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and the portrayal of the refugee trauma in selected British
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Declaration of Authenticity

I confirm to have conceived and written this MA-thesis in English all by myself. Quotations from other authors are all clearly marked and acknowledged in the bibliographical references either in the footnotes or within the text. Any ideas borrowed and/or passages paraphrased from the works of other authors are truthfully acknowledged and identified in the footnotes.

Christina Gruber

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1 Introduction

“Migration is an expression of the human aspiration for dignity, safety and a better future. It is part of the social fabric, part of our very make-up as a human family.”

- Ban Ki-moon - (AZ Quotes)

The European Migrant Crisis in 2015 had a huge impact on Europe on many levels. The continent became the clear objective of an incredibly high number of migrants and refugees from, primarily, Middle Eastern countries escaping war and terror. This specific event was the main subject in various news reports in 2015 and is still of great interest in the media. Different media forms play an essential part in the construction of public opinion and influence people's belief tremendously. Newspapers, television as well as radio stations, for example, usually have access to certain knowledge and information which are not accessible to the public. Therefore, the analysis of media content “became increasingly popular as a research methodology during the 1920s and 1930s” (Hansen et al. 92). This research tool is used to “study a broad range of 'texts' from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines” (Macnamara 1). In addition, Herold Lasswell posed the key questions of content analysis: “Who says what through which channel to whom with what effect” (qtd. in Shoemaker and Reese 12). While this specific analysis tool has been widely used by researchers in academic fields, the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 has been rarely addressed in research papers so far.

Taking the importance of the media nowadays as well as the sensational character of the European Migrant Crisis into account, my aim in this project is to analyze the representations of the migration crisis and the portrayal of the refugee trauma in pre-selected British and American newspapers and magazines. More specifically, comparisons are drawn between the quality and the tabloid press of two Anglophone countries in regard to the depiction of the European Migrant Crisis in the year 2015. Additionally, focus is put on whether the refugee trauma is specifically referred to in any of the newspaper/ magazine articles and to what extent.

As previously indicated, the main source of my paper are a limited number of newspaper articles published by The Guardian, The Independent, The Daily Mail and The Daily Mirror as well as The New York Times, The Washington Post, USA Today and Newsweek. Concerning structure, my master thesis is divided into 3 parts. The first part is a theoretical approach which provides background knowledge about the European Migrant Crisis, Middle Eastern conflicts as well as about theories related to trauma. Additionally, in the first part of my analysis, focus is put on the various representations of the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 on the basis of the collected newspaper and magazine articles. Furthermore, Analysis Part II is concerned with the portrayal of

the refugee trauma in US as well as UK newspapers and magazines. This thesis will, hence, focus exclusively on the collected articles. Arguments will be supported by inserting text passages from the primary source as evidence in order to receive accountable results.

Most certainly, the research paper will look at a highly relevant and sensitive topic from a political, a cultural as well as a medical perspective.

2 Methodology

The data used for the analysis is gained from online media archives. In particular, articles of quality and tabloid newspapers as well as magazines issued by British and American newspaper companies will be analyzed thoroughly in order to contrast a European with a non-European view. In total, eight different newspapers/magazines will be focused on and compared in this paper. Concerning the US quality and tabloid press, the chosen media includes the two largest circulated papers, The New York Times and The Washington Post, as well as the Newsweek magazine and the 'easy-to-read' newspaper USA Today. UK newspapers analyzed in this thesis are The Guardian, a British national daily newspaper, the online newspaper The Independent and two tabloids, namely The Daily Mail and The Daily Mirror. This media form allows a comparative dimension. Concerning the chosen articles, all were found in the online archives of these particular newspapers and magazines issued in 2015. In detail, the articles were published from mid-2015 until the end of the year and distributed equally among the months August, September, October, November and December. In order to find articles and reports which deal with the migrant crisis in Europe in this specific year, the widely used term 'European Migrant Crisis 2015' was entered in the archives' search engines of the chosen newspapers and magazines. In total, 280 articles were collected and elaborated on in this master thesis.

2.1 Content Analysis

The media, in this paper's case newspapers and magazines, play an important role in the shaping of public opinion. The representation of certain themes, events or individual people in the media has a significant influence on how we perceive them. In order to find out how newspapers and magazines represent the European Migrant Crisis and the refugee trauma, a content analysis is used to study articles as written text. The content analysis is a research method which was introduced by Harold Lasswell at the beginning of the 20th century. It can be defined as

[a] technique for gathering and analysing the content of a text. The 'content' refers to words, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The 'text' is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication. (Neuman 272-273)

This technique or process of analysis can be divided into 4 areas: measurement, indication, representation and interpretation (Weber 70). The former describes a process whereby one focuses on the frequency of certain words or phrases in the written or oral text. Furthermore, indication is an immeasurable process in which the researcher needs to make his own deductions from statements made in a text. Representation and the issue of interpretation are

concerned with the forming of a certain meaning from the analyzed text.

In comparison, the professor and researcher Alan Beardsworth claims that content analysis is made up of 5 different steps: research design, frame design, coding, sampling and data analysis (70). In the first step, the research design, it is important to create a certain plan or idea about the project in mind which includes questions to be answered at the end of the analysis (Beardsworth 379). Moreover, research designs are said to be comparative in nature. This means that different contents of texts are usually compared with each other, for example, different newspaper articles or advertisements. The second step, frame design, is made up of different categories used for the content analysis of certain texts (Beardsworth 380). The frame can consist of a list of words or themes together with further definitions. Further on, coding refers to the allocation of certain elements of content, which can be words or phrases, to different content categories (Beardsworth 381). In terms of themes, the researcher needs to decide how different features or aspects should be classified and categorized. Therefore, a set of rules is needed for valid coding decisions in order to avoid validity and reliability. According to Beardsworth, sampling is a process whereby two important aspects need to be considered:

- a) the researcher must define clearly the population of press items about which he is making estimates and, b) the items which make up the sample for detailed analysis, on which estimates are to be based, must be selected at random from that population. These aspects are important to avoid any kinds of bias (382).

The last step concerns data analysis. This final process refers to the sorting of the collected material and the close analysis of the gained data in order to achieve the research goal of the project.

3 Migrant, Refugee or Asylum Seeker – Word Choice Matters

The terms 'refugee' and 'migrant' are often interchangeably used in today's society. Nevertheless, both terms have distinct meanings which need to be considered when speaking about the mass migration to Europe in 2015. More importantly, refugees and migrants are dealt with differently under their own immigration laws (Lewis, Stuart, and Waite 26). Therefore, any confusion concerning these terms should be avoided as it can lead to harsh consequences.

Refugees are defined as people who are forced to leave their home country due to violent conflicts like war, any kind of oppression or persecution (Kunz 130). Refugees' human rights are often violated and their safety cannot be assured in their country of origin. Their primary goal is survival and they are not given an economic edge by the move to a foreign country. Refugees are often traumatized as they experience war-related violence, torture, rape or strong suppression in their homeland (Hussain and Bhushan 107). Furthermore, the journey to a new country is often extremely dangerous and life-threatening and they cannot return to their home country until there is no longer a risk or danger to human life. Refugees are protected by the 1951 Refugee Convention (Steiner et al. 87). This legal text states that refugees should not be sent back home as long as their lives might be in danger. Additionally, it includes that human rights need to be respected and any kind of support (social support, welfare, integration) should be provided by the country of settlement.

An asylum seeker or applicant, by definition, is a person who leaves the country of origin due to immediate danger and applies formally for asylum in a different country (D'Orsi 5). The goal is to be granted refugee or subsidiary protection status and to be protected under the 1951 Refugee Convention (Steiner et al. 87). The term implies that the application process has not been finished yet, but is still in progress.

A migrant, in contrast, is not forced to leave the country of origin but does this voluntarily (Junankar 6). Objectives are better living conditions concerning education and work. Therefore, these migrants are called economic migrants as they move to a new country to benefit from its economic situation (D'Orsi 310). They are protected under the international human rights law and, furthermore, dealt with differently depending on national regulations in the country of settlement (UNHCR 16 March 2016). In contrast to refugees, migrants can return to their home country at all times as there is no acute risk to human life.

The European Migrant Crisis is concerned with both, refugees and migrants. The majority of people who arrived in Europe in 2015 came in fact from war-affected countries, but it is proven that many economic migrants were among the stream of refugees to Europe in 2015 (UNHCR 27 Aug

2015). Although there are precise definitions of these two terms, a clear boundary between refugees and migrants is often difficult to set in crisis situations.

4 European Migrant Crisis 2015

The European Migrant Crisis in 2015 has already manifested itself in European history. The term emerged in this particular year where an incredibly high number of migrants and refugees arrived in Europe. These refugees and migrants are from European, Asian and African countries. Most of them are either involved in violent conflicts or the persecution of people is due to political or religious reasons (EUROSTAT 20 Apr 2016). According to EUROSTAT, the most prominent nationalities entering Europe in 2015 were from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, Pakistan, Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan (EUROSTAT 20 Apr 2016). A geographical overview of these countries is provided in figure 1.



Figure 1 : Geographical Overview (Volk 4)

According to the Council of Foreign Relations, many proposals for managing the crisis were precisely discussed in 2015. Among them were policies proposed by the European Commission which include lists of countries which are not in a state of war in order to differentiate between economic migrants seeking better living conditions and refugees who are in immediate danger (Banulescu-Bogdan and Fratzke 2015). The massive influx of people in 2015 was a mix of refugees and economic migrants whereby most of them fall under the term 'refugee' and, consequently, were entitled to apply for refugee status. It is important to consider the background causes of such a serious crisis. In many cases, war was the main reason for refugees to leave behind their home country (Kunz 132). The background story of war-affected countries with particular focus on the Syrian Civil War is told in chapters 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 in order to provide further information about the origin of the European Migrant Crisis in 2015.

Concerning asylum claims in Europe, a large number of asylum applications were submitted in 2015 (EUROSTAT 20 Apr 2016). In particular, more than 1,2 million first-time asylum applicants were counted by EUROSTAT in this specific year. The statistical office of the EU published quarterly reports concerning asylum applications in 2015 which are summarized in the following table:

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter
<i>Total applicants</i>	202 800	228 600	430 600	439 100
<i>First-time applicants</i>	184 800	213 500	413 800	426 000
<i>Top applicants by citizenship</i>	1. Kosovans 2. Syrians 3. Afghans	1. Syrians 2. Afghans 3. Albanians	1. Syrians 2. Afghans 3. Iraqis	1. Syrians 2. Afghans 3. Iraqis
<i>Main destination countries</i>	1) Germany 2) Hungary 3) Italy 4) Sweden	1) Germany 2) Hungary 3) Austria 4) Italy 5) France 6) Sweden	1) Germany 2) Hungary 3) Sweden 4) Italy 5) Austria	1) Germany 2) Sweden 3) Austria 4) Italy 5) France

Table 1 : Asylum applications per quarter 2015 (EUROSTAT – Asylum Quarterly Reports 2015)

The total application numbers include first-time as well as repeat applicants. In sum, Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis were the largest groups of first-time asylum applicants in 2015, mostly registered in Germany, Hungary and Sweden. According to statistical evaluations, 52% of all applications resulted in positive answers which means that refugee status or subsidiary protection status was granted (EUROSTAT 20 April 2016). It is reported that most of the asylum applications in the European Union were granted in Italy, followed by Finland, Bulgaria, the Netherlands and Austria.

4.1 Timeline of the crisis

The crisis year 2015 was flooded with horrifying events and news about political decisions made by governments of individual member states of the European Union as well as by the European Council. The major events which shaped the year 2015 significantly are listed in the following paragraphs. The information provided in this chapter is exclusively based on a review published online by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (Wagner 21 Dec 2015).

