitably gain entry into Germany on the sole basis of their wanting to. Helplessness and futility on the part of Germany are therefore implied.

Although the headline is not a direct quotation, it bears much resemblance to the quotation from the "Dienststellenleiter des Grenzübergangs Zinnwald" which reads - "Wer rüber will, kommt rüber". It is possible, therefore that the hyperbolic description and definition of events by this official are used to set the heading for this article, thereby exaggerating the situation with the same negative effect.

This headline functions in a factual way and authorises the interpretation of the various anecdotes which constitute the rest of the article. Already, at this early stage in the article the reader is offered a picture of immigration which is a problematic one.



### **The Lead:**

Like the headline, the lead of the article suggests lack of control and a worsening of the asylum situation in Germany. It does so by firstly pointing to the failure of the "Asylkompromiß". The "Asylkompromiß" is presented as the reason why more people are trying to enter Germany illegally. Reference to the "Asylkompromiß" leading to the current situation lends a certain credibility and logic to the definition of events as they stand and therefore strengthens the overall argument that the situation is out of control. The quantifier 'immer mehr', being sufficiently vague, may also possibly suggest a deterioration in an already uncontrollable situation as does the water imagery ("Zustrom....stoppen") which has been discussed in the analysis of Article 5.

The final sentence of the lead states that the police have no power in this situation. To describe the police as "machtlos" compounds the idea of a situation which is out of control (although realistically the police force cannot be described as "powerless")

It is both relevant and important for the analysis of this article to note that the lead of the article pertains to asylum issues. As the article develops its discussion on asylum issues it appears to broaden its definition of asylum-seekers to include illegal workers, refugees, politically persecuted groups etc. This thematic confusion creates the impression that immigration per se into Germany is a phenomenon which threatens Germany. This point is developed further during the next section.

### **Germany as a 'Wirtschaftsparadies':**

The article opens with the sentence - "Das Paradies ist nur drei Kilometer entfernt". This already suggests that some people are attempting to come to Germany for their own gain. The journalists then expand on this by detailing

how Avyollah Baskim (A.B.) and his two "Landsleute" (line 17) wait for dark to attempt to cross into Germany for a second time. Reference is then made again to Germany as a paradise, this time as a "Wirtschaftsparadies" (lines 27-28) which implies that people like A.B. are coming to Germany in an attempt to gain a share of its wealth.

Having narrated the story of these three 'Kosovo-Albaner' (line 20), the journalists then broaden the picture of immigration and state that "auch andere harren noch auf die Nacht" (line 33-34). Given the preceding implication that the three Kosovo Albanians seek a share of the German "Wirtschaftsparadies", it is suggested that the 'others' seek to do the same, although this is not stated directly. Reference is subsequently made to "neun Jugoslawen" (line 35), "die rumänischen Familien" (lines 37/8), "kleine Gruppen" (lines 60/1) and the "Kunden" (line 48) of the "Halbwelttypen" (line 41). It is implied that these too hope to do the same as the Kosovo-Albanians as these are the only point of reference and were depicted as an example of people who want to enter Germany illegally. The backdrop for the article has thus been established. Avyollah Baskim and his countrymen serve as a symbol of a problem for Germany as do those who are shown to behave in a similar way. The story of A.B. and his friends is used to suggest that just as they seek financial gain in Germany, so too do many others. Their story in effect represents that of all others mentioned later within the article and lends some tangible 'evidence' to the article.

At this early stage of the article then, immigration is depicted as a problem with an economic background not one based on asylum as suggested in the headline and lead. A.B.'s story provides the framework within which the issue of 'asylum' is defined for this article. The conclusion has, in effect, been reached at this stage in the article that all those seeking to come to Germany do so for economic reasons. It is also clear that 'asylum-seekers' are actually not the real issue at hand.

The journalists have clearly focused on creating a picture of immigrants who are motivated to come to Germany because of its being a "Wirtschaftsparadies". The main issue appears therefore to be the threat which immigrants pose for the German "Wirtschaftsparadies" and not asylum issues as already implied. The asylum issue as defined in this article is, in fact, an issue of protecting the German "Wirtschaftsparadies"

The depiction of Germany as an economic paradise authorises the depiction of immigrants coming to Germany as 'parasites' and allows for immigration to be defined as a 'threat' for Germany. The manner in which the impression of a 'threat' is developed is the subject of the next section of this analysis.

### **Immigrants as a threat for Germany:**

Having defined Germany as an economic paradise and dramatically described attempts by various immigrants to enter Germany the article then begins to focus on openly classifying the situation as one of a threat. For example, the journalists describe the border guards as "hilflos" (line 159) against the "Druck aus dem Osten" (line 158). Their being described as "helpless" suggests chaos while the reference to asylum-seekers as "Druck aus dem Osten" creates the impression of a massive powerful force swamping a group of men in the geographically much smaller 'Waidhaus'.

The juxtaposition of helplessness on the part of a few German border guards with "Druck aus dem Osten" exaggeratedly implies disproportion and therewith a bigger sense of threat and urgency. This sense of threat is fuelled throughout the article both by the journalists' exaggerated language and by certain inaccuracies which suggest the 'problem' of 'asylum' is out of control.

The paragraph which begins with line 79 and ends with line 105 provides another example of how the journalists depict the situation as threatening. Here it is argued that the situation described in Waidhaus is to be found

"practically everywhere" ("fast überall", line 80-81) at the eastern border of Germany. This connotes a type of scenario which could potentially be considered to be on the scale of an invasion. The journalists subsequently describe the number of illegal immigrants as "sprunghaft gestiegen" and further underpin the notion of an extreme development by opening the third sentence of this paragraph with the adverb 'allein' which implies abnormality.

They then continue in similar fashion with the speculation that "das Gros" of the asylum-seekers has yet to arrive. The paragraph ends with the reference to "Schleuser" who encourage people to come to Germany as soon as possible and with a suggestion that those seeking to gain entry are panicking at the thought of failing to do so. This information is provided by a German official who, in effect, speaks for both "Schleuser" and those hoping to go to Germany. His ability to accurately describe the motivations and thinking of these parties is questionable. This will be discussed further in the section on quotations below. It functions here, however inaccurately, to compound the impression that the situation in relation to asylum-seekers in Germany is out of hand and therefore increasingly threatening if allowed to continue.

As mentioned in the section on methodology, numbers are often used in a way which supports the general arguments of reports. This appears to be the case between lines 134 and 147 where the journalists state that 118,064 people applied for asylum in the first quarter of the year in which this article was published. They then state that this is one fifth higher than in the same time period for the previous year. A quotation from the 'Vize-Chef' of the 'Bundesamt' then presents the figures for asylum applications for the previous year i.e. 438,000 (line 142). This figure is accurate, the exact total being 438,191. However, it tells only one part of the story on the number of applications for asylum in Germany. It is significant and worth mentioning, for example, that in the same year 497,476 non-Germans left Germany and that asylum was granted to a total of just 9,189 people (4.3%) while 75.6% of applicants were refused asylum outright. It is clear, therefore, that the

number of people to whom asylum was granted is significantly less than the number of people who applied for it. (Aktuell '94, p. 81). To describe only one part of the situation in the manner discussed is, however, consistent with the overall image created throughout the article that the asylum situation is out of control and the absence of indexical statistics makes for a coherent picture.

Further on in the text the journalists refer to the repeated attempts by some people to gain entry into Germany (lines 235-256). Here the impression is created that most of these people are determined to enter Germany under any circumstances. The paragraph opens with a statement from a 'Dienststellenleiter' who states "Wer rüber will, kommt rüber". This again implies a type of uncontrollable scenario while at the same time suggesting that if an immigrant really wants to enter into Germany that is exactly what he/she will do. This statement is given credence by the verb 'bestätigen' (line 236) which implies that it is a certainty. The determination on the part of those trying to come to Germany is then exacerbated by the repetition in the quotation from the 'Dienststellenleiter' i.e. "wieder und wieder und wieder" (lines 240-242). The reference to one person's eight attempts as a 'Rekord' (line 242) suggests the situation can be assessed like a sport or game, where the aim is to win i.e. gain entry to Germany. The description of some 'Illegale' as having two or three "zurückgeschoben" stamps on their passports as "keine Seltenheit" (lines 245-246) operates similarly to the expression "fast überall" in lines 80-81 in that it exaggerates the situation, albeit through vagueness. The same is true of the expression "Sicher kein Einzelfall" (lines 369-370) which indirectly suggests that more than one person may have died in their attempt to cross the border. As just mentioned, the repetition of 'wieder' (lines 240-242) creates the impression of sheer determination on the part of immigrants. This impression is then further strengthened in line 251 to 252 where it is stated that people who have been sent home are "wieder da" the next day. The final sentence of this paragraph also contains the term 'wieder' this time in conjunction with the adverb 'schon' (line 255) which not only suggests determination but also illustrates a certain disapproval on the

part of the journalists.

The inclusion of the adverb 'selbst' in the expression 'selbst Rumänen' (line 252) seems to suggest that Romanians, by virtue of their nationality or perhaps geographical distance from Germany, should not really attempt to return to Germany having been sent home. Together, this 'selbst' and the 'schon' (line 255) suggest that there are certain acceptable practices when people attempt to enter Germany but that these are often not adhered to and this is problematic.

Following this paragraph the article produces a quotation from 'Bundesgrenzschutz-Beamte' in which the eastern German border is described as "ein einziges Loch" (lines 260-261). This supports the image already created in lines 79-83 and once again suggests Germany is under threat if the situation is allowed to continue as described. The chronology of various attempts by groups of people to go to Germany which appears between lines 275 and 295 is structured in point form and functions somewhat like a diary on attempts by foreigners to come to Germany, thus building up to a possible crescendo effect. It is significant that in the final lines of this chronology the journalists describe how a group of "Illegale" had not only crossed the "Grenze" but had made it across "die halbe Republik" (line 294) as though their penetrating Germany by a certain number of kilometres was more sinister than had they just managed to cross the border.

The plight of those who risk their lives is even used to strengthen the overall impression of the existence of a problem for Germany. This is evidenced clearly in the paragraph which begins in line 355. Here, the fact that some people risk losing all their possessions and even dying while attempting to go to Germany is seen as an indication of their determination rather than as their plight. The notion of relentless determination is bolstered further in the next paragraph which opens with the link adverbial 'trotzdem' (line 378). The journalists have just described how some people have died, could die or be

seriously injured while illegally crossing borders into Germany. Stating that others "nevertheless" continue to do so seems to suggest an over zealous desire on their part to come to Germany. This impression obviously coincides with the general theme throughout that those who attempt to come to Germany illegally are truly a force to be reckoned with.

The caption on page 24 of the article which reads "Viele riskieren auf der Flucht ihr Leben" also similarly implies an extremely strong determination on the part of those to whom it refers. The fact that this caption is positioned on a page of the article which itself does not refer to the risking of lives is once again indicative of the overriding theme of the article which seeks to present asylum-seekers as an ever-increasing, unyielding threat. The sole purpose of this caption is to poignantly remind the reader and to reassert that some people will stop at nothing in their attempts to go to Germany.

Many of the references made to various asylum-seekers throughout the article serve to strengthen the impression of a threat. The first reference to asylum-seekers, collectively, appears in the lead and reads "Zustrom von Flüchtlingen". This connotes a continuous, unrelenting arrival of many people to Germany. The aquatic nature of this metaphor is, as already discussed in this dissertation, considered by many researchers such as Gerhard (1991, 1992, 1993) and Link (1992) to evoke fear and to have a definite negative effect on readers. The choice of the verb 'stoppen' suggests a certain 'damming-up' procedure is required, thus further exploiting the aquatic associations of the metaphor. This lead may therefore be considered as setting a threatening scene which is based on a 'flood-like' scenario.

In line 272, when discussing immigrants collectively the journalist makes reference to a "Völkerwanderung gen Westen". The compound noun 'Völkerwanderung' suggests huge numbers of people are coming to Germany. This term is even reminiscent of 'the migration of the peoples' in earlier centuries. Like the term 'Zustrom' it too implies vast numbers of foreigners

are travelling to Germany and practically suggests entire nations are doing so. The choice of the preposition 'gen', which is somewhat archaic, compounds associations with the mass migration of earlier centuries. The depiction of the asylum situation in Germany is therefore placed indirectly on the same huge level as migration at various stages throughout history.

The many references to various groups of asylum-seekers which appear throughout the text of this article and in the captions which accompany the photographs similarly suggest that illegal immigration is happening on an extremely large scale. To illustrate how this functions it suffices to look at some examples of where randomly picked groups of people are juxtaposed with each other so as to create an overall impression that immigrants are coming from many different countries.

In the caption accompanying the photo on the first page of the article reference is, for example, made both to "Rumänen" and "ein Kurde". In the opening paragraphs reference is made to "drei Kosovo Albaner" (lines 19-20) "neun Jugoslawen" (line 35), "die rumänischen Familien" (lines 37-38) while in the paragraph between lines 67 and 78, six different countries are mentioned. The photo on p.25 is accompanied by a caption which opens "Roma warten...." while the next photo at the top of p.26 opens "Bosnier warten....". Below this appears a photo, the caption of which opens- "Diese Asylbewerber aus Indien...".

It is clear from these examples, that while the origins of each group are not accorded any relevance in themselves, they serve to add a spatial element to the 'problem'. This constant listing of various nationalities has the effect of suggesting that Germany is being confronted on all sides.

On an individual level, references to immigrants also revolve around creating the idea of a threat and dramatise immigration into Germany. For example, the reference to Avyollah Baskim between lines 6 and, which reads "Der



schmächtige Junge mit den strubbeligen schwarzen Locken" serves no function vis à vis the legality or illegality of his attempting to enter Germany. His being defined solely by his physical appearance can have no other function than to highlight his being 'foreign'. The prominent position of his name in the opening paragraph of the article, even before the reader knows who or what he is similarly adds to the dramatisation of the description of events.

Another poignant example of how a reference to some asylum-seekers serves to mark them as 'foreign' appears in the quotation from a "Schlepper" between lines 532 and 536. He states that the family which has been mentioned still believe in the devil and that everything will become better in Germany. The information provided, like that provided on Avyollah Baskim, serves no function other than to set those concerned apart as having 'foreign' beliefs. This indirectly renders their coming to Germany as undesirable.

Both of these references to individual immigrants constitute what may be described as examples of redundant dramatising or poeticising. Their purpose in the text perhaps serves no other function than to impress a sense of urgency and immediacy on the reader in relation to immigration into Germany.

A further example of concentration of 'foreignness' for the purpose of dramatisation appears in line 420 and is incidentally the same feature which appears with the same effect in Article 2. Here the journalists refer to a group of Kosovo Albanians as "Die Heerscharen". The connotations of this term have been discussed in the analysis of Article 2. It suffices here to simply draw attention to the usage of this term within this article and to illustrate how it is once again used to connote 'foreignness' and threat particularly since it is used here with the aquatic verb "strömen" (line 425).

The dominant thrust of the article is, in conclusion, one which allows for the depiction of immigrants as an obvious threat, with the situation being viewed predominantly from a German perspective.

Where the predicament of those people who attempt to enter Germany is dealt with, it is done in a manner which compounds the notion of a serious threat. This manifests itself both through the use of quotations within the article and the type of references made to specific people who seek asylum. Both of these elements are discussed below.

### **Definition of events by German officials:**

As discussed, from the opening paragraph the thrust of the article may be regarded as depicting all of those who attempt to come to Germany as one homogenous group which seeks material gain. Other possibilities such as persecution or fear are not presented. Instead, German officials speak for the people crossing the borders and the selection of quotations complements the over-riding standpoint that they seek economic improvement.

The quotation from 'Hauptkommissar', Franz Dimper, in Waidhaus provides a good example of how this operates. Between lines 205 and 208 he is quoted as follows "Die wollen weiter in den Westen, dort arbeiten, Geld verdienen und später zurück". His choice of 'Westen', which is obviously a symbol of prosperity, stresses the divide between those who attempt to cross the German border from the 'East'. The entire quotation underpins the assumption that those concerned only seek money and also suggests a type of parasitic relationship with Germany, whereby people simply take and then return home. The piece of text which follows this quotation (lines 214-234) states that those fleeing their own countries, because of what is described as "wirtschaftliche Not", attempt illegal entry because they fear having to wait for months and the probability of not being successful in gaining asylum. Once again, this speaks for those concerned and more importantly, by referring to the fact that many people will "höchstwahrscheinlich" be returned home, implies that they do not deserve to come to Germany. Subsequent references to "Schwarzarbeiterlohn" and "8 Mark die Stunde" effectively suggest once again that money is the driving force for these people. The

positioning of this information directly after a quotation from the 'Hauptkommissar' could lead one to construe that it somehow was provided by him. This could possibly lend it a certain credence.

A similar quotation to that of the 'Hauptkommissar' from Volker Schiek "Leiter der Grundsatzabteilung Rechtsangelegenheiten" in Hamburg appears between lines 350 and 354. Here the alleged determination on the part of those crossing the border is emphasised as it is stated that the people simply want to be in Germany regardless of their status there.

