Social Tensions and Acculturation:

Portrayals of German Integration Discourse

Soeren Wendland

Liberty University

SOCIAL TENSIONS AND ACCULTURATION: PORTRAYALS OF GERMAN INTEGRATION DISCOURSE

A Master Thesis for the Degree

Master of Arts in Interpersonal and Organizational Communication

by

Soeren Wendland

Approved by Thesis Committee:

_____
Dr. Cecil Kramer, Chairperson

_____
Dr. Gina Barker, Committee Member

_____
Dr. Faith Mullen, Committee Member

May 2, 2011

Acknowledgements

I want to thank my family for their support throughout the years.

Also, I want to acknowledge the Liberty University Football Program. I am very thankful for the great opportunity that I received through their scholarship, which allowed me to accomplish things that I always dreamed of and grow athletically, academically, and spiritually.

Special thanks goes to my friend Dan without whose help I would not have had the opportunity of coming to the US.

Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the professors that have made my learning experience in the US a very pleasant one. There are not a lot of places, where professors truly care about their students and are willing to help them, when they are in need.

I also want to thank my wife for the happy blessing that she has been and the support with which she has blessed our marriage.

It is true what a Football Coach in Germany once told me.

> *"There is no elevator to success; you have to take the stairs."*

Abstract

This Master Thesis deals with the portrayal of social tensions and acculturation perceptions resulting from German integration discourse. Wester, Pleijter, and Renckstorf's (2004) model for interpretative content analysis was applied to examine the portrayal of migrants and integration from three German online magazines. Germany's struggle with its multicultural aspect is described, a history of Germany as a multicultural society is provided, acculturation theory is described, the meaning of integration in Germany is illustrated, perceptions of Germans and foreigners on life in Germany are explored, and the role of the media in the integration discourse is introduced. Results show magazine portrayals of Germany as a functioning pluralistic society with integration deficiencies, in which integration is an important issue. Integration in Germany has a subtle undertone of assimilation, reflected in the view that migrants' are obligated to fulfill requirements that constitute successful integration. Integration problems are acknowledged that have existed in the past, exist today, and disturb the relationship between migrants and Germans. Migrants are blamed for integration problems, while the practice of Islam is causing friction in German society. The debate and images of migrants are portrayed as alienating migrants and leading them to question their understanding of themselves as part of German society.

Keywords: Acculturation theory, integration debate, Germany, news portrayals, image-setting, social tensions.

Social Tensions and Acculturation: Portrayals of German Integration Discourse

Acknowledgements 3

Abstract 4

Table of Contents 5

List of Tables 7

List of Appendixes 8

Chapter One 9

Introduction 9

Chapter Two 15

Literature Review 15

An Overview of Acculturation Theory 15

Germany as a Pluralistic Society: A Historic Overview 23

Integration in Germany 29

Foreigners in the Eyes of Germans 33

Foreigners' View on Life in Germany 36

Integration and the Role of Media 39

Chapter Three 45

Methodology 45

Sampling 46

Analysis Procedures 49

Chapter Four 51

Results 51

Soccer National Team 51

Step 1 and 5 51

Step 2 and 3 51

Step 4 53

Step 6 53

Sarrazin Debate 60

Step 1and 5 60

Step 2 and 3 60

Step 4 63

Step 6 63

Step 7 and 8: Comparison of the Interpretative Frameworks 74

Chapter Five 77

Discussion 77

Limitations 84

Recommendations for Future Research 85

Conclusion 87

Bibliography 88

List of Tables

Table 1: Underlying & Repetitive Themes in the Soccer National Team Coverage 52

Table 2: Underlying & Repetitive Themes in the Sarrazin Debate Coverage 61

List of Appendixes

Appendix A: Tools for Analysis – The Soccer National Team 95

Appendix B: Tools for Analysis – The Sarrazin Debate 102

Chapter 1

Introduction

In 2006, 9% of Germany's population had an immigration background (Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). A look at Germany's soccer national team that participated in the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa reveals Germany's multicultural make-up. While Germany's 2010 soccer national team was on average the youngest team that Germany ever sent to a World Cup, it was also the most diverse German national team with more than 40% of its players coming from an immigration background. Whereas the German soccer national team with players that have immigration backgrounds such as Mesmut Oezil, Lukas Podolski, or Sami Khedira looked fully integrated and ready to take on the world's soccer elite, German policy debates have identified an integration problem that already has and is more and more leading to the emergence of parallel societies in Germany (Anil, 2007). This acknowledgment led to deeper political debate on how to go about the multicultural structures that are apparent in Germany.

Perceptions about multicultural structures vary. While some politicians prefer the assimilation of migrants into the German society, migrants would rather integrate and embrace their cultural heritage (Zick, Wagner, van Dick & Petzel, 2001). Divergent views on acculturation orientations lead to conflict between Germans and migrants in Germany and have led to a pragmatic multiculturalism (Eckardt, 2007), which embraces integration as cultural and identificational assimilation (Schönwälder, 2010).

At this point some terms are defined to help the understanding of the study. When entering a new environment, strangers are confronted with situations that lead to questioning of their cognitive and behavioral habits (Kim, 2001). During interaction with the environment, interaction with the host society, and internal conflicts within strangers, acculturation occurs, which is the change in original cultural patterns and modification of

social cognition and behaviors (Moon & Park, 2007; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Kim, 2001). As uncertainty of migrant groups decreases over time through improving their understanding of cultural values, perceptions, cognitions, and behaviors of the host society, migrant groups and hosts co-exist harmoniously with a consensus of what approach to acculturation is desirable (Moon & Park, 2007; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). However, intergroup tensions and conflict can exist in contexts, where there is no consensus about what acculturation is desirable (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Berry (2008) described four acculturation orientations that commonly occur within acculturating individuals in response to the host society, which are assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. The acculturation orientations of immigrant groups also impact the host societies on a broader scale. Acculturation orientations and their individual and sociological differences were explored in greater detail in the literature review section of this thesis. In short, assimilation is the abandonment of heritage culture and total immersion in the host society. Integration is the preservation of heritage culture and immersion in the host society. Separation is the preservation of heritage culture and wish of avoidance of the host society. Marginalization is the preservation of heritage culture and little to no relations with the host society (Berry, 2008).

Another term that is important to define is multiculturalism. Multiculturalism as a concept from immigration theory proclaims ethnic and cultural pluralism (Heisler, 1992). As a sociological fact, multiculturalism refers to the demographic composition of societies in reference to cultural diversity (Wright, 2009). Berry (1980) defined a society, in which the demographic composition of multiple cultures is present, as a pluralistic society. Multiculturalism can also be used as a term in regard to government policy holding that “other” groups are recognized and represented (Wright, 2009).

Heisler (1992) warned of tendencies to “equate the mere presence of ethnic groups and ethnic identities with multiculturalism” (p. 634). Just because a society has multicultural

structures or demographics does not mean that government policy may fully acknowledge "other" groups. While multiculturalism is a two-folded term that is distinguishable by its use in context and can either refer to the demographic composition of a society's or a country's government policy in regard to immigration, this study refers to the multicultural demographic composition of a society as a pluralistic society and to the multicultural policy structure of a society as a multicultural society.

Scholars acknowledged that German society has changed towards a pluralistic society and have explored multicultural aspects and discourses. For example, Luchtenberg and McLelland (1998) compared and analyzed newspaper content from Australian and German media to draw conclusions about the official policy with regard to multiculturalism. While it was shown that Germany can be considered indeed a pluralistic society, newspapers did not give an impression of normality of a multicultural German society. Instead, Luchtenberg and McLelland's (1998) study illustrated the German print media's lack of comprehension and acceptance of diversity evidenced by a negative orientation towards migrants, confusion about foreigners and migrants, and language use stressing the foreignness of migrants.

Gardner, Karkasoglus, and Luchtenberg (2008) analyzed newspaper content to interpret German perceptions about Islam and Islamophobia. Results indicated that Muslims were not openly discriminated against, but traditional and political bias described in the articles rarely reported Muslims in a positive way. Bauder (2008) traced the public discourse leading up to the passing of a new immigration law in 2005. Results indicated that integration was well discussed, but little reference was made to an ethnic-national identity. In a subtle sense, both reflected attitudes that infer acculturation orientations, but do not specifically connected immigration discourse with acculturation orientations.

Many news studies dealing with perceptions of Germans and immigrants about the immigration and integration discourse in Germany, analyzed news content before the passing

of the new immigration law in 2005. Bauder (2008) assessed media reports between 2001 and 2003 to identify salient topics in the political immigration discourse, while Gardner et al. (2008) looked at media articles over a three-month period in 2003 in order to assess perceptions about Muslims. Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) also used media content from 1993-2003 to assess news content's influence on anti-immigration attitudes.

Since 2005, increased debate about the pluralistic society, multiculturalism, and the realization of social problems resulting from failed integration practices has led to stronger discussion of integration in the public and political sphere. Integration of foreigners has become more and more apparent in the interaction between Germans and second and third generation immigrants (Wilkinson, 2006). The immigration discourse has been introduced in workshops, classes, and websites to foster the integration of migrants. An opportunity existed in adding to the literature by assessing the contribution of media towards perception formation after the implementation of the new immigration law in 2005.

Few studies have applied concepts of acculturation to the analysis of immigration and integration discourse in Germany. Schneider (2001) assessed the construction of Germaneness and identity of Turkish migrants communicated in public and everyday discourse. The results indicated that acculturation in the German sphere often resulted in a confusing discourse pending between separation and integration notions of migrants (Schneider, 2001). Arnold and Schneider (2007) assessed if separation was communicated in the media by focusing on the perspective of German-Turks. Using standardized questionnaires, Arnold and Schneider (2007) explained methodological problems in their research, which may have led to conclusive answers portraying notions of a multicultural society. Zick et al. (2001) explored the connection between prejudice and specific attitudes toward acculturation in Germany and identified that the German majority prefers assimilation of migrants, while migrants prefer integration. Divergent acculturation orientations reflected

in the contrast of assimilation and integration preferences, indicated conflicting views of acculturation orientation in Germany.

An opportunity existed in analyzing news content to explore the relationship between portrayed acculturation orientations and social tensions. Bauder (2008) and Gardner et al. (2008) analyzed media content to draw conclusions about the attitude of Germans towards Islamophobia or predominant topics in news that result into perceptions about immigrants. Bauder (2008) assessed media reports between 2001 and 2003 to identify salient topics in the political immigration discourse, while Gardner et al. (2008) looked at news articles over a three-month period in order to assess perceptions about Muslims. Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) also assessed media content in an earlier timeframe from 1993-2003. Most of these studies also used news reports before the passing of the new immigration law in 2005. An opportunity existed in assessing the role of media in attitude and perception formation after the implementation of new immigration laws in 2005. Furthermore, Kosicki (1993) explained that "studies of news work are crucial to the study of public issues because they offer the key to understanding how the particular issues are framed and offered to the public" (p.111). Also, Arnold and Schneider (2007) noted a limited contribution of communication research in the rather political, economical, cultural, and social debate of immigration and integration discourse in Germany.

This research was concerned with the portrayal and evaluation of acculturation and integration discourse in Germany. In sum, social tensions between Germans and migrants were induced by different views on acculturation orientations of migrants (Zick et al., 2001; Pfafferot & Brown, 2006), different views on the meaning of integration (Silver, 2010; Schönwälder, 2010; Eckardt, 2007), and negative views and perceptions about foreigners (Luchtenberg & McLelland, 1998; Anil, 2007). This study sought to contribute to the literature by adding a communicative aspect to the German immigration and integration

debate by presenting a contemporary account of the portrayals of the immigration and integration debate, and relating acculturation theory to the German immigration and integration discourse.

The study was designed to investigate the image-setting aspect of online magazine news coverage of relevant events during the year 2010 concerning the problematic relationship of acculturation and integration discourse in Germany. Studying online magazine articles from an image-setting perspective, which is concerned with the portrayal and evaluations of the discourse led to the two following research questions.

RQ1: How are acculturation and integration discourse presented in online magazines?

RQ2: What is the nature of the portrayal of migrants' and Germans' interaction?

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The literature review is divided into six parts. First, acculturation theory is examined to understand the factors involved in migrants' adaptation and acculturation orientations of integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization. Secondly, a historic overview provides background information about the history of immigration to Germany and the accompanying debate about integration and multiculturalism. Third, the meaning and perception of integration in Germany is assessed. A fourth point illustrates resulting perceptions of foreigners in the eyes of Germans. Fifth, the impact of meaning of integration discourse and perceived attitude of Germans towards foreigners is assessed in describing perspectives of immigrants about their life in Germany. Lastly, the literature review addresses the role of the media in the German integration discourse.

An Overview of Acculturation Theory.

As defined in the introduction, acculturation is a term used to describe the change in original culture patterns and modification of social cognition and behaviors (Moon & Park, 2007; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Acculturation requires contact between two cultural groups, which leads to a change in one of the groups (Berry, 1980). One of the groups is usually being dominant, the contact and change may be difficult, reactive, and conflictual and lead to adaptation by the non-dominant group (Berry, 1980). Kim (2001) explained acculturation is learning characterized by the acquisition of cultural practices in regard to daily functioning of strangers in the host society. She described a cross-cultural continuum, in which the greatest degree of change theoretically possible in acculturating individuals is assimilation. Assimilation is achieved through learning of the new culture (acculturation) and unlearning of the native culture (deculturation).

A complex construct of influences impacts acculturating people. In broader terms, sociocultural and psychological group and individual factors, that are the result of intergroup contact, influence the way acculturating people will behave in the host society. A psychological perspective looks at “how migrants or members of ethno-cultural minorities deal with their relationships to heritage culture and wider society” (Ward, 2008, p.108), while the sociocultural perspective is geared towards the societal context that influences acculturation.

“Explained in terms of the psychological relationship of individual immigrant and ethnic minorities toward their own ethnic group and toward the larger society” (Kim, 2007), Berry (2008) suggested that groups and individuals entering a new host environment seek to acculturate by adopting one of four acculturation strategies, which are also referred to as acculturation orientations. According to Berry (2008), all acculturating people are faced with two questions. First, acculturating people are faced with a decision to judge their preference for maintaining their cultural heritage and identity or not maintaining them. Second, acculturating people are faced with a decision to judge their preference for seeking out relationships with the host group and participating in the larger society or avoiding them. The two basic decisions lead acculturating people to engage in one of four acculturation strategies, which are assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization.

> When individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the assimilation strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the separation alternative is defined. When there is an interest in both maintaining one’s original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups, integration is the option. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking, as a member

> of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the evolving larger social network. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reason of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then marginalization is defined (Berry, 2008, p. 331)

On another individual level, Kim (2001, 2007) described the Stress-Adaptation-Growth Dynamic model in which the acquisition of new cultural behavior (acculturation) and the letting go of old cultural elements (deculturation) leads to push and pull that result in stress in terms of experiencing difficulties, which forces identity crises due to a state of cultural disequilibrium. The Stress-Adaptation- Growth Dynamic occurs in a draw-back-to-leap pattern, "each stressful experience is responded to with a 'drawback,' which, in turn, activates adaptive energy to help individuals reorganize themselves and 'leap forward'" (Kim, 2007, p. 14). Facing stress, most acculturating people attempt to stabilize their situation through adaptation, which is the whole phenomenon of striving to establish a functioning relationship with the environment, through direct and indirect contact with the host society (Kim, 2007). Replacing old cultural values with new ones and acquiring proficiency in the new social context defines the adaptive transformations that affect "strangers' habitual patterns of cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses" (Kim, 2001, p. 58). During the dynamics of stress and an individual's adaptation to regain equilibrium, growth occurs in which the stranger's internal structure gradually incorporates external influences and learns to understand the environment (Kim, 2001).

Kim (2007) explained that adaptation is an interactive communication process, because communication activities lead individuals to internalize environmental aspects and develop cultural habits that allow the individual to function in the new cultural environment. Personal communication and social communication are the main activities of adaptive

processes (Kim, 2001). Preliminary stereotypes and perspectives about life in the new host environment lead to initial adaptation decisions within migrants, but evolve once a more comprehensive understanding of the new environment has developed. Dona and Berry (1994) explained that throughout the acculturation process, migrants are faced with different attitudinal options, lifestyles, and values, who determine migrants' contact with the host society as well as their degree of cultural maintenance.

When immigrants enter a new society, they redefine their social identity (Padilla & Perez, 2009). Their perceptions about their new social identity, goals derived from situations, other persons, or societal structures, as well as social stigmas lead to internal processes that are involved in determining their adaptation (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Described as the internal mental activities occurring in individuals that prepare the individual to act and react towards social situations, personal communication, is the internalization of the host society's symbolic environment that leads to an understanding of the host's linguistic and nonlinguistic symbols, codes, and meanings (Kim, 2001). The building of an understanding in the host's symbolic environment allows strangers to gain host communication competence (Kim, 2001).

While personal communication fosters an individual's communication competence, improvement of cognitive abilities and cultural understanding is in part driven by human and intercultural communication through forms of interpersonal communication and mass media communication (Kim, 1977). Competence in the host language, motivation to acculturate, and accessibility to interpersonal interaction and mass media are paramount to engage in interpersonal communication and mass media consumption (Kim, 1977), which further fosters the formation of host communication competence.

The stressful internal processes in acculturating individuals can lead to ethno-cultural identity conflicts, which occur in individuals "whose culture, language, and ethnic composition differ markedly from the host society" (Ward, 2008, p. 107). The experienced

stress may be negative for the acculturating individual, but may also be a positive force in the individual's psychological functioning (Dona & Berry, 1994). According to Kim (2001), strangers build functional fitness in the host culture through achieving communication competence that allows them to validate their social experiences. If competence in the host's communication patterns is not achieved by the stranger, because of the stranger's maladaptation or lack of internal capacity, strangers may experience poor psychological health (Kim, 2001). Strangers may perceive a gap between internal and external reality, which may lead to their frustration, or mental, emotional, and physical disturbance (Kim, 2001). The outcome of the stress depends on "the relation between acculturation and mental health, among them being acculturation attitudes, cultural maintenance, and acculturative experience and values" (Dona & Berry, p. 60).

Perceived incompatibility may characterize an exploration and search for identity resulting in no commitment of the acculturating individual to choose a specific acculturation strategy (Ward, 2008). While an identity conflict may lead to negative outcomes such as alienation or marginalization from society, Kim (2001) described that increased functional fitness in the host culture and psychological health of adapting individuals allow strangers to overcome their internal stress and grow from a "monocultural to an increasingly multifaceted character" (Kim, 2001, p. 66). This multifaceted character evolving from crossing the boundary of heritage and host culture into a higher level of psychic integration is described by Kim (2001) as intercultural identity. During the identity transformation towards intercultural identity driven by the Stress-Adaptation-Growth Dynamic, individuals acquire intercultural personhood, which is a special kind of mindset that embraces and incorporates divergent cultural elements into one's own worldview (Kim, 2007). Interpersonal personhood differs from other related terms such as bicultural, biracial, multicultural, or multiethnic

personhood in that it is not an additive combination of cultural identities (Kim, 2007). Instead it is a dynamic open-ended identity built on adaptation and transformation (Kim, 2007).

Whereas Kim's (2001) Stress-Adaption-Growth Dynamic and Berry's (2008) acculturation strategies explain individuals' internal acculturation processes, both explain that individual level factors are largely depend on social communication and the host environment. While it occurs on many different levels, social communication is directly related to personal communication and the individual's formation of host communication competence (Kim, 2001).

> On the macro level, social communication takes place via newspapers, television, movies, and other forms of mass communication. Social communication also takes place at the micro level, in such places as homes, neighborhoods, workplaces, classrooms, and airports. Micro-level social communication also occurs when strangers make simple, passing observations of people on the street, or when they engage in serious dialogue with close friends (Kim, 2001, p. 74).

The outcome of macro and micro level social communication is largely dependent on the environment, in which it takes place. According to Kim (2001), host receptivity, host conformity pressure, and ethnic group strength, form the host's sociocultural environment and the ethnic environment that shape the nature of strangers' adaptation process.

A tremendous sociocultural aspect in the acculturation process is the perception of the host society or receiving society. Host receptivity determines strangers' access to the host's social communication network as well as offering of social support, which are reflected in the degree to which a host's environment is open, welcomes, and accepts strangers into its social communication networks (Kim, 2001). Padilla and Perez (2003) explained that prevailing attitudes of the host society towards immigrants (social stigma) constrain the adaptation towards their new social identity; since newcomers may be aware of their devaluation leading

to a negative impact on their acculturation outcome. Ward (2008) also described that intergroup variables such as perceived discrimination or poor relationships impact identity conflict. Immigrants' perceptions of negative attitudes towards them are closely related with low interest in German citizenship, which illustrates discrimination that results into tendencies towards separation (Kahanec & Tosun, 2009). Furthermore, perceptions of the host society regarding the immigrant group are likely to affect the newcomer in redefining their social identity and the extent to which they choose to acculturate (Padilla & Perez, 2003).

According to Berry (1980), a third question in addition to the two questions of maintaining heritage culture and seeking out relationships with the host must be recognized, which asks "Who has the right to decide the first two questions?" (p. 13). Berry (1980) described that different political realities exist in host societies that may lead to different acculturation outcomes. For example, societies with multicultural policies tend to have more positive acculturation outcomes, whereas unicultural societies may deny migrants the option to integrate (Berry, 1980). Hosts may differ in their exertion of conformity pressure towards strangers, which is "the extent to which the environment challenges strangers to adopt the normative patterns of the host culture and communication system" (Kim, 2001, p. 79). This conformity pressure is mainly rooted in historical sociopolitical reasons that have led to different levels of tolerance, prejudice, and discrimination towards strangers and resulted in different ideological climates of host environments (Kim 2001).

Van Oudenhoven et al. (2006) summarized ideological climates of the host country as five acculturation orientations. First, in an integration approach, the host country believes that immigrants are entitled to preserve their heritage culture, while also adopting aspects of the national culture, which will lead to the evolution of a multicultural society. In such a multicultural society, mutual accommodation is required that involves the acceptance of each

other by both groups to live as culturally different people (Berry, 2008). This will require acculturating people to adopt values of the dominant society, while the dominant group must adapt national institutions to meet the demands of life in a pluralistic society. Second, segregation is the notion of host nationals that immigrants separate from the mainstream society, since this deems to be in the best interest of the larger community (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Berry (2008) defined a host society's notion toward separation as segregation. Segregation chosen from immigrants or prescribed by the host society, decreases opportunity for contact, which may lead to negative attitudes and social distance between majority and minority groups (Semyonov & Glikman, 2009). Third, assimilation is the orientation of host nationals towards immigrants relinquishing their heritage culture in favor of the one adopted from their host culture (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). This orientation favors the melting pot image (Berry, 2008). Fourth, exclusion is favored by those, who believe that immigration and immigrants are perilous to the national community and that the country would benefit from a closed immigration policy (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Berry (2008) summarized this orientation, as imposed marginalization by the dominant group. Fifth, individualism is the notion that immigrants should be free to adopt to any acculturation orientation they choose (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006).

Moreover, ethnic group strength, which is the strength of the stranger's ethnic group, is another factor that defines the "push and pull" elements a host environment offers to strangers (Kim, 2001). Kim (2001) described an inverse relationship between strong ethnic groups and its individual members' adaptation in the host society, based on the offering of a strong ethnic subculture. Multiple factors affect ethnic group strength. Family dynamics as part of intergenerational transmission of values and heritage culture is an important aspect that influences acculturation. Nauck (2001) said that value transmission within families may lead to ethnic closure, for example, the more parents feel discrimination, the more their

children will feel discrimination as well. Family dynamics and relationships may lead to conflicts between traditional values and identity between parents and children in acculturating families (Ward, 2008). Furthermore, ethnolinguistic vitality, which is defined by the strength of an ethnic language in a community, the number of ethnic language users, and the institutional support for the ethnic language, is likely to affect adaptation (Kim, 2001). An ethnic group's strength is further determined by the group's economic adjustment, ability to develop community leadership, and assertion of its group's identity and interests within the institutions of the host society (Kim, 2001).

In conclusion, acculturation orientations and the adaptation process of migrants are strongly dependent on patterns of communication. On a broader scale, personal and social communication influences acculturation patterns of migrants. Conflict may arise from contradicting expectations of acculturation between the individual and the host society. Non-convergence between host and migrant acculturation preferences may result in problematic or conflictual outcomes (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). An intrapersonal conflict may arise from the experienced stress of being in a new cultural environment and potential social stigmas that are levied upon the acculturating individual. Therefore, communication patterns may shape, mediate, and contribute to conflict that arises from the acculturation process and acculturation preferences.

Germany as a Pluralistic Society: A Historic Overview.

Historically, immigration to Germany is not a phenomenon that started in the middle of the 20th century. Foreign labor, mainly from Poland, was recruited to Germany before World War I and during the interwar interlude, to respond to increasing agricultural labor shortages (Smith, 1994). During World War I and II, prisoners of war were used for labor to sustain production in Germany (Smith, 1994). Before World War II, immigration to Germany was driven by economic utility of migrants to reduce labor shortages. While anti-foreigner

attitudes existed during the pre war labor immigration that linked Poles in the popular mind as inferior individuals and targeted xenophobia toward southern Europeans and other migrants, anti-foreigner attitudes before and during World War II are not related to the German integration discourse that exists today (Smith, 1994). Also, prewar labor immigration did not contribute to the current socio-demographic environment in Germany,

Current tensions revolve around the developments of the pluralistic society that is characterized by a demographic change within the population. The demographic change began with postwar immigration to Germany and is a characterized by increased cultural diversity and settlement of migrants.