The first major event which gave the crisis the name 'Mediterranean crisis' happened on April 19 in 2015. A ship with hundreds of refugees and migrants sank between Libya and Italy and

most of them drowned in the Mediterranean Sea. This disaster prompted the European Union to call a crisis meeting in order to discuss solutions and preventive measures. The news about the sinking vessel dominated the media in April 2015. On May 13, the European Union Commission introduced the European Agenda on Migration which deals with possible solutions in order to manage the migrant crisis. A few days later, the European Council started a naval operation whose function is to stop the smuggling of humans by water and hence to prevent further shipping accidents. Due to the ongoing influx of refugees and migrants in Europe, Hungary decided to build a fence in June and revealed the plan to secure the borders to Serbia with a fence system for the first time. In the same month, members of the European Union agreed on a relocation plan of refugees and migrants within Europe and decided to start with a number of 20 000 people. July is marked by the news about Serbia which established two registration centers at the borders to Macedonia in Hungary for a transitional period. In addition, on July 13, Hungary put words into deeds and started building a razor-wire fence along its border to Serbia. The following month was overshadowed by a tragic disaster which happened in a small town in Austria. A truck with 71 dead refugees inside was detected on an Austrian highway. These people were transported by smugglers in very narrow spaces through Europe and died on their way to a more secure life. At the end of August, Budapest was given particular attention. A vast number of refugees and migrants protested at the train station in Budapest because onward travel was prohibited without valid Schengen documents. On the following day, it was decided to allow refugees and migrants to continue their journey through Austria without any document checks. Moreover, the Mediterranean crisis proceeded and more than 2500 people were rescued in Greece during the last weekend in August. The beginning of September was marked by more than 20 000 refugees and migrants which arrived in Austria's capital city Vienna as a stopover on their way to Germany. On September 9, the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, introduced a relocation plan which should resettle 120 000 refugees and migrants from Greece, Italy as well as Hungary according to a mandatory distribution quota. In mid-September, Germany deployed border controls with Austria in order to handle the stream of refugees and migrants. In addition, Austria introduced army troops at the border to Hungary. At the same time, Hungary declared the state of emergency and, further on, completed the building of a fence along the border to Serbia. Due to the 175 km fence, the migrant route shifted from Hungary to Croatia. On the 15th of September, a new asylum system was introduced providing for severe sanctions for people crossing borders illegally. The Turkish president Erdogan and European Union authorities held a meeting in which they discussed Erdogan's intended project to build six refugee camps which offer accommodation for up to 12 million people. A few days later, a previously discussed relocation plan by the European Union

came into being. The first 19 refugees were brought from Italy to Sweden by plane. As Sweden was expected to receive a huge number of applicants, its government demanded stricter regulations concerning the asylum law. On October 18 and the following days, Slovenia received a number of 12 000 refugees within one day and decided to limit the number of intakes to 2500 on a daily basis. Furthermore, Slovenia stationed its army at the borders to Croatia which allowed better monitoring of arrived refugees. In November, the UNHCR released numbers which display that the same amount of refugees entered Europe in October as during the whole year 2014. Moreover, Sweden was overwhelmed with the influx of resettled refugees and migrants and announced an emergency situation while Slovenia began to build a fence along its borders to Croatia just as Macedonia and Greece. Furthermore, in mid-December, the number of asylum seekers in Germany hit the 1 million mark.

4.2 Routes to Europe

The migrant crisis in Europe transformed into a maritime crisis as a large number of refugees and migrants entered Europe by crossing predominantly the Mediterranean Sea in the year 2015. The amount of refugees and migrants using different sea routes increased monthly in this specific year (UNHCR 1 Jul 2015). In particular, according to the UNHCR, more than 1 million migrants as well as refugees came to Europe by sea in 2015 (UNHCR 31 Dec 2015). By the end of December, more than 850 000 people arrived in Greece via the sea route followed by Italy as second most country with more than 150 000 refugees and migrants. People took dangerous routes in small boats in order to flee war, oppression or persecution (UNHCR 1 Jul 2015). These boats are unsuitable for crossing the ocean for the most part in terms of size, material and engine power. Therefore, it is reported that 3771 refugees and migrants died or went missing on their sea journey to Europe in 2015 (UNHCR 31 Dec 2015). As figure 2 shows, there are various routes available in order to enter Europe. All routes were used by mixed flows of migrants and refugees. The three most prominent ways to Europe in 2015 were the Central Mediterranean route, the Eastern Mediterranean route and the Western Balkan route explained more precisely the following (see figure 2).



Figure 2: Migratory Routes (Frontex 15 March 2016)

The Central Mediterranean route connects North African countries with Italy and Malta. In the first nine months of 2015, more than 120 000 migrants and refugees travelled to Europe via the Central Mediterranean route (Banulescu-Bogdan and Fratzke 2015). It is reported that primarily Eritreans and Nigerians used this route to escape (Frontex 2016). This way to Europe is known as being one of the most dangerous migration routes. In April 2015, a tragic accident happened on the sea route causing many deaths (Frontex 2016). Reasons for these tragedies are unsuitable small fisher boats which are overloaded with refugees and migrants fleeing danger or bad living conditions.

Nevertheless, the Eastern Mediterranean route became the primary one in the year 2015. According to Frontex, more than 800 000 refugees and migrants went to Europe via this route, a record compared to migration numbers from previous years (Frontex 2016). Refugees and migrants crossed from Turkey to Greece in order to reach Europe and arrived mostly on Lesbos and Kos which are small islands located in the Aegean Sea (Banulescu-Bogdan and Fratzke 2015). As vast numbers of refugees and migrants reached Greece in 2015, officers were sent to Greek islands to support the border patrol in registering newly arrived people (Frontex 2016). Furthermore, concerning nationalities, it is reported that most of the arrivals in Greece were Syrian refugees followed by Afghans and Iraqis in 2015 .

In comparison, the Western Balkan route was a major point of entry for refugees and migrants who moved from Greece through Serbia onwards to various European countries (Banulescu-Bogdan and Fratzke 2015). More specifically, people travelled through the Balkans and across the Hungarian border to their destinations. It is recognizable that, similarly to the Eastern Mediterranean route, this specific route was also used to a large extent by Syrian and Afghans nationals (Banulescu-Bogdan and Fratzke 2015). As a response, Hungary built a fence along its border which led to a shift of the stream of refugees and migrants to its neighboring country Croatia

(Frontex 2016).

As figure 2 demonstrates, further routes to Europe included the Western African route to the Canary Islands, the Apulia and Calabria route to southern Italy, the circular route along the border between Albania and Greece as well as the Eastern Borders route.

4.3 Background Causes

4.3.1 Syrian Civil War – the conflict

Syria or the Syrian Arab Republic is located at the heart of the Levant in the Middle East which shares borders with Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon and the Mediterranean Sea (Etheredge 1). The Arab-speaking country, which is half the size of Germany, is inhabited by people of diverse ethnic backgrounds and classified as a heterogenous society due to its various religious groups (Abboud 5). The Syrian population is dominated by Arabs, nevertheless, a noticeable number of Kurds (approximately 7-10%) is concentrated in certain parts of the country and known as the largest ethnic minority in the Syrian Arab Republic. Concerning religion, 90% of the Syrian population are Muslims and 10% belong to Christianity (Abboud 5). Among Muslims, Sunni Muslims are the largest religious group, followed by Alawites and Druze. The current president, Bashar al-Assad, who followed in the footsteps of his father, is a professed Alawite who finds supporters in the religious minority all over the country (Ziser 8). The Assad family has been in rule for more than 45 years as a member of the secular Ba'ath Party, more particular, since Hafez al-Assad seized power in the year 1970. As the second son, Bashar has become head of state after his father's death in 2000 and was re-elected twice in 2007 and 2014 (Ziadeh 45). At the beginning of his presidency, he promised the Syrian population to carry out several political reforms as well as to achieve economic liberalization and modernization. These optimistic political plans and the emergence of discussion fora in Syria, especially in its capital city, were known under the term 'Damascus Spring' (Ziadeh 50). Bashar al-Assad soon changed course and answered most demands with repression which ended this specific period of political debate (Cohen 172). The head of state turned to violence and threats as a response to protests and demanded reforms. Furthermore, foreign relations with Syria were quite tense. Bashar al-Assad still follows his father's radical methods in the conflict with Israel in order to achieve the return of the Golan Heights (Abboud 4). Additionally, the relation between Syria and the American world power has worsened significantly since the invasion of Iraq in 2003 which was led by the United States (Ziadeh 92). The President of the Syrian Arab Republic is known as a ruler who rejects the democratic government, a system of government used in the Western world (Zinser 48). Western democracy is regarded as being not

suitable for Syrian politics by the regime but it must establish a system of government which relies on its own history and culture and pleases the Syrian society's social demands.

Economic, social and political factors were major reasons which led to the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011 (Abboud 53). On the 15th of March, known as the Day of Anger, peaceful protests against the regime took place in Syria's capital city Damascus as well as in Aleppo. Activists demanded democracy, the end of corruption as well as freedom for political prisoners. Three days later, the government reacted violently to the ongoing protests in the city of Dar'a with gunfire and arrests (Abboud 1). The military response of the government cost four civilians their lives. Therefore, this date marks the start of the uprising. Assad's radical approach towards activists was heavily criticized and resulted in further demonstrations throughout the country (Abboud 49). In June, Jisr-al-Sughour, a city in northwestern Syria, became the first town fully controlled by protesters (Turner and Kühn 253). The Syrian government sent troops and helicopters fighting with all means available in order to retake the Syrian city. After ongoing fights, the government experienced a black day in July 2012. During a conference of high officials in Damascus, a bomb was dropped which killed four members of the government including Bashar al-Assad's brother-in-law as well as the defence minister (Scott 13). The conflict grew further and reached the country's biggest city Aleppo which is mostly in ruins today due to several bombings (Abboud 157). As a result of the brutal conflict, the regime was accused of having killed several hundred people by the use of chemical weapons. The government finally decided to destroy all of the equipment used for the production of chemical weapons in 2013 (Kassim 100). The year 2014 was especially marked by the rise of the Islamic State (IS or ISIS) (Turner and Kühn 253). Conflicts among rebels spread continuously and the IS occupied more and more of the Syrian country. More specifically, it gained control of several oil fields in Syria including the largest oil field in al-Omar (Atwan 146). In September 2014, fighters of the Islamic State started an offensive against Kurdish citizens who lived near the Turkish border in order to expand their territory (Atwan 123). Due to the worsening situation in Syria, hundreds of thousands of refugees left their home country in order to escape war and terror. Although frequently called for, Bashar al-Assad refuses to resign which makes the conflict seem to be unsolvable.