The people themselves are not asked about their reasons or predicament. German officials and the journalists of this article offer their version of the situation. The absence of any first-hand quotations from those fleeing, leaves the aforementioned the sole storytellers and consequently allows the overall picture of immigration, as discussed, to be preserved.

#### **Illegality of Asylum-seekers' actions:**

From the lead onwards this article concentrates to a large extent on emphasising the illegal background to the immigration situation in Germany and in doing so portrays immigrants as somewhat devious and cunning. This obviously compounds the image of these people as extremely determined and that of their posing a serious threat to the "Wirtschaftsparadies".

One way which this image is established is through the description of the scene at the German border at the beginning of this article. Here, the journalists tell how for example, the three Kosovo Albanians wait in a "schattigen Ecke" (line 21) for darkness to come and then plan to enter Germany through "die sumpfigen Wiesen" and "die Fichtenwälder" (lines 31-32). Then the reader is told that others are also waiting for night-fall ("harren noch auf die Nacht", lines 33-34). References are also subsequently made to cars disappearing before "die Dämmerung" (lines 54-57) and to small groups

of people disappearing "in den düsteren Feldern" (lines 64-66). All of these elements combine to suggest deception is at play. The choice of verbs 'verschwinden' (lines 57 and 64/5), 'sich ducken' (line 61) and 'schleichen' (line 67) is also clearly consistent with a register which suggests illegality and deception. The reference to the three Kosovo Albanians as "das Trio aus Kosovo" (line 58) similarly supports the idea of deception by suggesting the men are united in a common plan of action.

The juxtaposition of this opening of the article with a photo which takes up an entire page and shows a young man with his head tilted to one side, a number positioned across his chest and a piece of paper in his hands, suggests criminal behaviour and that this man was perhaps caught in a similar scene to that described in the opening paragraphs. The photo is similar to that of a criminal in an identity-parade. Its sole purpose seems to be to emphasise and dramatise the illegal nature of border-crossings. The space accorded to it is indicative of the extent to which this emphasis on dramatisation exists within this article.

Yet another subtle indication of deception may be found where the journalists describe how 'jüngere' men 'run about' and 'discuss' (lines 459-461). The choice of verbs 'herumlaufen' and 'diskutieren' suggest the men are perhaps conveying information, plans, warnings etc. to each other. The verb 'diskutieren' clearly indicates some debate and thought. This small piece of information, although subtle, forcefully compounds the suggestion throughout that the immigrants and their associates are capable of underhand, deceptive behaviour. The juxtaposition of the photograph (Photo 10) of five young men gathered on the steps of a hotel while another appears to be approaching them with this information in the text also strengthens suggestions of well thought-out deceptive plans. The caption of the photo labels the men as 'Schlepper' and states that they are waiting for 'customers'. It anchors the photo in a way which is consistent with the overall picture created. It should also be noted that none of these men were interviewed for the article and it is therefore

unlikely that the journalists can be sure that the information provided in the caption is either accurate or true. Its sole purpose is, therefore, most likely to suggest deception as discussed.

The simile contained within the quotation of a 'Grenzschutzbeamte' on the same page (lines 490-491) suggests a type of epidemic of illegal entry to Germany. The quotation itself and the sentence which precedes it also suggest that asylum-seekers themselves are heavily involved in bringing others to Germany. The sole piece of reasoning for this suggestion appears to be the opinion of the 'Grenzschutzbeamte'. No asylum-seekers are referred to or quoted. It is possible, therefore, that speculation on the part of one official is used to complement various other suggestions of deceptive behaviour on the part of asylum-seekers.

References to Germany and 'the West' as being economically attractive, as discussed, and the various suggestions that asylum-seekers seek financial gain by crossing the German border support the theme of illegality and deception throughout the article. They offer a 'reason' for the alleged deception by presenting the German economy as an attractive incentive for an attempt to gain entry into Germany.

The variety of terminology which is applied to 'asylum-seekers' throughout the article is also indicative of how the overall impression that deception prevails in people's attempts to enter Germany is a key element in the article. Terms used range, for example from the neutral 'Flüchtlinge' (line 74), to 'illegale Einwanderer' (line 84) to 'Illegale' (line 90/1) and 'Asylbewerber' (line 15) within a space of forty-two lines. In one sentence alone, both the terms 'Asylbewerber' and 'Asylant' appear (line 486 - 487). In theory both of these terms refer to the same people i.e. those who seek asylum. The purpose of using both is therefore questionable. It presumably only serves to create the impression that many different groups of people attempt to come to Germany. Given that the term 'Asylant' is noted for its negative associations

(Link, 1988, 1993; Gerhard and Link, 1991; Vollmert, 1993), its use here may also be considered as casting asylum-seekers in a negative light. The lack of consistency with regard to how the journalists refer to the people in question illustrates that while they could choose a neutral term like 'Flüchtlinge', they tend to opt for terms which point to illegality and are, therefore, either consciously or unconsciously, applying terms which define people as criminals rather than helpless or persecuted, for example.

On a separate point, this variety of terminology is also indicative of the thematic confusion apparent in this article, which was referred to earlier. All immigrants, refugees, legal asylum-seekers, illegal workers etc. are referred to in the same context i.e. of threatening Germany and this indicates that the main focus of the journalists is to portray the German "Wirtschaftsparadies" as under threat as opposed to discussing asylum issues as could be expected, given the lead and references to asylum applications, the 'Asylkompromiß' etc. in the article.

Another important aspect of this concentration on illegal behaviour and deception on the part of immigrants is that it compounds the overall impression of 'threat' and highlights the gravity thereof. Constant suggestions of and references to illegal behaviour on the part of those coming into Germany, both direct and indirect, effectively obscure the reality of these people's plight. Such a strong and consistent emphasis on deception, together with suggestions of absolute determination and desire for prosperity on the part of asylum-seekers, and a sympathetic definition of events may only be described as mutually exclusive.

### **Visuals and Captions:**

This article is accompanied by ten photographs. Each of these complements the various themes contained within the text, highlighting, for example, the alleged determination and deceptive behaviour of the asylum-seekers, as well

as the theme of a threat to the "Wirtschaftsparadies".

The first photograph which consists of two entire pages has already been discussed in terms of how it supports the idea of deception and how it suggests that all those who attempt to cross the German border will be treated as criminals. This photo also has another function which relates to the effect on the portrayal of Germany. One half of the photo is dedicated to a German official, who is photographing the asylum-seeker. The caption describes how the asylum-seeker is being treated "erkennungsdienstlich". The photo may, therefore, be considered as illustrating the need for German efficiency in what is portrayed as an uncontrollable situation.

The smaller photo which is superimposed on this large one (photo 2) shows two small groups of Romanians who, according to the caption, are waiting to be brought out of Germany. In view of the fact that this photo is juxtaposed with the larger one, the overall message appears to be that these Romanians are also attempting to enter Germany illegally, like the man in the large photo. This is not proven anywhere in the text and the photo itself contains no evidence to suggest that this is the case. The positioning of the photo, however, can clearly lead to such a conclusion.

Photos 3 and 4 compound the impression of a severe threat to Germany by illustrating the military-style operation which is put in place to deal with those crossing the border. Photo 3, in particular, suggests a serious threat faces Germany as it shows how Polish border officials train with dogs in their attempts to deal with illegal immigration.

The choice of verb 'trainieren' in the caption suggests that much efficiency is required and presupposes the existence of a huge, attacking force. The caption accompanying Photo 4 contains the term 'Spuren' which suggests that despite the efficiency of officials, the 'determined immigrants' often succeed in crossing borders. This implies the need for tougher, tighter controls.

Photo 5 is accorded much space (234cm<sup>2</sup>) and shows one border guard surveying eleven Romanians who lie on the ground in front of him. The one guard is in the foreground of the photo and the photo is taken from his view, thus suggesting that he is watching them carefully. The angle of the photo also emphasises that the official is in control of the entire group as they are below him. The fact that his gun is shown strengthens suggestions of a threat as does the fact that the Romanians are shown lying face down. The caption, interestingly, states that a total of twenty-eight Romanians are involved, although only eleven are visible in the photo. This obviously implies a greater threat than does a group of eleven. While twenty-eight men may have been stopped at the border, the caption does not accurately describe the photo and is perhaps simply indicative of the journalists' desire to create the impression that one official is often forced to deal with relatively large numbers of people and to thereby conjure up the overall picture of a "Zustrom" and "Druck aus dem Osten" (line 159).

Photos 6 and 7 both deal with the repatriation of 'asylum-seekers' to their home countries. Photo 6 exhibits another official who is given prominent position in the foreground. Again this suggests that asylum-seekers cannot be trusted and that they must be accompanied right up to the last minute before they leave Germany.

The caption from Photo 7 draws attention to the "Polizeibus" which brought "die Rumänen" to the airport. This is interesting for two reasons. Firstly there is no indication that this bus is in fact a "Polizeibus" as it shows no specific police symbol and there is no sign of any police in or around it. It looks like a typical coach. To call it a "Polizeibus" perhaps merely serves to once again create the impression that, once identified, asylum seekers must be kept tightly under control. The second reason why this caption is interesting is because of its reference to "die Rumänen". The use of the definite article suggests the reader should be familiar with the group, thus perhaps suggesting that it is the same group of Romanians as in Photo 5. It lends a sense of



'completion' to the situation concerning those Romanians, i.e. firstly they were stopped at the border, watched closely while their papers were checked and then sent home and implies that this particular group were indeed attempting to come illegally to Germany. This provides a type of 'case study' for the reader and strengthens the many suggestions of a constant and persistent threat for Germany by adding some 'evidence' to the description of events. However, on close analysis, one can see that a woman and child appear in Photo 7 while Photo 5 shows a group of eleven men as discussed. It is possible (as is the case with Article 2) that these photos are in fact not related to the information provided but merely serve to construct a certain picture of events which is coherent with the dominant slant of the article.

Photo 8 similarly illustrates repatriation once again sustaining the impression that illegal entry is rampant as yet another group, in this case 'Roma' are returned home. The caption of the photo euphemistically describes the act of repatriation as the "Start nach Bucharest" thus overlooking the predicament of the people involved. The large amount of space accorded this photo (187.5cm<sup>2</sup>), as with Photo 5 is indicative of the emphasis placed throughout the article on having asylum-seekers leave Germany and on treating them as people who must be controlled.

The following photo (Photo 9) shows two Bosnian women and five children. The caption states that they are waiting to come to Germany. The juxtaposition of these presumably genuine refugees with numerous pictures and anecdotes which relate to illegal immigrants is symptomatic of the thematic confusion which is apparent in this article's description of immigration.

Photo 10 exhibits four Indian men who are described as having come to Berlin by charter flight. The men are all shown to be smiling and three of them have their right arm raised and fists clenched. This rather stilted pose perhaps serves to symbolise their pleasure at having gained entry into Germany and

implies a certain challenge had existed for them. It also effectively reinforces the depiction of immigrants as determined in their attempts to come to Germany. The reference to their having come to Berlin "per Charter" subtly suggests that an organised operation on a grand scale is in place which supports the attempts of illegal immigrants to enter Germany. References to charter flights between lines 275 and 286 similarly suggest that illegal immigration is a phenomenon which has turned into a business. The fact that charter flights from India may have existed for some time and for reasons completely separate to illegal immigration is overlooked here, while the charter flights are made appear indicative of the extent of the organisation of illegal behaviour.

The final photo has already been discussed in relation to how it supports suggestions of deception and threat.

It appears from the analysis of the photos which accompany this article that they play an important role in dramatising the asylum situation in Germany. This functions largely by their highlighting the need for tough measures to deal with 'asylum-seekers' and by their depicting 'asylum-seekers' as unrelenting in their attempts to enter Germany. The photos also imply the situation constitutes a problem of great proportions by showing different groups from various countries and by depicting them as having a shared aim i.e. to come to Germany. None of those people photographed are named or interviewed about their reasons for coming to Germany. As a result all photos merge together and present 'asylum-seekers' as a homogenous group which seeks to penetrate Germany with negative effect.

### **Conclusion:**

It should be stated at this point that not all elements which potentially reflect on the portrayal of immigrants have been dealt with in the course of this analysis. This is due to the length of the article which consists of 559 lines.

Those elements which have been discussed suffice to illustrate how immigration is defined as a threat and how immigrants are defined as undesirable as they impact on the German 'Wirtschaftsparadies'.

The thematic confusion and ambiguity as to who poses the threat to the "Wirtschaftsparadies" (asylum-seekers, illegal immigrants, refugees etc.) together with the homogenisation of all groups mentioned in the article creates the impression that all those who attempt to come to Germany share the same motivation to have a share of the German paradise. Even refugees from the former Yugoslavia are considered in the same light as all other groups.

The overall impression of a threat is sustained throughout the article by the emphasis placed on the numbers of immigrants attempting to come to Germany, by the journalists' depicting immigrants as resolute in their aims to enter Germany and by suggestions of the strength of attraction of the German "Wirtschaftsparadies" for immigrants. The dramatisation of immigration also contributes to the creation of an impression of threat.

The corollary of this is that Germany is portrayed as fighting a losing battle with immigrants who are intent on benefiting from its economic status. The manner in which immigration into Germany is portrayed in this article suggests that 'stern' is perhaps contrasting a picture of immigration which revolves around prevention of further immigration and ultimately the protection of Germany's economic well-being. Its concentration on the scale and persistence of immigration renders such a presentation of immigration issues credible and acceptable.

The portrayal of immigration as undesirable within this article is in contrast to that of Article 2, which is also undesirable, not based on the implication that the foreignness of immigrants is what constitutes undesirability but rather their alleged intent to take part of Germany's wealth. The idea of a threat in this context is much more emphatic in this article. It is under this

interpretation of immigration that repatriation of people is subsequently emphasised.

The many different motivations for coming to Germany of those people referred to in the article are not considered in this article. The human dimension of their actions is also overlooked. This one-sided approach to describing immigration complements the impression of a threat and supports the suggestion of a need for tighter controls.

# Chapter 7

## Conclusions

*"In many respects, media texts are ideological icebergs, of which only the tip is visible to the reader."*

(van Dijk, 1993)

### **7.1 Introduction:**

The preceding analyses of various 'stern' articles have revealed how this magazine has viewed immigrants and immigration at different times in the past four decades. The tools of Critical Linguistic Analysis have unveiled many interesting findings which make it possible to determine 'stern's' stance on immigration into Germany and the extent to which its portrayal of immigrants is a sympathetic one or otherwise. This chapter discusses 'stern's' representation of immigrants and what the analyses of those articles selected reveal about the magazine. However, before findings are analysed vis à vis their reflection on 'stern', the methodological approach taken for the analysis will be briefly discussed in terms of its suitability for examining 'stern's' portrayal of immigrants.

## 7.2 Critical Linguistic Analysis and Examination of 'stern':

Those 'stern' articles analysed may be considered fragmentary enactments of particular events and situations relating to immigration at specific times in Germany. An analysis of these makes it possible to study the mechanisms in 'stern' which result in its portraying immigrants in a specific way.

Critical Linguistic Analysis, as applied in this research, answers the question of how 'stern's language is used to portray immigrants and how it subsequently reflects on 'stern's stance on immigration. It has made it possible to penetrate the texts chosen and to unveil some characteristics of 'stern's reporting on immigrants which might not have become obvious in an 'uncritical' examination of the articles.

In view of 'stern's self-professed profile which considers the magazine to be "immer auf der Seite der Schwächeren" (Der Stern, 1992, p.12), Critical Linguistic Analysis has proved particularly useful in discovering the discrepancy between what could be expected of 'stern' and that which is reflected in its language. As shall be discussed in the following sections, 'stern's portrayal of immigrants on a linguistic level exhibits various forms of bias which are not consistent with its perception of itself. The fact that 'stern' presents itself as being on the side of the weaker members of society leads to the expectation that any bias which might exist in its articles would be subtle and difficult to detect. Close Critical Linguistic Analysis lends itself to the detection of subtle bias and has therefore provided a suitable method of analysis which has revealed much about the bias which exists on a linguistic level in 'stern'. (Some forms of bias were of course much less subtle than others.)

The application of Critical Linguistic Analysis to 'stern' texts has made the bias contained in the magazine transparent and has illustrated how 'stern's language constructs a 'reality' on immigration which obviously reflects certain

societal power relations. While to examine these power relations is beyond the scope of this research, for the purposes of this dissertation it is relevant that 'stern' portrays immigrants, albeit to varying degrees, in a manner which reflects a certain inequality. It is clear from each analysis of the articles that immigrants do not emerge as people who are equal in human terms to Germans but that they are portrayed, for example, as threatening to German society. The fact that the linguistic analysis conducted was critical in nature meant that it took the side of immigrants in assessing portrayal and was therefore particularly 'sensitive' to registering the subtleties of the texts. In view of these points, the application of Critical Linguistic Analysis to 'stern' may be considered as having diagnosed the extent of 'communicative distortion' within the magazine.