Initially, after the Second World War, expellees (Germans from occupied territories in Eastern Europe), citizens of the GDR (German Democratic Republic), and other ethnic Germans immigrated to West Germany (Munz & Ulrich, 1998). Those migrants were seen by German authorities and the public as ethnic Germans, because they were expelled from home after the occupation of former German territories in Eastern Europe (Bauder, 2008).

In the mid-1950s, Germany started to recruit foreign labor to rebuild the country, which was halted when the German wall was build, separating East and West Germany. After 1960, German authorities began organizing labor recruitment on a large scale (Munz & Ulrich, 1998). This phase would later significantly impact the pluralistic society of Germany as it is today. Between 1955 and 1973, 14 million migrants referred to as “Gastarbeiter” (guestworkers) from mostly Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Italy were recruited to Germany for employment (Bauder, 2008). At this point, Germany’s migration policy was based on the notion of being pure labor market policy with the understanding that Germany is not an immigration country (Oepen, 1984). Guestworkers were recruited with the idea that they would stay and work in Germany for 2 or 3 years and then return to their country of origin (Zick et al., 2001; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser & Wilbur, 2006). During their stay,

guestworkers were expected to “preserve their national and cultural identity to facilitate remigration” to their country of origin (Oepen, 1984, p. 113). A rather isolated lifestyle and cultural perseverance of migrants’ culture of origin can be described resulting from the policies of the 50s, 60s, and 70s.

In the early 1970s labor markets were saturated (Oepen, 1984) and in an effort to reduce the number of foreigners (Munz & Ulrich, 1998), the labor recruitment program was discontinued in 1974. However, only 11 million immigrants returned to their home countries (Bauder, 2008), while the others mainly from Turkey stayed in Germany, had their family follow, and now reside in Germany in their third or fourth generation (Zick et al., 2001). The stay of guestworkers and the reunification with their families in Germany, caused political and social problems, which led to efforts by the political leadership to place assimilative pressures on second and third generation migrants through integration models aimed to “counter deficiencies in the migrants’ social infrastructure and legal status” (Oepen, 1984, p. 113). While political policy towards migrants in the 1980s was aimed at limiting further immigration, reducing the migrant population, and assimilating the remaining migrants through adapting to German values and norms (Oepen, 1984), little political discourse on immigration to Germany led to no significant efforts of migrants’ social integration (Munz & Ulrich, 2003).

However, the policy targets had to be restructured when in the late 1980s and early 1990s events led to the fall of the Soviet Union and the dismantling of the iron curtain, which allowed Eastern and Central Europeans to leave their countries (Munz & Ulrich, 1998). “Aussiedler” (resettlers), refugees, and asylum seekers were the predominant immigrant groups of this period (Zick et al., 2001). While throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s immigration to Germany was seen as positive for benefiting the national economy and labor market, this viewpoint declined with increasing numbers of asylum seekers (Bauder, 2008).

Because of the fall of the iron curtain, war in Yugoslavia, and violence in Turkey, Iraq, and Afghanistan, immigration to Germany between 1989 and 1993 shifted “from labor migration and family reunion to asylum seekers” (Munz & Ulrich, 2003). The number of asylum seekers in Germany increased between 1970 and 1992 from 10,000 to 438,200 (Bauder, 2008). At the same time, out-migration from central and Eastern Europe led to increasing numbers of ethnic Germans resettling in Germany. By the late 1980s, the influx of asylum seekers, immigrant workers, and their families had transformed Germany into a pluralistic society, which became a major topic of political and media debate (Wilkinson, 2006).

With increasing numbers of asylum seekers, public opinion started to question migrants’ legitimacy as refugees. Paired with negative media coverage, referring to migrants as “Scheinasylant” (bogus asylum seekers) or “Wirtschaftsflüchlinge” (economic refugees), strong social tensions between immigrants and Germans developed (Bauder, 2008). Violence against immigrants erupted in the beginning of the 1990s, due to an irresponsible political debate about migration in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Zick et al., 2001). In 1993, new restrictions against immigration of resettlers (Aussiedler) and asylum seekers were implemented, calming down streaks of violence towards foreigners (Munz & Ulrich, 1998). Stricter immigration policies on asylum seekers and immigrant workers combined with easing access for students and highly skilled workers, closed the door for many immigrants to Germany (Wilkinson, 2006).

While new restrictions led to a decrease of violence toward foreigners and lessening of political debate about asylum seekers (Zick et al., 2001), Bauder (2008) described a shift in immigration discourse towards a discussion about Germany becoming an immigration country starting in the 1990s, which can be seen as part of Germany’s dialogue on multiculturalism. Multiculturalism was instantly catapulted into the political and social debate, because social and discursive debate during the 1980s about the guestworker issue,

renewed debate about German national identity, and critique from social movements about the German societal structure intersected and led to questions about the meaning of being German and how German society should be constructed (Von Dirke, 1994; Palmowski, 2008).

With questions about what it means to be German and questions about the right make-up of German culture and societal structure, discussion about Germany as an immigration country was hotly debated in the early 2000s (Bauder, 2008). When the Social Democratic Party/Greens took over the government in 1998, integration and assimilation of immigrants took center stage in the political debate in Germany (Ehrkamp, 2006), which, driven by the introduction of The Green Card attracted productive IT workers to Germany, curbed a new public debate about immigration (Kruse, Orren & Angenendt, 2003). Heavily publicized by the media, signals coming from Social Democrats and the Green Party illustrated more openness toward a need for immigration, integration of immigrants, and coordination of immigrant movements (Kruse et al., 2003). Palmowski (2008) explained that the 1998 elections indicated a cultural and generational shift that revealed less distinctive ideological, religious, and economic positions and led to a higher commitment of responding to the multicultural aspects of Germany. The instated coalition of Social Democrats and the Green Party, sought to reform immigration law and elements of German nationhood (Eckardt, 2007), which generated a new citizenship law in 2000. The German citizen reform from 1999 eased naturalization of foreigners and extended birthright citizenship, which was seen as a new initiative to improve integration (Anil, 2007). While in the early 1990s little change in the political spectrum advocated traditional conceptions of German identity and immigration policy, the change in political leadership and new debate about immigration in the 2000s evoked a free exchange of ideas regarding immigration issues and paved the way for discussion about reforming the system (Kruse et al., 2003).

Politicians indicated a generally accepted paradigm change towards immigration by 2001 and implemented the “Süssmuth Commission” to develop a framework for a new immigration policy that had the potential to shift Germany towards an immigration country (Bauder, 2008). However, overshadowed by 9/11, Beslan, and the Madrid bombings in 2004, a new law that took effect in 2005 restricted immigration rather than enabled it (Bauder, 2008). Kruse et al. (2003) described that the reform had failed to change Germany towards an immigration country. However, Anil (2007) stated that the new law showed more serious efforts to foster integration of migrants.

Meanwhile, the discourse about Germany becoming a multicultural country has led to different views in the political leadership. Some favor a non-immigrant country, while others favor immigration in favor of economic utility, or immigration based on humanitarian obligatory for asylum seekers and crises victims (Bauder, 2008). Humanitarian immigration is a passive act, which refers to migrants that have managed to come to Germany on their own. Two narratives describe Germany’s notion of humanitarian obligatory. First, humanitarian aid in regard to permitting refuges and asylum seekers is seen as Germany’s legal obligation to international law and legal practice. Second, Germany is seen to have a moral obligation towards people in need (Bauder, 2009).

Even though the changed discourse about an immigration law and passing of a new law in 2005 has not turned Germany into an immigration country, it showed that political leadership in Germany has acknowledged the fact that Germany is not just a country where Germans live. German policy debates have identified that there is an integration problem that already has, or is, more and more leading to the emergence of parallel societies in Germany (Anil, 2007). Schönwälder (2010) described “while the facts of past immigration and the resultant plurality of backgrounds and experiences in the German population are now

accepted, this is not accompanied by a generally positive approach to cultural diversity and public representation of minorities as group" (p. 153).

More political debate about how to go about Germany's pluralistic society has raised awareness and led to new efforts. Today, political debate is shaped around the integration of migrants with an existing political consensus that integration of permanent migrants must be improved (Schönwälder, 2010). A new citizenship law in 2000, Immigration Reform in 2005, creation of a Federal Integration office, and four integration summits held from 2006-2010 indicate a trend towards "de facto multiculturalism" (Silver, 2010). However, Palmowski (2008) summarized that public debate and law are still characterized by a rejection of multicultural notions. According to Eckardt (2007), multicultural proponents were not able to embrace the multicultural society, which has led to a pragmatic multiculturalism that is contradictory but encourages integration.

Integration in Germany.

Ehrkamp (2006) explained "German politicians cite the lack of assimilation on the part of Turkish immigrants and emphasize the need to preserve German norms and values and to assert and restore German normality" (p. 1688). Significant differences exist in the way integration is described in the political discourse (Ehrkamp, 2006). While some politicians refer to integration with underlying perceptions of assimilation, others acknowledge the difference in integration practices and assimilation. Trebbe (2007) summarized the two different meanings in the German integration discourse as evolving around, first, "the whole process of interaction and confrontation of migrants in the (new) social context of the arrival nations, and [second] the assimilation of migrants in terms of cultural and societal adaptation of strangers" (p. 174). Eckardt (2007) described that in its difficulty with its multicultural aspect, Germany embraced a pragmatic multiculturalism that is contradictory but hinges on integration. Thus, integration, in the German context, places an

emphasis on cultural and identificational assimilation. The idea is largely supported that migrants are expected to command the German language, accept key constitutional values, and law as well as German culture (Schöwälder, 2010).

Despite events that confronted German identity such as Germany's reunification in the early 1990s, Germany's historical struggle of forming identity, or streams of ethnic German "Aussiedler" (resettlers) to Germany, when Germans use the term "integration," they rarely refer to something other than "former guest workers, immigrants, and refugees, especially Muslim immigrants from Turkey and their children" (Silver, 2010, p. 166). Debate about the meaning of integration is commonly shaped around Turks and Muslims in Germany, who, some critics say, live in parallel societies (Anil, 2007).

Furthermore, Schönwälder (2010) explained that migrants are blamed for problematic interethnic contact, their deficient German-language competencies, or lower educational achievements, because they allegedly retreat in secluded communities and do not make an effort to integrate. Some believe that the "uneuropean" character of Turks and Muslims leads them to search for a life in separated parallel societies, while others believe that lack of integration policies have allowed them to segregate themselves from German social life (Anil, 2007). Wilkinson (2006) described physical marginalization of immigrants in delimited areas, where they come into contact with people from similar situations. Semyonov and Glikman (2009) identified a residential segregation that is happening in Europe, characterized by ethnic minorities residing in poorer neighborhoods of suburbs and inner-cities.

The debate on integration in Germany and its pragmatic use of multiculturalism may be epitomized in the contrasting views of multiculturalism and the notions of leading culture. Von Dirke (1994) explained that "multikulti" was the German debate about multiculturalism in the context of the German quest for a collective identity. "Multikulti" was the German

version, debate, and conceptualization of multiculturalism. Three activities were addressed by "multikulti." First, it was an attempt to pluralize culture and move away from a single monocultural value system. Second, it was an attempt to formulate a post-national society that is multiethnic and European. Third, it was an attempt to cosmopolitanize the local environment through the creation of a political environment that incorporates migrants (Borneman, 2002). Therefore, multikulti was the German version, debate, and conceptualization of multiculturalism in sociological, cultural, and political policy terms. In the political realm the Green Party sought to "whole-heartedly embrace the concept of the multicultural society" (Von Dirke, 1994, p. 526) in attempts to "promote a more cosmopolitan way of urban life" (Eckardt, 2007, p. 235). However, today, multiculturalism has become a derogatory term and is denounced as a dream of the past (Schönwälder, 2010). While multiculturalism is not officially abandoned as a paradigm in policy debate, more cautions approaches by the Green Party and political leadership are made today. Those cautious approaches express non-commitment to multicultural policies and demand an adjustment of migrants' culture and lifestyle to the German mainstream (Schönwälder, 2010).

The "Leitkultur" (leading culture) debate from 2000/2001 characterized the notion of some German politicians that foreigners are supposed to assimilate and adhere to the normal national culture of the German host society (Manz, 2004). According to Friedrich Merz, a German politician, "Leitkultur [would] set rules for coexistence and assimilation that would eventually improve interethnic relations in Germany" (Manz, 2004, p. 485). Varying interpretations of leading culture and the question of what kind of German culture would set guidelines for integration, allowed the concept to be under heavy criticism and condemned by some as racism (Manz, 2004). However, the idea of leading culture was more pervasive in the public and political domain than its criticism. Manz (2004) described that ethnic inclusion and a country bond together by cultural values and blood ties has not disappeared. According

to Palmowski (2008), leading culture is considered repeatedly in political and social debate and has influenced policy decision and integration practices.

The notion of leading culture was supported by studies of acculturation preferences. Zick et al. (2001) found that while foreigners wish to be integrated into the German society, the German majority favors immigrants to either assimilate into German culture or segregate. This assimilation is characterized by cultural and identificational assimilation, in which Germans, in broad terms, expect migrants to speak the German language, know German history, and accept German values and German law (Schönwälder, 2010). In a more recent study, Pfafferot and Brown (2006) found integration to be the most common attitude among Germans and minority adolescents in Germany, but identified assimilation attitudes to closely follow integration attitudes in the German group. Limited programs designed to facilitate integration "have generally emphasized the importance of foreigners adapting to the German culture, a tendency epitomized in the infamous 'Leitkultur' or 'dominant language' debate" (Wilkinson, 2006, p. 757).

While awareness of Germany's pluralistic society has led German policy makers to introduce measures that seek to accommodate migrants, an explicit program or promotion of pluralism and diversity does not exist on a federal level. Regional states are left with deciding on local policies to incorporate migrants into society, whose efforts appear to fall short of embracing multicultural policies without an actual commitment to multiculturalism (Schönwälder, 2010).

Overshadowed by notions of assimilation and leading culture, Germans shy away from multiculturalism and are in favor of a language of integration. Palmowski (2008) summarized that public debate and law are still characterized by a rejection of multicultural notions. Therefore, integration from a German perspective is neither the accommodation of Germany's multicultural structures nor the acceptance of foreigners as an equal body in

society; it rather means the assimilation of immigrants into the German society. “Integration” as used in the political and social integration debate by Germans “is a codeword for cultural assimilation” (Silver, 2010, p. 169).

Foreigners in the Eyes of Germans.

In light of a failed immigration reform, debate about the meaning of integration and the notion of the German public that immigrants should assimilate into the host culture, Germany may be described as a country that denies its multicultural aspect. Zick et al. (2001) explained that despite its history of immigration and flows of immigration, Germany with respect to official German policy has never accepted the fact that it is an immigration country. Smith (1994) described Germany as historically compensating labor shortages with foreign labor and formulating immigration policy to fix immediate problems with little long-term planning.

Ramifications of Germany’s socio-demographic developments characterized in a pluralistic society structure, diversity, and cohabitation with migrants, may interfere with German identity and lead to social conflicts. According to Bauder (2008), national identity in Germany was traditionally defined by ethnicity and blood-lineage. Von Dirke (1994) explained that culture and nation are closely entwined and ethnically coded in Germany, because common language, history, and cultural heritage used to provide a basis to establish a national identity. Germany’s collective identity, constructed through nationalism, which defined itself in nationalistic articulations of culture, politics, and economy (Von Dirke, 1994) and ethnic homogeneity gave rise to the “Volk,” which is considered a genetic and biological entity of German community that characterizes Germany’s ethno-cultural sense of nationhood (Palmowski, 2008). Ethnic inclusion and cultural and blood ties remained in the German consciousness of national community (Manz, 2004). For example, Germany’s ethnic definition of community can be traced in its citizenship law. From 1913 until 2000, German

citizenship was given through the principle of jus sanguinis, in which citizenship is determined by decent and blood-linage (Palmowski, 2008). The jus sanguinis citizenship law, which existed before the citizenship reform of 1999 (Anil, 2007), stated that children only receive citizenship, when at least one parent is German or has been a resident in Germany for at least 3 years. This indicates that Germany tends to identify itself as a homogenous society with an ethnic blood linage. Therefore, it is probable that the gross of Germans view immigrants as a foreign body in their society. In fact, guestworkers were considered to be guests and refugees were expected to leave the country once tensions in their home country calm down, while “Aussiedler” (resettlers) fulfill the German blood-linage and receive full citizenship immediately, because they or their parents were expelled from Germany during World War II or their ancestors were of German origin stranded in Eastern Europe (Zick et al., 2001).

The idea of foreigners as a foreign body in society, finds support in the use of words that have historically described immigrants. While the term “Gastarbeiter” (guestworker), reflects economic utility of a person, the term “Ausländer” (foreigner) expresses cultural non-belonging (Bauder, 2008). Immigrants are often categorized in the homogenous group of “Ausländer” (foreigners), despite high levels of cultural diversity in Germany (Zick et al., 2001). Therefore, the word categorizes immigrants into outsiders supporting the idea of a devaluating or negative attitude towards them. Luchtenberg and McLelland (1998) explained that it is impossible to distinguish foreigners and migrants that have lived in Germany for a longer time, because Germans refer to both as “Ausländer” (foreigners). By using the term “Ausländer” to refer even to migrants and their children, “a second generation, born and raised in Germany, is put on a par with temporary [and] transitory visitors” (Luchtenberg & McLelland, 1998, p. 202). In Germany, second and third generations of migrants, are referred to as “Ausländer” (foreigners), which ultimately stresses otherness and non-belonging. As a

result, migrants and their German-born offspring constantly face the challenge of acculturation, because they are not perceived by the host society as part of the in-group. Furthermore, Esses et al.'s (2006) findings suggested that Germans do not value a superordinate identity, which is a common group identity for immigrants and Germans; because the inclusion of immigrants in the national group was somewhat perceived as a threat to national identity.

The view of foreigners as a foreign body characterizes the conflict of social tensions between Germany and its immigrants. Based on their "uneuropean" characteristics, different religious beliefs, and perceived social segregation, the political policy debate overwhelmingly refers to Turks and Muslims (Anil, 2007). In fact, Turks and their descendants make up the single largest immigrant group in Germany (Anil, 2007), which leads them to be the largest foreign body in the eyes of Germans. Racialization of Arabs and Turks based on visible signals such as race, color, and religion complicates integration (Silver, 2010) and increases ignorance about them through mystifying them as foreign and exotic (Wilkinson, 2006). According to Wilkinson (2006), Turks are constituted to be the archetypical foreigner and have become the scapegoat for economic and social problems in today's German society.

Semyonov, Raijman and Gorodzeisky's (2008) findings showed inflated views of perceived foreign population sizes in Europe. These findings are reason to believe that the perception of immigrants as a foreign body is pervasive among the German people. While violent events of the early 1990s illustrated symptoms of interethnic tensions, there has always been a pervasiveness of negative attitudes toward foreigners in German society (Zick et al., 2001).

Research about attitudes towards foreigners in Europe has identified that negative views about foreigners are higher among people who are socially and economically vulnerable and hold conservative political ideologies (Semyonov et al., 2008). Perceived size

of the foreign population, structural characteristics of the host country, and the political climate of the host country are further factors that form perceptions about immigrants (Semyonov et al., 2008). In a previous study, Semyonov, Anat Yom, and Schmidt (2004) suggested that anti-foreigner attitudes are quite substantial in Germany and are directed towards believes that foreigners exert negative impact on aspects of social life and do not deserve equal social, political, and economical rights. In fact, Silver (2010) described Turks in Germany to be disadvantaged in employment based on discrimination against them stemming from an ethnic penalty that translates into lower quality entry level jobs and lesser upward job mobility.

However, tendencies towards a multicultural society do exist. Despite the lack of social interaction among Germans and foreigners, lack of dialogue between Germans and foreigners, and minimal representation of immigrant communities in cultural productions such as film and literature, interaction between Germans and foreigners is beginning to change, especially for second- and third-generation immigrants (Wilkinson, 2006). Pettigrew et al. (2007) studied the impact of intergroup contact and indirect intergroup contact and inferred from their results that network clusters exist in Germany that consist of young, well-educated, and often male Germans who accept foreigners as friends. These networks are largely found in larger cities with foreign concentrations, where intergroup neighborhoods exist and intergroup contact is high (Pettigrew et al., 2007).

Foreigners' View on Life in Germany.

Immigrant groups of second and third generation migrants, which claim their role in German society, participate in politics, and contest the notion of assimilation by preserving part of their heritage culture and identity (Ehrkamp, 2006). In defending the values of diversity and multiculturalism, some proponents of multiculturalism enter the political debate through organizations that represent minority groups (Schönwälder, 2010). As an umbrella

organization for the Turkish community in Germany, the *Türkische Gemeide in Deutschland* (Turkish Community in Germany), has repeatedly demanded "transcultural policy for a multicultural society [with] demands ranging from minority representation in school curricula and the media to the recognition of migrant groups as official representatives of parts of the population" (Schönwälder, 2010, p. 156).

According to Wilkinson (2006), the lack of citizenship availability to immigrants until 2000, has segregated immigrant communities from German society. Segregation was also further driven by the low economic standard of immigrants, lack of social and economic power and status, as well as a lack of integrational policies and programs (Wilkinson, 2006). Kahanec and Tosun (2009) described a generational conflict in that immigrants that are 55 or older are not interested in German citizenship, whereas younger immigrants that have received German schooling, are homeowners, have political interest in the Social Democratic Party (SPD) or the Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), or are self-employed have more interest in receiving German citizenship. However, citizenship aspirations drop with perceived negative attitudes towards immigrants and with experienced difficulties in exercising their religiosity (Kahanec & Tosun, 2009).

Different migrant generations often see and value life in Germany differently. Foreign adolescents see themselves to favor integration into the German society, whereas they see tendencies in their parents or former migrant generations to prefer separation from German society (Pfafferot & Brown, 2006). First generation migrants largely arrived in Germany as guestworkers with the idea to work for a few years and then leave the country. In the early years of their arrival, they tended to separate from German society and policy makers did not make efforts to incorporate them into society, since only a temporary stay was planned. An example of migrants' separation during the 1960s and 1970s can be found in the radio broadcasts and television programming. At first no programming for migrant minorities

existed in Germany. The first migrant programs were produced in the 1960s (Oepen, 1984). However, 70 percent of the content was geared toward maintenance of bonds with home country and migrants' national identity, which was furthermore described to not support but, rather, hinder integration into German society and culture (Oepen, 1984).

According to Ehrkamp (2006), Turkish immigrants view immigration discourse and encounters with Germans as important for their own identity and perceive that Germans often label, categorize, and reject them. Turkish immigrants are well aware of the nuanced vocabulary that is used to describe integration of immigrants and their representation as "the other" has shaped their life and their relationships with Germans (Ehrkamp, 2006).

Wilkinson (2006) argued that immigrants are often in between cultures. This has led to identity crises among Turkish people living in Germany. Ehrkamp (2006) suggested that political integration discourses and the public expectations that immigrants should assimilate, has led Turks to internalize, resist, and/or contest expectations of assimilation, which resulted into debates amongst Turks about the meaning of being Turkish in Germany. For some, being Turkish means not being German, others feel they have to be more Turkish in order to be accepted (Ehrkamp, 2006). In a study by Trebbe (2007) on the use of Turkish and German television programs, a trend towards different acculturation strategies was identified, which suggested that depending on Turks acculturation strategy and immersion into the German language, a preference for German or Turkish television exists.

For Turks, being "the other" has become a part of life and led to multiple identities and differences among immigrants (Ehrkamp, 2006). Schneider (2007) described a schizophrenic identity of Turks in Germany pending between notions of separation and integration.

Integration and the Role of Media.

According to Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997), media exercise subtle influence on people's reasoning and attention about divisive issues, which has commonly been described in the field of communication through agenda-setting, priming, and framing.

People come into contact with most issues through the guiding hand of the mass media. According to Agenda-Setting Theory, there is a link between issues portrayed in mass media content and issues prioritized in the public domain (Kosicki, 1993). The media assume the role of agenda-setting through which attention is forced to certain issues and media consumers are stimulated in what to think about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). In that way, media are not persuading people what to think, they rather directs attention to issues, telling people what to think about (Kosicki, 1993).

A related concept is that of priming. Nelson and Oxley (1999) defined priming as "the temporary activation and enhanced accessibility of concepts and considerations in memory" (p. 1042) triggered through media attention and portrayal of an issue. Media priming suggests that citizen's awareness of an issue comes easier with a greater effect on opinion, when the media focus attention on an issue (Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997).

While agenda setting and priming may determine which issues enter the public domain and later influence judgment, framing theory asserts that issues can be presented or framed in different ways to influence people (Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997). Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997) defined framing as "the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy" (p. 567). Rather than just bring attention to an issue, as explained in priming and agenda-setting research, framing research is more concerned with the content and perspective of an issue (Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). Frames are seen as constructions of issues suggesting a central organizing idea, which is communicated through a variety of channels (Nelson &

Kinder, 1996). Terkildsen and Schnell (1997) defined frames as “the ‘maps’ or the internal story patterns reporters and editors draw for their readers [that] cognitively serve to structure the public debate, influence readers' issue information, and the attribution of policy responsibility” (p. 881).