4.3.1.1 *Regime vs Rebels*

The Syrian Civil War has become a battle between various parties including the regime and the rebels, Sunnis and Alawites or the IS and the rest of the world. But who supports whom in this conflict? In general, when speaking about the Syrian Civil War, one talks about a conflict between the regime and rebels (Abboud 54). Concerning foreign relations, the regime under the rule of

President Bashar al-Assad is supported by Russia and the Iran (Scott 14). Their common goal is to retain and strengthen Assad's governmental system in Syria and to destroy its enemies. The rebels consist of various oppositional forces or fractions that see their major objective in combating Syria's government under Assad (Scott 12). Supporting states are foremost Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey and to a lesser degree the United States and various European countries (Abboud 137). The following table provides an overview of the major supporting parties of the Syrian government and the opposition:









Pro-Assad		Anti-Assad/ Extremist Groups	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Syrian Armed Forces 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Free Syrian Army
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Defence Force (NDF) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jabhat al-Nusra
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Al-Quds & Basij Militia (Iran) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Islamic Front
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hezbollah (Lebanon) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Islamic State

Table 2: Regime vs opposition – supporting groups (Blanchard, Humud and Nikitin 12-14)

The Syrian Armed Forces are the military forces of the Syrian Arab Republic and can be divided into several service branches which altogether fight in the civil war on the side of the regime (Commins and Lesch 43). The number of members is in decline, foremost due to defections of soldiers but the remaining members are still loyal to the head of state. The army's strength is the sole control of the air (Blanchard, Humud, and Nikitin 12). Supplied with Russian military aircrafts, the Syrian Air Force combats the opposition by airstrikes. In addition, the regime is supported by the National Defence Force (NDF). The Iranian-trained NDF is the largest among all groups fighting for an Assad regime (Abboud 110). The force is fully dependent on the government as its soldiers are paid and they receive military equipment exclusively from the Syrian government. In 2013, Bashar al-Assad formed a unit of women, the so-called 'Lionesses for National Defence' (Sadiki 279). Its members operate checkpoints and take over the tasks of male soldiers who can instead fight the rebels on the battlefield. The Al-Quds and the Basij militia serve under the Iranian Revolutionary Guard and their duties are to provide a high degree of internal security, implementation of laws and regulations and they are in charge of religious and political affairs countrywide in the Iran (Cordesman and Kleiber 81). The Basij militia has supported Iranian interventions in Syria since the beginning of the unrests with their primary task to train militia units which support the Syrian regime. The Hezbollah is a Shi'a militant Muslim group or party which is based in Lebanon (Scott 12). Additionally, the "Party of God" is known worldwide for its radical course of action against its neighboring country Israel and the rejection of Western imperialism. Officially regarded as a terrorist group by the United States, Hezbollah fights against Syrian rebels actively (Abboud 112). Thousands of Hezbollah fighters are placed in the Middle East country on the side of the Ba'athist government in order to ensure the survival of the Assad regime.

Anti-Assad forces consist of several fractions fighting the regime for different reasons. But their common goal is to overthrow the Syrian government and to persuade president Bashar al-Assad to surrender (Scott 12). The Free Syrian Army is a rebel group formed in the initial phase of the Syrian conflict in 2011 with army deserters as its members (Abboud 87). More specifically, it consists of several different loose organizations which fight for their parent organization, the Free Syrian Army. Accordingly, the FSA is characterized as a non-unified force that fights against the Assad regime. The Al-Nusra Front is known as the largest jihadist fighting force in Syria responsible for several suicide bombings (Abboud 97). It is an officially designated terrorist group consisting of fighters from various countries like the Iraq, soldiers from the United States and jihadists from Syria (Lister 65). Established out of different rebel groups, the Islamic Front plays a major role in Syrian conflict since 2013 (Turner and Kühn 265). Similar to the goal of other Islamist forces, the Islamic Front aims at transforming Syria into an Islamic state by overturning Assad's

government (Lister 176). The jihadist organization is further involved in the combat against the officially designated terrorist group IS as it disagrees with the violent and brutal policy used by the organization in order to achieve the desired targets. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, abbreviated IS, ISIS or ISIL, is “the latest, most deadly, incarnation of the global jihad movement established by Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri in 1998” (Atwan 2). Like Al-Qaeda, the IS is associated with extreme violence and does not shy away from barbarous homicide. The terrorist organization's objective is to establish an Islamic caliphate globally and resort to brutality in order to implement the sharia law in Middle Eastern countries (Atwan 51). Concerning Syria, the IS is in control of one half of the country where both, the regime and rebel forces are fighting the extremist organization (Atwan 4). Kurdish forces have been involved in the Syrian conflict since early years as independent fighters (Blanchard, Humud, and Nikitin 14). Their major objective is to reach autonomy in regions occupied by Kurds and aim at driving out extremist groups, in particular, the IS and the Jabhat al-Nusra Front, in order to protect Kurdish areas in the north of Syria (Abboud 104).

4.3.1.2 *Foreign Involvement*

Foreign involvement plays an essential part in war-affected countries worldwide. The Syrian government as well as the opposition and its allied groups receive support from various neighboring states as well as from countries all over the world. This involvement includes military, logistic, technical and financial support, political advice as well as the training of soldiers who are supposed to fight on the battlefield in Syria (Blanchard, Humud and Nikitin 10). The government is primarily supported by Russia and the Iran while the opposition relies on Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Qatar in the Middle East and, furthermore, receives help from the United States and some European countries (Scott 12). The support in the Syrian conflict is crucial for the Syrian government's success as it receives not only political backing but also and foremost technological support and advanced weaponry systems (Abboud 129).

Russia's involvement is triggered by several factors. First and foremost, Western operations in Syria threaten the Russian Federation as its intervention is regarded as a promotion for democracy (Abboud 127). Moreover, the Russian Federation pursues geographical, domestic economic interests (Abboud 126). It has existing contracts concerning military training as well as trade. Russia obtains oil and gas from several areas in Syria and is, furthermore, responsible for the training of soldiers and the supply of arms. According to Abboud “[...] any change in regime would mean a loss of existing contracts [...]” (129).

The United States of America has assured its position as being anti-Assad from early years

of the conflicts onwards. President Barack Obama urged Bashar al-Assad to surrender, a request which remained unfulfilled. The United States of America's first involvement in 2011 included sanctions against the Syrian government and the freezing of all governmental assets that were under the jurisdiction of the United States (Beck, Jung and Seeberg 107). Additionally, Obama terminated any business relations with the Syrian government primarily with respect to the import of oil gained from various oil fields in Syria. Since the beginning of the conflict, the world power provides rebel fractions with non-lethal aids (Blanchard, Humud, and Nikitin 2). Food as well as medical aid but also trucks and technical equipment are shipped to Syria repeatedly. Since 2014, focus has shifted towards the monitoring of the IS in Syria which includes surveillance flights as well as training of soldiers who fight the terrorist organization on Syrian ground (Blanchard, Humud, and Nikitin 19). Together with several international states, the goal of the United States is to destroy not only the targets of the militia group in Syria but the whole network of the organization completely. Their intention is to eliminate the Islamic State of the Iraq and the Levant in an air war led by multinational countries in Syria.

The European Union's policy towards Syria is said to have been vague in the course of the conflict. Nevertheless, its main involvement in the Syrian Civil War concerned sanctions posed primarily between 2011 and early 2013 (Abboud 136). These were sanctions against officers, state institutions and trade in terms of oil exports. In 2013, the EU's policy shifted and many sanctions were eased and oil export, for example, from non-regime areas allowed. It is reported that the inconsistency of the European Union's attitude towards Syria was due to disagreements between EU member states (Abboud 136). Especially France and Britain called for more drastic measures in Syria like the arming of rebel groups. This was refused by most other EU member states as there is the common belief that weaponry could be used against Western soldiers who are positioned in Middle Eastern countries at war. On the contrary, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Turkey provide several rebel groups with various types of weapons used to fight the regime as well as terrorist organizations fighting in Syria (Scott 12).

4.3.2 Further Background Causes

Apart from the current civil war in Syria, many other countries, especially in the Middle East, are in a state of war or involved in several conflicts which forced people to leave their home countries. Conflicts which contributed to the European Migrant Crisis are the War in Afghanistan, the Iraq War and conflicts in the repressive State of Eritrea, to give a few examples.

The War in Afghanistan, which is still ongoing in the South Asian country, is also called American War in Afghanistan. It can be traced back to the 9/11 terror attacks in the United States

conducted by members of the Al-Qaeda (Bailey and Immerman 45). As a response to the attacks, the United States of America invaded Afghanistan supported by several allied countries with the aim to destroy the militant organization Al-Qaeda and to remove the militia group Taliban from power. After Osama-bin Laden, the leader of the organization, was killed, focus was put on peace talks between the Taliban and its enemy, the Afghan government. In 2014, the NATO announced the withdrawal of troops and responsibility was assigned to the government in Afghanistan (Bailey and Immerman 308). Since then, the conflict between the Taliban militia group and the government has started anew. A further armed conflict in Asia concerns the Republic of Iraq.

The so-called Iraqi Civil War arose in 2014 where an uprising led to a civil war with the consequence of losing major areas of the republic to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Bailey and Immerman 15). This conflict is marked by the high presence of foreign powers involved in airstrikes and additional operations. At the current point in time, there is no end foreseen to the conflict.

Apart from violent conflicts, repression serves as a reason for a flight. A country known as being among the most repressive states in the world is Eritrea (Human Rights Watch 2). With the final independence from Ethiopia, the East African country was believed to become a democratic state after thirty years of bloody war. As there is no peace in sight, many Eritreans try to escape from the repressive and tyrannical regime. According to the Human Rights Watch, the Eritrean government is accused of violating human rights severely as

[t]here is no freedom of speech, no freedom of movement, no freedom of worship, and much of the adult male and female population is conscripted into indefinite national service where they receive token wage. [...] Detention, torture, and forced labor await anyone who disagrees with the government [...] (24).

Furthermore, Eritrean refugees who try to return are imprisoned or cruelly tortured as they are not allowed to leave the country without governmental permission (Human Rights Watch 4). Therefore, it can be assumed that many Eritreans were among the refugees in 2015 due to the unbearable situation in their home country.

5 Trauma

5.1 Definition and Concept

Theorists and researchers from various areas have dealt with trauma intensively within the last decade in order to provide profound explanations of what trauma is and to face the consequences of traumatic events. Historically speaking, the focus on trauma can be traced back to the 19th century and was specifically dealt with after the outbreak of World War I (Steck and Steck 127). More precisely, psychologists worked with people who participated in the first Great War and analyzed different symptoms which arose after the war came to an end. Furthermore, the Vietnam War, a century ago, played a major role in the thorough research of the concept of trauma as, for the first time, a link between traumatic events and war was drawn. Etymologically, the word trauma originates from the Greek term τραῦμα which means 'to wound or damage' (Silverstone 8). Therefore, trauma is said to be an injury incurred by certain traumatic events. While the original term refers to physical wounds, today's concept of trauma is inevitably linked to the psyche. More precisely, according to Laplanche and Pontalis, trauma is seen as “an event in the subject's life defined by its intensity, the subject's incapacity to respond adequately to it, and by the upheaval and long-lasting effects that it brings about in the psychic organization” (qtd. in Steck and Steck 128). The concept of trauma includes a certain event which leads to the traumatization of human beings linked to its impacts and consequences. In comparison, Krystal details trauma as “a paralyzed, overwhelmed state, with immobilization, withdrawal, possible depersonalization, evidence of disorganization” (90). Here, trauma refers to the consequences of traumatic events or to the reactions which come to life after it happens. It is a state of emotional distress and anxiety which appears and develops over time. Whether a situation is 'only' stressful or traumatic is not always clear. It is rather the individual assessment of a certain situation which leads to a categorization of its own as Van der Kolk, McFarlane and Weisaeth explain precisely: “However, the critical element that makes an event traumatic is the subjective assessment by victims of how threatened and helpless they feel. [...] the meaning that victims attach to these events is as fundamental as the trauma itself”(6).

Traumatic events happen regularly on a global scale but depending on their severity, human beings are either able to cope with them easily or are haunted by the effects of trauma for months or years (Scott and Palmer xiv). These events can take several forms, for instance, war, death, natural disasters, serious injuries, sexual abuse as well as illness or violence (Mueser and Rosenberg 355-356). There is no clear boundary or a definite categorization of which events are traumatic and which not as each individual experiences situations in a very subjective way.

5.2 Effects of Traumatization

A traumatic event or stressful situation can affect people's daily routine dramatically in terms of family life, personal relationships, occupational functioning or simple everyday tasks at home (Allen 169). These effects can have an impact on the body or the psyche or both in combination. A traumatization affects not only feelings, the memory, the personal consciousness and identity, but also behavior towards fellow human beings and further has an effect on the self-perception of traumatized people (Allen 169). A number of physical and mental diseases can appear in answer to a traumatic experience. The most frequent psychiatric disorder related to trauma is the so-called post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Mueser and Rosenberg 354). This anxiety disorder will be explained in detail in the following section. Further effects of trauma include various additional mental illnesses like a phobic or panic disorder, depression, eating disorders or alcohol and drug abuse (Runge and Patterson 1204). These disorders are said to occur as a result to people who try to control their symptoms by themselves.