Given that Critical Linguistic Analysis has played such an important role in the analyses of the 'stern' articles and has yielded many insights into how immigrants are portrayed in the magazine, it may, in conclusion, be described as particularly suitable for analysing media texts which are not overtly biased or discriminatory.

Critical Linguistic Analysis, when combined with some other techniques of analysis such as those which looked at caption positioning, structure of argumentation etc., yielded many insights into the various portrayals of immigrants in 'stern'. The portrayals are, in turn, indicative of 'stern's' position on immigration and its perception of immigrants. The next section looks at the various portrayals in terms of how immigrants have been presented to 'stern' readership and in terms of what they reveal about 'stern's' stance on immigrants and immigration.



### 7.3 Representation of Immigrants in 'stern':

This section discusses the various portrayals which are found in the six 'stern' articles analysed. It looks at the picture of immigrants which emerged in each article.

In the analysis of Article 1, "Die deutschen Frauen laufen uns nach", (1968), the overall image of Italian men which is created is one of men who are obsessed with sexual gratification and who present a threat for German women. The domestic story contained within the article, relating to the affair of a German woman with a young Italian man, also serves to depict Italian men as a rival group for German men. Elements of ridicule are also found in the article and illustrate the way in which 'stern' indulges in classifying Italians as naive and backward. The general slant of the article is one which portrays Italian men as behaving in ways which are not in line with German norms and which clearly marks them as an 'out-group'. They are shown to be clearly incompatible with German society.

The article does not address the social conditions for Italian 'Gastarbeiter' in Germany at the time, nor does it make any attempt to encourage tolerance or appreciation of the cultural differences between Italians and Germans. Instead it exaggerates certain aspects of what is perceived as 'Italianness' in a stereotypical fashion and in doing so presents Italian men in a negative light.

The findings from the analysis of this article suggest that it puts forward an image of Italian men which is in line with the general perception of them in Germany at the time of publication. As was discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, which deals with immigration into Germany, public attention focused on the problems perceived to be caused by immigrants as opposed to those experienced by them. A popular view at the time was that immigrants were not 'adapted' to German life. As also stated, sections of the German public viewed the fact that Italians used railway stations as meeting places as

unacceptable. This article draws from this, making specific reference to Italian men pursuing German women in railway stations.

Furthermore, the specific concentration by 'stern' on the sexual practices of Italian men and their exploiting German women, particularly blond ones, is also consistent with a certain perception of Italian men in Germany at that time. Spaich (1991, p.14) explains, for example, how the "angebliche sexuelle Potenz der Italiener und der ihnen unterstellte Hang zum schmierig Animalischen" were commonly the topic of conversation amongst Germans. He also argues that "blonde deutsche Jungfräulichkeit" was considered to be at particular risk from Italians.

It is also of relevance for the examination of 'stern's' portrayal of Italians that Spaich (1991, p.166) makes reference to research conducted in the early 1970s on the attitudes of the German public to 'Gastarbeiter' which found that 38% of those Germans interviewed felt "Gastarbeiter sind hinter Mädchen her" while 37% thought 'Gastarbeiter' were "jähzornig, oft gewalttätig". The first point is implied frequently throughout the article. The second is expressed explicitly.

The chapter on immigration also described how the media addressed issues involving Italian immigrants at the time this article was published. It showed how they highlighted what were perceived to be the codes of honour and different temperaments of Italians in dramatic terms. This appears to be the case with this 'stern' article. For this reason, 'stern' cannot be considered as deviating from the norms within the media in general or as having a particularly different approach to describing Italian immigrants.

It is clear that this article has not deviated from the commonly held beliefs of the time but rather reinforces them. It focuses on the stereotypes and public fears of the time and makes no contribution to questioning their appropriateness. Other 'stern' articles on Italian 'Gastarbeiter' suggest that

'stern' has frequently presented many of the same images of Italian 'Gastarbeiter' which are apparent in this article. For example, the articles "Mangelware Mensch" (1961), "Nix Amore in Castellupo" (1962) and "Eine Stadt verliert ihre Männer" (1966) exhibit numerous similarities with this article, thus implying that this article is just one part of a broader picture of Italian 'Gastarbeiter' which has been created by 'stern'.

Article 2, "Hilfe, die Türken kommen", (1969), depicts Turks as exotic and 'foreign' by upgrading irrelevant details such as their religious beliefs. The idea of Turks posing a threat for Germany, the main focus of the article, is largely based on their being portrayed as 'foreign' and plays a key role in this article as does the definition of the arrival of the Turkish group in confrontational terms. The article is not sympathetic in its interpretation of events and, as in Article 1, ridicules the immigrants it describes. Once again the overall impression created is one which depicts a group of immigrants as not suitable for German society. 'stern' has, in later articles such as "Die Türken kommen" (1972) and "ILLEGAL" (1973), also focussed on the notion of immigrants threatening Germany, perhaps indicating that the very notion itself may form the basis of reporting.

As is the case with Article 1, this article may also be considered as correlating with general attitudes to Turkish immigrants at the time. Chapter 4 on immigration illustrated, for example, how the media generally dramatised the issue of illegal entry into Germany in the late 1960s. This is also the case in Article 2.

Chapter 4 also explains that Turks were traditionally perceived in Germany as being the most socially and culturally different to Germans. Article 2 clearly emphasises 'difference'. Thränhardt (1984, p.126) believes that the 'difference' between Europe and Asia is a widely spread and valued stereotype in Germany which is based on the European perception of Islam. He describes, for example, how Islam is generally described in relation to

Christianity from a "Konfrontationsperspektive". With specific reference to Turkey, he argues that it is mainly referred to in relation to the Crusades and "Türkenkriege" and in general from an ethnocentric perspective. In line with Thranhardt's theory on the German perception of Turks, Merten (1987, p. 72) suggests that the perceived degree of "kulturelle Distanz" between Germans and different foreign groups may be used to explain the evaluation by Germans of Turks. The following extract explains his reasoning:

"Griechen, Italiener und Spanier etwa stehen uns<sup>1</sup> näher als Türken, denn sie sind uns historisch, durch ihre Kultur, vor allem durch ihre Religion viel besser bekannt: Der Atem der Pallas Athene über der Akropolis von Athen, die Septembersonne über dem ewigen Rom, der Kreter Domerikos Theodokopoulos .... das ist das Abendland, die Wiege des Humanismus und des Christentums, ein Stück unserer Identität .... Anders dagegen kulturell ferne Länder wie etwa die Türkei: Sie gilt nicht als Wiege Europas und wir sprechen nicht die türkische Sprache. Und war es nicht unter dem Zeichen des Islam, daß "die Türken" zweimal vor Wien standen und damit das "christliche Abendland" in allerhöchste Gefahr brachten? Türken sind uns schon von daher recht fremd".

It is clear from the analysis of Article 2 that some evidence of this ethnocentric and negative perception of Turkey and Islam as described by both Thranhardt (1984) and Merten (1987) is reflected in how the article portrays the Turkish men it describes. Their cultural and religious traditions play a key role in their depiction and indicate how 'stern' characterises Turks according to a general mould. This is also typified in many other 'stern' articles such as "Beschneidung auf der Bühne" (1972), "Wo Türken sind, ist auch Türkei" (1979) and "Du bringst Schande über uns" (1984) in which Turkish traditions are dramatised.

<sup>1</sup> "uns" refers to Germans.

What is interesting from Merten's (1987) quotation above, apart from its significance for describing Article 2, is its proposition that Italians were traditionally viewed by Germans as being less distant from them in cultural terms. In view of the findings of the analysis of Article 1 and Article 3, which shall be discussed next, it could be argued that 'stern' does not, however, display a perception of Italians as any closer to Germans in cultural terms than the Turks it describes in Article 2. While it emphasises the exotic when describing the Turkish immigrants more than in the case of the Italians, it nevertheless portrays Italians as unsuitable for German society in other ways which have been discussed.

It appears, therefore, that 'stern' emphasises cultural difference for both groups of immigrants even though one group may not traditionally be viewed as so 'different' by German society. It is also possible that the Turks described in Article 2 are, in a way, taking over the role previously allotted to the Italians. This would once again suggest that emphasis is placed on 'foreignness', regardless of the subjects being described.

The findings of the next article, "Der Italienerkrieg von Aschaffenburg", (1973), display some similarity with the portrayal of Italians in Article 1 but suggest also that 'stern' changed its presentation of Italians to a certain extent at this time. This article gives prominence to the violent actions of Italian immigrants. It defines the relationship they have with Germans in war-like terms and they consequently emerge as a threat for Germans and as incapable of adjusting to German norms. As in Article 1, it also defines Italian immigrants as preoccupied with having sexual encounters with German women.

The chapter on immigration into Germany illustrated how media attention at the end of the 1960s began to focus on dramatising violence amongst immigrants. 'stern' appears to take the same slant in dramatising the actions of the Italian immigrants in Article 3. Furthermore, it seems to portray

Italians in a manner which is consistent with the popular belief at the time that Italian immigrants were particularly violent and frequently used knives when involved in fighting. Spaich (1991, p.15), for example, describes this opinion as prevalent in his home town: "Es bestand die Auffassung, den Italienern gehe das Messer schon in der Taschenhose auf".

The heading of this article reads "Fremdenhaß" and it could therefore be regarded as dealing with the social position of immigrants in Germany at the time of publication. However, as demonstrated, the article does little in the way of addressing the broader issue of 'Fremdenhaß' because of its focusing attention on the sexual practices and violent activity of the Italian immigrants it describes. It can, in fact, be described as compounding a certain degree of 'Fremdenhaß'. This heading may perhaps best be described as a hollow gesture which gives the impression that 'stern' was aware of the racist sentiment which existed at the time but which is at variance with the rest of the article. As evidenced by the findings from the analysis of the article, any positive intentions associated with the heading "Fremdenhaß" are effectively negated by the various elements which point to 'stern's failure to focus sufficiently on this issue. While the heading does reflect a first 'admission' of the problems of racial interaction, to the extent that it goes beyond the pictures of immigrants created in Articles 1 and 2, it cannot be considered an indication of progress or enlightenment on the part of 'stern', but rather as a sign that the disruption of what is perceived by 'stern' as German normality is seen in a more sophisticated way than in Articles 1 and 2.

All three of these articles exhibit a concentration on 'otherness' which characterises Italians and Turks as incompatible with German society. Although each of the three articles deals with a different issue, the immigrants are consistently identified as out-groups which are primitive, threatening and undesirable.

While Article 4, "Bei den Kerlen kann man ja nie wissen", (1983), differs

from the previous three in that it openly addresses the issue of racism, it cannot be considered as being free of bias towards those immigrants to whom it relates.

This article shows that 'stern' observed the increased racist sentiment in Germany in the early 1980s which was mainly brought to light by acts such as the suicide of Semra Ertan, as mentioned in Chapter 4 on immigration, and that it was aware of the poor status of Turkish immigrants in German public opinion at that time. However, the article does not succeed in fully exploring the racism of the early 1980s. It deals with it by 'staging' a Germany which is completely racist and by focusing on the results of a school 'experiment' and does not explore the circumstances involved. The issue of racism is therefore displaced because of the one-sidedness of the article. Furthermore, the article itself was found to reveal its own prejudice against Turks and thus cannot be considered as deviating from a dominant societal influence.

It is possible that this article seeks to continue the trend set, albeit tentatively, in Article 3, whereby a different conception of race relations in Germany, which centred more on racism, was offered by 'stern' than in Articles 1 and 2. As discussed in Chapter 4, the issue of immigration and the racism associated with it featured strongly in public debate in the early 1980s. In this article 'stern' has obviously lost the more blatant forms of bias apparent in Articles 1 and 2 and has, on one level, adopted a portrayal of immigrants which correlates with the general public context of the early 1980s. Other 'stern' articles published around this time such as "Die mit den Kopftüchern" (1982) and "Ahmet kann nicht in die Schule gehen" (1982) also suggest that 'stern' began to align itself with dominant public opinion of the 1980s by addressing the problems which Turkish immigrants clearly experienced.

Like Article 4, Article 5, "Aufstand gegen die Zukunft", (1991), centres on the issue of racism in Germany. In doing so, it also shows 'stern's awareness of how immigrants are being perceived in Germany at a particular

time. As explained in the section dealing with immigration, increased racist attacks in the early 1990s focused media attention on the issue of immigration in Germany. The racist attacks in Hoyerswerda in September of 1991, in particular, drew attention to the problems associated with immigration in Germany. This article was published the following month and makes specific reference to Hoyerswerda thus indicating how 'stern' reacts to issues on immigrants which are receiving much attention in the public domain.

The findings from the analysis of this article show how 'stern' paralleled modern Germany with that of Hitler and condemned it as a diseased country. In view of the information provided above, the conclusion could be drawn that such a portrayal of Germany was 'stern's' response to the outrage among some sections of the German population at the racist attacks. Other articles printed in 'stern' around the same time as this article adopt a similar approach to handling the issue of racism in Germany of the 1990s. Like Article 5, articles such as "Kampf bis der letzte Schwarze weg ist" (1991) and "Alte Dämonen kehren zurück" (1992) draw parallels between the Germany of today and that of Hitler's time thereby criticising the Germans. This may illustrate that 'stern' has adopted a consistent approach to describing racism and immigrant issues in the 1990s, which revolves around its attacking German society.

At the same time, however, 'stern' displays a viewpoint on immigrants which is consistent with prejudiced attitudes towards them. Article 5 is therefore not classifiable as one which fully deals with the topic of racism or which is fully sympathetic to immigrants who have been victimised.

Articles 4 and 5 may be considered as paying only surface attention to the problems encountered by immigrants living in Germany. They both exhibit the same ambivalence, whereby the racist treatment of immigrants is both criticised and justified simultaneously. Remnants of the more obvious prejudice from the earlier articles are apparent in both of these articles,



despite their not casting immigrants as threatening, 'foreign', violent etc. The surface attention paid to the problems of immigrants is perhaps the result of an attempt by 'stern' to present itself as critical of any negative behaviour towards immigrants and to create the impression that it is against a xenophobic stance on immigration. However, as the analyses of the articles reveal, 'stern' is clearly not free of a negative outlook on immigrants itself.

The final article, "Wer rein will, kommt rein", (1993), while not as xenophobic as the early articles, also depicts immigrants as a threat for Germany and in particular for German prosperity. In this article the perceived threat is not the same as that of Articles 1 and 2, which viewed immigrants as a threat to German norms, but is instead based on the notion that Germany can only tolerate a certain number of immigrants. It indicates that 'stern' has identified dominant public opinions on immigration in the early 1990s, when the numbers of immigrants coming to Germany was an important public issue, and uses these to shape its presentation of immigrants for its readership in some way. As exemplification, the depiction of Sinti and Roma in this article is consistent with a dominant perception of these people as unsuitable for German society as described earlier in this dissertation.

The analysis of this article suggests that 'stern' has identified the public fear of the extent and persistence of immigration in the 1990s and that the article exploits this. Unlike Articles 4 and 5, this article does not make any noticeable attempt, even on a superficial level, to acknowledge the problems of the immigrants it describes. It portrays immigration per se as undesirable and shows no empathy towards immigrants, even those from Bosnia who are subsumed along with illegal workers into one unvarying group of immigrants. The article illustrates how 'stern' dramatises immigration to the extent of casting all immigrants in a negative light and intensifying public feelings of insecurity. This article is typical of many other 'stern' articles which have appeared in the early 1990s. For example, the article entitled "Wie viele passen noch ins Boot" (1992) and that entitled "Fluchtpunkt Görlitz" (1992)

are similar to Article 6 in their style and focus. These articles indicate that 'stern' has a distinctive framework within which it defines immigration into Germany in the 1990s.

#### 7.4 Implications of Findings for 'stern':

The findings of the analyses clearly expose a disparity between 'stern's official stance and the reality of its reporting on immigrants. 'stern's claim that it "ist immer auf der Seite der Schwächeren" (Der Stern, 1992, p.12) contrasts starkly with the bias found in the articles analysed. The magazine's coverage on immigrants is contrary to the egalitarian values which 'stern' considers itself to be committed to. It is at variance with what would presumably be its intention to oppose racism and counter social tensions. In spite of 'stern's self-professed liberal attitudes, images of what may be loosely described as superiority and inferiority are found to exist in its articles on immigrants. As illustrated in the various analyses, this discrepancy often manifests itself on a subtle level and is not immediately recognisable upon uncritical reading.

In view of the findings of this piece of research, an underlying ambivalence may be considered a dominant characteristic of 'stern'. There appears to be a certain uneasiness within the magazine at being too openly critical of either Germans or immigrants.

The parallels between the slant of the six articles analysed and the perception of immigrants by sections of the German population imply that 'stern' aligns itself with dominant public opinions on immigrants. This further underpins the argument above that 'stern' does not exhibit the stance which would be expected given its profile, since these opinions are often contrary to the progressively liberal standpoint it claims to have. 'stern' inadvertently reproduces attitudes which work against tolerance and openness. Those articles analysed are, to varying degrees, impregnated with discriminatory assumptions and power ideologies which cast immigrants in an unfavourable light. In this sense 'stern' may be considered as reinforcing social hierarchies involving immigrants in Germany.