Predominantly communicated through the mass media, frames permeate public discussion and teach media audiences how to think about and understand an issue (Nelson & Kinder, 1996). While news frames established through presenting an issue in a particular manner can provide direction for a temporary resolution of uncertainty, framing is also seen to be able to alter the attributed weight and importance of an issue and enhance the psychological importance, relevance, or weight attributed to beliefs with respect to an issue (Nelson & Kinder, 1996; Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997). In assessing media frames and their influence on women movements in the US, Terkildsen and Schnell (1997) concluded that the subtle and non-conscious influence of frames has an immense power, which alters issue conceptualizations and produces a shift of support media audiences. Ultimately, Terkildsen and Schnell (1997) proposed that “true power of the media lies in telling the public what issues to think about, as well as how to think about those issues” (p. 894).

Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997) presented three models to explain how viewers and readers process mass media information and may be influenced in their opinion. First, learning is induced through the mass media by providing new information on an issue. Second, by bringing up beliefs and feelings and making them accessible through news coverage, media coverage may prime an issue. Third, media may make an issue seem to be more important leading audiences to give greater relevance to certain issues.

Based on the research on agenda-setting, priming, and framing, it could be assumed that mass media portrayals of the integration discourse in Germany and portrayals of its protagonists and antagonists are significant for the integration discourse in Germany and

public opinion formation. This is because media can direct attention to the debate, amplify certain issues, and use different frames that may lead mass media audiences to be impacted by different opinions.

The significant role of the media in Germany as well as the German media's contribution to the immigration date has been explored in the literature on different accounts. Oepen (1984) described the mass media to lead opinion formation and social activities in Germany. Whereas mutual distrust and respect between migrants and Germans is established on an interpersonal level, the mass media can introduce missing information for both sides to help construct harmony through communicative competence (Oepen, 1984).

The promotion of certain issues can impact the way immigrants are perceived in the host society. According to Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, and Armstrong (2001), messages that promote a common group identity may lead to improved attitudes towards foreigners, while media presentations of immigrants' success during times of economic hardship can induce perceptions of competition with immigrants and lead to unfavorable immigration attitudes. Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) confirmed this notion by stating that visibility of immigrant actors in the news is negatively related to anti-immigration attitudes. Ruhrmann and Sommer (2004) explained that intergroup communication on the public and personal level is influenced by the media's impact on attitude formation towards minority groups.

The significant effect of media portrayals in regard to immigration and integration can be seen in the Danish cartoon controversy. Twelve caricatures of the Muslim prophet Muhammed that appeared in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in 2005 raised heavy debate about Muslim integration in Europe. While the caricatures where condemned by the Arab league and led to acts of violence towards European embassies in Damascus and Beirut as well as demonstrations and boycotts, European newspapers further published the cartoons citing freedom of expression (Hakam, 2009). The cartoon controversy spiked tensions

between Muslims and the ‘West’ and is by some considered as an issue over immigration and integration discourse of Muslims into European society rather than an issue of freedom of speech (Hakam, 2009). “While the major issue for many Arabs and Muslims was blasphemy versus respect for religion, the underlying issue was perceived as European and Western arrogance, and the military, political, cultural, and economic domination that persisted so many decades after European colonialism had ended” (Hakam, 2009, p. 35).

Research in the cartoon controversy was largely concerned with discourse and the image set by the media. For example, Miera and Sala Pala (2009) traced the construction of Islam in French and German media portrayal or Hakam (2009) analyzed the discourse of Arab newspapers during the controversy. The media cartoon controversy revealed that the media carries evaluations and perceptions that set the image of groups and people through media portrayal. In France and Germany the image that was set by “the cartoons controversy revealed the strength of the perception that Islam is a threat to the nation and interpreted the controversy in terms of an enlightenment ‘West’ threatened by a backward, fundamentalist, Muslim ‘other’” (Miera & Sala Pala, 2009). According to Rheault and Mogahed (2008), the cartoon controversy underlined Europeans unfavorable opinion towards Muslims and held that Muslims in Europe relinquish their Muslim identity to integrate into secular European society.

Miera and Sala Pala (2009) described construction of a Muslim immigration problem by the media, whereas Rheault and Mogahed (2008) explained that integration debate is framed in terms of freedom of speech and expression during the cartoons controversy. In essence, the cartoon controversy underlined the significant effect that media-created images and portrayals of certain aspects can have on public debate and social tensions, especially on the immigration and integration debate on Muslims in Europe.

Moreover, evaluations of immigrants in the news are found to be a strong predictor of immigration problem perceptions (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009). Media portrayals of political immigration discourse and political evaluation of immigration may strongly influence perception in Germany. In a study of political players' effect on framing mass media portrayals of the immigration debate in Germany, Froehlich and Rüdiger (2006) found political players in the German immigration debate are effective in placing thematic and position frames in the mass media. Thematic aspects and subtopics as well as positions and political definitions of the problem posited by politicians are seen to be reflected in the media (Froehlich & Rüdiger, 2006).

The way immigrants and immigration policy is portrayed in the news, may shape public opinion. Based on the fact that the media contribute to public knowledge, the media can amplify "attitudes and opinions with regard to events, beliefs about rights and wrongs, and political leaders and groups" (Gardner et al., 2008, p. 122). Bauder (2008) described a dynamic pattern of media attention to immigration and immigration law discourse in Germany. In a study of newspaper articles from 2001-2003, Bauder (2008) identified that economic utility of foreigners appears to be the most the salient topic in German media coverage followed by cultural and humanitarian aspects. While integration was much more discussed than an ethnic-national identity, the print media actually neglect ethnic-national identity arguments (Bauder, 2008). Gardner et al. (2008) supported this idea by stating that few articles in the German media deal with life in a multicultural society. In short, Bauder (2009) explained that the media did not reflect attitudes that would be expected from a country inclined to its multicultural aspect.

Immigrants were portrayed as either victims or perpetrators, but generally not as part of a greater German society, which widens the gap between the Germans and "the others" (Gardner et al., 2008). "Well established and integrated immigrants who have been

supporting their host countries for years [were] mostly presented as single-case individuals" (Ruhrmann & Sommer, 2004, p. 4). In addition, the number of foreigners and their crime rates tended to be overestimated in the German media (Ruhrman & Sommer, 2004). Furthermore, invocation of fear of immigrants was portrayed after external events such as terror attacks that link immigration with religious fundamentalism and terrorism (Bauder, 2008). Gardner et al. (2008) argued that while the media were careful not to discriminate against Muslims openly, they contributed to Islamophobia by rarely portraying Muslim immigrants in a positive way, portraying Muslims as traditional, and quoting political pronouncements without comment or rectification of bias. Ruhrmann and Sommer (2004) confirmed this notion in their content analysis of TV reports and newspaper articles. In their analysis on articles "about immigration and immigrants almost 70% of all TV-News and 34% of all Newspaper articles are about crime, trials, and investigations" (p.12) with Moroccans, Turks, and Iraqis being the most mentioned nationalities.

By assessing the portrayal of integration debate in Germany, insights could be gained into images that may impact Germany's integration debate. Especially, framing with its potential to portray issues from different angles, contributes greatly to an image-setting aspect of media, which can be described by appearance of evaluative and identifying characteristics of the portrayed issue and its actors. Wester, Pleijter, and Renckstorf (2004) explained that the phenomenon of image-setting becomes apparent in news articles through the events and actors that are systematically related and depicted in news articles in "terms of relevant semantic aspects and elements of portrayal related to them (p. 501).

Chapter 3

Methodology

Through an inductive review of online magazine articles this study sought to study the tensions portrayed on the integration discourse in Germany. The study was designed to investigate online magazine news coverage of relevant events during the year 2010 concerning the problematic relationship of acculturation and integration discourse in Germany. Studying online magazine articles from an image-setting perspective led to the two following research questions.

RQ1: How are acculturation and integration discourse presented in online magazines?

RQ2: What is the nature of the portrayal of migrants' and Germans' interaction?

In order to investigate the image-setting aspect of online magazine news coverage of key events during the year 2010 concerning the problematic relationship of acculturation and integration discourse in Germany, a qualitative content analysis of different German magazines was conducted. Qualitative research is "a means for exploring and understanding the meaning of individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2009, p. 4). The social problems within the German integration debate explored in this study benefited from the open-ended character of qualitative studies and its interpretative and explanatory nature. Krippendorff (2004) explained "qualitative approaches to content analysis have their roots in literary theory, the social sciences, and critical scholarship" (p. 17) and involve interpretation of texts into analytical or critical narratives that are accepted by scholarly communities. A specific method for a qualitative content analysis that enables the answering of how minorities appear, conflicts are described, and stereotypes permeate especially in regard to the media content is a discourse analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). A model for such an interpretative content analysis utilized in analyzing newspaper content was

formulated by Wester et al. (2004) in an attempt to standardize a procedure for interpretative content analysis.

Sampling.

Following Wester et al. (2004), a time frame as well as news events crucial to the integration debate were chosen to specify the scope of the study. Multiple studies grouped newspaper content according to different events that are applicable to the research goals of the study (see Bauder, 2008; Wester et al., 2004; Arnold & Schneider, 2007). Grouping newspaper articles based on the events and topics they covered allows comparing within and between reports to formulate a case-specific interpretation frame (Wester et al., 2004). To relate the study to current events highlighting the immigration and integration discourse in Germany, the time frame for news stories included in this analysis was limited to the year 2010.

Two events were chosen for this study. The first event that was analyzed was the coverage on the German soccer national team that participated in the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. The 2010 German soccer national team was the first German national team with multiple players coming from a migrant background.

The second event was the publishing of Thilo Sarrazin's book "Deutschland schafft sich ab" (Germany does away with itself), which because of its controversial demands about integration of Turks led to heavy debate about the person of Sarrazin and his claims about integration discourse. In his controversial book, Sarrazin reached the conclusion that Germany is dumbing down, because Germany's elite is shrinking, while immigrants and the underclass have too many children. An online article stated, "The insult to the poor was quickly forgotten but the anti-immigrant line snowballed into a ferocious debate about how Germany should deal with its 16m immigrants" (Is multi-kulti..., 2010). In the heat of the

awakened debate, Chancellor Merkel announced that “multiculturalism has ‘failed, absolutely failed’” (Is multi-kulti..., 2010).

For this study, online articles from three major German weekly magazines were chosen to analyze a broad and pervasive portrayal of the chosen news events. The magazines chosen for this study were *Der Spiegel*, *Stern*, and *Focus* magazine. While not all articles on the magazine’s website are published in the print edition, more diverse and in-depth articles relating to specific topics can be found on their websites.

Der Spiegel, *Stern*, and *Focus* are influential, seen as prestigious, and are an essential part of Germany’s news information system. *Der Spiegel* is ranked in top positions of journalistic and marketing categories, while *Stern* and *Focus* are its direct rivals (Wörsching, 1999). All three magazines’ main focus is on political, economic, and cultural affairs. Founded on exclusive articles, articles published in either of the three magazines are regarded as leading to topics of conversation in the public discourse (Wörsching, 1999).

Der Spiegel is a German news magazine that publishes weekly with approximately 1.2 million sold copies (IVW, 2011). *Der Spiegel* supplements its weekly magazine with a weekly TV show as well as a website. *Spiegel Online*, the website of *Der Spiegel* is considered to be Germany’s most influential online news channel. *Der Spiegel* and its website are seen as benchmark for its journalist competitors. In December 2010, *Spiegel Online* had 132 million visitors (IVW, 2011), which is by far the most number of viewers of any German online news website.

Stern is a German news magazine that is published weekly with approximately 1 million sold copies (IVW, 2011). *Stern* also supplements its magazine with a weekly TV show. In December 2010, *Stern* online had 21 million visitors (IVW, 2011).

Focus is a German news magazine that is published weekly with approximately 715.000 sold copies (IVW, 2011). In December 2010, *Focus* online had 27 million visitors (IVW, 2011).

The websites and online archives of *Der Spiegel, Stern, and Focus* magazine were searched with relevant key phrases. Articles related to the multicultural aspect of Germany's national soccer team were searched on all three magazine's websites using the key phrases "Fussball Nationalmannschaft Integration" (Soccer National Team Integration), "Nationalmannschaft multikulturelle Gesellschaft" (National Team Multicultural Society), and "Nationalmannschaft Integration" (National Team Integration). Initially 48 articles where identified that appeared to discuss the soccer national team in relation to integration. After reading of articles, the total number of articles was reduced from 48 articles to 26 articles. Articles that were left out predominantly dealt with issues related specifically to the national team or its players, such as Mesmut Oezil's transfer from the team Werder Bremen to Real Madrid or the line-up for the next game. Articles that were left out did not have any thematic emphasis on or imagery of the national soccer team in relation to the integration debate.

Articles related to Sarrazin's book and the resulting integration debate were located using the key phrase "Sarrazin Integration" on the three magazine's website. Because of the large number of articles no other key phrases were used to find articles related to Sarrazin and the integration debate. A total of 145 articles were identified. After reading the articles, the total number of articles related to Sarrzin and the integration discourse was reduced from 145 to 120 articles. A substantial amount of the reduction stemmed from leaving out articles that deal with debate over immigration policies. A series of news stories about immigration policy proposals to Germany was triggered after a statement by the leader of the Christian Social Union (CSU) Horst Seehofer, who argued that immigrants from Arab cultures are difficult to integrate into German society. While initial reports of the immigration policies debate

provided images of integration in Germany, follow-up articles were almost solely concerned with economic evaluations of Germany and economic benefits of immigration policy. One article stated this precisely as Seehofer opened a new theme; i.e. good migration versus bad migration. Another string of articles that was left out from further analysis were articles dealing with Social Democratic Party (SPD) internal relations and the expulsion procedure of Sarrazin from his former party. As a member of the SPD, Sarrazin's postulations and the following media attention started an internal SPD turmoil about the expulsion of Sarrazin and the direction of the party itself. While it was shown that Sarrazin found some support in his own party, most articles focus on the SPD and its situation rather than providing a big picture of integration in Germany.

Analysis Procedures.

In regard to the method of inquiry, this study applied an eight step model proposed by Wester et al. (2004), whose underlying perception is that through reading and re-reading, comparing within and between the reports, and formulating a case-specific interpretation frame, the researcher can explain the appearance of evaluative or identifying characteristics of the analyzed problem. In their study on the media portrayal of Dutch and German relations, they explained that:

> by subsequently reading and re-reading the news coverage from the perspective of the sensitizing concept image-setting and focusing on the way people, acts, and events are presented, and through comparison, within and between the reports in these respects, the researcher is able to formulate case specific interpretation frames that can explain the appearance of evaluative or identifying characteristics (p. 500).

Their eight step model is outlined here: First, the whole series of news reports on a given event is red. Second, simple descriptions are made about the overall subject of the series of news reports. Third, the whole series of news reports on a given event or topic is

summarized in content. This steps sets up the context for the fourth step by establishing information about actors, places, substantive themes, and circumstances. Fourth, news reports are re-read and textual passages marked that relate to images and portrayals. Extra meanings are identified that add to the neutral semantic structure from step three focusing on constructs such as evaluative expressions, value judgments, or comparisons. Fifth, an inventory of newspaper headlines is established to compare between events, topics, or newspapers that is incorporating information from step three and four. A sixth step establishes an interpretative framework regarding each topical news series. By identifying "important actors, topics and/or oppositions, as well as the ways in which actors are connected to them, and the evaluative expressions used in the image-relevant fragments [it is] possible to reconstruct an interpretative framework as well as the verbal repertoires related to the news item" (p. 504). Step seven is a comparison of detected interpretive frameworks of various news reports, portrayals, and images per case. In step eight, comparisons between cases and newspapers are made. However, in this study only the two cases specified above were compared. Three magazines were sampled as specified earlier in order to provide a broad editorial perspective. However, it is beyond the scope of the study to compare coverage among the three magazines.

Qualitative content analysis requires a consistent analysis as well as judging and evaluating using uniform standards. As a result, qualitative studies tend to be carried out by a single researcher (Krippendorff, 2004). This is because codes and standards are not easily communicated for analysis based on the specific knowledge of the researcher and the interpretative nature of the study (Krippendorff, 2004). In this study, the process of data collection, analysis, and interpretation was solely conducted by the researcher.

Chapter 4

Results

The results section follows the sequence laid out by Wester et al. (2004) in their eight step model. First the portrayal of the German soccer national team in relation to the integration debate and migrants' and Germans' interaction is analyzed. Next, the integration debate around Thilo Sarrazin's book "Germany does away with itself" is analyzed. Last, the coverage of the events is compared.

Soccer National Team.

Step 1 and 5.

In step one of the analysis, the whole series of news reports were read to learn about relevant actors, places, themes, and contexts of the published reports of the event of Germany's soccer national team and the integration discourse. This step has been combined with step five of the original model laid out by Wester et al. (2004). An inventory of headlines was created as the articles were red. The headline inventory of articles that were analyzed can be found in Appendix A.

As articles were red, their headlines, publishing date, and magazine were entered into an excel spreadsheet. This was done for several reasons. First, creating an inventory of headlines during the reading of the articles saved the researcher time. Second, an early inventory of headlines allowed for a broad overview of the subject matter. Third, a headline inventory that detailed articles' date published and magazine published in, allowed the researcher to sort the data according to a timeline.

Step 2 and 3.

Step two of the model is a description of the overall subject of the series of news reports and step three is a summary of the whole series of news reports. Since only two events were analyzed in this study, overall descriptions of the news series were not necessary.

Therefore, step two and three were combined. In reading and preparing the news reports and their summary, the researcher was able to identify underlying and repetitive themes of the magazine news coverage. These themes are outlined in Table 1 and provide an overview for the structure for which images in step six could be outlined. A summary of the news reports is presented that explains the context of the themes and was used as a neutral semantic structure against which images were outlined.

Table 1

Underlying and Repetitive Themes in the Soccer National Team Coverage

Topic	Theme
A	German National Team
B	Role of Players
C	Turkey vs. Germany
D	Migrants Relationship with Germany
E	Meaning of Integration
F	Soccer and Integration

Mesmut Oezil was praised for his strong performance in Germany's first World Cup game and was identified as a great role model for the integration of foreign teenagers. Oezil's decision to play for Germany was presented citing Oezil as saying that it was a natural choice for him to play for Germany. While everyone in Germany was excited about the national soccer team, the German national team was depicted as a dream of integration, which should become reality for German society.

In preparation for the game Turkey versus Germany in Berlin on October 8, 2010, the decision of Mesmut Oezil to play for Germany and German-born Turkish player Nori Sahin to play for Turkey was discussed. Both were seen as role models of integration in Germany,

but have chosen different paths. Oezil felt more connected to Germany, whereas Sahin felt more connected to Turkey. While the decisions of German-Turkish players was described and the game was shown to be a game against friends, the German-born Turkish national player Hamil Altintop described the business aspect of soccer and portrayed his view on why he is playing for Turkey. Meanwhile, the integration debate and its meaning are depicted in relation to the upcoming game.

After Germany won the game 3-0, chancellor Merkel visited the German locker room and shook hands with Mesmut Oezil. A picture was taken, which was seen as having symbolic value for the heated integration debate. While German Soccer Federation director Theo Zwanziger was upset about not having been asked permission about the chancellor's visit in the locker room, team manager Bierhoff was excited about the value the national team has for integration. Turkish president Guel praised Mesmut Oezil and condemned Turkish fans' booing of Oezil during the game.

While Mesmut Oezil received the Integration Bambi during the German Bambi Awards, Theo Zwanziger claimed soccer's important role in the integration of teens, and the national team was viewed in retrospect to integration.

Step 4.

In step four, the articles were re-read and marked with image-relevant textual passages that pertained to the integration discourse, migrants, and interaction between Germans and migrants. Key portrayals were translated into English and entered into an inventory of image portrayals by articles, which can be found in Appendix A. This inventory provided the basis for interpretation outlined in step six.

Step 6.

In step six, an interpretative framework was formulated for the news series. Establishing such an interpretative framework allowed examining image-related properties

and prepared for case-specific description and comparison of the identified frameworks. In this step, a reconstruction of the news series' themes in relation to its verbal repertoires and image-relevant fragments was made. Portrayals relevant to their underlying themes were marked with the letter of the theme that was assigned to them in step two (see Appendix A). Reconstructing the underlying themes identified in step two and three along images depicted in step four, allowed drawing conclusions about the portrayal of integration discourse and migrants' and Germans' interaction, which constituted the research findings of this study. The following analysis can be traced by the reference numbers found in the inventory of images by article in Appendix A.

Portrayals in relation to the German national team conveyed the idea that the German national soccer team is well integrated despite its diverse background. Germany's character of a pluralistic society comes through, while the soccer national team reflects an ideal way of living together. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- The German national team is different from earlier times and has South-European and African roots that bring life to the team (2).
- The national team is a colorful team that is mixed and consists of 11 out of 23 players that have a migration background (3).
- The new Germany at the World Cup is offensive, young, and multi-ethnic (2).
- The national team has a multicultural image (7).
- It is a multicultural team, whose backbone are migrant children (5, 7).
- While the national team reflects role model integration, it is also a reflection of the reality of an immigration society and a reflection of the German society (3, 10, 15).
- The national team receives a lot of praise in the public domain, is seen as sending a great message, and seen to be standing for team spirit, excitement, integration, and unity (11, 15, 26).

- The national team embraces respect, trust, and tolerance, which are an integral part of its unity (7).

Portrayals indicated that people who want to be accepted into German society and make the effort are accepted. Successful people with migration backgrounds are desirable and promote Germany well. This can be inferred through the positive portrayal of Oezil and successful athletes. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Oezil explains about himself that he lives in Germany in the third generation, was born in Germany, has played for the German junior national teams, feels comfortable in Germany, and states that form him playing for any other nation is out of the question (6, 11).
- Oezil is described as an example of successful integration in Germany and a contribution to Turkish-German friendship (5, 18, 25).
- Integration is not an issue for players such as Oezil or Sahin, who relax the integration debate by being successful models of integration and a great contribution to the integration of teens with migration backgrounds (1, 7, 13).
- Sahin is proud of being born and raised in Germany and even got his Abitur (13).
- If someone can identify with the country he lives in, then a nomination for the national team is normal (20).
- Resumes of top athletes show the integrative power of sports (24).
- Oezil is explained to be an example, symbolic figure, role model, and an embodiment of integration and openness of German society (13, 15).
- Players such as Oezil give a lot of hope to young people and reflect the integrative power of sports (1, 24).
- If you work hard, you have opportunities in this country, even though you have a different skin color or faith (15).

Portrayals suggested that migrants are struggling with their identity and sense of belonging. This struggle is based on internal feelings or levied upon migrants by society which leads migrants to feel categorized into foreigners. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- The German-Turkish issue brings a lot of brisance and soccer players are exposed to the decision what team to play for (8, 11).
- Migrants often have two heart beats and face a critical decision with the self (8).
- Migrants support the German national team, but experience a sense of schizophrenia by being condemned by peers and being ashamed in front of peers (14).
- Altintop is very thankful for the opportunities that Germany presents him (9).
- Some migrants have grown up in Germany but have never felt at home there (14).
- Some have never whole heartedly embraced Germany (15).
- Making a decision is a matter of heart, but sometimes a business (9, 11).
- Belonging is a lot to think about and hard to find words for (12).
- Being partly Turkish, partly German leads migrants to be seen as a foreigner in both Turkey and Germany (12).
- Migrants have not accepted any one culture 100 percent (12).
- The game Turkey vs. Germany is seen as a very special game and a game against friends (8, 11).
- The national team is seen as a symbol for hundreds of thousands of teens in Germany, who, because of their heritage, do not know where they belong (1).
- Sahin sees himself as Turk, but also a bit German (8).
- Altintop, born in Germany, states his mother is Turkish, his father is Turkish, thus he is Turkish (9).

Migrant-players were portrayed as well integrated into German society and feel German. Players with migration background belong to Germany and their role model identity helps people that are struggling with direction. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Integration is not an issue for players such as Oezil or Sahin, who relax the integration debate by being successful models of integration and a great help to the integration of teens with migration background (1, 7, 13).
- Oezil is a very important integration symbol for teens in Germany, who because of their heritage do not know where they belong (1).
- Third generation migrants are well integrated (8, 13).
- Muslims adjust to Germany and fit in (13).
- Players are proud to be born and raised in Germany and thankful for the many opportunities (9).
- It does not matter where parents are from (5).
- Sahin sees himself as Turk, but also a bit German (8).
- Oezil is seen as the German-Turk, who is German. (5, 21).
- Oezil, Cacau, and Tasci identify with Germany (6, 11, 15).
- National players with migration background can be role models for teens. Podolski, Khedira, Oezil, Klose, Trochowski are mentioned as potential role models for teens with foreign roots (3, 7, 13).

Portrayals indicated that a preferred acculturation outcome of migrants is integration, while integration is usually dependent on migrants' own performance. Migrants are assigned the duty to integrate and should make relevant efforts. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Integration depends on performance characterized by adjusting and fitting in, joining and integrating, being educated, working hard, and respecting Germany (7, 13, 15).
- In integration like in sports, one must perform, join in and integrate; those who do not try are substituted and who commit big fouls are suspended (7).
- The improvement of German language skills and learning German language is seen as key for integration (24, 26).
- Efforts have to come from both sides and acceptance of migrants by Germans as well as efforts by migrants are necessary (24, 26).
- A recommendation for everyone with migration background; to integrate, and act disciplined and respectful towards other is made (26).

Integration was portrayed as an important issue in German society. Also, portrayals showed that Germany longs to create a host environment that is directed toward integration. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- In regard to the integration debate, there is need to talk more about the people who live in Germany now and a need to talk less about the roots of people (5).
- Oezil and Merkel shaking hands in the locker room has rich symbolic and sociopolitical value for integration and migrants in the ongoing debate (19, 21, 22).
- The president and the chancellor are excited about the symbol of the national team for a united soccer country (15).
- Players and their integration efforts are honored by the president (15).
- Oezil receives a prize for integration during the Bambi Awards (25).
- Integration is described as important and a big challenge for Germany's future. Societal progress is seen to depend on the success or failure of integration (24).