5.2.1 PTSD

The post-traumatic stress disorder is an psychiatric diagnosis which is closely related to traumatization as the name itself implies. The disorder, abbreviated PTSD, has a long history concerning its word origin. Over the course of the 20th century, the anxiety disorder underwent several changes of title which are linked to symptoms of soldiers fighting different wars as George Carlin states in detail:

“In World-War I, combat trauma was called *shell shock*. [...] Then the Second World War ushered in the term *battle fatigue* [...] Next came the Korean War, when the term operational exhaustion prevailed [...] Finally, in the aftermath of Vietnam, the term *post-traumatic stress disorder*, our current label, emerged.” (qtd. in Marich 1)

While the designation changed, there is still a considerable interest in the deep exploration of the post-traumatic stress disorder (Van der Kolk, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 4). Traumatic stress research is an important area dealt with intensively nowadays. Many theorists precisely investigate the phenomenon of PTSD on a global scale which is the reason why an incredible number of literature is available on the market. The essential question discussed initially in the following subchapter is: What exactly is PTSD?

5.2.1.1 Definition & Symptoms

According to the American Psychiatric Association, the post-traumatic stress disorder is officially categorized as an anxiety disorder (qt. In Marich 15). Furthermore, the word 'disorder' in PTSD and its superordinate group indicates that intense symptoms appear which make daily

functioning burdensome. A trauma evokes a feeling of insecurity and many survivors lose faith in the world which makes normal daily existence nearly impossible (Allen 38). Therefore, people who experienced a fearful event are often afflicted by PTSD. Ehlers and Clark, two professors working at the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Oxford, describe PTSD in one sentence as “a common reaction to traumatic events such as assault, disaster or severe accidents” (319). Important to mention is that the major problem is not only the traumatic event itself but the memory with which traumatized people have to deal in the aftermath. In the 'Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-5', a proper definition of the post-traumatic stress disorder is provided as well as diagnostic criteria which apply to adults and children over 6 years and include:

- A. Exposure to actual or threatened death, serious injury, or sexual violence [...]
- B. Presence of one (or more) of the [...] intrusion symptoms associated with the traumatic event(s), beginning after the traumatic event(s) occurred [...]
- C. Persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the traumatic event(s), beginning after the traumatic event(s) occurred [...]
- D. Negative alterations in cognitions and mood associated with the traumatic event(s), beginning or worsening after the traumatic event(s) occurred [...]
- E. Marked alterations in arousal and reactivity associated with the traumatic event(s), beginning or worsening after the traumatic event(s) occurred [...]
- F. Duration of the disturbance (Criteria B,C,D and E) is more than 1 month.
- G. The disturbance causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.
- H. The disturbance is not attributable to the physiological effects of a substance (e.g. medication, alcohol) or another medical condition.

(American Psychiatric Association 271-272)

These criteria are the basis for the diagnosis of PTSD in psychiatry nowadays. As referred to in the DSM-5 above, PTSD symptoms can be classified into three major groups: re-experiencing, avoidance or numbing and arousal symptoms (Allen 170).

Any kind of memories which remind the suffering person of the traumatic event are perceived as being intrusive and hinder the survivor in his or her actions (Allen 174). These symptoms can be triggered by a certain sound or a specific smell which is linked to the past experience. Sufferers are often paralyzed in situations where sudden memories or images of the traumatic experience come to their minds and, furthermore, “PTSD patients are stuck in time and are continually re-exposed to the traumatic event [...]” (Scott and Palmer 2). Involuntarily, they experience the old trauma repeatedly due to intrusive memories in everyday life. Moreover, the traumatic event often appears during the sufferers' sleep as nightmares (Allen 176). They either go

through the whole trauma again or related fearful topics are part of their dreams. In addition, flashbacks are quite common among PTSD patients (Allen 174). Initiated by various triggers, PTSD affected people are brought back in time where the traumatic event happens repeatedly right in front of their eyes. Intrusive symptoms can be long-lasting and, additionally, the condition can worsen over time and the repetitive behavior increase.

Avoidance is a common reaction of human beings when it comes to stressful, discomforting events or memories. Traumatized persons try to avoid situations or certain people who remind them of the past incidence (Allen 178). Moreover, they are usually unwilling to discuss the experience with people, no matter if they are family members or outsiders. In order to achieve their goal of complete avoidance, PTSD patients distance themselves from family, friends and relatives and spend most of the time isolated (Allen 179). Activities carried out on a regular basis become stale and a general aversion to an ordinary life in society is striking. Therefore, they are referred to as 'numb' as their existence is very reserved and restricted (Allen 180). These symptoms can lead to depression and complete isolation as sufferers feel tired, unloved and doubt their abilities. People suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder find it difficult to make future plans or to even think about their future in general. Alarming is that “they also adopt obsessional defences and other behavioral strategies such as drug and alcohol abuse, eating disorders, sexual acting out and workaholism, to ward off intrusive recollections” (Scoot and Palmer 2).

PTSD patients showing hyperarousal symptoms are often plagued with insomnia (Allen 172). Many people suffering from PTSD have difficulties in coping with their trauma which can lead to sleeping disorders. In addition, traumatized people see danger everywhere and are described as being jumpy and always on alert (Van der Kork, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 13). Concentration problems are, therefore, quite common among PTSD patients as they are easily distracted by the environment. Moreover, the post-traumatic stress disorder is closely linked to anger. Traumatized persons feel treated unfairly and bear hatred towards people surrounding them and the world in general (Van der Kork, McFarlane, and Weisaeth 14). A trauma is irreversible and changes their lives radically. Bitterness or rage are expressions of the heavy pain the event caused. It is not unusual that PTSD patients turn to violence to express their feelings which leads to further problems in society making them outsiders or even criminals.

5.2.1.2 Coping Strategies

Coping refers to the different methods used in order to face and deal with certain feelings of anger, threat or other difficulties adequately (Eiser 106). A wide range of coping strategies can be found in literature which seem to be common sense approaches but they are proven to be helpful in the

process of trauma recovery. These strategies are used in order to control fear, anger and desperation and to prepare PTSD clients for further recovery work (Mirach 133). Coping skills are taught, often unconsciously, in daily life situations. Human beings learn different ways to cope with problems or difficult situations by watching people in the immediate vicinity, dealing with the media, self-teaching through books or in a professional environment like in therapy meetings (Bryant-Davis 146). People exposed to trauma rely on well-known strategies which need to be adapted according to the severity of the experience and further strategies need to be developed in order to manage stress gradually. Thema Bryant-Davis divides coping strategies into healthy and unhealthy coping methods (145). Healthy strategies refer to methods which neither harm the suffering person him- or herself nor third parties physically or mentally. Among these methods are, for instance, discussions with family members or other related persons, professional help in terms of therapy or medication if needed, taking actively part in everyday life instead of isolation, journaling and the use of arts (Bryant-Devis 147). Simple everyday tasks are used in order to cope with stressful situations and to control them. While, theoretically, healthy methods are clearly the better way to cope with post-traumatic stress, many clients take unhealthy measures in fighting their memories (Bryant-Devis 146). Avoidance, for example, is a way to feel safe for a certain amount of time but not in the long term. Temporal success is achieved by the consumption of alcohol or drug use. Besides forgetting traumatic events and its effects for a short time, this unhealthy strategy can lead to further problems concerning addiction. Classified as unhealthy coping mechanisms are, furthermore, complete isolation, the use of violence to express feelings related to experienced events as well as further diseases like eating disorders (Bryant-Devis 146). Nevertheless, there is not only one right path to take in order to cope with stress after a traumatic event due to the fact that people experience and react differently in various situations.

5.2.1.3 Treatment

Many theories with diverging views about the treatment or healing of trauma and PTSD exist. While some researchers argue that there is no cure for traumatic experiences, others are convinced that with different models and therapeutic approaches, patients are able to process the experienced events very well (Mengel 143-144). Furthermore, it can be said that there is not one single effective concept of treatment or therapy for PTSD, but many different approaches can be used for treating PTSD affected people alone or in combination. A few theories dealing with the recovery of traumatized people suffering from PTSD are discussed briefly in the following. Well-known approaches are introduced including the cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) in general and subtypes of CBT, the exposure therapy and the cognitive processing therapy in particular.

The cognitive-behavioral therapy is attributed to the psychiatrist Aaron Beck who developed this type of therapy in the 1960s (Rector 2). He focuses on negative thinking patterns and how these can be effectively decreased in order to change the patient's well-being. It is proven that CBT is the most effective therapeutic approach when it comes to the treatment of anxiety disorders as it is goal-oriented with significant improvement in a short time (Rothbaum and Foa 491). Clients are taught several long-term strategies with which they are able to solve daily difficulties. As the name suggests, the therapy focuses on thoughts and behavior of traumatized people and helps to change both as they are interrelated (Zayfert and Becker 3). The cognitive aspect deals with the negative thoughts which are evoked by traumatic events. The 'B' in CBT, refers to the reaction and behavior of suffering people in certain situations which provoke fear and desperation. Both combined are proven to be most effective for people of all ages. One therapeutic approach of CBT, the exposure therapy, is closely linked to the post-traumatic stress disorder and frequently used in the treatment of PTSD patients (Rothbaum and Foa 492). As indicated in the title of the therapy itself, people are exposed to certain fearful events or situations during this therapy in order to reduce their anxiety. Exposure is increased little by little, for example, by showing clients pictures of people, things or places related to their trauma (Zayfert and Becker 108). This step-by-step method is called habituation and accurately represented in figure 3:

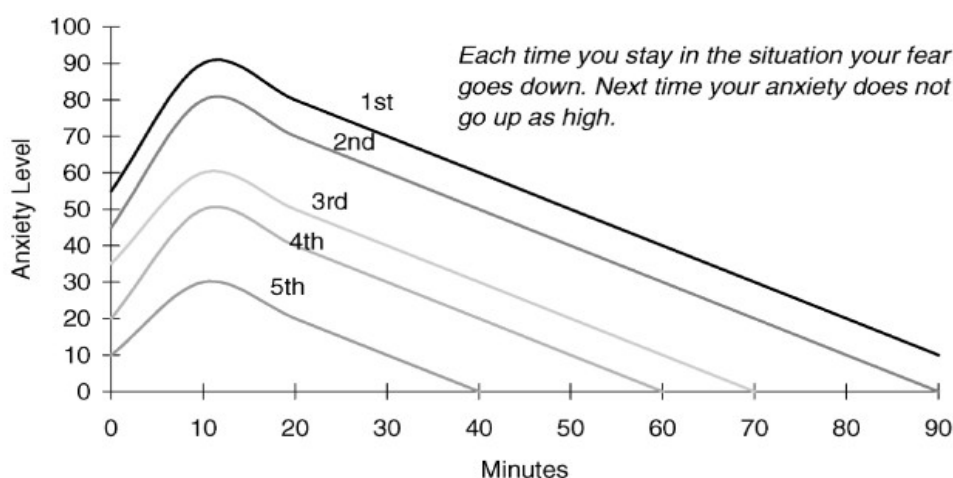


Figure 3: Habituation Curve (Zayfert and Becker 108)

The habituation curve shows how the level of anxiety decreases after each confrontation with a feared situation or memory. Nevertheless, it depends on the client how quickly an improvement is achieved as the therapy needs to be adapted to the individual requirements of the patient. The exposure therapy usually begins with such methods which cause less stress than a direct confrontation of the experienced trauma called flooding (Rothbaum and Foa 494-495). Although this therapeutic approach is said to be a safe technique, it is important to be performed by a

professional therapist in order to avoid a re-traumatization of PTSD clients.