The sensationalism which is a characteristic of 'stern' cannot be underestimated with regard to its powerful but indirect influence on the portrayal of immigrants. 'stern' consistently dramatised events in the articles analysed and it is often this dramatisation which leads to its negative portrayal of immigrants. In Articles 4 and 5 it is, at times, the dramatisation of the narrative which contributes to the placing of immigrants in negative roles. 'stern's' sensationalisation results in certain aspects of immigration being accorded disproportionate attention and ultimately in a somewhat distorted version of reality in the context of immigration.

The fact that this distortion of reality is not obvious but subtle, indicates that 'stern' attempts to appear tolerant and critical of prejudicial attitudes in German society. Its own prejudice may best be described as masked, be it through sensationalisation or such token gestures as 'reversed racism' which give the impression of a positive stance on immigration. It also indicates that 'stern' seeks to sustain a particular image and to flatter its readership by offering articles which, on a superficial level, appear to objectively address immigrant issues or purport to be sympathetic towards immigrants.

The veiled prejudice in 'stern' and the ambivalence which results from it may also be considered a result of the magazine's attempt to display coherence with liberal ideologies and to maintain a certain respected position within the German media. The theory which argues that the degree of explicitness of prejudice within the media must be seen in relation to the degree of its social acceptance, or alternatively, its social tabooing, appears therefore to be particularly plausible when 'stern's' reporting on immigrants is analysed.

The articles which focus on criticising Germany's treatment of immigrants could, in view of the points discussed above, be regarded as indicative of a self-consciousness within 'stern'. Ironically, however, they may also be considered as condemning, albeit in a superficial manner as explained, the prejudice which was supported in the earlier 'stern' articles analysed.

Looking at 'stern's portrayal of immigrants over time, it appears not to have a clearly definable and detectable ideology of its own but to wrestle with maintaining its profile and not deviating too far from generally held beliefs. The ideologies revealed in all six articles may be considered to have more in common with various ideologies which shaped public opinion on immigrants than to show a particular 'stern ideology'.

'stern' reveals interpretations of immigration which are tempered with varying degrees of negativity. Articles 4 and 5, while more sympathetic to immigrants than the others, may, for reasons discussed, only be considered as cosmetic covers in a series of articles which all exhibit similar negativity towards immigrants.

Despite what could be classified as a turn-around in 'stern's portrayal i.e. Articles 1, 2 and 3 'attacking' immigrants while Articles 4 and 5 'attack' Germany, 'stern' consistently exhibits an ethnocentric stance on immigrant issues. In all six articles elements of 'foreignness' are revealed through concentration on the exotic, the unusual, the primitive etc. No explicit 'we-they' comparisons are drawn in the articles but Germany is nevertheless inadvertently used as a yardstick against which immigrants are assessed. A clear distinction is continuously made between Germans and immigrants.

This ethnocentrism runs contrary to 'stern's alleged ideals and the majority perspective, which results from it, classifies immigrants as 'problem people' i.e. people who either have problems with Germany or cause problems for Germany. Such a perspective and a fair portrayal of immigrants by 'stern' are mutually exclusive.

## 7.5 Conclusion:

Analysing 'stern' against the backdrop of dominant attitudes in German society towards immigrants in the last four decades exposes the coherence it displays with popularly held beliefs. At the same time, it reveals the incoherence between 'stern's political aims and the image of immigrants it presents to its readers. This incoherence, which may be classified as a 'macro-incoherence' within the entire magazine, is a function of a 'micro-incoherence' detectable in the articles which on a superficial level are not readily definable as prejudiced but which upon close critical analysis display certain degrees of prejudice.

The contrariety between what could be expected of 'stern', in view of its profile, and what is found in this research is of considerable magnitude. It is perhaps best verbalised in the following quotation: "Die Medien vollbringen das Kunststück, sich gegen Überfälle<sup>2</sup> zu empören und gleichzeitig rassistische Einstellungen zu verfestigen" (Jäger, 1993, p.86).

This research has revealed practices within 'stern' which are instruments in the sustainment of social inequality and the creation of realities which reflect unfavourably on immigrants.

It should be noted, however, that this piece of research is not suggesting that the criticisms of 'stern' made throughout can be counteracted by an unbalanced type of reporting which would, through its language, suggest that immigrants are innocent of any involvement in social problems. The following quotation illustrates what approach may perhaps prevent the kinds of one-sidedness apparent in 'stern':

<sup>2</sup> 'Überfälle' relate here to attacks on immigrants in Germany.

"Zur Lösung des Problems ist es wenig hilfreich, wenn die Türken<sup>3</sup> zu Unschuldslämmern hochstilisiert werden. Statt sie zu idealisieren... sollten wir die Fehler beider Seiten offen diskutieren, um so auf die Dauer zu einem möglichst reibungslosen Zusammenleben zu kommen" (Bartels, 1991, p.200).

Nor is this research suggesting that an audit of media discourse on immigrants would remove the 'meanings' behind that discourse. While researchers within the area of media studies still battle to determine the extent of the influence of media in affecting attitudes the existence thereof is not disputed. However, to suggest that a removal of certain terms, images, grammatical structures etc. from within the print-media would lead to a reduction in racist sentiment and activity amongst readers would be both simplistic and unfounded.

Removing biased or racist language from discourse does not unequivocally remove the biased or racist reasoning which has led to the inception of this language. To suggest this would be to ignore the social function or use of language. Language must be viewed not only as determining perceptions of reality but also as being determined by social realities (Fairclough, 1989; Townson, 1992). Researchers need to be aware, therefore, of the fact that media portrayals arise out of specific social situations which shape them in a variety of ways (Whitehead, 1987). The social situations in which 'stern' operated when producing those articles analysed may have therefore led to its absorbing some of the prejudice which is reflected in its reporting.

However, the fact that 'stern' exhibits a more subtle form of prejudice than other magazines or newspapers does not mitigate the negative effects it can have on readers. It must also be viewed within the context of the cumulative influence of all prejudiced discourses of which 'stern' is only a small part.

Furthermore, the extent of the prejudice found in 'stern' and the consequent

<sup>3</sup> 'Türken' and 'sie' are considered to represent all immigrants in the context of this paragraph.

incoherence between its alleged aims and its portrayal of immigrants seem to disclose more than minor societal influences on 'stern'. They illustrate that the magazine is pseudo-liberal in its stance on immigrants and offers a viewpoint which is merely packaged as being positively disposed towards them. Therefore, to conclude, the question as to whether 'stern' has 'portrayed' or 'betrayed' the immigrants it depicts seems an appropriate one. In terms of betrayal, one could also pose the question whether those who are led to believe 'stern' is progressively liberal are being misled.



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# Appendix 1



*Abenteurer sind im Arbeitsvertrag  
inbegriffen — das ist die Vorstellung, mit der Italiener  
als Gastarbeiter nach Deutschland kommen.*

*Beim Tanz und auf  
der Straße fühlen sie  
sich als die Größten*

## »Die deutschen Frauen laufen uns nach«

*Ein Bericht  
von Walter Unger*

Fünfzehn Jahre lang glaubte Rudolf Paul, er führe eine Musterehe. Als Kundendienstmonteur für Geschirrspülautomaten Tag für Tag auf Achse zwischen Frankfurt und Passau, war er jedesmal froh, wenn er zu seiner Frau Hilde, den beiden hübschen Töchtern Liliane und Doris und in seinen 380 000-Mark-Bungalow oben am Hang über dem Dörfchen Flacht bei Stuttgart zurückkehrte. „Ich war ein glücklicher Mann“, sagt Paul.

Die ersten Zweifel an seinem Glück kamen, als seine Frau begann, das schöne neue Haus, den Mann und die Kinder zu vernachlässigen. Die Zweifel wuchsen, als die bis dahin so fleißige und sparsame Gattin eine Putzfrau verlangte, immer mehr Geld verbrauchte und schließlich darauf bestand, daß die 14jährige Liliane auf ein Internat geschickt werde.

Dann kam Paul dahinter, daß seine Frau heimlich für 400 Mark einen alten Volkswagen erstanden hatte und das Haus verließ, sobald ihr Mann außer Sicht war. Paul forderte Aufschluß, und die



PHOTO 1

*„Zu Hause wollen sie eine unberührte Frau.  
Aber in Deutschland gelten nicht so strenge Bräucher*



*Eine Blondine zu erbeuten ist Ehrensache. Wenn sich  
abends und am Wochenende vor Münchens Hauptbahnhof die Männer  
aus dem Süden treffen, beginnt die Jagd auf deutsche Mädchen*

38jährige Hilde zehnte, sich bei einem Einkaufsummei in Stuttgart verliebt zu haben — in den zwölf Jahre jüngeren Antonio Dotoli aus dem suditalienischen Foggia. Ihre Erklärung: „Der Antonio ist so lieb zu mir.“

Das war vor zwei Jahren. Paul hoffte, nach der Beichte werde alles wieder gut. Doch Frau Paul ließ nicht ab von ihrem schwarzäugigen Geliebten aus dem Süden. Statt dessen riet sie ihrem Mann: „Schaff dir ruhig eine Freundin an.“ Als Paul nach vielen guten Worten einmal die Geduld verlor und seiner Frau eine Ohrfeige verpaßte, holte sie die Polizei. Mitten in der Nacht kam ein Streifenwagen. Paul: „Da wußten endlich alle Nachbarn, wie es bei uns stand.“

In seiner Not wandte er sich an das Ausländeramt in Leonberg. „Weist den Italiener aus“, bat Paul. „Helft mir — noch ist meine Ehe zu

retten.“ Aber das Ausländeramt konnte und durfte nicht helfen. Der Bescheid über die Rechtslage: Erst wenn die Ehe geschieden und der Italiener rechtskräftig wegen Ehebruchs verurteilt ist, können wir ihn ausweisen lassen.

**Der italienische Mann spielt gern den Pascha**

Seither hadert Paul mit Recht und Gesetz. „Wie kann es sein“, klagt er, „daß so ein Italiener mehr Schutz genießt als meine Ehe?“ Vergebens bestürmte er seine Frau, von Antonio abzulassen. Als er eines Nachts im letzten September heimkam und Antonio vor seinen Augen aus dem Hause schlüpfte, schlug Paul so mit der Faust auf den Tisch, daß seine Frau sich im Kinderzimmer verbarrikadierte. Am nächsten Tag packte sie ihre Sachen und ging ohne Gruß.

Paul hat inzwischen die Scheidung eingereicht. Das Interesse an einer Ausweisung des Nebenbuhlers freilich hat er verloren: „Wozu? Meine Ehe ist jetzt hin.“ Antonio, Arbeiter in der Flaschenspül-Abteilung der „Südmilch AG“ in Stuttgart, kann denn auch in Ruhe abwarten. „Ich liebe diese Frau. Wir werden heiraten“, sagt er.

Ob Hilde Paul je mit Antonio zum Standesamt geht, bleibt indes abzuwarten. Und wenn sie tatsächlich eines Tages Hilde Dotoli heiraten sollte, ist fraglich, ob sie es nicht irgendwann bereut.

Denn für eine deutsche Frau ist die Ehe mit einem italienischen Mann ein Lotteriesoßel. Von den 4000 deutsch-italienischen Paaren zum Beispiel, die seit 1956 in Bayern Hochzeit machten, trennte sich inzwischen zwar nur jedes zwölfte. Aber Maria Begliatti, Sozialreferentin im italienischen Generalkonsulat

in München, weiß: „Auch die meisten der Ehen, die bisher nicht scheiterten, sind unglücklich.“

Maria Begliatti muß es wissen, denn bei ihr laden die Beteiligten mit Vorliebe ihren Kummer ab. Die im Umgang mit ihren männlichen Landsleuten erfahrene Italienerin kennt auch die häufigste Ursache der deutsch-italienischen Dissonanzen. „Der Italiener, vor allem der aus dem Süden, ist gern Pascha. Er ist gewohnt, der Chef im Haus zu sein. Die deutsche Frau ist aber für die Rolle der gehorsamen Dienerin nicht geschaffen.“ Und auch Italiens Vizekonsul in München, Dr. Ferdinando Zezza (28), sagt: „Die emanzipierte deutsche Frau ordnet sich dem Herrschaftsanspruch des italienischen Mannes so leicht nicht unter.“

Die Masse der Gastarbeiter kümmert das nicht. „Was sie von der deutschen Frau erwarten, ist nicht



PHOTO 3

Luciano und Doris trafen sich in einer Wolfsburger Kneipe - und spielten für einen Abend Bräutigam und Braut

*Der Italiener vor allem der aus dem Süden ist ein Pascha und gern Chef im Haus*

- 130 Die Ehe, sondern das Abenteuer - so Don Enzo Parenti, seit sechs Jahren Chef des „Centro Italiano“ in Wolfsburg, von fast funftausend italienischen Arbeitern in der
- 135 Volkswagenstadt brachten knapp tausend ihre Familie mit. Viertausend leben allein - u. angebracht in der VW-eigenen, eins. auten Unterkunft „Berliner Brücke“. Damenbesuch ist hier nur bis 22 Uhr und ausschließlich in der Kantine gestattet.
- Den Gastarbeitern aus Italien geht es in diesem Wohnheim nicht schlecht: Für 37,50 Mark im Monat haben sie ihr Zimmer mit allem notwendigen Service. Aber ein Ventil für die soziale Manneskraft, die sich tagsüber am Fließband und
- 145 nachts in den Männerzimmern austaut, finden sie hier nicht. Und auch in der wohlgeordneten Stadt Wolfsburg, in der es selbst auf der tagsüber erobertädtisch anmutenden
- 155 Porsche-Straße nach Einbruch der Dunkelheit still wird, gibt es nichts, das den Italiener Amusement und Abwechslung verschaffen könnte.
- So spielt sich denn während der
- 160 Woche, wenn überhaupt, das Liebesleben der italienischen Arbeiter in zwei, drei schummrigen Kneipen ab. Stärksten Zulauf hat dabei die Gaststätte „Zum Bessarion“ in der
- 165 Hessener Straße. Stärksten Zulauf deshalb, weil hier auch Mädchen sind, die den Vorstellungen der lebenshungrigen Männer aus dem Süden von der Freizügigkeit der deutschen Frau absolut entsprechen. Freilich sind diese Damen nicht umsonst zu Diensten. Zehn bis funfzehn Mark für ein Abenteuer im Halbdunkeln, am Maschinenzaun
- 175 einer Gebrauchtwagenhandlung auf der anderen Straßenseite, sind die übliche Taxe.
- Selbst den einfachsten und anspruchslosen suditalienischen Dorfler vermag diese - von Wolfsburgs Stadtvatern offiziell nicht zur Kenntnis genommenen - Einrichtungen allerdings nicht recht zurechnen zu stellen. Heiterer finden sie es dann schon bei Don Parenti im „Centro Italiano“, wenn am Samstag Tanz ist: Stets findet sich neben zurückhaltenderen jungen Mädchen auch lebenslustige betagtere Weiblichkeit ein, in der berechtigtsten Hoffnung,
- 180 einmal kräftig von temperamentvollen Lockenköpfen durcheinandergewirbelt zu werden. „Die erleben hier ihren letzten Sommer“, meint
- 185 Don Parenti. Allerdings achtet der Geisdiche, dessen Aufgaben in Wolfsburg vorwiegend weltlicher Natur sind, streng darauf, daß sich mehr als Tanz in seinem Gemäuer
- 190 nicht abspielt.
- Mit Wolfsburgs Stadtdirektor Hans Schwering teilt Don Parenti darum auch die Genugtuung darüber, daß die Stadt Braunschweig
- 205 nur gute dreißig Kilometer weit ist:



PHOTO 4

72 stern



*Deutsch-italienisches Eheglück ist oft nur von kurzer Dauer. Renzo und Martias Bellini aber, vor fünf Jahren in Wolfsburg getraut, verstehen sich auch noch heute so gut wie am ersten Tag*