It was portrayed that soccer and society operate differently. Whereas integration and living together is easier in the world of soccer, society is a different playground for

integration and harmonic living together. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Soccer is meaningful for integration and more open to people with migration background than other parts of society (7).
- In soccer jerseys everyone is equal, works together, and success depends on joining and integrating. A unity is developed that is carried on to living off the field (7).
- In soccer, living together with people from other backgrounds is easier than in other parts and integration happens automatically (7).
- In the national team integration seems easy because soccer players are on the same economic level, are in playful contact with many different nations and connecting through kicking instead of embracing culture wars, and bring ethnicities together to shape a common identity that furthers players' identification with Germany (10, 24).
- Soccer is a great tool for integration of young people and for moving them in the right direction (20).
- The German Soccer Federation wants to foster integration through forming a hoard for integration, a place for sustainability, and taking an active role against discrimination and for equality (23).

Next, the detected interpretive frameworks were compared and case specific descriptions were made to answer how acculturation and integration discourse were presented in the online magazines and what the nature of portrayal of migrants' and Germans' interaction is. However, steps one to six were followed again to detect the interpretative frameworks of the second event that was analyzed.

Sarrazin Debate.

The second event that was analyzed using Wester et al.'s (2004) eight-step model is the portrayal of Thilo Sarrazin and the integration debate.

Step 1 and 5.

In step one of the analysis, the whole series of news reports were read to learn about relevant actors, places, themes, and contexts of the published reports on the event of Sarrazin and its relation to integration. This step was combined with step five of the original model laid out by Wester et al. (2004). An inventory of headlines was created as the articles were red. A headline inventory of the articles that have been analyzed can be found in Appendix B.

Step 2 and 3.

Step two of the model is a description of the overall subject of the series of news reports and step three is a summary of the whole series of news reports. Since only two events were analyzed in this study, overall descriptions of the news series were not necessary. Therefore, step two and three were combined. In reading and preparing the news reports and their summary, the researcher was able to identify underlying and repetitive themes of the magazine's news coverage. These themes are outlined in Table 2 and provide an overview for the structure for which images in step six could be outlined. A summary of the news reports is presented that explains the context of the themes and was used as a neutral semantic structure against which images could be outlined.

Table 2

Underlying and Repetitive Themes in the Coverage on the Sarrazin Debate

Topic	Theme
G	Statements regarding Sarrazin's postulations
H	Role of the Integration Debate
I	Current State/Problem of Integration
J	The Meaning of Integration
K	Migrants in Germany
L	Islam and Muslims in Germany

The news series began with an article on August 25, 2010 that included excerpts from Thilo's Sarrazin's controversial book. Five major claims were made in an excerpt published in *Der Spiegel*. First, migrants should fit a certain profile of European character or should adapt to this profile during their integration, otherwise Germans are threatened to become foreigners in their own country. Second, there is an immediate threat to German culture in the high birthrate of migrants' babies and decreasing birthrate of Germans, which poses a threat in that German society will be taken over by migrants. Third, Muslim migrants are described as costing the welfare state more than their economic benefit. Fourth, the German welfare state is seen to provide migrants with too many benefits, which support Muslims' negative integration habits. Fifth, the problem of integration of Muslims is ascribed to their culture, which in itself hinders integration.

Furthermore, Sarrazin suggested four steps that challenge migrants and help foster their integration. First, individuals capable of working, who receive welfare, should be scheduled to do community service. Or, if they are not fluent in the use of German language, they should attend a mandatory language class. Second, migrant children should be obligated

to attend full-time kindergarten. Furthermore, Sarrazin proposed the introduction of full-time schools. In both, kindergarten and school, should be spoken German. Third, Sarrazin demanded stricter laws for receiving German citizenship and regulations for spouses moving to Germany. Fourth, immigration to Germany should be limited to specialists that can take on highly qualified jobs in Germany.

Immediately after publication, major political players condemned his postulations. Chancellor Merkel, head of the SPD Gabriel, head of the Green party Oezdemir, the Council of Turks in Germany and many others uttered strong criticism and condemned Sarrazin's postulations. Partisan SPD politicians were outraged, stating that Sarrazin is drifting off not representing the political ideas of the SPD. Amongst others, the Council of Jews in Germany condemned Sarrazin's postulations as racism. The Federal Bank, where Sarrazin served as an executive and the SPD wanted to let Sarrazin go. However, Sarrazin was not planning to leave the SPD or the Federal Bank and made new ferocious claims against migrants. Meanwhile, it was feared that Sarrazin's claims were perceived by some as appropriate. Media attention rose and the whole country was debating Sarrazin's postulations.

Sarrazin's postulations found support in the public domain. Surveys were published that showed high percentages of Germans identifying with the claims. Sarrazin was seen as expressing the feelings of many. Talks about a protest party with Sarrazin as a leader emerged, while some politicians admitted standing behind some of the claims of Sarrazin. The need for an integration debate became more and more apparent. Soon, chancellor Merkel and other politicians called for an open debate on integration without taboos. Problems of integration and the current situation of migrants were described, and suggestions were made for future integration, while past integration was largely seen as a missed opportunity.

Explained to have held back during the ongoing and heated integration debate in September, president Wulff presented a speech to mark the 20th anniversary of Germany's

unification. In his speech, Wulff asked for a new unified Germany and claimed that Islam is part of Germany today. President Wulff's speech and statements of Bavarian Minister President Horst Seehofer about an immigration halt for people from Turkey and other Arab countries, gave new fire to the debate.

In the mean time, the magazines published reports on migrants' situation, comments, and feelings during the debate that conveyed examples of successful and unsuccessful integration. When all of Germany was involved in an integration debate, the debate evolved to be more and more shaped around the meaning of integration, existing problems, fears of the public, and migrants in society.

Step 4.

In step four, the articles were re-read and marked with image-relevant textual passages that pertained to the integration discourse, migrants, and interaction between Germans and migrants. Key portrayals were translated into English and entered into an inventory of image portrayals by articles, which can be found in Appendix B. This inventory provided the basis for interpretation outlined in step six.

Step 6.

In step six, an interpretative framework was formulated for the news series. Establishing such an interpretative framework allowed examining image-related properties and prepares for case specific description and comparison of the identified frameworks. In this step, a reconstruction of the news series' themes in relation to its verbal repertoires and image-relevant fragments was made. Images relevant to their underlying themes were marked with the letter of the theme that was assigned to them in step two (see Appendix B). Reconstructing the underlying themes identified in step two and three along images depicted in step four, allowed drawing conclusions about the portrayal of integration discourse and migrants' and Germans' interaction, which constitute the research findings of this study. The

following analysis can be traced by the reference numbers in the inventory of images by article in Appendix B.

Portrayals characterized Sarrazin's postulations as a wrong picture of integration in Germany causing damage to people. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Critics state that Sarrazin's postulation lead to outrage (3, 120);
- Sarrazin's postulations are unacceptable (18), hurtful, defaming, polemic (2, 3, 4, 6), segregating (23), crazy (11, 13), stupid and rowdy (2, 3, 4), racist (8), pro NPD (2), and cross a red line (3).
- Sarrazin's postulations are seen to build a poor framework for integration debate (117) and are not helpful to answer the problems of integration (2, 3).
- The postulations damage the relationships with migrants by putting them all into one pot (4) and are offending the integration efforts of people who work on overcoming problems (5).
- Migrants are reduced to second class citizens (13, 105) and stripped of their right for existence (13).
- The postulations are described by people as absurd, adventurous, and half-scientific (9) and create an enemy image and contorted view of migrants (7).
- The postulations are a pessimistic description of the current integration situation (6).

However, portrayal also stated that Sarrazin has rightfully addressed problems in integration in Germany and finally articulated what a lot of people have been thinking. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Sarrazin is receiving hundreds of letters and emails of support, while further support is given by people and fellow politicians (21, 34).

- Sarrazin's postulations are seen to be a timely address of problems and find a wide base for acceptance that divides Germany (8, 10, 15, 36).
- Sarrazin is seen to be the embodiment of people that are angry about a retrace of society into the middle ages, being cussed out for help and offerings in integration assistance, and a threat of Islamic associations close to terrorism (38).
- Sarrazin polarizes Germany and his postulations are seen to mobilize, affect, and move people by addressing what many people have been thinking and feeling in Germany (15, 35, 40, 118, 120).
- Supporters state that lacking integration of Muslims does exist and problems have been oppressed for too long (53, 11, 15).
- Sarrazin's book expresses some truth, its analysis is close to reality, and people see truth in the statements (5, 18, 92).
- One should not make the issue of integration problems taboo(6).
- Sarrazin is seen as a hero and martyr (53, 54).
- Sarrazin has started a long-needed debate (40).

It was portrayed that integration problems exists in Germany and that integration has been traditionally neglected. This neglect has contributed to challenges of integration today. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- There are deficiencies in integration (7) and integration problems exist (48, 53, 54, 60).
- The magnitude of problems in integration have been underestimated (100);
- There have been missed opportunities as well as missed efforts in integration (22, 23, 26, 48, 60).
- Politicians have put a haze of belittlement over integration problems (54) and missed out on integration problems for years (35, 48).

- There have been failures in integration debates (33, 37) and integration has largely been missed out on (12, 22, 60, 117).
- Integration policies were far away from reality (35) and politicians shied away from responsibility on the guestworker issue (54).
- Policy makers have neglected the issue of integration and no one has taken responsibility for integration of migrants (120).
- There has been neglect in political realm and society when it comes to integration (50).
- Germany did not take care of foreigners that were in Germany and instead focused on the ones to come (54).

Migrants were portrayed as responsible for their allegedly missed integration and the substantial problems that exist with migrants' integration today. The most dominant problems that captured the media's attention are missing German language skills, violence of Muslim juveniles, and problems in education, and lacking integration efforts. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- There have been lacking efforts among migrants; migrants need to exercise more responsibility and effort in their integration (23, 53, 68, 105).
- Migrants living in secluded areas have caused the emergence of parallel societies (43, 54, 64, 103, 106, 113).
- Migrants' have a 30 percent rate of dropping out of integration classes (24, 62).
- There are 10 to 15 percent of migrants who resist integration and many more migrants are unwilling to integrate (50, 66, 92).
- There is violence among young fundamentalist Muslim men (24, 28, 29, 30, 36, 70, 118).

- Some Muslims prefer to live by the Sharia or other values that are not in line with German law (28, 36, 88).
- Problems in German language skills exist and migrants need to learn German to achieve integration (23, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 55, 68, 72, 93, 100).
- Migrants underachieve in education. More education is needed to resolve problems of integration (8, 29, 35, 37, 43, 105, 109, 116).
- If poor education and a high rate of unemployment is talked about, the talk is usually shaped around Muslims and Turks (98, 116).
- There is a high rate of unemployment among Muslims (8, 68, 98, 104).
- Migrants' have percentage-wise higher rates of receiving welfare benefits in the city of Berlin (88).

It was portrayed that Germans tend to view Muslims' integration negatively and charge Muslims with problems for integration. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Muslims are blamed for problems in society such as unemployment, alienation, and education problems (8).
- People with problems to integrate come from Arab countries and Turkey (11, 98, 116).
- There are higher rates of unemployment among Muslims (8, 68, 98, 104).
- When there is talk about poor education and high rates of unemployment, the talk is usually about Muslims and Turks (98, 116).
- There is violence among young fundamentalist Muslim men (24, 28, 29, 30, 36, 70, 118).

- 59% believe that Muslims are not willing to accept the constitution and 68% do not believe that migrants from Islamic countries will be able to speak decent German any time soon (90).
- Of all migrant, Muslims are least integrated, which is reflected in that statistics showing that 30% do not have a high school certificate and only 14% make the Abitur (88).

Germans were portrayed as tending to have a negative attitude towards Islam and fear Islam's role in German society. There is a struggle and diverse opinion about the role of Islam in German society. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Sarrazin is described as making racist anti-Muslim comments and acts islamophobic (7, 8).
- People with problems to integrate come from two groups, people from Arab countries and Turkey (11, 98, 116).
- There is a fear of the West's downfall (3).
- Intolerance, hate, and fear of Islam is growing along hostile images and a growing animosity towards Muslims in Europe (8, 44, 58, 91, 118).
- Germans have a classic fear of foreignness (71, 97) and have a fear of becoming alienated (5, 16, 71, 97).
- Germans fear of being discriminated in their own country (107).
- There is a growing fear of islamization and radicalism as well as a fear of extremism (44, 70, 97).
- Germany is framed as turning from having religious freedom to having exaggerated fears and growing tendencies towards islamophobia (8, 18).
- Muslims' cultural values are seen to be hard to connect with European identity (6, 88).

- Germans feel alienated and foreign in their own country, avoid certain areas of their town, and move away because they find themselves surrounded by a new culture (28).
- Islam as part of Germany is mentioned by Wulff and supported by politicians (53, 85, 101, 105).
- However, people believe in a German leading-culture and do not see Islam as part of Germany. Islam has no formative power in the building of German cultural understanding (85, 86, 88, 89, 91, 100, 112).
- Imams are supposed to be educated in German, in order to secularize Islam and prevent hate speeches in the backyard of German mosques (42, 56).
- Kindergarten, day cares and full-time schools are seen as the only way to counter violent children from fundamentalist Muslim families (46, 51).
- Germans have started to view Muslims as strangers (54).

Integration and the integration debate were portrayed as being important for Germany. Image relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Integration debate is intensive, extreme, hysterical, and emotional in regard to complicated and complex issue of integration (111, 37, 39, 15, 43).
- Integration is the mega theme and word of the time (22, 23, 26, 49).
- The issue of integration needs to be placed at the top of the political agenda (22, 23, 24, 26).
- Integration is the central issue of the time (52, 54, 104).
- Integration concerns deep social questions and establishing a framework for social advancement (28, 36).
- Integration has become a question of survival and task for the future, who should carry the country into the future (54, 72, 78).

- While problems of integration are not seen to be solved in the next three to four years, the future of integration is seen to be largely depended on children (20, 49, 95).

A preferred outcome of migrants' acculturation was portrayed to be integration with a subtle undertone of assimilation. Portrayals described that migrants are obligated to integrate and need to fulfill an active role in the integration process. Certain requirements for integration exist, which constitute a Germany-specific meaning of integration. In Germany, integration is generally defined by adjusting to German society, accepting German laws, and commanding the German language. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- There are certain requirements set by integration that include clear rules and boundaries (41, 93).
- Active participation and efforts of migrants in integration are seen as imperative and even described as migrants' duty and obligation (23, 35, 41, 78).
- Migrants need to take part in the societal and political life (78).
- Migrants need to adjust to German society (23), accept the constitution and German laws (23, 62, 78), and become fellow citizens on the basis of law and cultural values (111).
- Command of the German langue in word and writing is required and important for migrants' integration (23, 41, 93) and they need to learn the German language fluently without accent (18, 100).
- Migrants need to know, understand, and follow German rules and customs (56, 62, 78, 102).
- Migrants should accept the German way of life (78).
- Accepting Prussian strictness has helped people in their integration (94, 108);
- Assimilation is out of the debate, it is about integration (87).

While it received minor attention in comparison to migrants' responsibility to integrate, in creating a host environment, Germany is longing to create an environment that fosters integration. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- It is key for Germany to take more care of migrants, expand integration offers, and actively incorporate them into society (24, 90, 65).
- It is the politicians' task is to reconcile Germany with integration (40).
- Integration is task for both sides, Germany must fulfill its role as well (5, 98).
- There is a need for migrants and natives to know more about each other (69, 78), while thoughts and faith of others cannot only be accepted but also has to be respected (69).
- Germany must appeal to migrants' own responsibility in integration (68), but also offer tolerance, acceptance (5, 28, 36), and integration help (5).
- There is a need for rational integration and immigration policies (89).
- People should welcome the migrants living in Germany (78) and be open for cultural diversity (5, 78).
- There should be more efforts to include migrants in society (22, 78).
- It needs to be departed from migration as a topic of ethnic heritage and religious worldview (28, 36).
- Germany needs to get used to Islam as part of society (78, 79, 80).
- There is a need to show more attention to cases of good integration (65).

Germany was portrayed as a well functioning pluralistic society. Migrants are well integrated into society and are an active part of German society. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Germany is described as a country with twenty percent of its population coming from a migration background (9, 24).

- Overall, life in the pluralistic society is seen as functioning (9).
- Germany is a multicultural society (63).
- There are millions of successful integration cases (22, 23, 26, 43, 54, 75, 114).
- Integration has been accomplished by migrants and migrants are well integrated into society (13, 17, 21, 23, 68).
- Many migrants are well integrated especially in Berlin, where people speak German, have small businesses, and send their children to school (21, 23);
- The number of people resisting integration and families that are not integrated is estimated to be between ten and fifteen percent of the migrant population (33, 37, 47, 50, 52).
- In the last years, Germany has made advances in integration (54).
- There is no integration misery in Germany, integration is going well, and imbalances and problems are caused by social milieus and education (43).
- In a certain café customers are Turks and Poles, the chef is from Afghanistan, a waiter from Morocco, another from Russia, while all employees have social security (119).

It was portrayed that problems with migrants exist, while many of them live in alienated parallel societies. Muslim migrants exclude themselves from Germany and prefer to live in parallel societies. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Some Muslims prefer to live by the Sharia or hold values that are not in line with German law (28, 36, 88).
- Migrants appear to live isolated in parallel societies (51, 55, 113).
- Others hold on to their traditions, and live in their own cosmos, and get to know only a little bit about their environment (56).
- Those resisting integration live in parallel societies (46), isolate themselves, reject the German state, and act in ways that are not in line with the German law (51, 103).

- While there is a growing tendency of forming parallel societies (54, 106), parallel societies have grown stronger (64).

Portrayals showed that migrants understand themselves as part of Germany. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- There are large numbers of highly motivated Muslims in German society (108).
- Turkish migrants describe themselves as German-Turks (94), who are picking the best out of the two cultures and feel proud about being German (107).
- They see themselves as part of German society and want to be acknowledged as such (76).
- Migrants participate successfully in integration classes (22, 26).
- Three million Turks live in Germany of which 700,000 have a German passport (104).
- I have always felt at home here (120).
- Overall migrants feel connected to Germany (58) and some state that they even fell in love with Germany (58, 108).
- Migrants state they are grown up in Germany, feel as a German (14, 55, 108), and the Germans are our friends (55).
- Muslims in Germany live a similar secular lifestyle as the Germans (115).

Migrants were portrayed as experiencing a struggle about their self-identity and belonging, because of their alienation by the integration debate and German society. Image-relevant fragments that support this conclusion were:

- Migrants feel alienated as foreigners by the debate (14, 67, 76).
- Integration debate deters from the picture of a love story in a scary way and leads to the question of how to live as a foreigner in Germany (82).

- Migrants see themselves as part of the German society and want to be acknowledged as such (55, 76).
- Despite the fact that migrants were born in Germany, raised in Germany, went to school and university in Germany, and have been living in Germany all their lives, they are seen as foreigners and are alienated by Sarrazin (14, 93).
- Migrants' visible foreignness causes them to be treated differently and be seen as "once a migrants always a foreigner"(71).
- Second and third generation migrants believe the phrase "people with migration background" is defaming, stressing their foreignness and reinventing the term "migrant" as another word of "foreigner" (93, 108).
- Migrants feel the debate does not respect the performance of the overall well integrated migrants and does not give any recognition for the performance of guestworkers, who have significantly contributed economically (7, 17, 35, 116).
- While the debate is seen as being instrumentalized to confirm Germans' resentments and prejudices as well as to place guilt (76), the debate should not be generalized to all Muslims, which are usually friendly and have nothing to do with the attacks (44).
- The postulations and debate has led Muslims to be victims (2, 67).
- Migrants are sad, feel alienated, and are likely to further depart from German society (67).

Step 7 and 8: Comparison of the Interpretative Frameworks.

The last steps in the model proposed by Wester et al. (2004) is step seven and step eight. In step seven, comparisons among the detected interpretative frameworks are conducted. In step eight, a comparison between various cases is conducted. Since only two events were analyzed, these steps were combined into a within-case and between-case comparison of the identified interpretative frameworks.

Findings suggested that Germany in both cases was portrayed as a pluralistic society. In the Sarrazin debate, reference was made to migrants as well integrated and an active part of German society, whereas the national team was seen to reflect the pluralistic character of Germany. As a reflection of German society, the German soccer national team was portrayed as a mediator and reflection of an ideal way of living together.

However, findings suggested that the ideal story of the German soccer national's team integration is overshadowed by preferred acculturation outcomes projected on migrants. In the Sarrazin debate, a portrayal of integration was paired with a subtle undertone of expectations for assimilation that was reflected in specific requirements constituting the obligatory duty of migrants to integrate. This notion was also reflected in the portrayal of the soccer national team. Integration in the soccer national team portrayal was characterized by migrants' duty to bring performance and effort into their integration

Findings in both cases suggested that integration is playing a major role in German society and is seen as important for Germany. Certainly, to some degree, integration was seen as important because of the significant integration problems that were portrayed as already existent.

Findings suggested that integration problems have existed in the past, exist today, and interfere with daily life and the relationship between migrants and Germans. While findings indicated that problems have been neglected in the political and social domain in the past, findings further identified that both politicians and society but especially migrants are to blame for the problems. On the one hand, soccer and society were described as different arenas and harmonious living together was more complicated in real life. Integration has traditionally been neglected in Germany, which has contributed to today's challenges. Germans were also found to have negative attitudes towards Islam and even fear its role in society. On the other hand, migrants were seen as responsible for their own failed integration

in terms of lacking German language skills, violence among Muslim teenagers, problems in education, and generally lacking integration efforts. Muslims were accentuated as the biggest problem in integration and charged with their missed opportunities toward integration.

Overall, findings indicated a tense relationship between Germans and migrants. While Muslims were portrayed as living in alienated parallel societies and having problems with integration, Germans were attributed negative attitudes toward Islam. A problematic relationship of Islam and its role in German society was described. In fact, findings show Germany as divided by Sarrazin's postulations. While Sarrazin was condemned for presenting an inaccurate picture of integration that caused damage to society, others stated he is addressing a serious problem and expressed what a lot of people have been thinking.

Moreover, findings indicated that the integration debate and integration conflict have affected migrants who live in Germany. Whereas images in both cases presented migrants as understanding themselves as a part of Germany that are usually integrated well, migrants were alienated by the debate. Their alienation was reflected in migrants' struggle with their self-identity. Both cases explained that migrants experience a struggle with their identity and their sense of belonging. This is because they have traditionally not been fully accepted and are alienated by the current debate on integration.

Lastly, findings in both cases indicated that Germany is trying to create a host environment that fosters and is directed towards integration. Generally, portrayals showed that a notion towards integration and an overall functioning pluralistic society exist, today. This was however overshadowed by portrayals of blaming migrants for problems.

Chapter 5

Discussion

After the analysis was conducted, it was possible to apply the findings to the research questions of the study. In regard to the first research question of, “how are acculturation and integration discourse presented in online magazines?” it can be stated that acculturation and integration discourse were presented in the online magazine portrayal as a debate on integration. In the two cases that were analyzed, the debate was shaped around themes that pertain to current state/problems of integration, judgments in regard to Sarrazin’s postulations, migrants in Germany, Islam and Muslims in Germany, and the meaning of integration, which were portrayed throughout the reports and further touched on by the relationship of soccer and integration and the symbolic value of the German soccer national team. Specifically, in regard to acculturation and integration discourse, the findings suggested that Germany is portrayed as a pluralistic society that is generally functioning. A preferred acculturation outcome posed by the German society is integration. In the German debate, integration had a subtle undertone of assimilation reflected in the view that migrants’ are obligated to fulfill requirements that constitute successful integration. Whereas integration discourse was seen as essential for German politics, society, and the future, integration problems were acknowledged that have existed in the past, exist today, and interfere with the relationship between migrants and Germans. While a traditional neglect of integration in policy and social life was admitted, migrants were largely portrayed as responsible for their own failed integration. However, Germany was portrayed as reaching out and trying to create a host environment that fosters and is directed to integration.

In regard to the second question, “what is the nature of the portrayal of migrants’ and Germans’ interaction?” the nature of the portrayal of migrants’ and Germans’ interaction in the online magazines could be derived from the coverage on integration, but was particularly

depicted in themes that portrayed migrants in Germany, Islam and Muslims in Germany, or the role of German national team players. Specifically, in regard to migrants' and Germans' interaction, the findings suggested that there is a tense relationship between parts of Germany and its migrants. Migrants were blamed for integration problems and a problematic relationship of Islam and its role in German society was described. Contradictory images were created by the fact that some reports claimed Germany's migrants as well integrated and others depicted intense problems with migrants' integration and their life in parallel societies. The debate and images of migrants were portrayed as alienating migrants and leading them to question their understanding of themselves as part of German society. It was portrayed that while migrants in Germany understand themselves as an integral part of German society, they face a struggle with their self-identity and sense of belonging.

Apart from answering the research questions, the findings allowed for further discussion of certain items. The magazine article analysis identified that the German integration discourse is seen as important. Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart's (2009) explanation that evaluations of immigrants in the news are found to be a strong predictor of immigration problem perceptions is a great description of what happened after Sarrazin's postulations were published. Integration was portrayed as the mega theme that is likely to set the political agenda in the future.