The second approach, the cognitive processing therapy (CPT), is also used to help people suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder to recover. Developed by Dr. Patricia A. Resick, it aims at “[modifying] beliefs about the meaning and implications of the traumatic event” (Bruce and Jongsma 42). The therapy offers new techniques to handle negative thoughts and provides methods which contribute to the understanding of how trauma changes the sufferers' beliefs and meaning. Characteristic for CPT is the information providing aspect of the therapy (Rothbaum and Foa 501). Together with qualified therapists, PTSD patients are given detailed explanations about the disorder itself as well as the treatment in the form of therapy schedules, for example. Any questions of clients are answered precisely and useful skills are learned in the process of the therapy. This approach also includes a part which deals with exposure as clients have to re-tell their trauma usually in written form (Bruce and Jongsma 42). The story of the trauma put down in words is re-read by the person suffering from PTSD and further analyzed repeatedly in order to revise and modify biased beliefs. This will be achieved by a cognitive restructuring of emotions and thoughts linked to traumatic events and their impact on PTSD clients.

5.3 Refugee Trauma

Refugee trauma is a very prominent topic which is researched with great interest by theorists. Ongoing conflicts spread across the world lead to large-scale migrations with positive and negative effects concerning refugees' life and health.

Refugees of all ages experience extreme situations in their home country which can be classified as traumatic events (Steel et al. 60). As an eyewitness of war, victims of violence, rape, torture or political suppression, refugees undergo physical and emotional stress which further affects their health significantly. Apart from traumatic situations experienced in their home countries, various other factors enhance the refugee trauma. The flight to a new country itself is a severe stress for the refugees' bodies and their psyche (Steel et al. 61). Furthermore, the new life as a refugee entails a feeling of uncertainty and dependence as their future is doubtful, unknown and relies on decisions made by authorities responsible for the application of asylum for instance (Steel et al. 63). Certainty is an essential state of being for a successful recovery. In addition, Hussain and Bhushan further state that “such demands can be accompanied by [...] discrimination, feeling of being in the minority, loss of identity, and so on” (107). Therefore, it is said to be quite common that refugees suffer from depression or different anxiety disorders like the post-traumatic stress disorder. In general, the individual assessment and treatment of the trauma of refugees are essential in order to enable them to start into a new future. But it is important to consider that,

[...] supporting refugees is not simply a question of “treating their trauma”. It requires an understanding of the complexity of their situation and of the adaptations they must make ... A conviction that mental illness, especially PTSD [...] is usually present in refugees, is unhelpful. (Richman qtd in Papadopoulos 158)

The impact of the experienced trauma on refugees depends on diverse factors. The 'Kinetic Model of Refugee Theory' established by Kunz focuses explicitly on the different attitudes of refugees towards movement. He differentiates between two different kinetic types of displacement: the anticipatory refugee movement and the acute refugee movement. Each type affects refugees physically and mentally in different ways. Anticipatory refugees leave their country before the outbreak of a crisis (Kunz 131). A political or military conflict is estimated but the danger recognized at an early stage. Anticipatory refugees usually have a certain amount of time to prepare their journey and the new life with their families before they arrive in the country of settlement (Kunz 132). They are informed about the new culture, language and possible job options and are in possession of certain financial resources. According to Kunz, this kinetic type of movement follows the pattern of 'push and pull' migration (132). This model suggests that various positive and negative factors cause people to leave their home country either for survival or for a better future (Isaac 34). Push factors like economic or political distress force people to flee while pull factors, for instance an economic boom, quality education and attractive job opportunities, lead many people to move to a foreign country voluntarily and with great future prospects. Concerning the anticipatory refugee movement, pull factors are less prominent as danger is sensed. Nevertheless, anticipatory refugees are less likely to experience traumatic events as they have time to prepare and organize the move also in psychological terms (Kunz 132). By comparison, the second kinetic type, the acute refugee movement, raises the risk of a refugee trauma dramatically as people are forced to leave their country due to “great political changes or movements of armies” (Kunz 132). The focus is on escape and survival which makes it impossible to prepare well for the immediate flight. Acute refugees flee in mass flows or in smaller streams of refugees. Furthermore, families are frequently separated as they need to leave their country of residence often in a moment's notice. Regarding the push-and-pull model, the push motive is highly prominent while pull factors are nonexistent (Kunz 132). As Kunz further explains, several reasons contribute to the trauma of refugees as they have to deal with “subsequent administrative, economic, and psychological pressures” and “[...] the forcing of refugees into uncongenial refugee camps, the offer of assisted passages or other actions intended to move him, appears to be always more decisive than the pull of the country where the refugee eventually goes” (133).

Moreover, important to consider is the cultural background of refugees attempting to escape. In terms of cultural and ethnic origin, Anne Paludan differentiates between two concepts of

refugees: new versus traditional refugees (George 380). The former describes people who come from an extremely different country than their hosts in terms of culture, ethnicity and race. New refugees are said to flee less-developed countries. It is far more difficult for them to become integrated into their new home country without any fear of rejection. Traditional refugees are those who are culturally and ethnically similar to the population of the country of settlement (George 380). For them, it is more likely to become quickly well-accepted which reduces the risk of further traumatic experiences. The fewer differences between the country of origin and the country of settlement are, the less likely it is that refugees experience further traumatic events in their new country. Additionally, focus can be put on the reprocessing of traumatic experiences which happened in their country of origin, during their journey or in the country of settlement.

6 Analysis Part I

This chapter is concerned with the representation of the European Migrant Crisis in US and UK newspapers and magazines. The analysis carried out in this academic paper is described as qualitative content analysis (see chapter 2.1.). This approach enables to divide the collected articles into various categories depending on their thematic content. These categories are established by analyzing the whole articles closely which includes the headline as well as the complete body of the online published news reports. Step-by-step, articles are analyzed thoroughly, notes taken and then further divided up into pre-formulated categories. Overall, 12 different subject areas emerged from the in-depth analysis:

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Political reporting• Numbers and figures• Dispersal• Housing or Accommodation• Helpfulness and support• Racism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Crimes/Violence/Clashes• Excessive demands and chaos• Refugee/Migrant voices• Deadly events and accidents• Employment• Economy
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Articles which cannot be placed in one of these thematic areas are categorized as 'others'. In order to give an insight into the categorization part, the established subject areas are explained, in the context of this research, more precisely in the following paragraphs.

An article belongs to the category of *political reporting* if it is concerned with EU or government policies, with information about special summits or meetings of government leaders or if it includes individual speeches or commentaries of politicians or experts. According to the list above, the second category includes articles which focus to a large extent on *numbers and figures*. These reports display current numbers of arrivals of refugees and migrants by land or sea, numbers of asylum applications, figures about nationalities and so on. Moreover, the category includes also articles which provide information about expected numbers of arrivals or asylum applications. According to Blastland and Dilnot, numbers are “today's pre-eminent public language” and therefore frequently used in the media (1). Furthermore, articles can be placed in the category of *dispersal*. This subject area covers news or magazine reports which deal with, for example, the national and international distribution of refugees and migrants. Articles which provide information or facts about the housing crisis in general, the lack of accommodation facilities, housing conditions as well as further problems related to the accommodation of refugees and migrants fall under the category of *housing/accommodation*. Additionally, the category *helpfulness and support* includes articles whose contents deal with the helpfulness and support of individual people, organizations or

whole countries during the European Migrant Crisis. Articles which refer to racist acts or verbal attacks against refugees or migrants fall under the category *racism*. Related to this theme is the next category summarized as *crimes/violence/clashes*. It represents crimes conducted by refugees and migrants as well as by European citizens or any other person who is portrayed as a criminal. Furthermore, this subject area includes articles which focus on any kind of violence against refugees and migrants or on violence applied by refugees/migrants on their journey to or through Europe or in their country of settlement. In addition, reports which deal with clashes between police staff or protesters and refugees and migrants fall under this category. In the context of this research, *excessive demands and chaos* is found as a subject area which covers news or magazine reports representing, for instance, EU governments, state authorities and individuals who are unable to cope with the overwhelming influx of migrants to Europe. It further includes articles which describe the consequences of excessive demands and the Europe-wide chaos caused by the crisis in 2015. It is not uncommon that refugees and migrants receive particular attention from the media in order to present their views and experiences. Articles which are concerned with refugees' or migrants' own representation of the European Migrant Crisis are categorized as *refugee/migrant voices*. *Employment and economy* are subject areas which cover any reports dealing with the educational or job situation in countries affected by the crisis as well as with economic disadvantages and benefits of immigration. An overview of the completed categorization is provided in table 2 followed by a detailed discussion of the representation of the European Migrant Crisis in the most prominent categories of each newspaper or magazine in the subsequent subchapters.

	The Guardian	The Independent	Daily Mirror	Daily Mail	The New York Times	The Washington Post	Newsweek	USA Today
<i>Political reporting</i>	15	5	5	3	13	13	16	9
<i>Numbers/figures</i>	4	3	4	10	2	0	4	5
<i>Dispersal</i>	0	2	0	1	2	3	0	1
<i>Housing/ accommodation</i>	4	3	1	3	0	0	2	1
<i>Helpfulness/support</i>	3	4	1	1	1	0	0	3
<i>Racism</i>	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	0
<i>Crimes/ violence/clashes</i>	1	5	2	7	4	4	3	1
<i>Deadly events/ accidents</i>	1	3	13	2	1	3	4	1
<i>Excessive demands/ chaos</i>	6	5	5	5	6	2	0	5
<i>Refugee/ individual voices</i>	0	3	1	1	2	3	3	3
<i>Employment</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Economy</i>	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	0
<i>Others</i>	0	0	1	0	3	4	2	6

Table 2: Thematic categorization of US and UK newspaper articles in total

6.1 Portrayal of refugees and the European Migrant Crisis in US newspaper/magazines

6.1.1 New York Times

6.1.1.1 Political reporting

In general, The New York Times portrays the European Migrant Crisis as a political challenge not only for Europe but on a global scale. In particular, the analyzed and categorized articles of the American newspaper focus on EU politics and the representation of the European Union as a failing power to manage the European Migrant Crisis in 2015. On 04/12/2015, The New York Times published an article which deals with the inability of the European Union to cope with the migration crisis in detail. In the article, it is reported that Greece was promised much more help than it received: “The European Union has provided far less than is needed to help Greece deal with the massive influx of refugees and other migrants this year [...]” Furthermore, the Greek minister Xydakis states that “there is an inability of the member states and the European mechanisms to respond to the needs of this storm”. In this article, the European Union is given a negative image and blamed for not being prepared for such a serious crisis. Similar criticism is expressed in further articles. In a report issued on 25/10/2015, information about an emergency summit in Brussels is provided with no unified response as a result of the meeting: “The European Commission [...] has proposed numerous plans and programs since the early summer to deal with the issue, but a wide chasm has opened between talk in Brussels and real action on the ground.” In this article, it is said that resettlement and further policies are being discussed regularly at meetings of European leaders but not implemented although urgently needed. Another reason for a non-unified Europe addressed in this article is that many member states are not willing to follow proposed policies by the European Union: “The cornerstone of the commission's migration policy, the slow-moving relocation plan, has been stalled by bitter resistance from Hungary and other Eastern and Central European countries that object to taking in migrants for resettlement.” Although several European countries and government decisions are discussed by The New York Times in the published articles, particular focus is put on Germany and especially on the German chancellor's problems with her 'refugee's welcome' policy. In the article with the headline *Angela Merkel Calls for United Europe to Address Migrant Crisis* published on 07/10/2015, her open border policy is heavily criticized: “[Mrs.] Merkel has been under increasing criticism for her management of the crisis and her unmitigated support for a migrant flow that has increasingly put her country under strain and had ripple effects through other states along the migrant trail.” In this article, Germany's President

Joachim Gauck raises concerns that his home country is about to reach its limits regarding the European Migrant Crisis.