PHOTO 5

## Italiener sind in der Liebe nicht besser als andere

- denn Braunschweig besitzt, was im amtlichen Sprachgebrauch „Dirnen-215 wohnheim“ heißt – ein Bordell. In den Fachwerkhäusern der altstädtischen Bruchstraße überdies ein Bordell mit ausgesprochen neugieriger Atmosphäre.
- 210 Dorthin ziehen Wolfsbüres Italiener nun an jedem Wochenende. 215 als Stoßtrupps ungewöhnlich liebestüchtiger Männlichkeit – wie die Italiener selber von sich meinen.
- 220 In der Bruchstraße jedoch ist der Nimbus des ungewöhnlichen Liebhabers, den der Italiener noch unter manchen deutschen Adria-Urlauberinnen genießen mag, längst zerstoben. Die übereinstimmende Ansicht der vielseitig erfahrenen 225 Bewohnerinnen der Bruchstraße: „Italiener sind nicht besser im Bett als Amis oder Deutsche.“
- Nach einem halben Jahrzehnt Wochenend-Verkehr zwischen Wolfsburg und Braunschweig öffnen sich den Italienern nur noch die Türen zu den Boudoirs der ganz alleingesessenen Liebesböhnerinnen. Die jüngeren hingegen sahen nein. 230 wenn Italiener Einlaß begehren. Sie lassen sich auch durch Honorarversprechungen attraktiver Größenordnung nicht erweichen. Der Grund: „Die glauben, sie hätten uns für 240 lumpige zwanzig Mark gepächelt, sie könnten uns ihre Operetten vorsingen und dafür die ganze Nacht bei einem verbringen. Und dann wollen sie hinterher auch noch 245 Haar- und Körperspray.“ So die 22-jährige Margrit. Ihre Kollegin Katja: „Die riechen nach Schweiß und Knoblauch und wollen immer unbedingt in Liebe machen. Aber ent- 250 sprechend können wollen die nicht.“ Seit sie einmal einen Italiener, mit dem sie nicht handelseinig werden konnte, hinauswarf und der erboste Freier wenige später mit vier Kameraden alle Scheiben des Etablissemments einschlug, verzichten auch Katjas Nachbarinnen grundsätzlich auf das Geschäft mit den Pendlern aus Wolfsburg.
- 260 Unkompatibler sieht die deutsch-italienische Vereinigung dagegen in anderen Ballungszentren ausländischer Gastarbeiter aus. In Stuttgart geht das Liebesleben zwar auch größtenteils im gutorganisierten „Dreifarbenhaus“ vor sich, zugleich ist jedoch die Begegnung auf der Straße und in Tanzcafés üblich.
- 265 München aber besitzt unter den Italienern in Deutschland den Ruf eines Paradieses. Auf den Boulevards der Bayern-Metropole und rund um den Hauptbahnhof blüht die Jagd auf deutsche Mädchen. Am 270 Abend oder an den Wochenenden unbehelligt die Gruppen palavernder Südländer zu passieren ist vor allem Blondinen nicht möglich.
- Affären mit verheirateten Frauen sind eine Sache des Prestiges**
- 275 Ansprechen, Anfassen und Deutemachen ist zum Sport geworden. Zu einem Sport, der sogar Trophäen verleiht. Denn der wort- 280 lumpige zwanzig Mark gepächelt, sie könnten uns ihre Operetten vorsingen und dafür die ganze Nacht bei einem verbringen. Und dann wollen sie hinterher auch noch 245 Haar- und Körperspray.“ So die 22-jährige Margrit. Ihre Kollegin Katja: „Die riechen nach Schweiß und Knoblauch und wollen immer unbedingt in Liebe machen. Aber ent- 250 sprechend können wollen die nicht.“ Seit sie einmal einen Italiener, mit dem sie nicht handelseinig werden konnte, hinauswarf und der erboste Freier wenige später mit vier Kameraden alle Scheiben des Etablissemments einschlug, verzichten auch Katjas Nachbarinnen grundsätzlich auf das Geschäft mit den Pendlern aus Wolfsburg.
- 300 deutlich wird. Für sie ist soich ein Mädchen eben „die deutsche Frau“. Ganz besonders, wenn sie blond war. Dann können sie ihren Freunden erzählen, wie leicht es ging.
- 305 So leicht, wie es etwa Salvatore T. hatte, der seine Erfahrungen mit deutschen Mädchen in einem Tanzcafé in der Stuttgarter Königsstraße begann. Salvatore, Plattenleger aus Napoli: „Ich war fünf Tage in Deutschland. Ich sprach nur ein paar Worte Deutsch. Wir tanzten nur einmal. Dann gingen wir nach draußen und liebten uns.“
- 315 Für die deutsche Kripo ist es denn auch kein Wunder, daß sie immer wieder mit Fällen zu tun hat, die zum Schreck der Italiener mit dem Vorwurf „Nutzucht“ oder „Nötigung zur Unzucht“ vor Gericht enden. Diese Italiener konnten nicht begreifen, daß die Schablone von „der deutschen Frau“ einmal nicht passen könnte. Kriminalamtmann Josef Asanger, kommissarischer Leiter der Münchner „Sitte“: „Sie verstanden nicht, daß die Jagd auch einmal ohne Beute ausgehen könnte – und dann wandten sie ge- 320 kränkt Gewalt an.“
- „Zu Hause wollen wir eine unberührte Frau. Der italienische Mann schläft nicht mit der Freundin, die er später heiraten will“, sagt Luigi Rentone, Sardinier und Leiter eines Frankfurter Italiener-Wohnlagers. „Aber hier in Deutschland gelten nicht so strenge Bräuche. Die deutschen Frauen laufen uns nach, die 325 meisten aus Neugierde. Mit deutschen Frauen geschlafen zu haben, möglichst mit verheirateten, ist für viele meiner Landsleute eine Sache des Prestiges.“



PHOTO 6

Nach fünfzehn Ehejahren verliebte sich Hilde Paul (rechts) in Antonio Dotoli aus Foggia. Für den Italiener gab sie ihren Mann, ihre beiden Kinder und ihren Bungalow auf



PHOTO 7

Rudolf Paul und seine beiden Töchter hofften auf Hilfe vom Ausländeramt, nachdem Hilde Paul sich in den Italiener Antonio verliebt hatte. Doch kein Gesetz konnte seine Ehe retten



PHOTO 8

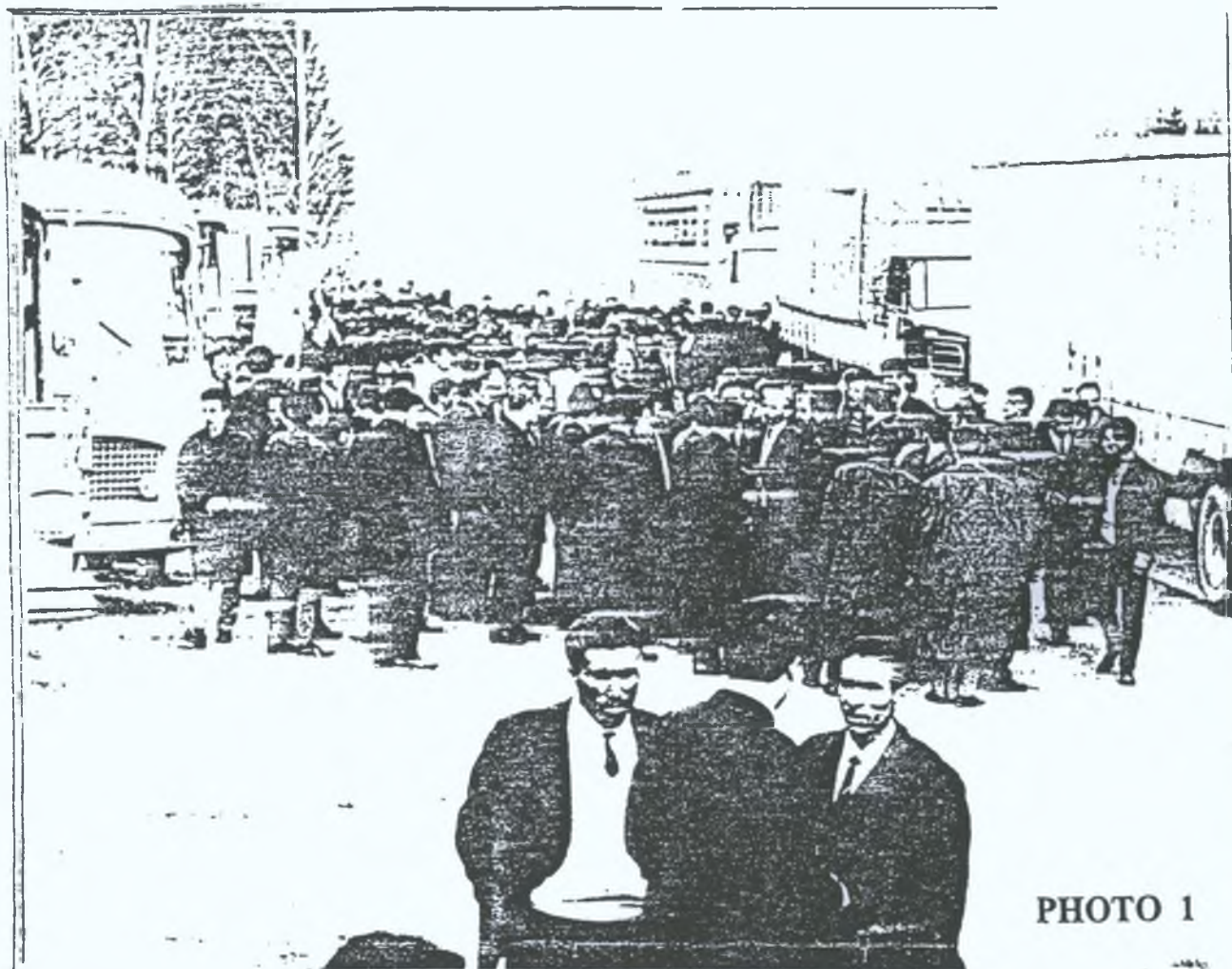


PHOTO 1

Während deutsche Beamte die Grenze bei Salzburg geschlossen hielten, belagerten die Türken den Schlagbaum

# Hilfe, die Türken kommen

800 Muselmanen wollten  
als Gastarbeiter  
illegal nach Deutschland



PHOTO 2

Beamte sammelten die Reisepässe  
ein und forschten darin vergebens  
nach den gültigen Arbeitspapieren

Die Karawane kam im Morgenrauen. 20 Busse rollten bei Salzburg auf die österreichisch-deutsche Grenze zu. Die 800 Insassen — ausnahmslos Männer im besten Alter — versicherten den auf sie zukommenden Grenzern am deutschen Schlagbaum Schwarzbach: „Wir Touristen.“ Es dauerte nicht lange, bis sich herausstellte: Nur 44 der 800 Männer waren wirklich Touristen. Der Rest war mit den Bussen des türkischen Reiseunternehmens „Bozfor“ aus Anatolien angereist, um ohne Arbeitserlaubnis Deutschlands Gastarbeitermarkt zu beleben. Die 756 Türken mußten umkehren.

Während süddeutsche Tageszeitungen schon die Meldung brachten: „Türken auf dem Rückmarsch in die Heimat“, versammelten sich die Abgewiesenen ergrimmt in Hundertschaften vor dem türkischen Konsulat in Salzburg und forderten lautstark Unterstützung.

Aus München eilte zur Unterstützung des bedrängten Salzburger Generalkonsuls Sabrettin Tacan dessen Kollege Gündüz Tuncbilek herbei. Bekümmert beklagten sich die beiden Diplomaten in einem Gespräch mit



»Wir Türken  
lieben  
Deutschland«

Trotz aller Komplimente blieb die Grenzpolizei hart. Ohne Arbeitserlaubnis durfte kein Türke in die Bundesrepublik

dem STERN: „Das ist ein schwerer Schaden für die traditionelle deutsch-türkische Freundschaft. Warum sollen unsere Männer nicht als Touristen einreisen können?“

Ein Sprecher des bayerischen Innenministeriums: „Das mit den Touristen ist ja wohl ein Witz. Nach unseren Informationen wollen mindestens 70 Prozent der Türken bei uns arbeiten. Dafür brauchen sie aber eine Arbeitserlaubnis. Wir können doch keine Leute als Arbeiter ins Land lassen, von denen wir nicht einmal wissen, ob sie vorbestraft sind oder eine ansteckende Krankheit haben.“

Erst eine Woche vor der letzten Türkeninvasion waren 27 Busse mit 1200 anatolischen Reisenden als Touristen am gleichen Grenzübergang vorgefahren. Polizeiinspektor Helmut Friedrich von der Grenzpolizei station zum STERN: „Obwohl wir ziemlich sicher waren, daß die Mehrzahl der Reisenden keine Touristen, sondern Erwerbssuchende waren, haben wir noch einmal ein Auge zugedrückt und den Konvoi passieren lassen.“

Als jetzt die zweite Karawane erwartungsfroh vor dem Schlagbaum hielt, sah sich Friedrich außerstande, auch noch das zweite Auge zuzudrücken. Das bayerische Innenministerium hatte seine Grenzwachter angewiesen, diesmal exakt nach Paragraph 5 des Ausländergesetzes vorzugehen. Erwerbssuchende Ausländer, heißt es in der Ausführungsverordnung dieses Gesetzes, müssen bei der Einreise eine gültige Arbeitserlaubnis, ausgestellt von der deutschen Vertretung in ihrem Heimatland, vorweisen.

Wer die türkischen Heerscharen für die beschwerliche Busreise angeworben hatte, konnten bisher weder die Grenzpolizei noch das bayerische Innenministerium ermitteln. Auf diese Frage angesprochen, zeigten die Reisenden aus dem Orient nur ihre für 350 Mark erworbene Rückfahrkarte vor und gaben stereotyp zur Antwort: „Wir Touristi.“

Omer Abaca, 41, aus Anatolien zum STERN: „Ich will nach Essen reisen, dort arbeitet ein Bekannter, der mir noch 20 000 Mark schuldet. Wenn ich das

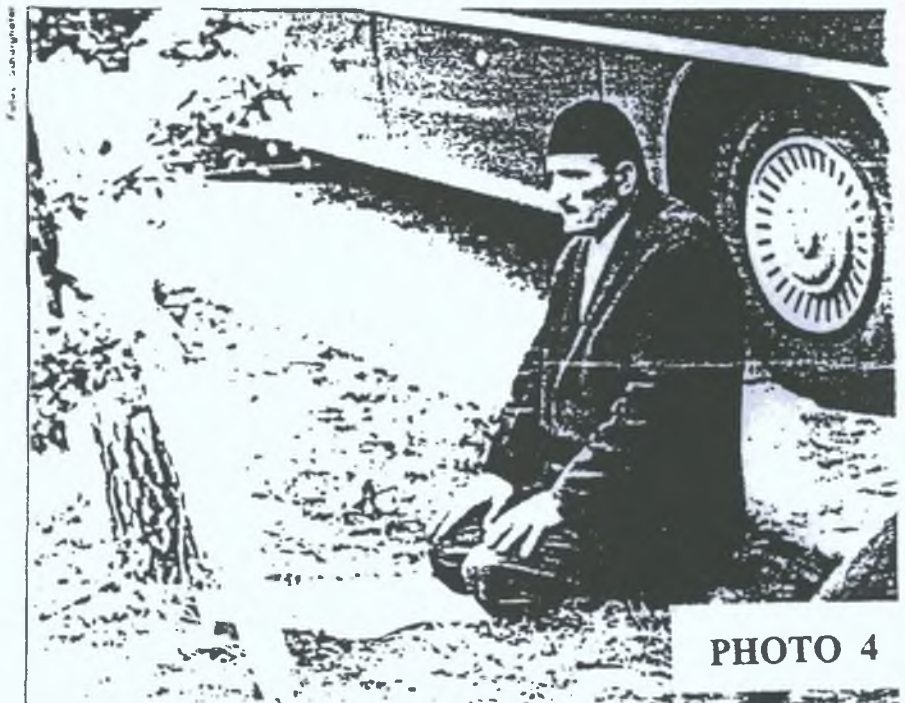


PHOTO 4

Mit dem Gesicht gen Mekka bat der Türke Ali um Allahs Hilfe — jedoch vergebens



Noch ein Reifenwechsel — dann rollten die 20 Busse mit den enttäuschten Türken zurück in Richtung Bosphorus

105 Geld habe, fahre ich sofort zurück.“ Polizeiinspektor Friedrich: „Die Türken kamen mit den phantasie reichsten Erklärungen und abenteuerlichen Beglaubigungsschreiben, um im Alleingang einreisen zu können.“

110 Die türkischen Diplomaten, die in Salzburg bei Mokka und Orientzigaretten den Ernst der Lage wortreich diskutierten, unternahmen indessen keine Anstrengungen, ihre Landsleute objektiv aufzuklären. Auf die Frage, ob es nicht merkwürdig sei, daß innerhalb weniger Wochen über 2000 Türken plötzlich

115 ihre Liebe zu den landschaftlichen Schönheiten Deutschlands entdeckt hätten, antwortete Generalkonsul Tacau: „Wir Türken lieben Deutschland. Wenn

120 Bozfor 100 Busse hätte, kämen morgen 100 Busse mit türkischen Männern, die Deutschland besuchen wollen.“ Norbert Thomas

Fremdenhaß

## Der Italienerkrieg von Aschaffenburg

Mit Ochsenziemern, Knüppeln und Messern prügeln sich Bayern und Südländer um die Gunst deutscher Mädchen – am Ende war einer tot

Das Gasthaus „Zum Ochsen“ im dörflichen Aschaffener Ortsteil Schweinheim ist ein gemütliches Haus. Es hängt ein Kuhfell an der Wand und ein Kruzifix daneben. Darunter stehen Holztische, Flipperautomaten und eine Musikbox. An den Tischen und Geräten sitzen und stehen, trinken und spielen an diesem Sonntagabend junge, kräftige Schweinheimer Männer und kaum minder kräftige Schweinheimer Mädchen. Dabei sind auch die Burschen „Eddie“, „Bast“ und „Robbi“. Sie spielen mit Becher und Würfel „Chicago“. Bast gewinnt.