Findings that characterized the integration discourse as important are continuing the historical developments of immigration and integration discourse. In retrospect, the "multikulti" debate in the 1990s was the German debate on multiculturalism and quest for collective identity in the face of realizing Germany's changed demographic environment (Von Dirke, 1994). The "Leitkultur" (leading culture) debate in the early 2000s was the quest for what kind of German culture would set guidelines to integration in an attempt to set rules for coexistence (Manz, 2004). The current integration discourse continues the debate on

German identity, but has formulated answers to the “multikulti” and “Leitkultur” debates of the past.

While this study confirmed what has been described in the recent literature that “facts of past immigration and the resultant plurality of backgrounds and experiences in the German population are now accepted” (Schönwälder, 2010, p. 153), “multikulti” and “Leitkultur” are synthesized in the current debate. “Multikulti” as multicultural political policies for organizing life in Germany, is a rejected and nonexistent concept in the current integration debate. Even a contradictory message of multiculturalism and integration that Eckardt (2007) described as pragmatic multiculturalism does not appear to be present in the current discourse. Whereas the pluralistic society is now recognized and acknowledged, “Leitkultur” has made a subtle appearance in the minds of integration debaters. The meaning of integration that has been identified in this study as requirements especially in regard to command of the German language, acceptance of German customs and laws, and adjusting to the German life style, are clear indications of “Leitkultur” subtly claiming its position in the debate. None of the articles in the analysis contested the notion of certain requirements that when fulfilled contribute to successful integration. The general notion that persevered throughout the magazine coverage was that command of the German language, adhering to German customs and laws, and adapting to the German lifestyle are imperative for integration.

Current integration debate is strongly concerned with German identity. The fact that the debate is shaped around poor integration habits of Muslims in Germany gives a hint to an existing struggle with Islam in German society. The apparentness of Islam in German society may be seen as leading to a struggle concerned with the question whether Islam is becoming part of German identity. Germany’s traditional conception of national identity, which has been ethnically coded by ethnicity and blood-lineage (Bauder, 2008; Von Dirke, 1994;

Palmowski, 2008), is endangered by the realization and acknowledgement that Germany, indeed, has transformed into a pluralistic society. An internal struggle between the traditional conception of national identity and the realization of the pluralistic society is apparent. The conflict of German identity may explain the fear of foreignness that has been identified in this study and introduce a notion of suspicious behavior towards Muslim migrants.

While integration problems are described to have existed for a long time, they appear to exist more in the realm of feelings and notions. Anil (2007) described that debate and tensions predominantly refer to Turks and Muslims. The findings of this study showed that Muslims and Turks are singled out as the only part of migrants that are unwilling to integrate. Furthermore, these findings are in line with Gardner et al.'s (2008) findings that stated Muslim immigrants are rarely portrayed in a positive way. Also the notion of the cartoon controversy that the West is threatened by a backward, fundamentalist, Muslim 'other', as described by Miera and Sala Pala's (2009), is recaptured in the integration discourse.

When the problem of integration was addressed, it was often referred to statistics that do not really portray the gross of the migrant population, such as migrants' higher rates of people that receive welfare benefits in the city of Berlin, or generalization of migrants, such as Muslim migrants prefer living by the Sharia. This supports Semyonv et al.'s (2004) findings that there are beliefs in the German public that foreigners exert a negative impact on aspects of social life. However, the problems and deficits in integration were not really explicitly stated, but were constructed along the manifestations of preferred ways of how migrants should adapt to German society. Expectations on how to integrate drive the stigmatization of archetypical foreigners (Wilkinson, 2006), whose racialization based on race, color, and religion (Silver, 2010) is further driven by their perceived inability to integrate.

Comparing the meaning of integration portrayed in the magazines with Van Oudenhoven et al.'s (2006) ideological climates of acculturation orientations, the image that is created by the magazine portrayals puts the meaning of integration in Germany on par with a mixture of assimilation and integration acculturation orientations. Intergroup tensions and conflict may arise from this based on no consensus about what acculturation is desirable (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). While migrants are entitled to preserve their heritage culture, impressions created through magazine portrayals show that this entitlement of preserving cultural roots cannot hold them back from their imperative obligation of adopting the German language, values, laws, and customs. This conclusion is in line with Zick et al.'s (2001) findings of assimilation acculturation preferences in Germany or Pfafferot and Brown's (2006) findings of integration preferences closely followed by integration preferences. New light is brought into Germany's acculturation perceptions, by indentifying German acculturation preference as being somewhat of a conditional if-then statement. If migrants adapt to German language, values, laws, and customs, then they can preserve part of their heritage culture, or there are still integration deficiencies.

Also, the findings indicated what has been established in literature that a definition of the meaning of integration in Germany cannot come straight out of the dictionary. Integration in the German integration discourse context clearly is based on what Ehrkamp (2006) identified as a notion to preserve German norms and values inclined to assimilation. Integration in Germany places a premium on cultural and identificational assimilation (Schönwälder, 2010). Furthermore, the problem of organizing Germany's meaning of integration into clear definition of acculturation orientations as laid out by Berry (1980, 2008), are an indicator that one needs to understand the context in which a definition of acculturation is used. While Berry (1980, 2008) takes an individual perspective of the acculturating being, this study took a rather socio-political perspective. A better model to

understand and define acculturation from a socio-political perspective is Kim's (2001) cross-cultural continuum, which holds that adaptation occurs along a continuum with assimilation being the greatest degree of change, may be better suited to view acculturation preferences in Germany. Along a continuum, no constrains are made on the definition of the acculturation orientations, since it is settles more or less far away from the highest degree of assimilation.

The integration discourse and clear expectations directed toward migrants, increase conformity pressure and may have contributed to what Ward (2008) described as perceived incompatibility and search for identity. This study identified portrayals that broach the issue of identify conflict. While migrants were seen to have two hearts and are largely successfully integrated into German society, their foreign character perseveres. Luchtenberg and McLelland (1998) explained that the term "Ausländer" (foreigner) has been used to refer to first generation migrants as well as their children, placing a second and third generation that is born and raised in Germany on par with transitory visitors. In today's integration debate, the term for foreigner that contributed to "othering" of people in the past, was substituted by the term migrant. The term migrant as used during the integration debate puts people that are born and raised in Germany on par with their parents, who were actual migrants. Therefore, the foreign character of people born to migrants still prevails and alienates the successfully integrated. Therefore, this research confirmed Gardner et al.'s (2008) notion that migrants are portrayed as either victims or perpetrators, but generally not as part of a greater German society, which widens the gap between the Germans and "the others."

Whereas most acculturating people attempt to stabilize their situation through adaptation (Kim, 2007), the continuous reoccurrence of alienating discourse and discourse of otherness may have harmed migrants' functioning relationship with the environment in Germany. Schneider (2001) described the conflict of German-Turkish identity as having schizophrenic character. This schizophrenic character can be explained by the current

research findings. Prevailing attitudes of the host society towards migrants constrain the adaptation towards their new social identity; since newcomers may be aware of their devaluation leading to a negative impact on their acculturation outcome (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Following Dona and Berry (1994) the migrants' experience of stress based on the news portrayals as led to a negative outcome of migrants' psychological functioning. Migrants' general feeling of belonging to Germany is distorted by an alienating integration debate, which strips migrants from their Germaneness and role in society. The schizophrenic identity conflict then is the distorted imagination about belonging and non-belonging.

In one article that was analyzed, a reference was made to the fact that no clear definition of integration has ever been made. Despite migrants growing up in Germany, taking full part in German social life, going to university, and having good jobs, they are still facing the question whether they are integrated or not. In part, this is caused by the alienation of migrants from German society evoked by the integration debate that stigmatized Muslims as unable to integrate. Alienation and overgeneralization of migrants contribute greatly to the ideological climate in which migrants' acculturation takes place, which influences migrants' adaptation (Kim, 2001). Findings of this study indicated that conformity pressures are high, since certain requests are made for the integration of migrants. This however, is contradictory to other findings of the study, which illustrated that Germany is making efforts in creating a host environment that fosters integration, is directed towards integration, and views integration as important. A reason for this may be different frames that are portrayed in the online magazine as well as different frames for integration used in the debate.

It appears as if integration discourse is largely dependent on framing the issue. Nelson et al. (1997) defined framing as "the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines constructs a political issue or public controversy (p. 567). Different angles can be taken to framing the issue of integration problems. On the one hand,

one may portray successful integration of millions of migrants and cite examples of successful migrants in Germany, which will let integration problems appear as more or less minor issues. On the other hand, one may cite a migrant family, where parents do not speak German well, that is dependent on welfare, and whose son has been engaged in violence. This may result into framing the integration problem as rather significant. The portrayals showed that different angels are taken in the political debate. The successful placement of different frames in the magazine portrayal, confirms Froehlich and Rüdiger's (2006) findings that thematic aspects and subtopics as well as positions and political definitions of the problem posited by politicians are reflected in the German media.

Following the imagery of poor and unsuccessful integration that was portrayed by the analyzed magazines closely, showed that problems are really more associated with lower socio-economic classes, than with an actual unwillingness to integrate. In fact, it was stated that there are smaller rates of migrants' with higher education or higher rates of unemployment among Muslims. Taking into consideration the many portrayals that show successful integration, a contrast between successful and unsuccessful integration becomes apparent, which hints towards different frames in the portrayal of integration problems in Germany.

Limitations.

In regard to the process of this study, Wester et al.'s (2004) model for interpretative content analysis appeared to be well suited for identifying news portrayals. Whereas some steps where combined in this study, it was based on the fact that there were only two cases that were analyzed and there was only one coder and researcher. This method appears to be a process designed for a multiple coders as well as for multiple cases of news reports. However, this study showed that the process may be abbreviated to fit the needs of a limited scope of data and a single researcher.

Several other limitations apply to this research. The research was solely conducted by the researcher. Therefore, there is only one opinion in the coding and evaluation of images. Due to the nature of reconstructing images in relation to themes, some articles may have been given different weight for the reconstruction of portrayals in the analysis. A second coder may be beneficial for future research to avoid that portrayals are taken out of the context of the original news article and weighted differently in the reconstruction of a theme.

Due to the translation of content from German language to English, some items and feelings expressed in the articles may be lost in translation. Also, some phrases and passages may have characterized a feeling or notion that is complicated to translate into English, because it is based on a cultural understanding that is not shared with cultures outside of Germany.

Few keywords were used in the search for articles related to the Sarrazin and the integration debate. While the used keywords led to a high volume of relevant articles, other key phrases may have resulted into articles that may have expanded certain themes.

In regard to methodology, the researcher was only able to find one article that defined and explained Wester at al.'s (2004) interpretative content analysis. More insight into the specific method may have benefited the procedure and evaluation. For example, seeing Wester et al.'s (2004) model used in regard to a different research project would have shown how it is used and applied differently. A more comprehensive and detailed idea about how to specifically use the model could have been identified, if the researcher would have been able to locate other articles that used the model in their analysis.

Recommendations for Future Research.

Several recommendations can be made for future research. Due to the threat of taking portrayals too much out of context in the reconstruction of themes, future research should limit the amount of articles and further reduce the scope the study. While this study showed

that a study using Wester et al.'s (2004) model can be carried out by a single researcher, a second coder may be used when analyzing articles in the future to further ensure portrayals are interpreted within the context of its use in the article.

Online magazines may not be a good representation of public opinion. Other online magazines, news websites, or newspaper articles may be better suited for future studies. While *Der Spiegel* is fundamental to opinion formation in Germany, it is important that future research considers which news channels are considered to be most important. Resources such as *Die Zeit Online*, print magazines, and print newspapers should be evaluated for future studies. Also, books may be considered for future study. For example, tracing migrant portrayals in contemporary books or conducting a comparison between contemporary and historic portrayals may be an interesting project.

An interesting area for future research may also be in the area of German identity. As this study showed, demographic change as been acknowledged and Islam is more claiming its part in the public debate. Whereas, president Wulff's statements of Islam as part of German society have found support, they have also found heavy criticism. Wulff's statement, new naturalization laws, and portrayals of Germany's national soccer team as a role model and reflection of society indicate that there may be a paradigm change away from a traditional conception of German identity based on ethnicity and blood lineage.

Moreover, future research should assess the reasoning behind the findings of the story and explore context from the standpoint of framing the issue. This may present more insight into the actual message and meaning of the debate. Related to this suggestion is that future research should pay closer attention to weighing the arguments and their significance. Weighing arguments more carefully in their significance may help to obtain a bigger picture from one specific angle.

In addition, future research could explore migrants in Germany in greater detail. Studying integration from the perspective of migrants may provide migrants with a voice in the debate. Studying migrant impressions of assimilation may further identify the meaning of integration in Germany and explore how migrants relate to it. Different methods such as surveys and interviews could allow researchers to gain deeper insight into the role of migrants and their actual situation in German society.

Also, since Muslims are accentuated in the debate and a growing mistrust towards Islam is portrayed in the media. Future research may focus its study on Muslim migrants. This would allow building understanding, which may alleviate some stigmas and prejudices by providing an actual account of the Muslim migrant situation in Germany.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, this study identified portrayals of a functioning pluralistic German society that views itself to be burdened with integration deficiencies. Integration problems are acknowledged that have existed in the past, exist today, and disturb the relationship between migrants and Germans. Migrants are blamed for integration problems and the practice of Islam is causing friction in German society. While multiculturalism is rejected on the notion of leading culture, a subtle undertone of assimilation, reflected in migrants' obligation to fulfill requirements that constitute successful integration, prevails in contemporary integration discourse. For Germans and Germany, integration is an important issue, since it is an integral part in the definition of Germany identity and social experience. As the future brings along change that alters the narrative of social reality, meaning has to be constructed. Integration discourse will continue to enter the political and social discourse to help Germans connect meaning to their social experience in the construction of their social reality and identity.

Bibliography

Anil, M. (2007). Explaining the naturalization practices of Turks in Germany in the wake of the citizenship reform of 1999. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, 33(8),1363-1376.

Arnold, A., & Schneider, B. (2007). Communicating separation?: Ethnic media and ethnic journalists as institutions of integration in Germany. *Journalism*, *8*(2), 115-136. doi:10.1177/1464884907074807.

Bauder, H. (2008). Media discourse and the new German immigration law. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, 34(1), 95-112.

Bauder, H. (2009). Humanitarian immigration and German national identity in the media. *National Identities*, 11(3), 263-280.

Berry, J.W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In *Acculturation, theory, models, and some new findings*, (p.9-25). Boulder, CO: Westview Publishing

Berry, J.W. (2008). Globalization and acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relation*, 32(4): 328-336.

Boomgaarden, H., & Vliegenthart, R. (2009). How news content influences anti-immigration attitudes: Germany, 1993-2005. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48(4), 516-542.

Borneman, J. (2002). Multikulti or schweinerei in the year 2000. *German Politics and Society*, 20(2), 93-114.

Creswell, J. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches.* Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Dona, G. & Berry, J.W. (1994). Acculturation attitudes and acculturative stress of Central American refugees. International Journal of Psychology 29(1), 57-70.

Eckardt, F. (2007). Multiculturalism in Germany: From Ideology to Pragmatism - and Back?. *National Identities*, *9*(3), 235-245. doi:10.1080/14608940701406211.

Ehrkamp, P. (2006). We Turks are no Germans: Assimilation discourses and the dialectical construction of identities in Germany. *Environment & Planning*, 38(9), 1673-1692.

Esses, V.M., Dovidio, J.F., Jackson, L.M., & Armstrong, T.L. (2001). The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 389-412.

Esses, V., Wagner, U., Wolf, C., Preiser, M., & Wilbur, C. (2006). Perceptions of national identity and attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in Canada and Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(6), 653-669.

Froehlich, R. & Rüdiger, B. (2006). Framing political public relations: Measuring success of political communication strategies in Germany. *Public Relations Review*, 32, 18-25.

Gardner, R., Karakasoğlus, Y., & Luchtenberg, S. (2008). Islamophobia in the media: a response from multicultural education. *Intercultural Education*, 19(2), 119-136.

Hakam, J. (2009). The ‘cartoons controversy’: A critical discourse analysis of English-language Arab newspaper discourse. *Discourse Society*, 20, 33-57.

Heisler, B. (1992). The future of immigrant incorporation: Which models? Which concepts?. *International Migration Review*, 26(2), 623-645.

Is multi-kulti dead? (2010) The Economist Online. Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/blogs/newsbook/2010/10/integration_debate_germany

IVW. (2011). Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung von Werbeträgern e.V. http://www.ivw.eu/index.php

Kahanec, M., & Tosun, M. (2009). Political economy of immigration in Germany: Attitudes and citizenship aspirations. *International Migration Review*, 43(2), 263-291. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00765.x.

Kim, Y. Y. (1977). Communication patterns of foreign immigrants in the process of acculturation. *Human Communication Research*, 4, 66-77.

Kim, Y.Y. (2001). *Becoming intercultural: An integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Kim, Y. Y. (2007). Intercultural personhood: Globalization and a way of being. *Conference Papers* -- International Communication Association, 1.

Kosicki, G. (1993). Problems and opportunities in agenda-setting research. *Journal of Communication*, 43(2), 100-127.

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology.* Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Kruse, I., Orren, H., & Angenendt, S. (2003). The failure of immigration reform in Germany. *German Politics* 12(3), 129-145.

Luchtenberg, S. & McLelland, N. (1998). Multiculturalism, migration, and racism: The role of the media. A comparative study of Australian and German print media. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. 19(2), 187-206.

Manz, S. (2004). Constructing a normative national identity: The leitkultur debate in Germany, 2000/2001. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, 25(5/6), 481-496.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. (1972). The agenda-setting function of the mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 69,* 813–824.

Miera, F. & Sala Pala, V. (2009). The construction of Islam as a public issue in western Euopean countries through the prism of the Muhammad cartoons controversy: A comparison between France and Germany. *Ethnicities*, 9, 383-408.

Moon, S. & Park, C. (2007). Media effects on acculturation and biculturalism: A case study of Korean immigrants in Los Angeles' Koreatown. *Mass Communication & Society*, 10(3), 319-343.

Munz, R., & Ulrich, R. (1998). Germany and its immigrants: A socio-demographic analysis. *Journal of Ethnic And Migration Studies*, 24*(*1), 25-56.

Munz, R. & Ulrich, R. (2003). Ethnic and demographic structure in Germany. In R. Alba, P. Schmidt, & M. Wasmer (Eds.), *Germans or foreigners? Attitudes toward ethnic minorities in post-reunification Germany* (pp.19-45), New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Nauck, B. (2001). Intercultural contact and intergenerational transmission in immigrant families. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(1), 159-173.

Nelson, T., Clawson, R., & Oxley, Z. (1997). Media Framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *The American Political Science Review*, 91(3), 567-583.

Nelson, T., & Oxley, Z. (1999). Issue framing effects on belief importance and opinion. *The Journal of Politics*, 61(4), 1040-1067.

Nelson, T., & Kinder, D. (1996). Issue frames and group-centrism in American public opinion. *The Journal of Politics*, 58(4), 1055-1078.

Oepen, M. (1984). Media, migrants and marginalization: The situation in the Federal Republic of Germany. *International Migration Review*, *18*(1), 111-21.

Padilla, A. & Perez, W. (2003). Acculturation, social identity, and social cognition: A new perspective. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 25(1), 35-55.

Palmowski, J. (2008). In search of the German nation: Citizenship and the challenge of integration. *Citizenship Studies*, 12(6), 547-563.

Pettigrew, T., Christ, O., Wagner, U., & Stellmacher, J. (2007). Direct and indirect intergroup contact effects on prejudice: A normative interpretation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 31(4), 411-425.

Pfafferott, I. & Brown, R. (2006). Acculturation preferences of majority and minority adolescents in Germany in the context of society and family. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *30*(6), 703-717.

Ruhrmann, G., & Sommer, D. (2004). News Selection and Effects in Coverage about Immigrants. *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association*, 1.

Rheault, M. & Mogahed, D. (2008). Cartoons and controversy: Free expression or Muslim exceptionalism in Europe?. *Harvard International Review*, 30(2), 68-71.

Schneider, J. (2001). Talking German: Othering strategies in public and everyday discourses. *International Communication Gazette*, 63(4), 351.

Schönwälder, K. (2010). Integration policy and pluralism in a self-conscious country of immigration. in: Editor Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf. Routledge. The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices.

Semyonov, M., Raijman, R., Anat Yom, T., & Schmidt, P. (2004). Population size, perceived threat, and exclusion: A multiple-indicators analysis of attitudes toward foreigners in Germany. *Social Science Research*, *33*(4), 681-701.

Semyonov, M., Raijman, R., & Gorodzeisky, A. (2008). Foreigners' impact on European societies. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 49(1), 5-29.

Semyonov, M., & Glikman, A. (2009). Ethnic residential segregation, social contacts, and anti-minority attitudes in European societies. *European Sociological Review*, 25 (6), 693-708. DOI: 10.1093/esr/jcn075

Silver, H. (2010). The social integration of Germany since unification. *German Politics and Society*. 28(1), 165-188.

Smith, A. (1994). Germany's anti-foreigner crisis: State disunity and collective 'forgetting'. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, *7*(4), 393.

Terkildsen, N. & Schnell, F. (1997). How media frames move public opinion: An analysis of the women's movement. *Political Research Quarterly*, 50(4), 879-900.

Trebbe, J. (2007). Types of integration, acculturation strategies and media use of young Turks in Germany. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research* 32(2), 171-191.

Van Oudenhoven, J., Ward, C., and Masgoret, A. (2006). Patterns of relations between immigrants and host societies. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 30, 637-652.

Von Dirke, S. (1994). Multikulti: The German debate on multiculturalism. *German Studies Review*, 17(3), 513-536.

Ward, C. (2008.) Thinking outside the Berry boxes: New perspectives on identity, acculturation and intercultural relations. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations 32(*2), 105-114.

Wester, F., Pleijter, A., & Renckstorf, K. (2004). Exploring newspapers' portrayals: A logic for interpretive content analysis. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research*, *29*(4), 495-513.

Wilkinson, J. (2006). The place of the European foreigner in contemporary German drama. *Third Text*, *20*(6), 755-764.

Wörsching, M. (1999). Metaphors of hegemonic masculinity: An analysis of sport and advertising in the German newsmagazine Der Spiegel. *Journal of European Area Studies*, 7(2), 177.

Wright, M. (2009). Multiculturalism and the Imagined Community: A Cross-National Analysis. *Conference Papers -- Western Political Science Association*, 1-40.

Zagefka, H. & Brown, R. (2002). The relationship between acculturation strategies, relative fit and intergoup relations: Immigrant-majority relations in Germany. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32, 171-188. DOI: 10.1002/esjp.73

Zick, A., Wagner, U., van Dick, R., & Petzel, T. (2001). Acculturation and prejudice in Germany: Majority and minority perspectives. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 541-557.