Articles categorized as political reporting are not only concerned with representations of political failure, but also with the portrayal of refugees and migrants as possible terrorists after attacks in Paris in November 2015. In three articles, the influx of refugees and migrants are presented as a possible threat to not only European countries but also to the United States of America. In these articles, it is reported that one terrorist involved in the attacks entered Europe officially as a migrant. In an article issued on 15/11/2015, it is described that “[...] the idea that the incoming refugees present a security risk is already an established meme among the anti-immigrant right online; they take it as fact that the attacks in Paris would not have happened had Europe shut its doors months ago.” Although this meaning is particularly shared by a right-wing party in Germany, as further stated in the article, several United States governors raise similar concerns in a report published on 16/11/2015 by The New York Times: “[...] several governors warned that refugees could arrive without verifiable documents or slip through the screening process and that they could pose a terrorist threat once here.”

6.1.1.2 *Excessive demands/ chaos*

As already mentioned in the section about political reporting above, Europe is overwhelmed in a wide range of areas with the influx of people entering the country in 2015. These include, for example, politics, economy, education as well as accommodation. The chaos which emerged as a consequence of the struggle to cope with the crisis is regularly addressed by The New York Times in the analyzed articles. Moreover, the European Migrant Crisis is depicted as an unmanageable catastrophe. In the analyzed articles, it is reported that European countries react uncoordinated to the crisis in order to handle the influx of people in their countries. For example, in an article published on 17/09/2015, it is said that “Germany has sent its own mixed signals.” While Germany thinks about stricter border controls after fully opened borders, Hungary announces the state of crisis and Croatia closes its borders completely. In an article published on 04/07/2015, the situation at Lesbos in Greece is described as “full-scale disaster” as people have to find shelter among garbage due to overfilled immigration centers. Furthermore, “[t]he toilets were clogged and the temperatures still well above 90 degrees.” Chaos emerged as a consequence of an unprepared country.

But it is not only governments that are overstrained by the influx of people, but refugees and migrants themselves are portrayed as being unable to cope with this extraordinary situation. As a consequence of closed borders and the denial of further travel, refugees and migrants “[...] broke

through police barriers at a nearby border crossing from Austria and marched on the highway toward Passau.” Furthermore, “[a]t another crossing, two migrants became impatient and jumped into a river to swim to Germany.” Not only the governments are overwhelmed by the whole crisis but also refugees and migrants act out of despair.

6.1.1.3 Crimes/ violence/ clashes

The content analysis reveals that the European Migrant Crisis is portrayed as a violent and brutal event in some newspaper articles published by The New York Times. In these articles, the police and European citizens are depicted as criminals who use violence or commit criminal offenses in order to threaten refugees and migrants or to show their strong aversion against those coming to Europe. One article particularly focuses on the attitude of the Bulgarian border authorities towards incoming refugees and migrants. Published on 23/12/2015, it provides information about violent incidences which are reported to have taken place by village inhabitants living near the Bulgarian border: “They are watching us. When the refugees try to cross, they are stopping them and pushing them back, sometimes beating them, robbing them, even unleashing dogs on them.” It is noticeable that not only refugees and migrants fear the Bulgarian border authorities but also aid workers refer to violent police forces at the borders. Furthermore, refugees and migrants are described as being so badly hit that their noses were broken and their faces full of blood. The article includes also a report of interviews with 110 refugees carried out by Oxfam and the Belgrade Center for Human Rights: “Each one who had contact with the Bulgarian police reported some form of abuse, the report said, an outcome so unanimous that even other aid groups found it a little suspect.” The effect of this report is that the representation of refugees and migrants as victims is distorted. As revealed in further paragraphs, refugees and migrants are told by traffickers to disclose any kind of abuse by the police so that they can more easily continue their journey without being sent back to Bulgaria. Within this article, the portrayal of refugees and migrants shifts from being poor victims who are robbed and beaten by the police to possible liars who expect advantages for their ongoing journey.

In addition, The New York Times published a short article on 25/08/2015 whose content is about attacks and crimes directed against refugees and migrants in Germany. These crimes include primarily arson attacks on planned refugee and migrant housings. The article reveals that “[...] more than 200 attacks directed against migrants” were carried out in the first 8 months in 2015 in Germany. In this way, refugees and migrants are demonstrated that they are not welcome in Europe's most populous country and German residents are portrayed as aggressive people who use violence in order to expel refugees and migrants from their home country. With these two and further articles categorized as crime reports, The New York Times depicts the European Migrant

Crisis as a violent event.

6.1.1.4 Numbers/ figures

Presenting numbers and figures is an essential tool in the field of news reporting. Although only a few articles fall under this category, The New York Times reveals record numbers concerning the European Migrant Crisis in these articles partly with reference to the sources. One article's headline published on 31/10/2015, *A Mass Migration Crisis, and It May Get Worse*, indicates the incredibly high number of arrivals of refugees and migrants in Europe and further confirms this suggestion by saying “ [...] and they are on the march in numbers not seen since World War II.” The article presents not only numbers of arrivals in Europe which “are 10,000 a day at the height, as many as a million migrants heading for Europe this year” but also displacements in all countries affected by the crisis: “There are between six million and eight million people displaced in Syria along with more than four million Syrian refugees in Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan.” Furthermore, experts warn readers about the alerting number of arrivals in Europe: “We are talking about millions of potential refugees trying to reach Europe, not thousands.” In this article, the European Migrant Crisis is represented in numbers in order to highlight the new dimension of migration at a glance. Similarly structured is an article published on 28/12/2015 with the title *The E.U. Migration Crisis, Told in 2 Startling Numbers*. This article aims at representing the European Union's trouble with the influx of refugees and migrants to Europe numerically: “More than one million people have made their way to Europe this year, according to the International Organization for Migration, and 190 have been formally relocated. The disparity is a potent reminder of how migration has strained the European Union's political will, its unity and its resources.” Here, the European Migrant Crisis and the implementation of measures to handle the crisis are compared numerically in order to show the failure of the European Union to react properly to the massive influx of people.

6.1.1.5 Refugee/ migrant voices

The representation of refugees and the European Migrant Crisis in articles categorized as refugee/migrant voices differ significantly from other categories. It represents personal opinions and stories told exclusively by refugees and migrants who fled to Europe in 2015. Hence, these articles are written from a subjective point of view. The article titled *In Danger in Afghanistan, Unable to Flee*, published on 05/12/2015, tells the story of a young Afghan couple who watched thousands of their compatriots fleeing war and danger. In this article, Mohammad Ali, blames the political system for the deadly events which happen regularly on the journey to Europe: “Why can't we just get a visa here and go directly?”. The European Migrant Crisis is again portrayed as a major

political failure. As stated in further paragraphs of the article, the asylum policy in Europe is contradictory. Often refugees who live in danger in their home countries see no escape than taking dangerous routes to Europe or are unable to leave their country of origin at all. Apart from the political failure, the article depicts refugees as helpless and desperate people whose safety cannot be guaranteed. This representation relies on another story mentioned in this article, the story of Ms. Sarwari who “[...] would like to leave Afghanistan but has not received a visa despite her pleas to officials at the American and German Embassies in Kabul.” She was told to leave the country by herself similarly to thousands of other refugees and migrants and, in case “she survives”, should apply for asylum as soon as she enters a possible country of settlement.

6.1.2 The Washington Post

6.1.2.1 Political reporting

In the category of political reporting, the European Migrant Crisis is represented exclusively as a political disaster. Similar to the representations of the European Migrant Crisis by The New York Times, the Washington Post's reports are concerned with political failure in Europe regarding the European Migrant Crisis in 2015. In an article published on 29/10/2015, focus is put on the inability of the European Union to cope with the crisis and to take appropriate measures. The headline, *'We need more from everywhere' to help migrants, U.N. Refugee commissioner says*, indicates helplessness among European institutions and governments. The article further discusses policies about relocation plans and agreements concerning reception centers along the primary routes to Europe. Highlighted is the fact that theoretical approaches differ significantly from reality as much more people arrive than can be received in the planned reception centers. In addition, the article addresses that not only Europe needs to be more effective in managing the European Migrant Crisis but “The United States, too, has fallen short. Though it is the largest provider of humanitarian aid to Syria, the Obama administration has so far agreed to accept only 10 000 refugees from the country in the next year.” The crisis is portrayed as being not only a challenge for Europe but on an international level and in order to cope with the massive influx of people, Europe and the United States need to cooperate. The Obama administration's decision to accept not more than 10 000 refugees in the United States of America is criticized in further articles published by The Washington Post. These articles portray the US politicians as ignorant as mentioned in a headline from an article published on 17/09/2015: *The world is facing a devastating global refugee crisis. The GOP debate ignored it*. The article is concerned with a debate among GOPs who talked about many different political aspects in their meeting but not about the European Migrant Crisis with

particular attention: “[...] the candidates were not asked about and barely mentioned refugees or migrants at all.” As the United States have been engaged in Middle East conflicts for years, more aid is expected concerning the European Migrant Crisis in 2015.

Moreover, striking is the representation of the European Migrant Crisis as a multicultural problem in an article published on 14/12/2015 with particular focus on Germany. Although Germany and especially chancellor Angela Merkel is known for the 'welcome refugee' policy, she says in a speech that “[m]ulticulturalism leads to parallel societies and therefore remains a 'life lie'.” In the Washington Post's article, it is reported that Germany reaches its limits and the number of arrivals needs to be reduced. The integration of refugees and migrants plays an important role in each country that admits them. The fear of Germans is that they create separate societies rather than integrate themselves completely. Therefore, politicians in Germany demand regulations which say that refugees and migrants need to speak German at home as well as in public areas. In this article, refugees are partly presented as unwilling to integrate into German society and if they refuse to “assimilate to German values and culture”, a great multicultural problem will be about to happen in Germany. Speaking about the representation of refugees and migrants in the category of political reporting, they are further portrayed as possible terrorists in an article on 5/12/2015: “It's being manipulated by politicians for a debate that's putting a really negative image of refugees. The end result is human misery.” The portrayal of refugees and migrants as terrorists is closely linked to the attacks in Paris in 2015. Politicians fear a lack of security due to terrorists entering Europe via the migrant trail. The article further reveals that refugees and migrants are wrongly accused and treated unfairly by European authorities: “But when I hear what the politicians are saying, it sounds like they think we are crazy terrorists.”

A few of the analyzed articles published online provide information about the stances of certain European countries with regard to the European Migrant Crisis. While Germany and Sweden pursue a 'refugees welcome' policy, the United Kingdom receives harsh criticism as its attitude towards refugees and migrants is rather negative. The article with the headline *Britain takes in so few refugees from Syria they would fit on a subway train* deals predominantly with the English speaking country and its role in the European Migrant Crisis. In the article, which was published on 01/09/2015, the UK is presented as anti-migration country which pursues a highly restrictive policy as “[j]ust 216 Syrian refugees have qualified for the government's official relocation program, according to data released last week. [...] British Prime Minister David Cameron has reassured his anxious public that the total number won't rise above 1,000.” This number is incredibly low compared to Germany which “prepares for an expected onslaught of 800, 000 asylum applications just this year [...].” Furthermore, Britain is blamed for being one of the reasons why Europe is not

able to implement a common asylum policy. The article further states that Britain's hostile attitude towards refugees and migrants is due to the portrayal of refugees as “invading army attempting to storm the Cliffs of Dover” in the British tabloid press. Additionally, the British Prime Minister, David Cameron, refers to refugees and migrants as “a swarm” which intensifies their negative image in regard to the migration crisis in 2015.