Gegen 21 Uhr beginnt sich die Runde am Tisch zu lichten. Eddie trinkt noch einen Gespritzten und tritt vor die Tür. Dort wird ihm eine Bierflasche über den Kopf gehauen. Dann geht Bast nach draußen. Ihm wird ein langes Messer in den Rücken ge-

stoßen. Schließlich knöpft sich Robbi seinen blauen Blazer zu und folgt seinen Freunden. Das nächste, was man von ihm hört, ist keine gute Nachricht: „Jetzt hat's den Robbi erwischt“, ruft aufgeregt ein Schweinheimer Mädchen und stürzt in die Schankstube.

Robbi hatte es am bösesten getroffen. Robbi lag im Sterben, zusammengekrümmt halb auf dem Bürgersteig, halb auf der kopfsteingepflasterten Fahrbahn, gegenüber dem Ochsen“. Ursula, die Tochter der Ochsen-Wirtin, erzählt: „Zehn oder zwölf Stiche hat er mitgekriegt, das hält keiner aus.“

Beider kaufmännischen Abrechnung dieses für Schweinheim schlimmen Tages zerriß die Gastwirtsin später den Bierfilz auf dem unbezahlte Getränke im Wert von etwa zehn Mark für Hans Walter Winterle, 24, Volkswagenverkäufer, genannt „Robbi“, verbucht waren. „Denn schließlich kann ich der jungen Witwe doch jetzt nicht mit dem Deckel kommen“, sagt die Wirtin.

Die Schlacht von Schweinheim im nördlichsten Teil des Freistaates Bayern hat ihre Vorgeschichte. Besseren Besuch als die Kirche „Maria Geburt“ haben dort die Gaststätten „Zum Ochsen“, „Berghofkeller“ und „Ratsstube“, die Bar „Crazy Horse“ und die Diskothek „Big Apple“, die früher „Why Not“ hieß. Der Namenswechsel schien erforderlich, als im Bereich dieser Schweinheimer Begegnungsstätte

### PHOTO 1

Wolfgang Weil aus Schweinheim, genannt »Bast«, erhielt bei der Massenschlächterei einen Messerstich in den Rücken  
»Wie konnte das eigentlich passieren?«

Mitternacht nicht nur Türen,  
 n auch immer häufiger  
 geschlagen wurden. Die  
 kaner erließen daraufhin  
 ff limits" Besuchsverbot  
 re Soldaten.

ldlich waren die Neger und  
 anderen Amis weg, und wir  
 a mit unseren Mädchen un-  
 as", freute sich der Maschi-  
 hlosser Paul, 18. Motorrad-  
 r. Doch die Freude währte  
 lange. Es näherte sich neue  
 urrenz. „Die Kanaken ka-  
 , sagt Paul und meint damit  
 italienischen Gastarbeiter.  
 n den Aschaffenburger Fam-  
 n arbeiten. In die Diskothek  
 kt wurden die jungen Süd-  
 er weniger von dem weißen  
 icht mit der Aufschrift  
 a" als vielmehr von den  
 schen Mädchen, die mit vol-  
 Blusen, prallen Hosen oder  
 nkelkurzen Röcken bei dröh-  
 er Musik erotisch vibrierten.  
 sind einige bei, die haben  
 ttaker ganz schön heiß ge-  
 et", beobachtete der Disc-

## PHOTO 2



**Die Deutschen beleidigten die Gast-  
 arbeiter: »Spaghettifresser, Kanaken,  
 Makkaronis, Arschgelgen, Filzläuse«**  
 Knapp 30 Meter sind es vom »Ochsen«,  
 dem Stammlokal der Schweinheimer  
 Jugend, bis zum »Big Apple«, dem Treff-  
 punkt der Italiener. An der Ecke prallten  
 die verfeindeten Gruppen aufeinander



PHOTO 3



PHOTO 4

**Woche trugen Freunde und Verwandte den toten Robbi Winterle.  
 vor einem Jahr die 19jährige Linda geheiratet hatte, zu Grabe  
 hn oder zwölf Stiche hat er mitgekriegt, das hält keiner aus«**

100 Jockey Jerry, ein Jüngling mit  
 schütterem Lippenbärtchen und  
 wallendem Haupthaar. Dagegen  
 empört sich die blonde Erika, 18,  
 Verkäuferin. „Die Ittaker packen  
 105 einem beim Tanzen immer gleich  
 auf den Hintern oder an die  
 Brust.“

Wie dem auch sei, tatsächlich  
 ist die Ursache der ständigen  
 110 Reibereien in diesen Bereichen  
 zu suchen. Fest steht auch, daß  
 die Schweinheimer jungen im  
 Vergleich mit den Südländern  
 immer häufiger den kürzeren zo-  
 115 gen. „Die Italiener haben eben  
 mehr Charme“, kommentiert der  
 Diskotheken-Chef Heinz Bühler.  
 Er sah mit an, wie seine deut-  
 schen Gäste „sich in den Suff  
 120 flüchteten und lallend an der  
 Theke rumlümmelten“ und etwa  
 so über ihre schwarzgelockten  
 Nebenbuhler sprachen: „Die Spag-  
 hettifresser, die Kanaken, die  
 125 Arschgelgen, die Makkaronis, die  
 Drecksäue, die Filzläuse.“

Das fanden so selbstbewußte  
 junge Leute wie Carlo, Luigi

oder Piero gar nicht lustig. Und  
 130 Aschaffenburgs Polizeiober-  
 rrat Klaus erkannte: „Die Italiener  
 haben im Vergleich zu uns Deut-  
 schen ein ausgeprägteres Ehrge-  
 fühl, sie sind schneller beleidigt  
 135 und brausen viel schneller auf.“

So kam es denn in Schwein-  
 heims Bars und Kneipen immer  
 häufiger vor, daß italienische El-  
 lenbogen in deutsche Rippen stie-  
 140 ßen. Umgekehrt flog in einem  
 Fall erst eine italienische Kra-  
 watte und dann der dazugehö-  
 rige Giuliano aufs Tanzparkett.  
 Eine 70 Jahre alte Frau verfolgte  
 die Entwicklung von ihrem Fen-  
 ster aus mit Interesse: „Hier war  
 fast jeden Abend die Jagd los, die  
 Männer haben sich geprügelt,  
 und oft haben die Mädchen ge-  
 150 schrien.“ Ursache solch spitzer  
 Schreie waren Erlebnisse, wie sie  
 zum Beispiel Gabriele, 18, Nähe-  
 rin, hatte: „Die Italiener wollen  
 immer gleich mit einem schlafen.  
 155 Als ich nicht wollte, hielt er ein  
 blankes Messer vor meinen  
 Bauch. Da habe ich laut geschrien



und mich gewehrt. Da ist er weg-  
gelaufen."

160 Gabriele kehrte verschreckt zu  
den weniger temperamentvollen  
Schweinheimer Jungen zurück.  
„Die spielen sich immer mehr zu  
Beschützern auf“, berichtet Dis-

165 kothekenchef Bühler. Am Sonn-  
tag, dem 6. Mai, entlud sich die  
angestaute Spannung. In der  
„Big-Apple“-Diskothek, in der  
sonst 20 bis 30 Südländer zu-

170 sammenstehen, flirteten diesmal  
nur ein halbes Dutzend Gast-  
arbeiter mit deutschen Mädchen.

„Da haben die Schweinheimer  
Typen gedacht, den paar Knall-  
175 köpfe hauen wir was in die  
Fresse“, meint der Tanzzielen-  
inhaber Bühler.

Gegen 21 Uhr verließen die  
Italiener das Lokal. Die Deut-

180 schen hinterher. Die verfolgten  
Gastarbeiter telefonierten Hilfe  
herbei. Die Deutschen holten  
Verstärkung aus den umliegen-  
den Kneipen. Schließlich standen

185 sich zwei je 30 bis 40 Mann  
starke Gruppen gegenüber.

Um 21.28 Uhr bemerkten die  
Beamten des Polizeieinsatzfahr-

190 zeuges „Main 15/29“ eine „ver-  
dächtige Ansammlung von Ju-  
gendlichen“. Sie steuerten ihren  
Wagen zur Erkundung in weni-  
ger belebte Nachbarstraßen.

Sekunden später brach der  
195 Italiener-Krieg von Schweinheim  
aus. Zum letztenmal waren in  
dieser Gegend Germanen und  
Römer im Jahre 280 nach Christi

200 damals gleichen denen von heute.  
Holzprügel und Ochsenziemer,

Schaufeln und Messer kamen  
zum Einsatz. „Das hat gerummst

und geballert, die Jungens haben  
vor Schmerzen geschrien“, be-

205 richtet eine Anwohnerin. Schließ-  
lich habe ein Schrei die anderen  
übertönt: „Die Schweine stechen  
mich tot.“ Danach war es plötz-

210 lich still. Entsetzt blickten Freund  
und Feind auf einen blutend am  
Boden liegenden Mann, auf Hans  
Walter Winterle, genannt „Rob-

bi“, der in die vorderste Front-

linie geraten war.

Amerikanische Militärpolizi-

sten kamen zufällig vorbei und  
versuchten Erste Hilfe zu leisten.

Der als Sanitäter ausgebildete  
Schweinheimer Johann Rausch

215 beobachtete ihren Einsatz: „Ich  
sah, wie ein Amerikaner die  
vielen Einstiche zuhalten wollte,  
aber der hatte gar nicht so viele

220 Finger, wie da Löcher waren.“  
Hans Walter Winterle, verheira-

tet, Vater einer sechs Monate  
alten Tochter, starb auf dem

Weg ins Krankenhaus.

225 Das zweite Opfer hatte Glück.  
Wolfgang Weil, genannt „Bast“,

erhielt einen tiefen Messerstich  
in den Rücken. Doch für ihn be-

stand keine Lebensgefahr.

230 An diesem Abend, so Krimi-  
nalamtman Meier, Chef der  
Aschaffenburg Kripo, „liefen  
noch viele junge Männer mit

Kopfverbänden an der Walstatt  
herum“. Die Suche nach den

235 deutschen und italienischen Rä-  
delsführern gestaltete sich  
schwierig. Alle Beteiligten  
schweigen. Zunächst wurden sie-

ben Italiener „wegen Verdachts  
der Teilnahme an einem Rauf-

handel“ festgenommen.

Das Opfer der Völkerschlacht

240 wurde am Donnerstag letzter  
Woche auf dem Schweinheimer  
Friedhof beigesetzt. Zwei Dut-

zende Freunde und Verwandte  
begleiteten die hübsche Witwe,

die 19jährige Linda Winterle.

245 Und in der nur ein paar hundert  
Meter entfernten „Big-Apple“-  
Diskothek legte der Plattenauf-

leger Jerry eine Art Gedenk-  
minute ein: „Das ist schon Schei-

250 ße“, sprach er, „jetzt ist er tot  
und sie sitzt da mit dem Kind.“

Als die Beerdigungsgesell-

schaft den Friedhof verließ, fiel  
einem der Trauernden Trösten-

255 des ein: „Ganz umsonst ist  
Robbis Tod ja nicht gewesen,  
denn seit er starb, hat sich kei-

ner von den Italienern mehr in  
Schweinheim blicken lassen.“

260 Im Schaukasten der Gaststätte  
„Ratsstube“ hing an diesem Tag  
ein blau-weißes Plakat, und dar-

auf stand: „Bayern dankt seinen  
Kriegsopfern.“ Jürgen Petschull

## PHOTO 5



Dieses Waffenarsenal  
sammelte die Kripo auf dem  
Schlachtfeld in Schweinheim ein  
»Es hat gerummst und  
geballert«

## Ausländer

## »Bei den Kerlen kann man ja nie wissen«

Kölner Schüler verkleideten sich als Türken und machten schlimme Erfahrungen

1 „He, Ali, du nix anfassen“, sagt die deutsche Verkäuferin im Spielwarengeschäft in der Kölner Innenstadt barsch zu dem Jungen und zieht den Stecker zu den Telespielen 5 neraus, die dort zum Ausprobieren aufgestellt sind.

10 Der Junge hat schwarze Haare, trägt einen abgewetzten Parka und spricht das gebrochene Deutsch der Türken. Vor der Ladentür sagt der 13jährige in akzentfreiem Deutsch: „Unverschämt! Die deutschen Kinder durften an den Vorführgeräten rumfummeln. Ich aber nicht – nur weil mich die Verkäuferin für einen Türken gehalten hat.“

20 Der schwarzhaarige Junge ist in Wirklichkeit blond. Sein Name ist nicht Ali, sondern Jan. Und er ist kein Türke, sondern ein Deutscher. Zusammen mit anderen Schülern aus der siebten Klasse der integrierten Gesamtschule Köln-Holweide hat-

te sich Jan als Türke verkleidet. Sie hatten vorher im Unterricht 30 lange Zeit über Gastarbeiter gesprochen. Nun wollten sie praktische Erfahrungen über das Verhältnis zwischen Deutschen und Ausländern sammeln. Dieser Anschauungsunterricht, so sagt Jan, „ist allen in der Klasse unheimlich unter die Haut gegangen, weil die Deutschen plötzlich anders zu einem 40 sind“.

Angeregt zu diesem ungewöhnlichen Unterrichts-Experiment wurden die Kölner Kinder durch den STERN-Bericht 45 „Als ich ein Türke war“ (STERN Nr. 42, 1982). Für diese Reportage hatte sich STERN-Reporter Gerhard Kromschroder als Türke verkleidet und mehrere Wochen als Straßenkehrer in Frankfurt gearbeitet. Ergebnis: Er wurde aus Gaststätten rausgeschmissen, von Deutschen diffamiert, 55 angepöbelt und sogar geschlagen.

Viele Schulklassen fragten in der STERN-Redaktion an, ob Kromschroder bei ihnen über 60 seine Erfahrungen referieren könne. Die Kölner Schüler luden ihn ein, um von ihm zu erfahren, wie sie sich verkleiden und schminken müssten. „um 65 als Türken durchzugehen“.

In Jans Klasse sind sechs der 30 Kinder keine Deutschen – vier Türken, einer Italiener und einer Jugoslawe. Die mochten 70 sich am „Ausländer spielen“ nicht beteiligen. „Das kennen

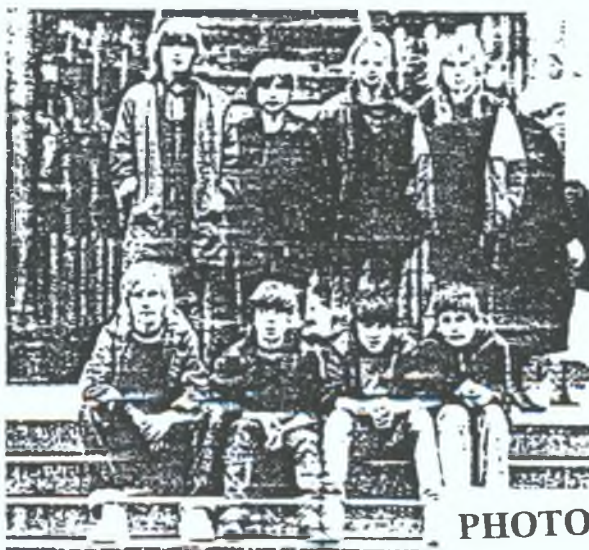


PHOTO 1

Sie testeten Türkenfeindlichkeit. Acht Schüler der 7. Klasse der Gesamtschule Köln-Holweide



h als Ladendiebe in Verdacht. Kerstin, Sonja, Elisa und Annemarie mit Kopftüchern und gefärbten Haaren. Elisa: „Die Leute guckten fast angeekelt.“



li, du nix anfassel.“ So wurde Jan (links) angefahren, als er in einem Laden ein Computerspiel ausprobierte. Neben ihm seine Klassenkameraden Enzo, Alex, Rainer

wir ja nun, dafür brauchen wir uns nicht zu verkleiden“, sagt der Türke Jano. Dafür arbeitete er in der Gruppe mit, die Passanten auf der Straße interviewte, um ihre Meinung zu Ausländern zu erfahren. Eine zweite Gruppe ging in türkische Läden einkaufen. Und eine dritte Gruppe – insgesamt acht Kinder – machte sich als Türken verkleidet in die Kölner Innenstadt auf: mit gefärbten Haaren, die Mädchen mit Kopftüchern und langen Mänteln. „Auf dem Flur“, so Jan, „haben uns kein Mitschüler erkannt.“

Dann geht's in die Hohe Straße, Kölns Einkaufsmeile unweit des Doms. Jan macht seine ersten Erfahrungen an den Telegeneraten im Spielwarengeschäft. Seine Klassenkameradinnen Annemarie und Elisa erleben, wie sie wegen ihres türkischen Aufzugs in einem Kaufhaus in den Verdacht geraten, gestohlen zu haben. 10

Alex und Rainer registrieren überrascht, wie ein altes Mütterchen, das ihnen entgegenkommt, ihre Handtasche ängstlich unter den Arm klemmt und sagt: „Sicher ist sicher, bei den Kerlen kann man ja nie wissen.“ Und Kerstin und Sonja reicht der Verkäufer für zwei Mark ganze acht Eßkastanien über die Theke – für Deutsche. So ermittelt STERN-Fotograf Klaus Meyer-Andersen bei einem Testkauf, gibt es fürs gleiche Geld die doppelte Menge.