Appendix A: Tools for Analysis – Soccer National Team

- Soccer National Team: Headline Inventory
- Soccer National Team: Inventory of Images by Article

Soccer National Team: Headline Inventory

Date	Number	Headline	Magazine
6/15/10	1	Lemke Lobt Oezils Integrationsbeitrag	Focus
6/23/10	2	Der Multikultikicker	Spiegel
7/7/10	3	Aus dem Traum muss Alltag werden	Spiegel
7/11/10	4	Steinmeier fuer erleichterte Einbuergerungen	Focus
7/12/10	5	Ey, bruder, da ist Bierhoff drinne!	Spiegel
9/14/10	6	Ich habe einfach auf Durchzug geschaltet	Spiegel
10/5/10	7	Fussball und Integration: Erfolgsgeschichte DFB	Focus
10/5/10	8	Deutsch-Tuerken im Zwiespalt	Focus
10/6/10	9	Altintop kritisiert Weg von Oezil und Co	Focus
10/6/10	10	Starke Integrationsarbeit durch Bundesliga	Focus
10/6/10	11	Viel Brisanz vom Tuerken Hit Oezil gegen Freunde	Focus
10/7/10	12	Warum sollte ich Doener essen	Spiegel
10/7/10	13	Oezil und Sahin: Spielerische Integration	Stern
10/8/10	14	Integration ist rund und hat einen Beat	Stern
10/8/10	15	Einig Fussball Land - DFB Stars Vorbild und Trugbild	Focus
10/10/10	16	Oezil's Knochen fit fuer Kasachstan	Stern
10/16/10	17	Guel lobt Oezil’s Entscheidung fuer Deutschland	Spiegel
10/16/10	18	Guel krtisiert pfiffe gegn Oezil	Stern
10/18/10	19	Kanzlerin im Sperrgebiet	Spiegel
10/18/10	20	Zwanziger: Fussball bietet Integrationsmoeglichkeit	Focus
10/20/10	21	Kabinenbesuch mit Nachspiel	Stern
10/20/10	22	Angela Merkel’s Kabinenbesuch hat ein Nachspiel	Focus
10/22/10	23	Die Theo-Zwanziger-Festspiele	Spiegel
11/4/10	24	Integrationsdebatte: Was sich vom Fussball lernen laesst	Focus
11/11/10	25	Sarah Jessica Parker ueberstrahlt Bambi-Verleihung	Spiegel
11/19/10	26	Oezil sieht DFB-Elf als Integrationsvorbild	Focus

Soccer National Team: Inventory of Images by Article

- 1 Lemke Lobt Oezils Integrationsbeitrag
    1. Oezil is great contribution to the integration of teens with migration background… (B, E)
    2. Very important integration signal for hundreds of thousands teens in Germany, who because of their heritage do not know where they belong (D, E, B)
    3. Young people see that the decision for Germany is a great opportunity... (D)
    4. Oezil prays before every game... Germany is not fixated on religion... (E)
- 2 Der Multikultikicker
    1. German national looks different that during the times of Berti Vogts… South-European and African roots bring life to the team… (A)
    2. The new Germany at the World Cup is offensive, young, and multi ethnic… 11 out of 23 are mixed players… (A, B)
- 3 Aus dem Traum muss Alltag warden
    1. Never before that many players with migration background… reflection of the reality of immigration society… 11 out of 23 have a migration background (A)
    2. Colorful national team… Oezil, Boateng, Trochowski could be role models (A, B)
- 4 Steinmeier fuer erleichterte Einbuergerungen
    1. It is absurd, if all of Germany talks about successful integration of players for the German national team and is excited about the national team, and at the same time is left behind in education and labor market (E, F)
- 5 Ey, bruder, da ist Bierhoff dran!
    1. Team whose backbone are migrant children… (A)
    2. Bushido… it does not matter where parents come from… we are all Germans… It is time that Germany changes in other aspects than just pop music and soccer… we have to talk about the people who live here, whether they are ready to assimilate, speak the language, and have respect... (E, D)
    3. Oezil is German... forget the talking about roots... that way you will never get to the multicultural society, which is characterized in less attention to roots and heritage... I am German since my birth and have never felt different... (E, D)
- 6 Ich habe einfach auf Durchzug geschaltet
    1. Oezil… I live in Germany in the third generation and have played my first national team games in the youth national teams…
- 7 Fussball und Integration: Erfolgsgeschichte DFB
    1. Sahin did not like how migrants were described in the heated integration debate… he cannot understand how a discussion like that comes up… (D, E)
    2. Integration is not an issue for me… Sahin is an example of successful integration… he is a soccer player in a business where the living together of people with different backgrounds is more successful than in other parts of society... (E, D)
    3. National team is build upon pros with foreign roots... Oezil... Khedira… Klose and Podolski embodied the multikulti image of Loew's team.... (A)
    4. Keskinler... evidence for the societal development of Germany... proud about the great percentage of players with migration background... soccer is more open than some parts of our society... on the soccer field it only works together... this unity is carried to the living together off the field... (F, A, E)

4. De Maizere... role of sport is praised... in sports it depends on performance, joining in and integrate, who does not try is substituted and who makes big fouls is suspended... this also counts for integration... (E, F)
5. In soccer jerseys everyone is equal... Mesmut Oezil - a Turk... national player with migration background are lived examples of integration... (F).
6. Respect, trust, and tolerance are not only buzz phrases... we embrace it... Loew (A)
7. After Sarrazin debate in regard to Turkey vs. Germany... the game will contribute that we will have a feeling of unity back... I hope both ethnicities can be brought together with the game.... (C)

- 8 Deutsch-Tuerken im Zwiespalt
  1. Half moon or federal eagle? Many German-Turks are exposed to the question for which national team to play… (D, C)
  2. Sahin… not based on integration problem that Sahin is playing for Turkey… 3rd generation is well integrated… fourth generation could maybe bring the chancellor... German national team illustrates it, plays with a multicultural team, and all of Germany is excited when Oezil shoots a goal... (F, E)
  3. Sahin chose a different route... when he had to make a decision as a player with Turkish roots... two heartbeats in Sahin's chest... I am a Turk but a bit German as well... very special game for me... (D)
- 9 Altintop kritisiert Weg von Oezil und Co
  1. Altintop… despite multicultural team... there is no evidence for successful integration in the team… it is just about the perspective… (E, D)
  2. Soccer is a matter of heart, but more often a business… a sign of integration is more when the game will become a celebration… (B, E, F)
  3. I respect Oezil's way, but do not support it... I am very thankful to Germany, very thankful, I have learned a lot here and gotten many opportunities, but my mum is Turkish and my dad is Turkish, I am a Turk (D)
- 10 Starke Integrationsarbeit durch Bundesliga
  1. Procreation centers of Bundesliga team make important contribution to integration of migrants and foreigners… results of a study of EBS Business School... (F)
  2. Kicking instead of war of cultures… (F)
  3. Integration in procreation centers of Teams is going automatically... players from 84 nations... While 95 percent of player will not become professional players, integration efforts are a high potential for society.... they can become valuable members of society... (F)
  4. Procreation kickers are very well integrated... have a high identification with Germany...professional soccer helps to overcome ethnic borders... 61 percent Germans, 31 percent migrants, and 8 percent foreigners... players are education oriented... suggests teams to discover integration and support it more strongly... (F, D)
  5. Bundesliga is a reflection of society... integration for German soccer has to be an issue; since there are 42 percent foreigners... real reflection of society... soccer has meaning for integration... (E, A)
- 11 Viel Brisanz vom Tuerken Hit Oezil gegen Freunde
  1. Eerie sympathetic value, role model integration… never before was the national team standing so much for team spirit, excitement, and integration… (A)

2. Oezel it is a special game of course, because I am playing against my friends… I hope there will be fairplay on the streets and in the stance so we can have a soccer celebration... (B, C, D)
3. German-Turkish issue brings a lot of brisance, which is seen in Altintop's statements about Oezil... soccer often a matter of heart, but more than often just plain business… (D, B)
4. Oezil about decision for Germany... I am third generation, was born here, played in the junior team, and feel very comfortable here... every other nation is out of question.... (B, E)

- 12 Warum sollte ich Doener essen
  1. Are you German or Turk? … Thought about it a lot… hard to find words… one side Turkish... One side German… I am Halil… (D, C)
  2. Have not accepted a culture 100 percent… seen as foreigner in Germany and turkey… (D)
  3. Possible to go the right way without soccer… (F, E)
- 13 Oezil und Sahrin: spielerische Integration
  1. Heated debate by Sarrazin is cooled down by Oezil and Sahin, who relax integration debate… (E, F)
  2. No other player embodies the image of the multikulti team so well as Oezil… Oezil… son of a Turkish migrant family in 3rd generation is essential part if national team since the World Cup in South Africa... I am proud to play for Germany... role model for successful integration... (B, E)
  3. Keskinler... national players with migration background like Oezil are role models for successful integration... proud of the high percentage of players with migrants background... soccer more open than other parts of our society... (B)
  4. Oezil... We are living in the 3rd generation in German... I have played for youth soccer teams... every other nation is out of the question.. I am an example of successful integration in Germany... (E, B)
  5. Sahin choose a different route... our third generation is well integrated... needs feel comfortable with the decision... I am proud of being born and raised here... got his Abitur... in regard to integration debate... I do not think it is right, we Muslims adjust and fit in... The third generation is well integrated, way better than in the past... role models for successful integration... (D, E)
- 14 Integration ist rund und hat einen Beat
  1. Turkish people support German national soccer team... Heart beating for Loew's teams… it is their team… schizophrenia… sometimes they are condemned as ashamed… grown up in Germany but never felt at home here… because they carry the daily big and small racist acts within them as a chunk of hate... because it is easy to find Germany and the Germans just "shitty"... everything else is to demanding, since it is a critical confrontation with the self... (D)
  2. Harris... Berliner who in many eyes is often described as kanake... addresses the confused... (D)
  3. Song cites... this country does not need people, who do not want to be here... there are too many who do not know where to be... you are lucky so behave... do your work, grow up, do not be childish... we are the new Germans... you cannot live here and talk everything bad and think people are still nice to you... especially if you do not respect the Germans.. it is a give and take (E, D)

    4. Music and soccer as integration help... bad boys are almost understanding that we are not Turks, Arabs, Africans, that our parents have been... we are Germans... and we do not have to take off the fan jersey after the game... (E, D)
- 15 Einig Fussball Land - DFB Stars Vorbild und Trugbild
    1. Players honored by the president have their roots in many different cultures… (A, B)
    2. President and chancellor are excited… after debates and polarizing statements by Sarrazin… Germany's soccer national team is a symbol for united soccer country… (F, A)
    3. Mesmut Oezil... symbol figure of successful integration strategy in sports, who did not lack the power for a happy unity of the whole society (B, E)
    4. Oezil embodiment like no other of the openness of German society... message to teens and kids...
    5. If you work hard, you have a chance in this country, even though you have a different skin color or faith... hard to send the message to the broader spectrum of teams... (E)
    6. Tasci and Cacau... we identify ourselves with this country... this is not the case for all migrant children in urban centers, who did not whole heartedly decide for Germany and support Turkey... (E)
    7. Lahm... this team is a image of our society.... however we are all on the same economic level... integration is easier when economic equality exists and stigmatization is left our... image of integration... half of Germany's national team has foreign roots... integration that is a success socially and athletically (A, E)
- 16 Oezil's Knochen fit fuer Kasachstan
    1. After game… finally no more questions about heritage, integration, and nationality (B)
    2. Chorus of whistles from Turkish fans… Oezil was not impresses and played his game... the team and my German fans supported me well... his goal lend the multikulti evening a special note… his exultation turned our rather quiet due to respect of the home of his ancestors... (C)
- 17 Guel lobt Oezil‘s Entscheidung fuer Deutschland
    1. Same as 18
- 18 Guel krtisiert pfiffe gegen Oezil
    1. Guel… supported decision of Oezil to play for Germany and criticizes whistles against him during the game… Oezil is a successful model for integration… and a contribution to the German-Turkish friendship… (C, B)
    2. Guel… summons Turks in Germany to become part of society... should learn German fluently without accent... integration should start in kindergarten already... (E)
- 19 Kanzlerin im Sperrgebiet
    1. Since the World Cup 2006, national team has a lot of sympathies in the country… the current team is seen as role model of successful integration… Oezil, Klose, Khedira, Boateng, Cacau, Podolski… 8 out of 20 have a migration backgound… (A)
    2. Picture has symbolic value and has sociopolitical value... (E, A)
- 20 Zwanziger: Fussball bietet Integrationsmoeglichkeit
    1. Should do better use of soccer for integration of young people… sport, music, and culture are great ways to help people move in the right direction… (F)

    2. if someone can identify with the country where he lives in, than a nomination for the national team is normal... in reference to Klose and Podolski (E)
- 21 Kabinenbesuch mit Nachspiel
    1. Oezil… German-Turk… picture of Merkel and Oezil shaking hands has symbolic meaning for the ongoing debate over migrants… (E, F, C)
    2. Positive picture and symbol rich in regard to integration and its position in the national team… (B, F)
- 22 Angela Merkels Kabinenbesuch hat ein Nachspiel
    1. Picture of half naked Oezil shaking hand with Merkel… a picture serving with high symbolic value considering the debate about migrants that reject integration… (F, C)
    2. Zwanziger criticizes use of soccer for political agenda… Bierhoff… symbol rich picture important for integration and the position of the national team... (A, F, E)
- 23 Die Theo-Zwanziger-Festspiele
    1. German Soocer Association as hoard of integration, place of sustainability, active role against discrimination and for equality… (F, A)
- 24 Integrationsdebatte: Was sich vom Fussball lernen laesst
    1. Da Mbabi is 22 and speaks perfect German… I learned from sport with same aged kids that kids with migration background have the same chances in Germany… da Mbabi is an example of successful integration… (B, F)
    2. Two elements that favor a successful integration… sport and continued improvement of language skills... resumes of such top athletes show the integrative power of sports...they give a lot of kids with migration background hope... (B, F)
    3. Playful contact with many different nations, connects, and brings common identity... (F, E)
    4. Example shows that successful integration is dependent on both sides... acceptance is necessary of the migrants... (E)
    5. Success or failure of integration is deciding factor for societal progress...big challenge for Germany (F, E)
- 25 Sarah Jessica Parker ueberstrahlt Bambi-Verleihung
    1. Integration Bambi for Oezil… German-Turk was in relation to World Cup named as great example for successful integration… (B, E)
- 26 Oezil sieht DFB-Elf als integrationsvorbild
    1. National team as a successful example of integration in Germany… conscious of his position as role model…(A, B)
    2. Many players have foreign roots and we all get along well… great message… I want to be a good example… (B, A)
    3. Oezil… key to integration is language… criticizes that migrants do not always get a chance to integrate... sad because every human deserves respect... efforts and activities have to come from both sides... (D, E)
    4. Bajramaj... suggestion for everyone with migration background, to integrate, and act disciplined and respectful towards others... (E)

Appendix B: Tools for Analysis - Sarrazin Debate

- Sarrazin Debate: Headline Inventory
- Sarrazin Debate: Inventory of Images by Article

Sarrazin Debate: Headline Inventory

Date	Number	Headline	Magazine
8/23/10	1	Was tun?	Spiegel
8/24/10	2	Merkel entruestet ueber Sarrazin	Spiegel
8/25/10	3	Der Thesenritter	Spiegel
8/26/10	4	Gabriel legt Sarrazin SPD Austritt nahe	Spiegel
8/27/10	5	Sarrazins boese Welt	Spiegel
8/28/10	6	Sarrazin legt gegen Muslime nach	Spiegel
8/29/10	7	Thilo driftet ab	Spiegel
8/30/10	8	Deutschland, deine Amoklaeufer	Spiegel
8/31/10	9	Ein rassistischer Unsinn	Spiegel
9/1/10	10	Auslaender her	Spiegel
9/2/10	11	Der Typ hat einen Knall	Spiegel
9/3/10	12	Sarrazin Show bringt SPD in die Bredouille	Spiegel
9/4/10	13	Muslime: Sarazins Buch Kampfansage an Demokratie	Focus
9/5/10	14	Ich nenne das Kulturrassissmus	Stern
9/6/10	15	Parteien fuerchten das Sarrazin-Virus	Spiegel
9/7/10	16	Sarrazin spaltet die SPD	Stern
9/8/10	17	Türkische Männer wollen Sarrazin einladen	Focus
9/9/10	18	Politiker setzen Bundesbank unter Druck	Spiegel
9/10/10	19	Wie sich der Provokateur verrant hat	Spiegel
9/11/10	20	Bouffier ruft Migranten zu besserer Integration auf	Focus
9/12/10	21	Wulff verlangt Erklaerung der Regierung	Spiegel
9/13/10	22	CDU und SPD fordern grosse Debatte ueber Integration	Spiegel
9/14/10	23	Merkel nimmt in Deutschland lebende Tuerken in Schutz	Spiegel
9/15/10	24	Deutschland debattiert über Integration	Stern
9/16/10	25	Wiesbaden erprobt Integration per Vereinbarung	Focus
9/17/10	26	Sarrazin-Thesen entfachen Integrationsdebatte	Focus
9/18/10	27	Eine Chance für den Praesidenten	Focus
9/19/10	28	Konservative fordern harte Integrationsdebatte	Spiegel
9/20/10	29	Merkel fordert Integrationsdebatte ohne Tabus	Spiegel
9/21/10	30	Muslim Gewalt darf kein Tabu sein	Stern
9/22/10	31	Berlin plant Vertraege mit Zuwanderern	Focus
9/23/10	32	Wulff geraet zwischen die Sarrazin fronten	Spiegel
9/24/10	33	De Maizere fordert Sanktionen gegen Integrationsverweigerer	Spiegel
9/25/10	34	Gabriel fuerchtet den Sarrazin-Malus	Spiegel
9/26/10	35	Umfrage sieht grosses Potential fuer Protestpartei	Spiegel
9/27/10	36	Keine Reform bei Berufung von Bundesbank Vorstaenden	Focus
9/28/10	37	CDU Politiker wollen Integrationsverweigerer Bestrafen	Spiegel
9/29/10	38	Die Gegenwut	Spiegel
9/30/10	39	Thilo Normalbuerger	Spiegel
10/1/10	40	Es gibt viele Sarrazins	Spiegel
10/2/10	41	Mehr Sanktionen gegen Integrationsmuffel gefordert	Focus
10/3/10	42	Innenminister will Islam Unterricht an Schulen	Spiegel
10/4/10	43	Es gibt keine Mirgationsmisere in Deutschland	Spiegel

10/5/10	44	Frau Aykuen, lohnt sich Sarrazins buch?	Stern
10/6/10	45	Wirtschaftsforscher fordert 500,000 Zuwanderer pro Jahr	Spiegel
10/7/10	46	SPD Politiker will Bildungsprojekte mit Kindergeld finanzieren	Spiegel
10/8/10	47	Regierung will Migranten als Lehrer gewinnen	Spiegel
10/9/10	48	Mutlos, planlos, erfolglos	Spiegel
10/10/10	49	Merkel will das Getoese stoppen	Spiegel
10/11/10	50	Integration keine Erfolgsbilanz	Stern
10/12/10	51	Wir kümmern uns	Focus
10/13/10	52	Sarrazin droht Rauswurf ohne Abfindung	Spiegel
10/14/10	53	Der Islam ist wie eine Droge	Spiegel
10/15/10	54	Buendniss der Weggucker	Spiegel
9/13/10	55	Das Wunder von Kreuzberg	Spiegel
10/17/10	56	Man darf so etwas nicht totschweigen	Focus
10/18/10	57	FDP will Einbuergerungen schon nach 4 jahren	Spiegel
10/19/10	58	Nie mehr braver Tuerke	Spiegel
10/20/10	59	Zufaellig deutsch	Spiegel
10/21/10	60	Wie die SPD Basis Sarrazin ertragen will	Spiegel
10/22/10	61	De Maizere gibt Fehler der Union bei der Integration zu	Spiegel
10/23/10	62	Auslaenderbehoerden sollen schaerfer durchgreifen	Focus
10/24/10	63	Sarrazin hat die Rache des Wohlstandsbuergers	Spiegel
10/25/10	64	Rechtsaussen in der Mitte	Spiegel
10/26/10	65	Gabriel fordert haertere Gangart in der Auslaenderpolitik	Spiegel
10/27/10	66	Gruene kritisieren Gabriel’s Rauswurf Vorstoss	Spiegel
10/28/10	67	In die Falle getappt	Spiegel
10/29/10	68	Ich leere den Muelleimer	Focus
10/30/10	69	Haerte gegen Integrationsverweigerer: Laesst Gabriel abblitzen	Spiegel
10/31/10	70	SPD resolution fordert Sanktionen gegen Integrationsmuffel	Spiegel
11/1/10	71	Einmal Einwanderer, immer Auslaender	Spiegel
11/2/10	72	Merkel will foerdern und fordern	Focus
11/3/10	73	Die belehrende Klasse	Focus
11/4/10	74	Deutschland’s buntes Raetsel	Spiegel
11/5/10	75	Ein dreier fuer Sarrazin	Spiegel
11/6/10	76	Sarrazin’sThesen haben mich sehr verletzt	Stern
11/7/10	77	55 Prozent sehen Muslime als Belastung	Focus
11/8/10	78	Ich bin auch Praesident der Muslime	Spiegel
11/9/10	79	Deutschland feiert sich	Spiegel
11/10/10	80	Der Islam gehoert zu Deutschland	Stern
11/11/10	81	Der Islam gehoert zu Deutschland	Focus
11/12/10	82	Tochtersprache	Spiegel
11/13/10	83	Muslime loben Bundespraesident Wulff	Spiegel
11/14/10	84	Debatte und Integration: Grundgesetz ist Richtschnur	Focus
11/15/10	85	Merkel rechtfertigt Wulff’s Islam-Thesen	Spiegel
11/16/10	86	Zu Hause und doch im Exil	Stern
11/17/10	87	Schroeder als deutsche Schlampe beschimpft	Stern
11/18/10	88	Sarrazin hat Recht	Stern
11/19/10	89	Proteststurm gegen Seehofer’s Auslaender-Offensive	Spiegel

11/20/10	90	Buerger sehen Muslime skeptisch	Stern
11/21/10	91	Seehofer gibt sich einen Rechtsruck	Spiegel
11/22/10	92	Umfrage: Mehrheit stimmt Sarrazin zu	Stern
11/23/10	93	Zur Integration ins Tuerkische Gymnasium	Focus
11/24/10	94	Zugewandert, integriert, erfolgreich	Spiegel
11/25/10	95	Tuerkischer Minister rueffelt Landselute in Deutshcland	Focus
11/26/10	96	Gabriel schlittert in Populismus Falle	Spiegel
11/27/10	97	Deutschland schmoekert schauderhaft	Spiegel
11/28/10	98	Sarrazin macht alles platt	Stern
11/29/10	99	Es muss nicht immer Sarrazin sein	Spiegel
11/30/10	100	Heikler Trip fuer Nummer Eins	Spiegel
12/1/10	101	Analyse: Merkel’s Spagat bei der Integration	Focus
12/2/10	102	Es reicht!	Spiegel
12/3/10	103	Wulff ruegt Seehofer wegen Integrationsthesen	Spiegel
12/4/10	104	Wulff betont Gemeinsamkeiten	Stern
12/5/10	105	Hintergrund: Positionen in der Integrationsdebatte	Focus
12/6/10	106	Praesident der zwei Herzen	Spiegel
12/7/10	107	Deutschfeindlichkeit - Realitaet an Schulen?	Stern
12/8/10	108	Ich fuehle mich pudelwohl hier	Spiegel
12/9/10	109	Schafft sich Deutshcland tatsaechlich ab?	Stern
12/10/10	110	Wer spricht hier kein Deutsch?	Stern
12/11/10	111	Wir haben ein freundliches Klima	Spiegel
12/12/10	112	Sarrazin tritt gegen seine Kritiker nach	Stern
12/13/10	113	Koelner Multikulti Stadttour: In 5 Stunden um die Welt	Spiegel
12/14/10	114	Eine Abstauber Partei	Spiegel
12/15/10	115	Wo der Schweinehund knurrt	Stern
12/16/10	116	Ungebildet und dennoch integriert	Stern
12/17/10	117	Steinbrueck prangert Umgang mit Sarrazin	Spiegel
12/18/10	118	Muslimische Jugendliche: Islam Gewalt und scheinbare Zusammenhaenge	Spiegel
12/19/10	119	Der gute Bonze	Spiegel
12/20/10	120	Empoerend, verletzend, ausgrenzend	Spiegel

Sarrazin Debate: Inventory of Images by Article

- 1 Was tun?
    1. Article published excerpts of Sarrazin's book
    2. Summarize article in Step 3
- 2 Merkel entruestet ueber Sarrazin
    1. Merkel say… Sarrazin postulations are hurtful, defaming, and polemic… not helpful for the integration debate… (G)
    2. Gabriel condemns Sarrazin… stupid and rowdy comments by Sarrazin (G)
    3. Saleh… Sarrazins statements are pro-NPD (G)
- 3 Der Thesenritter
    1. Partisan SPD politicians are outraged over Sarrazin's postulations (G)
    2. Merkel's stepping in not common for her… she says… Sarrazin crossed red line… postulations are hurtful, defaming, and polemic… hot helpful for integration issue (G)
    3. Sarrazin book described… central idea is that Germany is becoming less and less German
    4. Gabriel says… Sarrazin's these are stupid and rowdy. (G)
    5. Oezdemir… Sarrazin is the warrior that Bin Laden has longed for… he is tying into his book the German fear of the West's downfall, while offering the building of barricades against the south east as the only solution (G,L)
- 4 Gabriel legt Sarrazin SPD Austritt nahe
    1. Gabriel has a problem. His problem's name is Sarrazin… Sarrazin postulations are rowdy… Gabriel makes indirect demand of Sarrazin's resignation… (G)
    2. Gabriel is afraid of damaging the traditionally good relationship the SPD had with migrants (G,K)
    3. Gabriel wants to test if book is in line with constitutional values of social democracy… Sarrazin is not seen as social democrat anymore… his position is dangerously populist and defaming. (G)
- 5 Sarrazins boese Welt
    1. Alienation fears of the German public are eloquently presented by Sarrazin and migration is reduced to welfare benefits (L,G)
    2. Sarrazin's book is a mix of economics, eugenics, and borderline racism… and is way behind in findings of integration research and politics (G)
    3. Sarrazin's book places bearing mothers from Islamic countries as a threat to the civil balance (G)
    4. Book is tastless… absurd… with some truth (G)
    5. Integration can only be thought of as a two way street, which incorporates acceptance, education offerings, integration help, and tolerance including obligations to accept the German constitution (J)
    6. Sarrazin is offending all those who make daily efforts in integration work to overcome the problems that without a doubt exist (I, G)
- 6 Sarrazin legt gegen Muslime nach
    1. Sarrazin is not even thinking about stopping and explains… the origin for problematic integration of Muslims is based on the culture of Islam… Muslim migrants integrate worse than any other migrant… cultural idiosyncrasy is no legend but defining European reality (L)
    2. Özkan… Sarrazins statements are hurtful and defame migrants (G, K)