6.1.2.2 Crimes/ violence/ clashes

Articles published between August and December 2015 include stories about crime and violence related to the European Migrant Crisis. In the articles which fall under this category, the European Migrant Crisis is presented as a battlefield for anti-refugee groups. In particular, in an article published on 29/08/2015, the hostile stance on refugees and migrants of far-right parties in Germany as well as anti-refugee riots are described in detail. Highlighted is the German city Heidenau where neo-Nazi people protest against refugees and migrants with violence. While Germany is generally known for its helping hands concerning the European Migrant Crisis, the article explains that “[...] there are also xenophobic protests and violence.” Furthermore, it presents statistics about violent attacks and assaults conducted predominantly by right-wing political groups against refugee and migrant housings. As some of the categorized articles of The Washington Post show, refugees and migrants are also represented as being aggressive and ready to use violence. It is striking that clashes appear foremost at state borders. On 03/12/2015, an article was issued by The Washington Post which deals with clashes at the border between Greece and Macedonia as indicated in the headline *Clashes as thousands of migrants are stuck outside Macedonia*. Onward travel was made impossible for refugees and migrants due to closed borders and hence “[t]ired of waiting, thousands of refugees then broke through a Greek police cordon [...]” In another article published on 26/11/2015, violent measures carried out by refugees and migrants are described in detail: “They have staged daily demonstrations at the border, and have pitched their tents on a railway line, halting rail services between the Greek port of Thessaloniki and the Macedonian capital Skopje.” In the article, they are portrayed as responding aggressively to certain regulations made by European governments.

6.1.2.3 Deadly events/ accidents

The European Migrant Crisis in 2015 is portrayed as a deadly event in certain articles published online by The Washington Post. Striking is that most deaths occurred during the journey to Europe by sea as the article with the headline *The grim task of identifying the migrants who don't reach Europe* explains. Published on 23/10/2015, it further describes the situation in Libya where many

boats depart: “Nearly every day, the dead washed ashore on this remote stretch of beach, migrants whose boats had capsized on their way to Europe.” Volunteers are in search of dead bodies along the coast and it is said that “[t]here is perhaps no job that more hauntingly captures the scale of the tragedy.” The European Migrant Crisis is portrayed as tragedy and detailed information is given about certain aspects which contribute to a more horrifying picture of the crisis as some of the found bodies “[...] hardly look human at all.” Refugees and migrants who die on their journey to Europe are reported to remain mostly unidentified numbers. Another tragedy which took place in Austria is addressed in further articles. The Washington Post published a news report on 30/08/2015 dealing with a smuggler's truck in which 71 dead bodies were found. “Those people in that truck put their faith in God and got inside because they, like us, had not other choice,” said a young refugee in the article. This displays not only the tragedy which happened in August 2015 but further depicts refugees and migrants as helpless and desperate people who risk their life in order to come to Europe. If trains do not operate and borders are closed, there is no further option for them as entering Europe by means of smugglers: “Nobody would get on a cooling truck from Hungary to Austria or Germany if he was able to take a train.” Moreover, the European Migrant Crisis is displayed as a paradise for smugglers in an article published on 27/08/2015: “A booming smuggling industry has arisen both on land and sea [...]” If there is no alternative provided to enter certain European countries, refugees and migrants are willing to pay much money and, more importantly, to put themselves in danger in order to reach a specific country within Europe. In this case, refugees and migrants are in the role of the victims.

6.1.2.4 *Refugee/ migrant voices*

Full of tragedies, deadly events and insufficient support, the European Migrant Crisis is depicted as hell by refugees and migrants in certain articles published online. The analysis reveals that they live in constant fear and danger on their journey to Europe and are held in inhumane conditions. What first was believed to be dead certainty turned into hell as explained in an article published on 04/08/2015 by The Washington Post: “But within hours, paradise for the new arrivals turned into purgatory.” Zahra Jafari, a young woman from Afghanistan says: “This is the opposite of what we thought Europe would be [...] It's a disaster – just like my country.” With this statement, Zahra describes the situation of the European Migrant Crisis as warlike especially in Greek camps. Living conditions in refugee housings are poor and food is not provided on a regular basis. Haydar Majid, a young man from Iraq who is fleeing bomb attacks and violence puts it more drastically: “But this place isn't for humans. It's for animals.” The situation in camps in Greece, for example, where refugees and migrants first enter Europe after a sea journey are displayed as catastrophic. In the

same article, refugees and migrants are portrayed as desperate victims experiencing violence. It is reported that masked people attacked refugee camps in Lesbos in order to steal money and personal belongings. The attackers were armed and frightened their victims with various weapons. Concerning refugee voices in The Washington Post, the European Migrant Crisis is given a negative image.

6.1.2.5 Economy

In terms of economy, the European Migrant Crisis is presented as blessing and curse at the same time by The Washington Post. In an article published on 12/10/2015, the crisis is portrayed as an economic disadvantage due to losses especially concerning rail services. For instance, the article addresses that regular train services have been cancelled since September between Germany and Austria. These restrictions lead to a decline in potential consumers of food and clothing as workers and students need to find alternative ways to travel from Austria to Germany and vice versa. The Washington Post mentions groceries as example: "Meanwhile, grocery stores on the German side said their business has been halved as Austrian shoppers have been cut off." A positive effect of the limited use of rail services can be seen in the number of taxi rides between Salzburg and Munich as "[...] the suspension of train services into neighboring Germany has been a boon to taxi drivers." In this article, the European Migrant Crisis is represented as having a positive effect on taxi businesses who count considerably more customers than before the crisis. Additionally, refugees and migrants are regarded as potential customers who contribute to the countries' economic situation. According to the content of a newspaper article published on 27/08/2015 by The Washington Post, Eastern European countries "[...] are seeing the influx as potential boom." In a few nations, suggestions made by government leaders include the habitation of so-called ghost towns which, in the long term, influence the countries' economy significantly: "[...] Serbia's population has dropped more than 5 percent since 2002, a consequence of a low birth rate and emigration of young workers to more prosperous nations." A rise in population in Serbia would, hence, be beneficial for the country. In terms of economy, the European Migrant Crisis is represented as contributing positively to Europe's situation as the headline *How tens of thousands of migrants could help save Europe* indicates.

6.1.3 Newsweek

6.1.3.1 Political reporting

The content analysis reveals that the majority of articles published by the Newsweek magazine belongs to the category of political reporting. The American weekly news magazine presents the European Migrant Crisis in different ways. Quite prominent is the portrayal of the crisis as a political disaster in Europe. In several EU leader meetings, different plans to manage the influx of people and to find solutions concerning the deadly journey to Europe are discussed. Nevertheless, on 26/10/2015, it is reported that “[...] the summit was overshadowed by bickering among EU leaders, who blame each other for not responding to the crisis adequately.” EU politicians of different member states are not able to elaborate on certain proposed plans as a union. The readers obtain a picture of politicians who feel not responsible for urgently needed agreements in order to stop the disaster in Europe. Moreover, in the article, it is also mentioned that the Slovenian prime minister is sure that the European Union will not work for long if it does not respond adequately to the crisis. In another article, the French government is called to account as the headline *Blame the French for the Migrant Crisis in Calais* indicates. Published on 13/08/2015, it is further said about the government in France that attempts to climb up the Eurotunnel fences “[...] have been caused by a series of policies by successive French governments on both the left and right of the political spectrum aimed at making migrants in and around the city more and more vulnerable.” In the article, it is reported that an accommodation center in Calais is known under the term “the New Jungle” referring to the desperate conditions in this shelter.

Concerning political reporting, the Newsweek magazine represents the European Migrant Crisis not only as a political crisis but as a potential threat to whole Europe and the European Union as an institution in particular. The European Migrant Crisis is considered to be a danger for one of the most important treaties within the EU territory, the Schengen agreement. The once established borderless Schengen Area is now marked by physical barriers after “two decades of frontier-free travel across Europe.” This text passage is from an article published on 15/09/15 with the headline *As Refugee and Migrant Crisis grows, border-free Europe unravels*. This article published further provides information about the decision made by several countries to restore border controls and describes these measures as “biggest threat so far to the Schengen system of a border free-Europe, which ranks alongside the euro single currency as one of the transformative achievements of integration on the continent.” Agreements and policies decided by the European Union in order to establish a borderless Europe are under fire. Furthermore, on 28/08/2015, it is reported that “smugglers and migrants are taking advantage of the Schengen system to move on to other

countries after entering Hungary. [...] the migrants themselves misuse or abuse [the system] because they know [when] they are within the Schengen zone, their capability of moving increases.” The preservation of the Schengen agreement is being discussed since the migration crisis has reached its peak in 2015 as stricter border controls are required by most governments. In articles published by the weekly magazine, it is said that the incredible influx of refugees and migrants is a threat to Europe as they come in numbers unable to cope with by European countries who are in general willing to grant asylum. In particular, in a news report published on 18/09/2015, the German economy minister refers to members of the European Union which refuse the binding refugee quotas and states that “[i]f it continues like this, then Europe is in danger, more than it was from the financial crisis or the Greece crisis.” The number of arrivals in Europe in 2015 is not possible to handle if certain EU member states refuse to help managing the crisis.

In addition, Turkey is presented by the Newsweek magazine as 'The Saviour Angel' in regard to the European Migrant Crisis. In many articles, the billion euro deal with the European Union is discussed in detail. One analyzed article titled *EU to Press Turkey on Refugee Crisis* and published on 15/15/2015 provides precise information about the deal between the European Union and Turkey: “Under the plan, the EU would commit a further 1 billion euros (\$1.15 billion) to help Turkey to deal with the influx of refugees [...]. In return, Turkey would prioritize the opening of six refugee reception centres, co-founded by the EU, as well as streamlining asylum procedures.” Turkey would disburden the European Union significantly and can, in return, expect not only financial aid but also officers who assist the personnel along the borders.

6.1.3.2 Numbers/figures

Compared to other US newspapers and magazines, Newsweek displays with 6 articles the most news reports which fall under the category of numbers and figures. The weekly magazine represents the extent of the European Migrant Crisis in exact or estimated numbers and draws comparisons. Most striking is a headline which was published in an article on 22/12/2015: *Refugee and Migrant Numbers top one million in Europe, says IOM*. The real scale of the crisis in 2015 is expressed in clear figures: “By Monday, 1,005,504 refugees and migrants entered Europe by sea in six European Union countries - [...] - in 2015.” Furthermore, numbers are compared to arrivals in 2014 in order to show the “four-fold increase” of the number of refugees and migrants entering Europe in 2015. Additionally, Newsweek articles of this category play the 'number's game' when speaking about adults and children who died on their way to Europe. In an article released online on 30/10/2015, exact numbers of children who died in certain deadly events are given to highlight the danger of the flight to Europe: “According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 69 children

died making the crossing to Greece between September 2 and October 26, while another 11 are reported to have drowned when a boat capsized on Wednesday evening, followed by 11 more on Thursday evening.” Furthermore, numbers and figures are used to show the inadequate responses to the crisis from European and international states. The Newsweek magazine published an article on 16/09/2015 which describes the reaction of the United States of America to the European Migrant Crisis as unsatisfactory: “Only 1,500 Syrians have been resettled in the U.S in the first four years of the crisis, and while the 10,000 number is a step forward from the previous commitment of 8,000, it's obviously far from adequate given the scale of need.” The United States of America are blamed for its lack of sufficient assistance in Europe in numerical form. Exact numbers are given in order to not only determine the dimension of necessary aid but also to draw comparisons between different countries, in the context of this article, between the United States and the United Kingdom: “[...] Britain's pledge to resettle 20,000 Syrians from refugee camps in the countries bordering Syria over five years is also inadequate.”