Bei einer Diskussion in der Schule faßte Elisa die Erfahrungen der Kinder bei ihrem realistischen Rollenspiel so zusammen: „Das Komische bei der ganzen Sache ist, daß man die Verachtung kaum beschreiben kann. Es fängt damit an, daß einen die Leute von oben bis unten ansehen, fast angeekelt. Da bin ich immer ganz unsicher geworden.“

Klassenlehrer Hermann Wübbels: „Das Experiment hat ihnen weitergeholfen. Sie haben am eigenen Leib erlebt, wie schnell Vorurteile zustande kommen. Ausländerfeindliche Sprüche und Türken-Witze, wie sie früher schon mal in der Klasse zu hören waren, gibt es jetzt kaum noch.“

STERN-Autor Heinrich Jaenecke über die neue Ausländerfeindlichkeit und das drohende Wiederaufleben des Faschismus in Deutschland



# Aufstand gegen die Zukunft

Von Tag zu Tag wird deutlicher, daß dieses Land in einer ernststen inneren Krise steckt. Seit dem Fall der Mauer und der Wiedervereinigung sind wir in beiden Teilen Deutschlands aus dem psychischen Gleichgewicht. Statt daß die Vereinigung zur Stabilisierung geführt hat, ist das Gegenteil eingetreten: Die Unsicherheiten beider Seiten haben sich addiert. Mit Erschrecken sehen wir im Westen, wie wenig Halt die Strukturen geben, die in 40 Jahren gewachsen sind, wie etwas aufbricht, das wir für endgültig überwunden hielten.

Das Fieber, das die Nation zur Zeit schüttelt, entzündet sich an der sogenannten Asylanfrage. Nun leugnet niemand, daß es ein Einwanderungsproblem gibt. Kein Staat kann talentlos zusehen, wie ein unkontrollierter Zustrom von Immigranten ins Uferlose anschwillt. Es sind Maßnahmen zu seiner Eindämmung nötig, und sie werden getroffen werden.

Die allgemeine Ausländerhysterie aber und der Ausbruch an Gewalt, der das Land seit Wochen verheert, stehen in keinem Verhältnis zu den realen Proportionen des Problems. Eines Problems, das im übrigen weit weniger bedrohlich ist als der tägliche Massenmord auf unseren Straßen, die fortschreitende Vergiftung der Umwelt und die unbeschreibliche Tragödie der Drogensüchtigen.

Was uns wirklich angst machen sollte, ist nicht die Asylanfrage, sondern die Reaktion darauf. Diese Reaktion ist ein klarer Indikator für den psychischen Zustand der vereinten Nation, und die Symptome sind in höchstem Grade beunruhigend. Denn was wir zur Zeit erleben, ist nicht mehr und nicht weniger als die Auferstehung des

Nazismus auf breiter Front. Jede andere Diagnose ist Drumherumreden und Verharmlosungen.

Psychologen und Soziologen bieten Erklärungen zuhauf an: Die Verunsicherung der armen Ostdeutschen nach dem Zusammenbruch der Diktatur, die Angst der reichen Westdeutschen vor der Armutswelle der Dritten Welt, die natürliche Angst des Menschen vor dem Fremden schlechthin, der moralische Zerfall der Industriegesellschaft im allgemeinen und der Jugend im besonderen, die Lust am Provokieren und an der Gewalt – in allem steckt ein Körnchen Wahrheit, zu allem kann man nicken, und dennoch trifft es nicht den Kern.

Es erklärt nicht, weshalb in Deutschland die Enkel der SA-Generation wieder »Heil Hitler« brüllen, sich SS-Runen eintätowieren lassen, das Horst-Wessel-Lied grölen und orogelnd und sengend Dörfer und Kleinstädte terrorisieren. Wohlgermerkt nicht einzelne. Im Untergrund operierende Geheimbündler, sondern busweise anreisende, bewaffnete Hundertschaften, mit Ansteckplaketten »Ich bin stolz, ein Neonazi zu sein«. Wäre es nicht verboten, wir könnten sicher sein, daß in diesem Land, fast 50 Jahre nach Auschwitz und Treblinka, wieder Hakenkreuzfahnen auf der Straße flatterten.

Das Ganze ließe sich allenfalls noch unter der Rubrik politische Kriminalität abhandeln, gäbe es hinter den aktiven Banden nicht eine breite Schicht stillschweigender Sympathisanten – nicht in irgendeiner »Szene«, sondern im gesitteten deutschen Bürgertum. Die Leute von Hoyerswerda, die beifällkalt-

schend zusahen, wie die Skins Ausländer verprügeln – sie stehen für Millionen, die abends im Fernsehsessel sitzen und »richtig so« sagen (oder denken), wenn die Bilder von einem neuen Nazi-Anschlag über die Glotze flimmern; die sich über die Hütchenspieler in der Fußgängerzone erregen, aber nicht über die SS-Runen an der Hauswand; die den Auslän-

**»Wegsehen und weghören, das alte Bonner Muster, ist ab jetzt sträflich«**

der in jedem Fall schlimmer finden als den Nazi, der einen »Neger« jagt. Wenn jetzt auch Italiener, Angehörige eines Nachbarvolks, mit dem wir in engster Tuchfühlung leben, auf offener Straße niedergeschlagen werden, dann zeigt das, wohin wir gekommen sind. Was muß an Barrieren in Millionen Köpfen zusammengebrochen sein, damit sich das ereignen kann!

Europa ist auf dem Wege zur politischen Union und zu einem einheitlichen Wirtschaftsgebiet. Ab 1993, in gut einem Jahr also, wird es in den Staaten der Europäischen Gemeinschaft totale

Freizügigkeit geben. Jedermann kann sich dann niederlassen, wo er will, von Portugal bis Griechenland, von Sizilien bis Schottland. Das Wort »Ausländer« wird dann weitgehend seinen Sinn verlieren, wir werden alle europäische Landsleute sein.

Schon heute besteht die große Mehrheit der in Deutschland lebenden Ausländer aus Bürgern der EG-Länder oder assoziierter Staaten, ein weiterer großer Teil aus Polen und Jugoslawen. Völkern, die über kurz oder lang ebenfalls zur Gemeinschaft der europäischen Staaten gehören werden. Nur ein verschwindend kleiner Prozentsatz stammt aus außereuropäischen Ländern, nicht zu vergleichen mit den Millionenmassen von Afrikanern und Asiaten in Frankreich und England.

Woran also entzündet sich der deutsche Fremdenhaß? Ist das, was sich hier entzündet, ein Aufstand gegen die Zukunft, gegen die Welt von morgen, die Welt einer multikulturellen, im wahrsten Sinne internationalen Gemeinschaft?

Gewalt als Daseinsprinzip – das war der innerste Wesenskern des Faschismus, sein Credo gegen Demokratie und Humanität. Von diesem bösen Erbe droht heute wieder Gefahr. Auch Hitler war im letzten Grunde ein Aufstand gegen die Zukunft, ein Aufstand finsterner Ressentiments und Atavismen gegen die Notwendigkeiten der modernen Welt.

Die schlichte Wahrheit ist: Dieses Volk hat die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nazismus, mit seiner eigenen Krankheitsgeschichte also, nie geführt, sonst wäre es nicht möglich, daß die alten Symptome wieder aufbrechen.

Es nützt nichts, die politischen Parteien allein dafür verantwortlich zu machen (obwohl sie natürlich verantwortlich sind). Demokratie ist die Gesellschaftsform des Individuums. Sie lebt von den einzelnen, und wenn sie in den Köpfen der einzelnen nicht funktioniert, ist alles auf Sand gebaut.

So wird dieser Republik nicht erspart bleiben, wovor sie sich immer gedrückt hat: der offensiven Auseinandersetzung mit ihren wirklichen Feinden, den Nachläufern Hitlers. Wegsehen und weghören, das alte Bonner Muster, ist ab jetzt sträflich.

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# Wer rein will, kommt rein

Seit Bonn den Asylkompromiß beschlossen hat, um der  
Zustrom von Flüchtlingen zu stoppen, kommen immer mehr  
illegal über die Grenze. Die Polizei ist machtlos



PHOTO 2

in Pilsen wartet  
Rumänen mit ihren  
Habseligkeiten auf  
Schleppers, die sie nach  
Deutschland bringen.  
Ein Kunde, der beim  
illegalen Grenzübertritt  
erfaßt wurde, wird  
in Waldhaus ergebnislos  
dienstlich behandelt

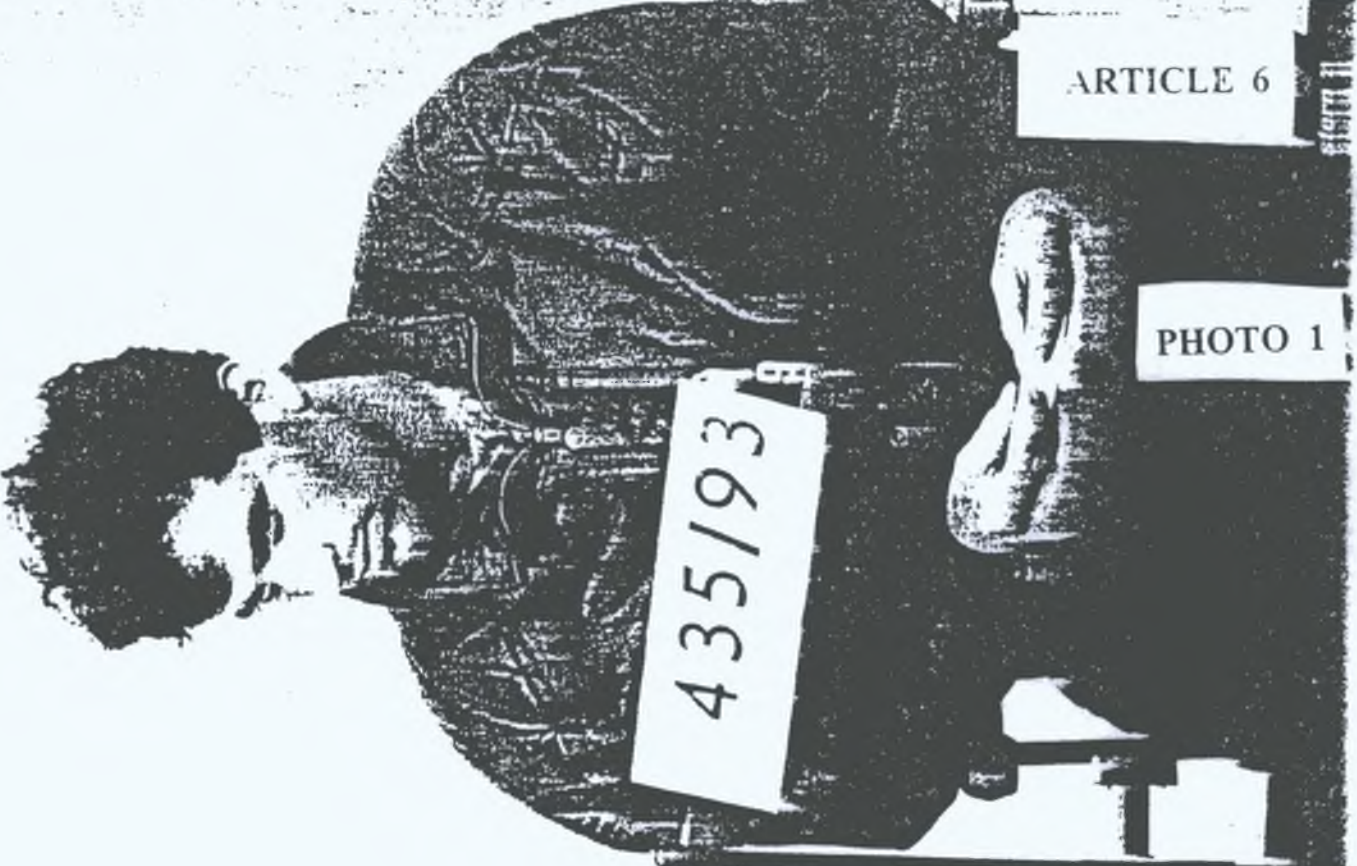


PHOTO 1



Polnische Grenzer trainieren bei Görlitz mit Schäferhunden



Ein polnischer Beamter sucht auf geharkten Grenzstreifen nach Spuren

# 1993 wurden bereits 17 686 illegale Grenz- gänger gefaßt

**D**as Paradies ist nur drei Kilometer entfernt. Aber Avyolah Baskim kommt nicht rein. »Visum nix.« Der schmächtige Junge mit den strubbeligen schwarzen Locken blättert vorwurfsvoll die leeren Seiten seines Passes durch. So wie es heute morgen der Beamte der Bayerischen Grenzpolizei am deutsch-tschechischen Übergang Waidhaus getan hat, bevor er ihn und seine zwei Landsleute zurückschickte.

Seitdem sitzen die drei Kosovo-Albaner in der schattigen Ecke eines verdrehten Parkplatzes vor dem Städtchen Rozvadov und warten auf die Dunkelheit. Dann wollen sie noch einmal versuchen, ins deutsche Wirtschaftsparadies zu kommen. Diesmal rechts von den Grenzbarrieren, durch die sumpfigen Wiesen und die Fichtenwälder.

Auch andere harren noch auf die Nacht. 15 neun Jugoslawen, die drüben am Ackerrand in der Wiese liegen, die rumänischen Familien an den Plastikstischen im Restaurant an der Hauptstraße und die Halbwelttypen mit Goldkettchen, die sich seit Tagen mit verschiedenen Autos auf dem kleinen Parkplatz vor Marcells Bus-Bistro »Non Stop« herumtreiben. »Die warten auf Kunden, die rüber wollen«, sagt Marcel, ein 50 Tscheche, der in seinem Laden den Touristen billige Zigaretten und Krimsekt verkauft.

Als die Dämmerung hereinbricht, sind die Autos mit den Schleusern verschwunden. Genauso wie das Trio aus Kosovo und die neun Jugoslawen vom Acker drüben. Kleine Gruppen ducken sich am



50 Strahlengraben der Grenzstraße E 50, wo es nach Abgas stinkt. Sie verschwinden in den düsteren 65 Feldern.

»Tag für Tag schleichen Hunderte bei uns über die grüne Grenze«, sagt 70 Hauptkommissar Günther Stöckl von der Bayerischen Grenzpolizei-Inspektion in Waidhaus.