    3. Koch… Sarrazin's statements are a pessimistic description of the current situation… but we cannot taboo the addresses issue of integration problems (I,G)
- 7 Thilo driftet ab
    1. Körting (partisan SPD)… there are deficits in integration… but Sarrazin is drifting off and uses only those, who fit into his enemy imagery… this is not in line with political ideas of the SPD (I,G)
    2. Migrants as a danger for our culture has nothing to do with reality… the problems are not specific for Turks… Sarrazin creates an enemy image of Muslims and acts islamophobic (K, L, G)
    3. Sarrazin conceals the economic benefit that guestworkers had for the German economy (K)
- 8 Deutschland, deine Amoklaeufer
    1. Sarrazin evolved into racist anti-muslim (G)
    2. Germany is on its way to islamophobia… Germany turns from open religious freedom to exaggerated fears similar to islamophobic nature … growing mistrust towards Muslims since 9/11… growing animosity towards Islam in Europe… hostile images toward Islam are growing… Islam is blamed for many problems in society… unemployment, alienation, education problems… has become a religion as scapegoat… crystallizations of intolerance and hate (L)
    3. Problems in integration exist, but have nothing to do with over 90% of the Muslims in Germany (I, L, K)
    4. There is a wide base of acceptance for Sarrazin's postulations… shows that there is room for a protest party (G)
    5. Islam is growing into enemy image… curse words that use Islamic images… Germany is changing, but not yet fully islamophobic (L)
- 9 Ein rassistischer Unsinn
    1. Al-Wazir… Sarrazin's postulations are adventurous and half scientific absurdity… this absurdity is distributed by the media (G)
    2. 20% of people in Germany have a migration background, which would have been considered a downfall 40 years ago, but today, this is a normality, which is not always easy but overall functioning (I,K)
    3. Today "Foreigners out" is not working anymore, therefore it is stated that not migrants are unable to integrate, but Muslims are unable to integrate (L)
    4. Of course there are problems with migration and integration and of course with people from Muslim faith … Berlin Neukölln is a reality, but so is the Ballerman at Mallorca (I, K)
- 10 Auslaender her
    1. Sarrzin divides Germany… there is indignation and approbation… there is a rightful address of problems (G)
    2. Sarrazins data contorts the view of all migrants, who live an ordinary life in Germany or even earn more than the average employee (I)
    3. Absurd that Germany fought becoming an immigration country, while today they have become a country of emigration (I)
    4. While Turkish people in German get more children than German families, it is statistically impossible to lead to a population explosion and alienation (I, K, L)
- 11 Der Typ hat einen Knall

    1. Sarrazin has crossed the red line… his comments are crazy… statements are inacceptable and condemn whole groups in the population (G)
    2. Partisan politicians… racial slur… disgruntled old man… provocative… wrong argumentation (G)
    3. Kraft… Sarrazin isusing negative examples and drawing a contourted picture of integration in Germany (G)
    4. Böhmer… wrong picture of Integration is constructed by Sarrazin (G)
    5. Dobrindt… Sarrazin is crazy… however, lacking integration of Muslims and Turks does exist (G,I)
    6. Merkel… there is a lot to do… migrants need to be willing to integrate into society, learn the language, and attend school (J,I)
- 12 Sarrazin Show bringt SPD in die Bredouille
    1. Sarrazin is convinced to have written a factual book with empirical data… he gets positive reaction (G)
    2. It is important to talk about missed integration… Integration is a delicate issue in the SPD… CDU and SPD ignored the issue for years… there is no top member with a migration background in SPD (I,H)
    3. Big integration problems in Neukölln according to Buchnowsky (I)
- 13 Muslime: Sarazins Buch Kampfansage an Demokraties
    1. The book takes away part of migrants right to exist… it is a war declaration against democracy (K, G)
    2. Theses are a lie… there is no recognition and valuing of what has been previously accomplished by migrants (K)
    3. Muslims are no second class citizens (K, L)
- 14 Ich nenne das Kulturrassissmus
    1. Anger and indignation about Sarrazin's statments in the Turkish community (G)
    2. Teens see themselves as German-Turks… we are born here, we are feeling as Germans, but Sarrazin alienates us (K, G)
    3. Sarrazin confirms prejudices… and is wrong and racist (L, G)
- 15 Parteien fuerchten das sarrazin-Virus
    1. Sarrazin polarizes Germany… Sarrazin says what many people in German feel… mistakes in Migration and Integration have been oppressed for too long (G, I)
    2. Sarrazins book is bestseller (G)
    3. The situation is a complicated issue and a threat of emotional and irrational debate exists… needs to be discussed objectively (H,G)
    4. Gabriel… Sarrazin is not in line with SPD's political ideas.
- 16 Sarrazin spaltet die SPD
    1. Sarrazin hit the target by addressing the common fear of alienation and exploitation of the welfare and social support systems (G, L)
- 17 Türkische Männer wollen Sarrazin einladen
    1. Migrants… we are not dumb and lazy… why is our performance not respected… it feels like not having arrived in Germany yet (K)
    2. Want some recognition… Sarrazin is not differentiating and addresses everyone the same… overgenralizes (G, K)
    3. Migrants… want to learn and change their life… if they are given the opportunity, they can do it (K)
    4. Children should learn German as soon as possible… the best integration happens through employment (J, K)

- 18 Politiker setzen Bundesbank unter druck
    1. Boehmer… Sarrazin's postulations make him unacceptable for the Federal Bank… have racial characteristics (G)
    2. Islam council… there are hostilities toward Islam and racism… sad and frightening that islamophobia has almost arrived in society because of Sarrazin's statements (L,G)
    3. Sarrazin's postulations meet concrete fears and daily experiences of the population (L,H)
    4. Survey shows that half of the population see truth in Sarrazin's statements (G)
    5. Sarrazin led to indignation is many circles… he triggered a controversial debate (H, G)
- 19 Wie sich der Provokateur verrant hat
    1. Sarrazin is an agitator… loses control over his debate… doubted in his way and method of argumentation… disputable statistics (G)
- 20 Bouffier ruft Migranten zu bessere Integration auf
    1. Bouffier… children need to be prepared for future generation as soon as possible (J)
    2. Appeal to migrants to take part in the societal life and political life in Germany (J)
    3. Wishes Muslim women would not veil themselves… they will always appear foreign and strange if they veil themselves…who acts foreign will stay foreign (J, L)
- 21 Wulff verlangt Erklaerung der Regierung
    1. Merkel… many migrants are integrated well into society. i.e. in Berlin where people speak German, have small businesses, and send their children to school … positive developments should not be withheld (J, I)
    2. SPD has a hard time with Sarrazin expulsion… hundreds of emails, calls, and mails that support Sarrazin
- 22 CDU und SPD fordern grosse Debatte ueber Integration
    1. Integration is the mega theme of the next few years… there is need for intensive discussion on integration in Germany (H, I)
    2. Integration need to be pushed into discourse… German stands better on integration than other European countries… Integration needs to be places at the top of the agenda (H,I)
    3. Wulff protects migrants… migrants participate successfully in integration classes… there are deficits in foreigner policies… missed efforts in integration (I)
    4. Bosbach… need for serious discussion… must address issues without taboos… there are millions of successful integration cases, but there are unsuccessful ones too (I)
    5. IGM… Need more efforts to include migrants into society… migrants need more support in school (I)
- 23 Merkel nimmt in Deutschland lebende Tuerken in Schutz
    1. Merkel… appreciates the performance of the Turks in Germany… integration demands more from migrants, society, and government (J,I)
    2. Many migrants are integrated well into society can be seen in Berlin… (repeat) (I)
    3. Sarrazin's postulations are absurd… not acceptable… segregating (G)

4. There need to be more integration efforts… problems should be openly discusses… living together is a compromise… migrants should be willing to adjust to German society and accept German law (J)
5. Integration is not forced assimilation or denial of heritage… but it is important to lean German language and accept German law (J)
6. Wulff… protects migrants from accusations of being unwilling to integrate… migrants participate successfully in integration classes… there are deficiencies in immigration policy… there have been missed efforts in integration… clear demand from migrants (I)
7. Serious discussion is needed… integration is becoming the mega issue… integration needs to be places at the top of the agenda (H)

- 24 Deutschland debattiert über Integration
    1. Integration is the word of the time (H)
    2. Micro census… 16m people with migration background… 19% of the population… 2.5m Turks are the biggest part (I)
    3. Study… every second citizens agrees that there are too many foreigners in Germany (I)… only 16% said Muslim culture fits into Germany (L)
    4. German is better in regard to integration compared internationally, but too passive… integration needs to be places higher on the political agenda (I)
    5. Merkel… one has to address the problems clearly, but cannot hold back from the progress that is made… key for Germany is to incorporate migrants into society actively (J)
    6. Migrants are blamed… migrants stop attending integration courses… (K, I)
    7. De Maizere… deficiencies in integration are heavily debated… success in education, social situation, or violence tendencies of migrants depend on the community (I, K)
- 25 Wiesbaden erprobt Integration per Vereinbarung
    1. Islam in Germany needs to become more open, so that Germans can understand their neighbors (L)
    2. A mosque in Wiesbaden signed agreement to acknowledge German constitution and laws, division of church and state, and equal rights of women and mean… (L)
    3. Political or religious violence is rejected as well as hostilities towards stranger… (L)
    4. In return for signing the agreement, the mosque is getting financial support from a federal agency
- 26 Sarrazin-Thesen entfachen Integrationsdebatte
    1. Wulff… most migrants partake successfully in integration courses.. there have been deficiencies in German foreigner policies… missed opportunities need to made up for… demands have to also be made to migrants (I)
    2. Bosbach… millions of migrants are successfully integrated… there are too many cases of integration deniers (I, K)
    3. Integration is the mega theme of the next years and has to be places at the top of the agenda (H)
- 27 Eine Chance für den Präsidenten
    1. Germans describe… there are many people who feel foreign in their own country, who avoid certain areas of their town and move away, because they find themselves in a new culture (I, K)
    2. There is a danger in schools with high migrant percentages that may lead to missed opportunities and social problems (I)

- 28 Konservative fordern harte Integrationsdebatte
    1. Merkel is wrong for condemning Sarrazin's statements… while some postulations are absurd, problems exist and have to be addressed clearly… (I)
    2. The biggest problem is stemming from the part of Muslims from Turkey… some migrants do not want to integrate at all… there is violence from young men often related to cultural masculinity behavior, which is disparate with our German values… who prefers to live by the Sharia or his own values, cannot live in Germany (I, J)
    3. Merkel… there is a statistical higher violence among Muslim youth… (I)
    4. Wowereit… integration has to be innovated, it has to be departed from migration as a topic of ethnic heritage and religious worldview… integration should support climbing the social ladder and needs participation… there is no need for ignorance, defamation, or romantic everything is good attitude (J)
    5. Integration concerns deep social questions and establishing a framework for social advancement (J)
- 29 Merkel fordert Integrationsdebatte ohne Tabus
    1. Merkel… there are deficits in integration politics… we need to talk without taboos and without conspicuousness of hostilities toward foreigners… need to openly address problems about living together (I)
    2. In regard to reports about higher violence among migrants youth… education, education, education is the solution (J)
    3. Guttenberg… need for an open and broad discourse (H)
    4. Sarrazin's postulations affect and move people (G)
    5. Gabriel demands… controllable plan for integration… continuous debate about integration… need a plan that tells concretely what to do (I, H, J)
- 30 Muslim Gewalt darf kein Tabu sein
    1. Problems about living together need to be addressed openly… cannot taboo the issue of higher violence among fundamental young Muslim, which is a big problems and we can openly talk about it without suspicion of hostility towards migrants (I)
    2. Violence among youth is often a sign for not enough perspective in their lives… education, education, education is needed… main responsibility lays with parents… education is the key for integration (J, K)
- 31 Berlin plant Verträge mit Zuwanderern
    1. Public reactions about Sarrazin show that we have to talk more offensively about the problems and successes of integration (H)
    2. Theme of integration is one of the most important issues of our time (H)
    3. Key task for Germans is to actively involve migrants into society (I, J)
- 32 Wulff geraet zwischen die Sarrazin fronten
    1. The current situation is an extremely delicate issue (H)
    2. Sarrazin not a racist… there are special cultural characteristics of cultures… Sarrazin addresses part of migrants, who do not intend to teach children German, educte, and contribute to integration (G)
- 33 De Maizere fordert Sanktionen gegen Integrationsverweigerer
    1. There have been political failures in previous integration debates… there are maybe 10 to 15 percent real integration deniers
    2. Sararazin's criticism is dividing Germany… not dealing with religion, actual conflict is about German lower classes (G)

    3. Lötzsch… migrants are suffering from poverty and segregation… migrants look away rather than up when facing problems… there is social injustice in Germany… political and social action is needed in Germany (K, I)
- 34 Gabriel fuerchtet den Sarrazin-Malus
    1. The Sarrazin debate is damaging the image of the SPD…
    2. Dohanyi… Sarrazin is not a racist… everyone with factual knowledge knows that there are special characteristics of cultures… Sarrazin only attacks part of the migrants who reject to raise their children to learn German, get educate, and integrate… (G,I)
    3. Sarrazin finds support… hundreds of emails and letter… give Sarrazin right (G)
- 35 Umfrage sieht grosses Potential fuer Protestpartei
    1. 18% would vote for a protest party if Sarrazin was the boss… Sarrazin finally says what a lot of people have been thinking… (G)
    2. Merkel… there is no soon solution to integration problems, since it is not possible to make up what has been missed out on the last 30 years… previous government's policy where far away from reality (I)
    3. Guestworkers contributed greatly to the welfare of Germany, but have not been given much responsibility (K,I)
    4. Appeal to the duty of migrants… need integration commitments… appeal to migrants to adjust to German society… there are problems of integration mainly in the field of education (I, J)
- 36 Keine Reform bei Berufung von Bundesbank Vorständen
    1. Herrman… we need an open and honest discussion about the migration and integration problems… Sarrazin is addressing rightful points (G, H)
    2. High percentage of foreigners in criminal violence… integration can only be successful if our laws are accepted… who wants to live in his own conceptions or the Sharia, cannot stay in Germany for long (J, I)
    3. Wowereit… need to fight the social divide… rediscovering integration is getting away from it and the talk about ethnic and religious worldviews… integration needs participation… deep social issue that is tied to ascent and will (J, I)
- 37 CDU Politiker wollen Integrationsverweigerer Bestrafen
    1. Extreme debate on integration is going on (H)
    2. Integration deniers should be punished harder… maybe 10 to 15 percent of real integration denier, who need stronger care… (I)
    3. integration policy should be consequently continued and accelerated to overcome failures of the past… integration policies need to be checked (I)
    4. Migrants have to become fellow citizens… need to improve their education and job situation (I, J)
    5. Sarrazin's postulations contribute to a division of cultures (L,G)
    6. Evangelical church… irresponsible of Sarrazin to judge people based on their ethnic heritage… he crossed a red line… need to fight against those judgments (G)
- 38 Die Gegenwut
    1. Sarrazin case is growing… case is bigger than the man himself (G)
    2. Sarrazin's statements about the missed integration of Turkish and Arab migrants is without a doubt granted (G,K)
    3. Sarrazin is the embodiment of people's anger about the retrace of society into the middle ages... who hate being cussed out for their help and offerings in

integration assistance… who do not like to read about Islamic associations close to terrorism… life threats to caricaturists and movie makers, and stoning of Islamic women… strange to say people are more indignated about Sarrazin's book (L, I, G)

4. Certain cultures have certain characteristics… Germans work on their demographic disappearance… debate about integration and leaning culture are conducted all over the world (I)

- 39 Thilo Normalbuerger
  1. Heated debate has broken out… his book led to hysterical debate (H)
- 40 Es gibt viele Sarrazins
  1. People are moved by the issue that are addressed by Sarrazin (G, H)
  2. Sarrazin is a martyr for being kicked out of Federal Bank (G)
  3. Politicians' task is now to reconcile Germany with integration… Sarrazin started the debate wrong, too provocative and drastic… however, there is also agreement with Sarrazin… started a long needed and debate (G, I, H)
- 41 Mehr Sanktionen gegen Integrationsmuffel gefordert
  1. Need to start obligatory integration courses and naturalization tests… learning German is foundational requirement for successful life together (J)
  2. Social situation is the result of years of politics from conservatives, social democrats, greens and liberals, who put in place laws that make integration impossible (I)
- 42 Innenminister will Islam Unterricht an Schulen
  1. Islam to be taught in school to improve integration
  2. Education of imams in Germany and acting in the German language… no Islam in the backyard of mosques, instead in our schools, so it is controllable (L)
  3. There is no reason to let Sarrazin dictate the direction of the debate… he is provoking to make money… it is wrong and devastating to act as if nothing has happened in regard to integration in Germany (I)
- 43 Es gibt keine Mirgationsmisere in Deutschland
  1. Sarrazin is a layman and has no clue about integration… uses a simple explanation pattern… does not grab the complexity… no grasp of the statistics (G)
  2. Imbalances and problems are caused by social milieus and education… there is no integration misery in Germany… integration is going successful (I)
- 44 Frau Aykün, lohnt sich Sarrazins buch?
  1. There are families that are not integrated… most families are however integrated well, which is often kept silent about (K, I)
  2. Migrant experience… father told her to go outside and play with the German kids to learn the language… (J)
  3. Prejudices and fears of islamization and radicalism are rectified due to the terror events, but should not be generalized to all Muslims, which are usually friendly and have nothing to do with it (L, K)
- 45 Wirtschaftsforscher fordert 500,000 Zuwanderer pro Jahr
  1. Second and third generation migrants have been looking for work in niches of their parents in jobs that are not needed anymore today (K)
- 46 SPD Politiler will Bildungsprojekte mit Kindergeld finanzieren
  1. New start in integration debate is wanted… day cares are the only way to integration for boys from fundamentalist migrants families (J)

2. Need pre-school and all-day schools to improve situation… current situation with migrants is a step back into the middle ages… parents have problems with biology classes… children have language problems… numbers are increasing instead of decreasing… (I)
3. Sarrazin expresses real ideas… there is immigration into social systems… intergration deniers live in parallel societies… there is regression and higher crime rates… the risk factor of young, male, migrant is a reality (I, G)

- 47 Regierung will Migranten als Lehrer gewinnen
    1. Government admits that it has not done enough for integration… teachers with foreign roots may be important role models for students… (I)
    2. De Maizere… integration has sometimes been taken lightly… about 10 to 15 percent of integration deniers… (I)
    3. Sarrazin debate is constructed very controversial… De Maizere wants to introduce a new perspective for students by hiring teachers with migration backgrounds… integration program sees improvement of German language skills as important (J, I)
    4. Parents from migrant families should be involved into school more… young migrants should be integrated better into associations (J,I)
- 48 Mutlos, planlos, erfolglos
    1. Top politicians of all parties are trying to find ways on how to tackle the issue of integration… plans are idealess, and recipes are waning… (H,I)
    2. Parties are trying to hide what it was missed out on the integration problems for years, however they occur to have no future plans and ideas (I)
    3. Current integration program is not more than a document that tells integration is accepted better than some people say… (I)
    4. Officially integration was one of Merkels top issues, but for the past 5 years it has been a politics of symbolic (I)
    5. Typical integration debate patterns of politicians are turned on when the conspicuous behavior of Sarrazin is portrayed…
    6. Sarrazin's postulations are more supported in SPD than it was assumed at first by top politicians (G,I)
    7. Greens state… multikulti is not understood as integration and does not mean everyone can do what they want… integration problems are based on social and not ethnical problems (I)
- 49 Merkel will das Getoese stoppen
    1. Integration is the mega theme (H)
    2. Did not take care of integration the right way in the last 40 years… problems cannot all the sudden be solved in 3 to 4 years (I)
- 50 Integration keine Erfolgsbilanz
    1. De Maizere… 10 to 15 percent of integration unwilling foreigner… not that bad in an international comparison (I)
    2. Poor performance of integration attempts in the previous years… integration policy has not been a big success story (I)
    3. Central issue for better integration is learning the German language… 1.1m are lacking German language skills (J, I)
- 51 Wir kümmern uns
    1. De Maizere… There has been neglection in political and society when it comes to Integration… 10 to 15 percent of Muslims are not willing to integrate… they isolate themselves and reject the German state… more men

than women are among the integration unwilling as well as more young than old… (J, L, I)
2. Language skills are important for integration… 1.1m do not speak German well (J, I)
3. Kindergarten is important… 30% stop integration courses… (J)
4. We need to take a deep breath, patience, and willingness to change on all sides (J, I)

- 52 Sarrazin droht rauswurf ohne Abfindung
  1. Fears of citizens in the issue of integration are supposed to be taken seriously… (L, G) we have to expect from everyone living in Germany, respect and regard of our community… (J)
  2. Oezdemir… individual bad experiences with migrants should not be disregarded… Sarrazin's number are not the issue, they can be refuted… the issue is about personal experiences and feelings… the debate can only be conducted in the right way when it is admitted that negative experiences are real… (H, I, G)
  3. Suggestions... migrants should be obligated to learn German (J)
  4. Who wants to live here needs to speak our language, this has to be demanded by politicians and society (J)
  5. Integration is the central question of the future (H)
- 53 Der Islam ist wie eine Droge
  1. Adbel-Samad does not like the way it is talked about the debate… but Sarrazins conclusions are not helping… (G)
  2. Sarrazin is put as either hero or scapegoat… a debate about integration is necessary… Sarrazin is evidence that there is an integration problems (message boy) (H,G)
  3. Integration has been a dead end street… Politicians make the same statements when integration debate is spiked… (I)
  4. Islam is like a drug, like alcohol… a little can be healing and inspiring, but when the believer takes the bottle in every situation of life, it is going to be dangerous… Islam is high in proof, which is endangering living together, and blocking integration (L, K, I)
  5. Migrant… Islam is part of his cultural circle… proposes there should be an Islam light… Islam for him is home and language… (L, K)
  6. Migrant… experiences problems in his integration… when he first arrived Germany was very foreign to him… like a complex tool without a manual… unprepared for the Western freedom… felt enrooted (K)
  7. Lacking effort in integration of many Muslims in Germany is real (I)
- 54 Buendniss der Weggucker
  1. Germany took a big step forward in integration during the last years... there are some problems, but many integration successes. (I)
  2. Not easy to debate about foreigners in Germany, even though the war is over for 65 years... (I, H)
  3. Sarrazin debate shows that inaction is no solution to integration... Foreigner Policy divides society and drives people; they want an answer to the central problems of this time... Integration has become question of survival - Who should carry the country in the future? (H)
  4. left wing... had a multikulti dream for long time and ignore the forming of parallel societies... coexistence happens by itself (I)
  5. Union... German is not an immigration country... (I)

    6. Politicians put a haze of belittlement over the problems in recent years... politicians shirked responsibility when guestworkers came... (I)
    7. Germans started to view Muslims as strangers... did not take care of foreigners that were in Germany instead focused on the ones to come... (L,K)
- 55 Das Wunder von Kreuzberg
    1. Bad integrated migrants image does not fit for Kadems… many migrants live in Germany even after decades, isolated in their milieu, and are not in command of the German language (K)
    2. … But the family Kadems does not... Courage, openness, effort, and hunger for eductaion helped them to make it in the middle of German society... (K)
    3. Came from another country in the Germany of the seventies... mother tried to convince the teachers before every school year to put her child into class with more German kids... (K)
    4. Daughter... we are grown up here, the Germans are our friends... feels German... the Turkish inside her are the songs and melancholia, but she does not want to live in Turkey... Kadems worked hard… (K)
    5. Debate is shaped about whether one is a Muslim... feels disturbing... they have always adhered to universal human values (K,H)
- 56 Man darf so etwas nicht totschweigen
    1. who lives here has to accept the country… (J)
    2. Most migrants integrate fast…. Others stay with their traditions, and live in their own cosmos, and get to know only a little from their environment… (K)
    3. If families with children want to have a future, they have to know and follow our rules... (J)
    4. Big group among Muslims with fundamental religious understanding... hope that a liberal Islam can be established in Germany, which would reduce tensions between state and religion... Imams should come from Germany (L, I)
    5. Muslim communities should open up to their neighborhoods... (L, I)
- 57 FDP will Einbuergerungen schon nach 4 jahren
    1. Naturalization of migrants after 4 years to signalize openness and willingness for acceptance (J)
    2. Integration measures postulations… Muslims religion classes in German language at school… teacher of Islam theology… fight against forced marriage (L, J)
    3. Who commits crime, which is seen as a failure in of the individual's integration should be expulsed from Germany... (J)
- 58 Nie mehr braver Tuerke
    1. Remigration because of lacking perspectives/opportunities for migrants in Germany (K, I)
    2. Growing discrimination in Germany… overgeneralization of Muslims… Sarrazin debate as personal insult to Turks in Germany… hostilities (G, H, K)
    3. Migrants feel connected and love towards Germany... home is a diverse place (K)
- 59 Zufaellig deutsch
    1. German passports as security…
    2. Growing German minority in Pakistan… migrants were out of luck in Germany… high birthrate… no connection to Germany
    3. Heated climate against Muslims... (L, K)
- 60 Wie die SPD Basis Sarrazin ertragen will

    1. People from over 102 Nations live in Jenfeld… social problems are in focus… Jenfelder SPDler know a lot of integration problems in Germany from own experience (I, H)
    2. Damage the discourse on integration, if we only talk about the person of Sarrazin… (H, I)
    3. Criticsm about the expulsion of Sarrazin... the way Sarrazin presents the issue is disgusting... (G)
    4. Migrant from Togo... neighbors that do not want to greet him... missed integration... hostilities toward foreigners... Integration already starts with saying Hello (K)
- 61 De Maizere gibt Fehler der Union bei der Integration zu
    1. Not enough has been done in integration politics (I)
    2. Neglects of the past… however there is a change… since 2005 issues are openly called upon… new principle of assisting and challenging (I, J)
- 62 Ausländerbehörden sollen schärfer durchgreifen
    1. Who has found a new home here, has to become at home here…. Becoming at home includes adhering to the rules of the new home… (J)
    2. 30 percent of migrants do not participate in integration classes… (I)
    3. Politics of demanding and assisting is necessary in integration… (J)
- 63 Sarrazin hat die Rache des Wohlstandsbuergers
    1. Wrong picture presented by Sarrazin… Media acts as if debate is based on factual issues… Germany is multicultural society (G, I)
    2. Multicultural society is ambivalent (I)
    3. No contribution of Sarrazin to the debate… Sarrazin as media phenomenon (G)
- 64 Rechtsaussen in der Mitte
    1. Parallel societies have grown stronger… (K, I)
    2. People can organize their life without saying one word German… (K, I)
- 65 Gabriel fordert haertere Gangart in der Auslaenderpolitik
    1. Who reject all integration offers, cannot stay in Germany as well as foreign paid hate preachers in mosques…(J)
    2. More police presence is needed… the safety feelings of Germans are something one should respect (L)
    3. Expand offerings for migrants… day schools… more public attention to good examples of integration... sanctions for those who reject integration... (J)
- 66 Gruene kritisieren Gabriels Rauswurf Vorstoss
    1. People unwilling to integrate are not the problem; problem is not enough offerings for migrants… (I)
    2. Need more consequences for people, who are unwilling to integrate… (J)
    3. Who wants to live here, has to take an active part in his integration and take the opportunities of a society that is open to the world... Criminals, whose integration has failed, should be send home... (J)
    4. Who rejects all integration offerings cannot stay in Germany as well as foreign paid hate preachers in mosques (J)
- 67 In die Falle getappt
    1. Migrants are victims of the debate (K, H)
    2. Migrants are sad… feel alienated feel as if they are Turks… (K, H)
    3. Bad effect may likely result into further departure from German society… aggressive retreat… Muslims are especially sensitive… (L)

    4. Insult to those that are integrated correctly... better not insult the integrated once, since they can move, but the badly integrate have no choice than to stay (K)
- 68 Ich leere den Mülleimer
    1. Aygul Özkan victim of racist comments and criticism… role model of integration, who had two state examinations and is the first Muslim minister in Germany…. (L, K, J)
    2. Most migrants have integrated well in Germany… two groups that have problems… migrants from Arab countries and Turkey... part of them has higher unemployment rates and higher crime rates... mainly young males who are uneducated... (I, K)
    3. Integration sets in when people arrive in Germany... we have to appeal to migrants' own responsibility... language skills are key to integration... (J)
- 69 Haerte gegen Integrationsverweigere: Laesst Gabriel abblitzen
    1. Integration deficits cannot be conquered with dubious criminal punishment… warns of hostile tendencies towards Islam… (I, L)
    2. Integration can be successful over time when thoughts and faith of others not only accepted but also respected… need for migrants and natives to know more about each other... (J)
- 70 SPD resolution fordert Sanktionen gegen Integrationsmuffel
    1. Cannot accept aborting integration programs or missing school… Juvenile violence needs to be attacked more consequently…(J, I)
    2. heated internal debate in SPD… dangerous to project fears and anxieties on Islam… leading to separation on both sides and served extremists... need to be prevented with all powers (L, H)
- 71 Einmal Einwanderer, immer Auslaender
    1. No real steps in immigration policies… Germany will not lose its fear from foreignness... Germany is immigration country (I, L)
    2. Visible foreigners leads to being treated different… do not really fit in society, no matter if speaking German or trying to be integrated (L, K)
    3. Integration is not possible... fear of alienation... once migrant always foreigner… (K, L)
    4. Politicians' talks are absurd… need for serious integration debate... (I)
- 72 Merkel will fördern und fordern
    1. Who wants to live here, must be able to speak the language… (J)
    2. Integration is a task for the future… (H, I)
- 73 Die belehrende Klasse
    1. Politicians react in defense to Sarrazin, whereas the public discusses vividly is arguing about integration… (G, H)
    2. top politicians do not live in migrant areas, where the problems are real… (I)
- 74 Deutschlands buntes Raetsel
    1. Kadem family as presented weeks ago… model of integration (J)
    2. bad model… social weak that do not speak German well, criminal teens… women without rights… people that are not considered to be in line with liberal-democratic values of German society (J)
- 75 Ein dreier fuer Sarrazin
    1. Migrant… dream career as movie director… successful... young Muslim director… model of integration (J, K)
    2. faith and life in Germany illustrated as complicated moral crises… religion as disparate with western values… the directors sees a different picture (K)

- 76 Sarrazins thesen haben mich sehr verletzt
    1. Integration debate was instrumentalized in order to confirm resentments and prejudices… the debate is about blaming of guilt… (H, L)
    2. Cannot ignore Sarrazin, because he gains so much support… (H)
    3. I am German, i am part of this society, and I want to be acknowledged as such. However the discussion is throwing me back.... no you are a migrant... you are not wanted here (K)
    4. Movie about three Muslims... is a simplification... people, German, who are in an existential conflict (K)
- 77 55 Prozent sehen Muslime als Belastung
    1. 55 percent agreed with the statement that Muslim migrants cost more socially and financially that their economic benefit… (L, H, I)
    2. 60 percent supported Sarrazin's theses that Germany is dumbing down because migrants are less educated and have a higher birth rate... (L, I)
- 78 Ich bin auch Praesident der Muslime
    1. Speech was expected with eagerness in the integration debate... Wulff as bridge builder… direct an admonition to migrants that they should accept the German way of life… also demanded more tolerance and openness from the German public… (J)
    2. Wulff… we identified that multicultural illusions and challenges have been regularly underestimated... Being home in Germany means regarding the constitution and values, to be accountable to the same rules and accept the German way of life... who does not do so has to expect resistance... It is rightful to expect that everyone who lives here is expected to integrate into society according to their abilities... we are not closing our eyes of those who abuse our sense of community (J)
    3. Germans are demanded to not be goaded to hostilities, instead they should welcome the migrants living in Germany... the future belongs to nations that are open for cultural diversity, for new ideas and discourse with foreigners and the foreign...Germany needs migrants... people with foreign roots should not be hurt in by all means necessary debates (H)
    4. Integration debate raised by Sarrazin is important... When Muslims write me, you are our president, and then I say of course I am your president and I say that with passion and conviction that I am the president of everyone living in Germany... Belonging should not be reduced to the passport, family history, or faith... today; Islam has also become part of Germany... Germany has accumulated needs in regard to integration... (K, L, J)
- 79 Deutschland feiert sich
    1. Wulff's first meaningful speech in office… brought fresh air to the integration debate… statements made during a heated debate (H)
    2. A central statement… says he is also the president of the Muslims… Christianity and Judaism are without doubt part of Germany but so is Islam as well… (L)
    3. statements are very broad... integration debate as by all means necessary... postulations to migrants... should accept and be in command of germaneness... we are one Volk, who does not abide to constitution and law, has to expect resistance... compared happening from German unity with what is needed today... (J)
- 80 Der Islam gehört zu Deutschland

    1. Appeal to migrants to identify with Germany as home… invitation to German integration based on values that have strengthened Germany… president of all who live in the country… Islam also belongs to Germany…
    2. Problems of integration have been repeatedly underestimated... (I)
    3. New cohesion in society is needed... (J)
- 81 Der Islam gehört zu Deutschland
    1. Warning of segregating migrants and drifting of society in Germany… praise diversity, close gaps in society… this is the task of German unity today… (J)
- 82 Tochtersprache
    1. Integration is a angular and bulky term that can hurt people (H, J)
    2. Ongoing integration discussion deters the picture of a love story that is dealing in a scared way with the question how to live as a foreigner in Germany
    3. books show that arrival, desire to leave, being accepted, and not being accepted… in a different way than the bureaucratic terms that are used in the debate (H, K)
    4. One story... poor life growing up... parents worked hard from dusk till dawn; German while not the language of the parents soon became the daughters language... command of language allowed her self-rule; stories of in between cultures... confusions... being here and not being here (blind rain)... integration is a one-sided terms for a one-sided society... (K)
- 83 Muslime loben Bundespraesident Wulff
    1. Wulff… Islam is also part of Germany… warning of segregation of Muslims... we are one Volk is an invitation to everyone living in Germany... stigmas and formation of prejudice cannot be allowed that is in our own national interest... at the same time he asks migrants to integrate (J, L)
    2. Migrants… words of the president are a clear and important signal for all Muslims in Germany… sign that Muslims are no 2nd class citizens... made it clear that diverse lifestyles and diversity are desirable... (K, L)
    3. Laschet... milestone for the way to ascent of our republic... we need a German unity, in which people with and without migration background say yes to our country (J, I)
    4. Muslim leaders…. Are happy with Wulff and praise him for advocating that Muslims are no 2nd class citizens... (L, K)
- 84 Debatte und Integration: Grundgesetz ist Richtschnur
    1. Central Council of Turks in Germany welcomed Wulff's speech… signs that Muslims are no 2nd class citizens… (L)
    2. Islam that is lived in Germany has to be in line with German constitution… asks for German speaking imams (I, L)
- 85 Merkel rechtfertigt Wulffs Islam-Thesen
    1. Integration is measured on constitutional law not in the Sharia (J)
    2. Critics… the equalization of Islam with Christianity in Germany is wrong… Germany belongs to the Christian-Judeo tradition… current Islam in Germany has not contributed to societal values in Germany (L)
    3. Not a new statement... Schäuble... in 2006... Islam is part of Germany and Europe; it is part of our temporary reality and future... Muslims are welcome in Germany (L)
    4. Merkel... Islam is not the fundament of Germany's cultural understanding... proposes of education of imams in Germany (L)
    5. Friedrich... Islam is not part of German culture... leading culture in German is a Judeo-Christian culture... never going to be Islamic culture (L)

- 86 Zu Hause und doch im Exil
    1. Two third do not believe that Islam is part of Germany (L)
    2. Statement does not have a lot to do with German's life experience… Islam is not part of their life, not part of their identity… their only experience is in Islams's foreignness to them (L)
    3. Wulff failed to put himself into the position of the real, concrete, daily life of the public... (I)
    4. A spiritual home of belonging is hard to prescribe, belonging and comfort cannot be prescribed by the top like integration... (J)
- 87 Schröder als deutsche Schlampe beschimpft
    1. Merkel… assimilation is out of the debate, it is about integration… (J)
    2. Schröder… problematization of an additional aspect of integration… migrants have tendencies towards German hostilities (I)
- 88 Sarrazin hat Recht
    1. Berlin is the Hartz IV Capital… most welfare support is given to Turkish and Arab berlins… those are the ones with the highest costs and least integration willingness… (I, K, L)
    2. Of all migrants… Muslims are least integrated… 30% have not a high school certificate and only 14% make the Abitur... this acknowledgement is not new... (I)
    3. Islamic integration in Europe has completely failed... the European leading culture did push through... (I, L)
    4. Turkish migration is not a success story; German politics are not responsible... (I)
    5. Chances in Germany that are not existent in Turkey… (K)
- 89 Proteststurm gegen Seehofers Auslaender-Offensive
    1. Seehofer… It is clear that migrants from other cultural circles such as Turkey and Arab countries have difficulties (I)
    2. most migrants are well integrated… integration deniers have to be handled harder… warning of immigration to Germany from Turkey and Arab countries (I)
    3. No day is going by where integration is not discussed... (G)
    4. Dobrindt... there can be additional migration to Germany from other cultural circles, who reject our German leading culture... with one million integration deniers, we cannot bring more of those to Germany... Germany is a land embossed with christian values (I)
    5. Böhmer... 1,1 million people do not speak German well... problem is the bad integration of migrants, who live in their third and fourth generation;
    6. need rational integration and immigration politics... no simplified populist debate about immigration halt (I)
    7. Wowereit... certainly Muslims are part of Germany and belong to his country... it is respectless not to accept them as equal part of society (L)
- 90 Bürger sehen Muslime skeptisch
    1. Skeptical picture that citizens have about the Muslims that live in Germany… 59% believe Muslims are not willing to accept the constitution… 68% do not believe that migrants from Islamic countries speak decent German any time soon… (L)
    2. Seehofer... migrants from different cultures circles have problems with integration... we do not need additional migrants from Turkey and Arab

countries... need to take care more of integration... 80 to 90 percent are already well integrated... (I, L)
3. Erdogan... pro integration of Turks for their own success... rejects assimilation... (J)

- 91 Seehofer gibt sich einen Rechtsruck
  1. Germans are growing in critic tendencies towards Islam… in a survey 35 percent are concerned Islam is growing to string in German society… 37 percent believe Germany would be better off without Islam (L)
  2. Germany is and remains a world open country… (L)
  3. Dobrindt... cannot have migration from circles that reject our German leading culture... needs migrants that are useful to Germany... (J)
  4. Catcalls against Özil form Turks... those are the integration deficits that we are meaning...
- 92 Umfrage Mehrheit stimmt Sarrazin zu
  1. 51% agree that the gross of Arabic and Turkish migrants is unwilling to integrate… two third believe that it is right that Sarrazin tipped the debate over integration…(I, L, K)
  2. Sarrazin's analysis is close to reality… (G)
  3. Foreigners living in Germany are obligated to integrate... the sole adoption of the social system to support life is not enough... where integration willingness is weak has to be made sure that there are expectations (J)
- 93 Zur Integration ins Türkische Gymnasium
  1. For 32 years there has been discussion about integration… nobody has been able to define what is meant with integration… (J)
  2. I am always asking myself whether I am, who is born here and studied here is integrated or not (K)
  3. People with migration background is defaming.... back in the days they were called foreigners now they are called migrants... (K)
  4. At some schools foreign teens are not as supported... teachers do not want that migrants are successful... (K)
  5. The weakness of integration lays in society, where nobody knows what integration means... Requirements of integration is to command the language in word and writing... integration cannot be assimilation (J)
- 94 Zugewandert, integriert, erfolgreich
  1. Economists state Seehofer misses reality… misinterpretation of problems… Germany needs highly qualified migrants…
  2. Kemal Sahin… living the American dream from rags to riches in Germany... did not get work permit despite being engineer… Germany's most successful turkish businessman... likes to call himself Prussian Turk... (K, J)
  3. Gülcan Kamps... Turkish roots are almost fully lost... not considers herself as German-Turk... perfectly assimilated (K, J)
  4. Vural Öger... Öger Tours... never gets tired of advertising for turkey even though he has a german passport (K, J)
  5. Dunja Haylai... heritage never important because parents put education first... integration was never talked about, just lived.... Hayali does not like stupid integration debates... interested in solution of problems (J, K, G)
  6. Sorgec... parents worked hard... there are not role models today... German-Turk (K, J)
- 95 Türkischer Minister rüffelt Landselute in Deutschland

    1. Bagis… send kids to school, so they have a future… abide by the German laws… Turks do not have to give up their culture, but should understand themselves as ambassadors of Turkey… (J)
    2. Öger… Sarrazin and Seehofer create a climate in which well educated and well integrated Turks in Germany feel very uncomfortable... the problem is based more on the lower social classes (K, H)
    3. Problem has nothing to do with nationality or faith (H)
- 96 Gabriel schlittert in Populismus Falle
    1. SPD has not a lot to offer in the theme of integration
    2. Study… SPD has more hostile attitudes towards foreigners than other parties in Bundestag
    3. not a lot to offer in integration… migrants are no part of political leadership in SPD… did not open enough toward migrants... very German party... deficits
    4. Problem with migrant voter... used to get most of migrants voters... number are decreasing substantially... (K)
- 97 Deutschland schmoekert schauderhaft
    1. Germans have a fear of alienation, fear of extremism, fear of bad food… Germans like appaling books (L)
    2. Insecurity, distrust, and paranoia rule the factual book market… Sarrazin and Schwarzer book appeal to the classic German fear of foreignness…. (L)
    3. Headscarf is worldwide scarf of Muslims... fears have nothing to do with factual information (L)
- 98 Sarrazin macht alles platt
    1. Sarrazin's action is contra productive… support the ideas of separation in migrants… backfires… Sarrazin contributes to further prejudices... (H, G)
    2. A view in the statistics shows that Turks and Arabs have a harder time with integration in regard to unemployment and education… (I)
    3. Integration is a task from both sides... (J)
- 99 Es muss nicht immer Sarrazin sein
    1. Germany recovering from Sarrazin-flu… (G)
    2. Germany integration friendly…
    3. 5 people are able to talk about integration an Islam in October without yelling at each other and without being abusive (H)
- 100 Heikler Trip fuer Nummer Eins
    1. Islam belongs to Germany… this sentence churned up Germany… since then debate on how immigrants can be better integrated…
    2. Most complicated state visit in visit to Turkey… German-Turkish relations are paid close attention to… Wulff speech gave new fire to the integration debate...
    3. for his official recognition of Islam in Germany, Wulff received praise by Turkish leaders
    4. Turkish chancellor Gül... Turks living in Germany should become part of German society... important to learn the German language... fluently without accent... mistakes have been made in the past on German and Turkish sides... (I. J)
    5. Wulff found his theme... integration of migrants... speech indirect reaction to Sarrazin debate... big support from immigrant organizations... rejection by some Union politicians... Germany’s leading culture is not Islamic culture (J, L)

    6. Lifelong lie that German is not an immigration country... multicultural illusion and underestimation of problems in integration... (I)
    7. Provocative statement of Islam belongs to Germany... critics... Islam is not a formative religion in our history and not a formative power in the formation of our culture... however... fellow Islam citizens are part of our daily life... (L, K)
- 101 Analysis: Merkels Spagat bei der Integration
    1. Merkel… approach of multikulti has failed… (J)
    2. Islam is part of Germany…(L)
- 102 Es reicht!
    1. Lindner… Important for immigration is not religion or private lifestyle, but acceptance of our constitution and willingness to integrate in economy in society… (J)
    2. Who plays after our rules and brings our country forwards should be welcome… (J)
    3. Seehofer… for German leading culture and against multikulti... German is not an immigration country (I)
    4. migrants are pushed to rectify their presence in Germany (H, K)
    5. Özdenier... Wulff should clarify that the integration debate in Germany is not driven from right wing populists such as Seehofer and Sarrazin, but from a mutual interest of all parties;
    6. Integration deficits must be reduced... (I)
- 103 Wulff ruegt Seehofer wegen Integrationsthesen
    1. Wulff disagrees with the problematic integration ability of Turks in Germany… Turks living in Germany are called to learn German and acknowledge the constitutional law… integration ability depends on the individual… (J)
    2. There are parallel societies in strictly religious milieus that are not in line with the law (I, K)
- 104 Wulff betont Gemeinsamkeiten
    1. Calls people to not forget similarities despite all the problems… Diversity is sometimes exhausting… Turks and Germans should look at what they achieved together… (J, I)
    2. Topic of integration is the central issues in the visit of Turkey… need to clarify that integration debate is not left to right wing populists... (H)
    3. 3m people of Turkish origin live in Germany... 700k have a German passport... Gül admits mistakes in integration have been done on Turkish and German side... (I)
    4. Problems of integration are... less migrant children attend Gymnasium... dropout rates are higher... double the number of unemployed of people with foreign origin...(I)
- 105 Hintergound: Positionen in der Integrationsdebatte
    1. Seehofer… migrants should acknowledge the German culture… multikulti is dead… Turks and Arabs integrate badly… no additional immigration from those places…(I, J)
    2. Wulff…Islam is part of Germany… belonging can’t be reduced to passport, history of family, or faith... (J, L, K)
    3. Merkel... more responsibility of migrants in integration is needed... have to adhere to German laws and be able to speak German... multikulti is absolutely failed... Islam is part of Germany... (J, L)

    4. Özdemir... both parties need to contribute to integration... society has to get used to that Islam is part of Germany... migrants need to acknowledge principles of the constitution (J)
    5. Brüderle... education of young migrants has to be improved... (J)
- 106 Praesident der zwei Herzen
    1. Wulff surprises everyone… leader in opinion based on two sentences… While Christianity and Judaism are without doubt part of Germany, so is Islam today… during a stay in turkey (I)
    2. "Federal integration officer"… speech while not a masterpiece, summarizes reality… (I)
    3. CSU tries to explain that Islam does not belong to Germany culturally... (L)
    4. It is apparent that Merkel's death of multikulti did not mean a no to living together with migrants, instead wanted to stop the formation of parallel societies... (I, J, K)
    5. Wulff hit the right tune... all the sudden Wulff is Integrator...
- 107 Deutschfeindlichkeit - Realität and Schulen?
    1. Fear of Germans being discriminated in their own country… Kids and teens from migrant families are accused of insulting their German peers in school… growing tendencies of German hostilities in schools… students are called names and threatened by foreign peers... (I)
    2. School has become a place where a kind of culture and religion war is going on... (I)
    3. Murat is proud to have Turkish roots and being German... he picked the best from both cultures... (K)
- 108 Ich fuehle mich pudelwohl hier
    1. Zaimoglu… migration background is an ugly word… users of the term often forget the German dominance… insult and cowardly use… attribution based on heritage happens often (K)
    2. Parents (guestworkers) were distanced from society… laid foundation for their children... now glowing love for Germany… Teacher taught him hard work and discipline... did not criticize his foreign roots... parents raised him with Prussian-Oman strictness.... no contact with other Turkish kids (K)
    3. The voice which is used in the debate ignores the daily life… Wulff 's ideas are not an utopia… poverty makes the difference that Sarrazin talks about not... Sarrazin is racist...
    4. problems addressed are correct... many things go wrong... but it needs money to further integration classes... no reason to denounce Muslim migrants per se;
    5. Learning German is important without it future is ruined (J)
    6. immigration after 2nd world war is a successful story… hundreds of thousand success stories of migrants... great, highly motivated Muslims in German society... pioneer spirit... great opportunities in Germany (K)
    7. feel in love with German language.... feels as a happy German (K)
- 109 Schafft sich Deutshcland tatsächlich ab?
    1. Intensive debate about integration… migrants do not bring Germany culturally and economically further… (I, L)
    2. Barloschky… integration can be understood as peoples opportunity to participate actively in life in Germany… that they have work and children can get education... (J)

    3. Family El Fares... mother is only one that does not speak German... father speaks a little but is learning German in school... all nine children are fluent and have a job or go to school... cannot understand the integration debate (K)
- 110 Wer spricht hier kein deutsch?
    1. Merkel… recent comments refer to foreigners that do not speak German well…
    2. Teacher refers to students with migrant background as foreign children… (K)
    3. Germany has become more multicultural… (I)
- 111 Wir haben ein freundliches Klima
    1. Germany is an Integration country… complicated terms that is hard to grasp (I, H)
    2. All people with foreign roots are welcome, who are willing to live as fellow citizens on the basis of law and cultural values… (J)
- 112 Sarrazin tritt gegen seine Kritiker nach
    1. Sarrazin… It is wrong to say Islam belongs to Germany… (L)
    2. German culture developed without Islam… Erdogan warned Turks of adopting German culture… (L)
- 113 Koelner Multikulti Stadttour: In 5 Stunden um die Welt
    1. Multicultural diversity of Cologne… Cuban bar is a different world;
    2. Multikulti neighborhoods... Turkish, Indian, African, and south American Cologne (I)
    3. Every third person in Cologne has a migration background
    4. there is a lot of talk about parallel societies... some people in Cologne isolate themselves, but there are a lot of open doors; trying to reduce prejudice and create understanding... Germany is an immigration country... multikulti tourists... (I)
- 114 Eine Abstauber Partei
    1. Migrants feel strong uncertainty… many people feel under pressure and attacked… especially those who have successfully integrated… many people in Germany with diverse cultural experiences and socializations… (K, H)
    2. This country is influenced by many areas influenced from a lot of cultures... (I)
    3. Integration has been successful millions of times in Germany... there are problems, because people have difficulties living in socially problematic situations... it’s the same for people with German background... (K, I)
- 115 Wo der Schweinehund knurrt
    1. Integration debate has only caused damage… two month have changed the country… a hostile attitude against migrants and Islam has been uncovered which is terrifying…(H, L)
    2. Migrant in Germany live a similar secular lifestyle… (I, K)
    3. Sarrazin created a monster and the media unleashed it... damage to the Muslims in Germany... (L, G, K)
- 116 Ungebildet und dennoch integriert
    1. If talked about bad education and high rates of employment, the talk is usually about Muslims, especially Turks… but the real problem immigrant problem groups are Italians… (L, I)
    2. Italians are integrated very well, but have education deficiencies…
    3. Italian guestworkers contributed greatly to the economic and societal development of the Germany..... speak good German overall and are engaged in clubs and organizations... (J)

- 117 Steinbrueck prangert Umgang mit Sarrazin
    1. Many people want to talk about immigration and missed integration… book reflects that many people recognize concrete integration problems in their daily experiences… (H, I)
    2. Sarrazin burdens the debate with lousy framework… poisons the debate with ethnic, genetic, and biologic criticism (G)
    3. Until today there is no acceptable immigration concept... we allowed that millions of people with lower qualifications entered directly into the welfare system... system is out of balance (I)
- 118 Muslimische Jugendliche: Islam Gewalt und scheinbare Zusammenhaenge
    1. Integration is an issue that moves people… hostility towards Germans on schoolyards and subway stations (H)
    2. Often cited problem that there is a relationship between Islamic faith, violence and masculinity... critics… there are no numbers to prove this … agrees conditionally to thesis (I)
    3. Schröder wants a German Islam... pro imams educated in Germany... Islam religion classes in German schools...German Islam scholars should be in control of Islam in Germany... want German Islam (L)
    4. Critics... Schröder is pouring oil in fire of the growing hostility towards Islam... stigmatization of Muslims... (L)
- 119 Der gute Bonze
    1. Customers are Turks, Poles, the cook is from Afghanistan, a waiter from Morocco, another from Russia… all employees have social security (K, I)
    2. Schnoor’s wife is from Iran… smart man… self educated… who is product of integration (J)
- 120 Empoerend, verletzend, ausgrenzent
    1. Migrants the reporter talked to are calm and relaxed despite news that migrants are outraged (K, L)
    2. But the calmness changes when many people in Germany realize how many people Sarrazin can actually mobilize… (H, K)
    3. The hysteria and high playing of Sarrazin hurts migrants in reality... I have always felt at home, I found out that I am a migrant a few weeks ago (H, K)
    4. Politics have neglected the issue of integration... no party has taken responsibility for integration of migrants (I)