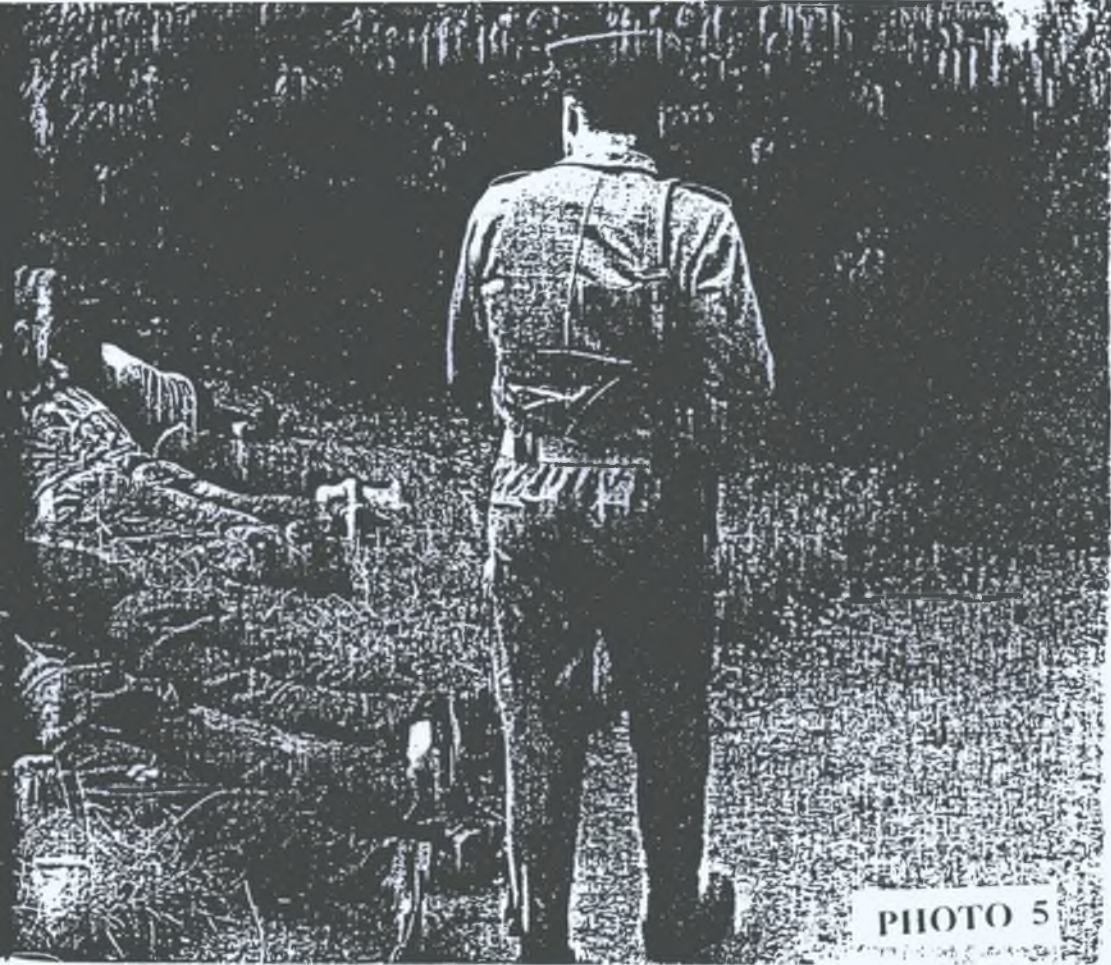


PHOTO 5

Eine Gruppe von 28 Rumänen ist bei Piénsk nahe Görnitz gestellt worden. Sie werden durchsucht, ihre Papiere überprüft

Fluchtlinge aus dem zeitfallenden Jugoslawien, aus Rumänien, Bulgarien, Polen, der Türkei und Sri Lanka.

So wie in Waidhaus ist die Lage fast überall an der Ostgrenze von Deutschland. Die Zahl der illegalen Einwanderer ist

seit dem 1. Januar sprunghaft gestiegen. Allein im ersten Quartal dieses Jahres haben die Grenzbeamten zwischen Swineinünde und Freyung 17 686 Illegaler aufgegriffen - fast halb so viele wie im gesamten vorigen Jahr. Und das Gros, das wissen die Grenzschützer aus Erfahrung, kommt erst. Im

Sommer, wenn es warm ist. »Die Schleuser haben mobil gemacht«, sagt Dietrich Staats, Sprecher des Grenzschutzkommandos Ost in Berlin. »Die sagen den Leuten: Jetzt oder nie.« Da ist nun Tor-Schlußpanik. »Denn im Mai soll der zwischen der Bonner Koalition und der SPD ausge-

handelte Asylkompromiß im Bundestag verabschiedet werden. Spätestens zum 1. August soll das neue Asylverfahrensgesetz in Kraft treten, wonach Asylbewerber, die aus sogenannten »sicheren Drittländern« einreisen, einfach abgeschoben werden dürfen. Ein ergänzender Vertrag mit Polen, wo die



PHOTO 6

Abchiebung von Asylbewerbern in Berlin-Schönefeld



PHOTO 7

Ein Polizeibus hat die Rumänen zum Flughafen gebracht

## Viele riskieren auf der Flucht ihr Leben

... des Grenzschutzes hilft. ist nahezu unterschrittsreif. Auch an einer einvernehmlichen Lösung mit der Tschechischen Republik zweifelt in Bonn kaum jemand.

Die Politiker erwecken seither den Eindruck, sie hätten das Problem im Griff. Die Zahlen aber sprechen dagegen:

Im ersten Quartal dieses Jahres haben 118 064 Menschen beim Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge Antrag auf Asyl gestellt - über ein Fünftel mehr als im gleichen Zeitraum des Vorjahres. »438 (XX) Asylbewerber waren es im vergangenen Jahr, und man kann annehmen, daß wir in diesem Jahr über 500 000 Asylanträge haben werden«, sagt Wolfgang Weickhardt, Vize-Chef im Bundesamt.

Es sei denn, der Asylkompromiß bringe den erwarteten Rückgang.

Grenzbeamte wie Günther Stückl von der Inspektion im bayerischen Waidhaus aber sind dem Druck aus dem Osten nahezu hilflos ausgesetzt.

Zwar wurden die Einheiten des Bundesgrenzschutzes allein an der Grenze zu Polen und der Tschechei um 2000 Mann und 132 Hunde aufgestockt sowie mit Infrarot-Geräten ausgerüstet. Zusätzlich werden zur Zeit 250 sogenannte »Grenzunterstützungskräfte« ausgebildet, 1700 sollen es werden. Doch überall an der 1264 Kilometer langen Grenze zwischen Swinemünde und Freyung können die Beamten nicht sein. »Geschnappt wird nur jeder zehnte«, sagt Kommissar Stückl. »Vielleicht jeder achte, wenn's hoch

kommt.« Sein Kollege

... des Grenzschutzamtes Pirna bei Dresden, sagt: »Um illegale Übertritte zu verhindern, müßte man einen Zaun bauen. Aber das wollen wir nicht. Wir wollen eine offene Grenze.«

Daß der Asylkompromiß an der Situation etwas ändern wird, ist mehr als zweifelhaft. »Ich fürchte, daß durch die restriktive Asylpolitik die Zahl der Zuwanderer wächst, die in die Illegalität abtauchen«, sagt Walter Koisser, der Bonner Vertreter des UN-Flüchtlingskommissars.

Schon jetzt beantragen nur 3,7 Prozent derer Asyl, die an der bayerischen Grenze aufgegriffen werden. »Die wollen weiter in den Westen, dort arbeiten, Geld verdienen und später zurück«, sagt Hauptkommissar Franz Dimmer von der Grenzpolizei-Inspektion Waidhaus, dem großen Übergang von Bayern in die Tschechische Republik. Die Aussicht, monatelang untätig in Asylheimen zu warten und dann höchstwahrscheinlich abgeschoben zu werden, schreckt viele Flüchtlinge, die im Westen ihre wirtschaftliche Not lindern wollen, von Asylverfahren ab. Ihnen hilft der schäbige Schwarzarbeiterlohn, der in der Baubranche, im Gaststättengewerbe, auf dem Feld oder bei der Weinlese gezahlt wird - zwei bis acht Mark die Stunde - immer noch mehr als die Sozialhilfe. Das Geld reicht oft der ganzen Familie daheim für ein besseres Leben.

»Wer rüber will, kommt rüber«, bestätigt Joachim Gruber, Dienststellenleiter des Grenzübergangs Zinnwald. »Wer abgefangen wird, probiert es wie-





PHOTO 8

Roma warten in der Maschine der rumänischen Fluggesellschaft Tarom auf den Start nach Bukarest

der und wieder und wieder.« Der Rekord liegt bei achtmal. Illegale mit zwei, drei Stempeln »zurückgeschoben« im Paß sind keine Seltenheit. Die tschechische Grenzpolizei fährt sie nach Prag, Pilsen oder einfach nur ein paar Kilometer ins Hinterland – und morgen sind sie wieder da. Selbst Rumänen, die

zurückgefliegen wurden, standen 14 Tage später schon wieder an der deutschen Grenze. »Seit dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs hat die deutsche Ostgrenze nicht nur Loecher, sie ist ein einziges Loch«, spotten Bundesgrenzschutz-Beamte von der Ostsee bis zum Bayerischen Wald. Über

Schmugglerwege und Jagersteige, querfeldein durch Sumpf, Schönungen, Felder und Grenzbüsche schleichen sie ins Land. Im Winter zeugen auffällige Trampelpfade im Schnee von der Völkerwanderung gen Westen. Und sie kommen nicht nur zu Fuß. Anfang April hatte in Frankfurt eine Charterma-

schine der Aeroflot aufgesetzt mit 123 Asylbewerber aus Indien und Pakistan an Bord. Karfreitag landete auf dem Berliner Flughafen Schönefeld ein Charterflugzeug mit 49 Asylbewerbern, ebenfalls aus Indien und Pakistan. In der Nähe des Taunus-Städtchens Eppstein grif-



PHOTO 9

Bosnier warten in der CR darauf, nach Deutschland zu kommen



PHOTO 10

Diese Asylbewerber aus Indien kamen per Charter nach Berlin

## Die Schlepper machen das große Geschäft

len Polizisten 41 »Illegale- auf. Sie waren kurz zuvor 315 aus dem Laderaum eines Sattelschleppers geklettert, mit dem sie die Grenze und die halbe Republik 295 passiert hatten.

**S**tolz verweist das Zirndorfer Bundesamt zwar darauf, daß 360 die Verfahren. Entlastung bringen auch die fünf »Asylentscheidungszen- 360 tren«, die seit Anfang des Jahres arbeiten und haupt- 370 sächlich über Anträge von Bewerbern aus Bulgarien und Rumänien entschei- 210 den.

»Aber zum persönlichen 315 Anhörungstermin erscheinen nur wenige. Die rechnen sich keine Chance aus«, sagt Zirndorf-Vize Weickhardt. Von den Ru- 320 mänern kommt nicht mal jeder fünfte. Von den Bulgaren nur zwei von fünf. Die Anerkennungsquote bei diesen Nationalitäten liegt 315 praktisch bei Null.

Manche versprechen sich durch Fernbleiben eine Verlängerung des Verfahrens. Doch nach ei- 335 ner Frist von vier Wochen wird der Antrag automa- tisch zurückgewiesen. Der rechtskräftige Bescheid wird den Bewerbern an 335 eine Adresse zugestellt, an der sie sich meist schon lange nicht mehr aufhalten. Wo sie sind, das weiß man auch in Zirndorf nicht. 340 »Das ist dann Sache der Ausländerbehörde«, sagt Weickhardt. »Was die damit machen, wissen wir nicht.« Volker Schiek, Leiter der Grundsatzabteilung 345 Rechtsangelegenheiten bei der Hamburger Innenbe- 345 hörde, sagt, was für viele

Städte und Gemeinden gilt: »Den Leuten geht es primär darum, hier zu sein. Ganz egal, wie der Status heißt, der ihnen das ermög- 355 licht.«

Viele illegale Einwanderer 355 riskieren ihren letzten Besitz und ihr Leben auf der Suche nach einer besse- 360 ren Welt. In diesem Früh- ling, als der Schnee ge- schmolzen war, fanden tschechische Beamte der Grenzstelle Cinovec im Erzgebirge die Leiche ei- 360 ner Afghanin. Sie hatte sich das Bein gebrochen, war von Schleppern vermutlich liegengelassen worden und erfroren. Sicher kein Ein- 370 zelfall. Einige Aufgegriffene mußte die deutsche Grenzpolizei im Winter mit schwersten Erfrierungen ins Krankenhaus bringen. 375 Einem Rumänen wurden in Waidhaus beide erfrorenen Beine amputiert.

Trotzdem kommen immer mehr Flüchtlinge. Ge- 380 trieben von bitterer Not, angelockt durch Geschich- ten über das deutsche Wirt- schaftsparadies und ge- worben von skrupellosen 385 Schleppern, die an diesem weltweiten Menschen- handel von Asylbewer- bern und Schwarzarbeitern glänzend verdienen.

**S**chleuserhanden ha- 390 ben längst interna- tionale Netze ge- spannen. Getarnt als Reisebüros, bie- 395 ten sie in China, auf den Philippinen, im Libanon, in der Türkei und sonstwo ihre Dienste an. Die Chi- 400 nesen, die vor einem Mo- nat an der grünen Grenze bei Furth im Wald gefaßt 405 wurden, zahlten unge- rechnet je 20 000 Mark für die Tour per Flugzug, 405 Bahn und Bus über Mos- kau und Prag in den rei- chen Westen. Für die Schleusung einer Familie

von Istanbul in die Bun-  
410 desrepublik verlangen die  
Organisationen rund  
40 (100) Mark. Dafür ver-  
kaufen die Flüchtlinge  
Haus und Hof und borgen  
415 sich Geld. Manche müssen  
den Rest des Reisepreises  
durch spätere Schwarzar-  
beit in Deutschland bei  
den Schleusern abstopfern.

420 **D**ie Heerscharen der  
Kosovo-Albaner,  
die seit Kriegsbe-  
ginn im ehemaligen  
Jugoslawien in den  
425 Westen strömen, haben bis  
zu 1000 Mark für den  
Transport nach Pilsen oder  
direkt an die deutsch-tsche-  
chische Grenze aufge-  
430 bracht. Noch im März bot  
das Busunternehmen der  
Brüder Mulic unter Tarn-  
namen wie »Sporttourist«,  
»Delontrans« oder »Ko-  
435 smere Tours« für weniger  
als 100 Mark Tickets für die  
Strecke von Novi Pazar in  
Jugoslawien nach Wald-  
haus und sogar Novi Pazar-  
440 München an.

Die Bustouristen wur-  
den kurz vor der tschechi-  
schen Grenze aus- und spä-  
ter in Deutschland wieder  
445 Scingeladen. Für den illega-  
len Marsch über die grüne  
Grenze boten örtliche  
Schleuser ihre Hilfe »zu  
Fuß nach Alemania« für 200  
450 Mark an. »Da kamen tag-  
lich zwei bis drei Busse«,  
sagt Hauptkommissar  
Stöckl. Erst die Verhaftung  
von Hasib Mulic wegen  
455 Beihilfe zum illegalen  
Grenzübertritt brremste das  
flourierende Transportge-  
schäft.

Seitdem sitzen auf dem  
460 Smetanovy Sady, dem  
Zentralpark von Pilsen vor  
dem Prachthotel »Slovan«,  
noch mehr jugoslawische  
Flüchtlinge mit ihrer Habe  
465 in Koffern, Säcken und Pla-  
stiktüten als früher und  
warten. Abgehärmte Frau-  
en mit Kindern in Stum-

pelanzugen oder lochrigen  
470 losen, alte erschöpfte  
Männer und jüngere, die  
herumlaufen und diskutie-  
ren. Die Taxifahrer am  
Platz verlangen 100 Mark  
475 und mehr für die 70 Kilo-  
meter zur Grenze. Erst in  
den vergangenen Woche  
tafte die Polizei einen Tax-  
480 ifahrer aus Pilsen. Er hat-  
te zwei Jugoslawen vor der

Grenze abgesetzt und auf  
deutscher Seite wieder ein-  
485 geladen. Sein Honorar von  
600 Mark war in Aschen-  
becher versteckt.  
Doch auch viele Asylbe-  
werber und Asylanten in  
Deutschland stecken dick  
490 in dem Schleppergeschäft.  
Die »schleusen wie die  
Weltmeister«, sagt der  
Grenzschutzbeamte Josef

495 Lamm, im Wald. »Ich  
zweifle nicht, daß es  
zwischen geht im Transit  
der Schleuseraktivität auf  
die Konten. Und die  
große Rechtschaffenheit  
rechtlich kommt in keinem  
belangt werden.«  
500 Die Kabine des Grenz-  
wächters in der tschechi-  
schen Grenzstation Znoj-  
mold liegt bei 55 000 Ein-  
wohner Stadt. Die Grenz-



Albanische Schlepper auf Kundenfang vor dem »Hotel da Sasa« im böhmischen Toplice

505 eine Drehscheibe des internationalen Menschenhandels. Zwischen Straßentrich und Hauptbahnhof liegt das »Hotel de Saxe«. Hier kommen täglich Dutzende von Flüchtlingen an, neben ihren Habseligkeiten meist noch einen Zettel in der Hand. Darauf steht nur: »Hotel de Saxe, Teplice«.

520 **S**o einen Zettel hat auch Tam Tamo bei sich, der morgens mit seiner Frau Guie und den sechs Kindern angekommen ist. Sie stammen aus dem Norden Syens, wo sie einen Bauernhof besaßen. Geduldig und still warten sie im Hinterzimmer darauf, daß der Schlepper, ein Libanese mit Wohnsitz im Rheinland, sie auf die letzte Etappe ihrer Reise nimmt. Als der Schlepper aus dem Zimmer geht, sagt er: »Diese Familie glaubt noch an den Teufel, und daran, daß in Deutschland alles besser werden wird.«

540 Diese Hoffnung erfüllt sich für viele nicht. Am Donnerstag voriger Woche wurde in Eisligen bei Stuttgart der 25jährige Senegalese Malik Mbengue verhaftet, weil er bereits das achte Mal seinen »Duldungsbereich« verlassen hatte. Die Ablehnung seines im Juli vergangenen Jahres beim Bundesamt in Zirndorf gestellten Antrags (AZ: 194 178 M 234) stand kurz bevor (die Anerkennungsquote von Senegalesen ist praktisch gleich Null). In der Zelle des Polizeireviere band sich der Afrikaner seine Turnhose um den Hals und erhängte sich am Fenstergitter.

JACQUES BERNHARDTBRÜGGE  
LANDRÄUME KAN AEL 