6.1.3.3 *Deadly events/ accidents*

The European Migrant Crisis is associated with deadly events, tragedies and accidents since its beginning in 2015. In this category, the Newsweek magazine's articles portray the European Migrant Crisis exclusively as maritime disaster. Individual cases of boat accidents are described which further provide information about rescued refugees and migrants and those who drowned at sea. The dangerous journey to Europe and badly constructed boats used to cross the Mediterranean are specified by an article published on 26/08/2015: “Tens of thousands of people, mainly from Africa and the Middle East, have put to sea this year in the hope of reaching Europe, often dangerously packed into small vessels that were never designed to cross the Mediterranean.” This text passage reflects the untenable conditions at sea and further indicates how life-threatening these journeys are for thousands of people who are fleeing war and terror. The representation of the European Migrant Crisis as maritime disaster is further supported by some articles' content about rescue operations needed as many boats do not reach their destination due to poor quality or overfilling. On 04/12/2015, the Newsweek published an article which focuses on rescues executed by different organizations and aid groups: “Italian authorities rescued nearly 2,000 refugees off the Libyan coast on Thursday, as people in eight dinghies and three boats attempted to flee across the Mediterranean sea.” The maritime crisis in 2015 prompts the European Union to start Operation Sophia which is “an operation launched in June to curb the number of human smugglers in the Mediterranean.” Further articles reveal the real scale of the maritime crisis, for example, in a report published on 13/09/2015: “Twenty eight refugees drowned off a Greek island on Sunday when their

boat sank, the coastguard said. It's thought to be the largest recorded death toll from any single accident in Greek waters since the refugee crisis began.”

6.1.3.4 Crimes/ violence/ clashes

Crime and violence are themes which also appear in the weekly news magazine. It is remarkable that these articles are only concerned with clashes between the police or border control agents and refugees and migrants themselves. In reference to these clashes, the European Migrant Crisis is depicted as being in a state of emergency with violent attacks as the outcome of an uncontrolled influx of people. The Newsweek magazine focuses predominantly on violent confrontations at the borders between Greece and Macedonia as well as Hungary and Serbia. One violent clash in Macedonia ended with a Moroccan refugee's death as explained in an article published on 03/12/2015: “A Moroccan man was electrocuted at a refugee camp on the Greece-Macedonian border on Thursday morning, as stranded refugees clashed with Greek police for a second day [...]” The police as well as the border control is not able to manage the rioting refugees and migrants who seek for a better life in Europe. On the one hand, refugees and migrants themselves are portrayed as violent people who fight with all means in order to reach their goal as depicted in an article issued on 26/11/2015: “Hundreds of Moroccans, Algerians and Pakistanis tried to storm the border between Greece and Macedonia on Thursday, tearing down part of the barbed wire fence at the crossing and demanding to be allowed to carry on into northern Europe.” It is further reported that stones are used as weapons by the people. Most striking is the fact that refugees and migrants destroyed a distribution point for food urgently needed to supply stranded people. Protests between refugees and migrants and the police force are reported to become more and more brutal. In the same two articles, the police is similarly represented as a violent force due to their mistreatment of refugees and migrants. In the above mentioned article published in December, it is reported that “Macedonian police fired tear gas at hundreds of Pakistani refugees attempting to storm the border on Wednesday.” Furthermore, water cannons are used by them to stop people from crossing the borders. The weekly news magazine issued an article on 17/09/2015 dealing with the tense situation in Hungary where currently shut borders led to violent clashes. In this article, it is alluded that the United Nations and the UN Refugee Agency are outraged that refugees and migrants are treated in an inhuman way: “UNHCR was especially shocked and saddened to witness Syrian refugees, including families with children who have already suffered so much, being prevented from entering the EU with water cannon and tear gas.”

6.1.3.5 *Refugee/ migrant voices*

The Newsweek magazine gives voice to refugees in certain articles in order to display the European Migrant Crisis more authentically. In particular, it reports about refugees and migrants staying in Norway and France at the time of reporting. In the article issued on 11/11/2015, refugees and migrants are portrayed as being constantly in danger. Temperatures are said to be very low in Norway but the Arctic route is continually used by refugees and migrants to enter Western Europe. According to a Syrian refugee, “[t]his road is safer. You don't have to cross the sea.” Nevertheless, the young student from Syria further explains that they need to walk along the route in the freezing cold. The polar nights are said to be very dangerous and refugees and migrants could die of exposure. Remarkable is the representation of Norway as a ray of hope for refugees and migrants by a young man from Nepal: “In Norway, the government gives you a chance. Maybe here I can have a future.” Due to bright outlooks, it is worth to take the dangerous Arctic route to Norway according to refugees in this specific article. In a further news report published on 14/11/2015, refugees present their experience concerning the terror attacks in Paris. In this article, Europe or in particular France is depicted as war zone as Assad, a refugee from Afghanistan explains: “I heard the explosions, people screaming.[...] I left a country torn by war, and now war has come to France.” The attacks themselves are not only perceived as being related to experiences of their war-torn home countries but the article informs that refugees fear to be regarded as possible terrorists all together as “[t]hey want to blame the Paris attacks on refugees.” A Syrian refugee confirms this sense of fear: “I was sad about those innocent people who were killed. But today is different because most people are looking at Arabs and Muslims as if they are murderers.”

6.1.4 USA Today

6.1.4.1 *Political reporting*

Due to the analysis, it can be said that the USA Today reports less about political issues than the above American newspapers and magazines. Nevertheless, most articles are categorized as political reporting regarding the total amount of USA Today articles analyzed. The most prominent representation of the European Migrant Crisis is its power to split the European Union. The member states are displayed as taking individual decisions rather than to cooperate closely with each other. This representation relies on information given in an article published on 23/09/2015. Here, it is reported that the French President delivers a warning to other member states: “Those who don't share our values, those who don't even want to respect those principles, need to start asking themselves questions about their place in the European Union.” Furthermore, it is said that “yet

deep divisions are emerging in Europe over how to respond to the largest refugee crisis in decades, raising questions about the union's future.” The European Migrant Crisis in 2015 is displayed as being the major reason for the possible splitting of the European Union. As there is no common agreement on how to manage the acute crisis, member states make decisions according to their individual needs. In this news article, the European Union's future is depicted as being unpredictable. This issue is also addressed in a further article published by the American daily newspaper on 14/12/2015. In this news report, Germany calls for a united Europe and requests “a strategy of equitably distributing refugees across the bloc's 28 members.” The migration crisis is not manageable if only a few states are willing to accept refugees and migrants and reject the EU asylum quotas. Concerning cooperation between countries in order to cope with the European Migrant Crisis, the USA Today portrays the United States of America as finally intervening power which accepts more refugees after “pressure has built on the United States to take on a larger role.” This quotation is from an article published on 01/10/2015 online by the USA Today daily newspaper. In this report, it is said that the congress is discussing how to cope with an increasing number of refugees and migrants entering the United States of America in terms of security. Nevertheless, it is further reported that the U.S. “has already provided \$4 billion, the largest monetary contribution of any country, to help the international community deal with the Syrian refugee crisis.” Additionally, an American politician states that “Europe should be taking up the larger part of the problem.” The European Migrant Crisis is not only splitting nations on a national level but also on a global scale based on the articles of the USA Today newspaper categorized as political reporting.

6.1.4.2 Numbers/figures

It is remarkable that the articles of the USA Today newspaper display a high frequency of numbers and figures. Moreover, outstanding is that the European Migrant Crisis is depicted as record-breaking event by the daily newspaper in a sensational manner with headlines like *Record refugee crisis hits all parts of globe*, published on 19/11/2015, or *Migrant deaths in Mediterranean hit a record* in 2015, issued on 31/12/2015. The article from November focuses on the total number of refugees and migrants entering Germany in 2015. Germany is represented as 'winner' compared to other European countries: “The astounding figure shows how Germany has taken a front seat in Europe's most serious refugee crisis since World War II.” In the article from 31/12/2015, comparisons are made in order to emphasize the high number of deaths in 2015: “The death toll of refugees and other migrants [...] in 2015 rose to a record 3,771. [...] That number compares with an estimated 3,270 people who died in the Mediterranean while trying to reach Europe from North

Africa in 2014.” The rise of deaths between the two years shows that 2015 is regarded as a record year concerning the number of dead people in the Mediterranean. That Europe reached a record level of migrants and refugees entering the country is also highlighted in an article issued on 22/12/2015 online: “The IOM said that with the arrival of 4,141 migrants and refugees landing in Greece on Monday, total arrivals to Europe in 2015 stood at roughly 1,005,504, with just 3% coming by land.” The USA Today does not only focus on the representation of the high number of refugees and migrants who arrived in Europe in 2015 but also pays attention to the low one-digit percentage figure of those using the land route in order to reach Europe. The sensational character of the crisis is also highlighted by the frequently occurring comparison with the Second World War, the last disastrous global conflict: “The total is the highest migration flow since World War II.” This comparison made by the USA Today underlines the tragic extent of the European Migrant Crisis in 2015.

6.1.4.3 Excessive demands/ chaos

Articles published online by the USA Today also address the great chaos caused by the European Migrant Crisis in 2015. Therefore, it is displayed as an escalating crisis which overstrains European countries in coping with it adequately. *Germany strains under weight of migrant crisis* is the headline of an article issued on 29/10/2015 which describes the tense situation in Germany in detail. Addressed are especially housing issues and the need to “build 400,000 new homes every year to accommodate the refugees”. Time is indicated as an essential factor for fulfilling the refugee's and migrant's needs in Germany. But “Europe's wealthiest country is feeling the strains of processing” also in terms of infrastructure and schooling. Hundreds of thousands of children are among the refugees and migrants in Germany who need to be educated on a regular basis and therefore “thousands of new teachers are needed.” Although Germany desperately tries to react in an adequate manner to the 2015 European Migrant Crisis, “yet dozens still spend nights camped on frigid sidewalks.” The American daily newspaper also deals with the situation of further overburdened European countries in its articles. A news report published online on 18/09/2015 reveals the hopeless and desperate situation of Croatia, Slovenia and Hungary. It is reported that “Croatia closed seven of eight roads crossing the border with Serbia on Friday, arguing that it had no choice as more than 14,000 migrants streamed into the country in the last two days.” The article further explains that these people were brought to Hungary while, in the meantime, a fence was built at the Hungarian-Croatian border. Information about Slovenia is given as it “shut down rail services to Croatia and was sending migrants back there.” The whole article describes the chaos which appeared to reign in Europe due to the huge influx of refugees and migrants. A further

statement found in the text strengthens the impression of European countries to be overburdened: “The crisis is growing and being pushed from one country to another without solution.” The USA Today portrays the European Migrant Crisis as ongoing, chaotic disaster in this thematic category.

6.1.4.4 Helpfulness/ support

A few articles which fall under this category deal with the helpfulness and support of whole nations, groups, organizations or individual people throughout the European Migrant Crisis in 2015. In these articles, European citizens are portrayed as helping hands who are willing to support their home countries as well as other European countries affected by the crisis. In the article *Thousands join 'refugees welcome' rallies as Hungary takes hard line* published on 12/09/2015, it is reported that “thousands rallied Saturday on the streets of London, Madrid, Athens, Budapest, Lisbon, Warsaw, Geneva and Sweden as part of a solidarity movement supporting the refugees.” This article represents citizens from all over Europe as hospitable people who even raise their voice against anti-refugee groups and hard line decisions made by governments, in this case by Hungary. People's aim is to convince European citizens that rejection and hatred is no solution for such a crisis and that the rights of refugees and migrants should not be violated. It is particularly mentioned in the article that asylum seekers live in “abysmal” conditions in Hungarian transit camps with “drinking water [...] in short supply.” Camps in Hungary are badly appointed and refugees and migrants held like animals according to this article. In a further news report published by the American newspaper on 21/12/2015, lifeguards are presented as the heroes of the European Migrant Crisis. The article provides information about lifeguards from Spain who voluntarily work on the island of Lesbos to help drowning children and adults trying to reach land after boat accidents. Starting out with 4 volunteers, “they founded an NGO” in order to be able to stay over months on the Island doing their life-saving job. The number of lifeguards increased and “now we have two jet skis, there is a boat coming, many more people and two cars.”

6.1.4.5 Refugee/migrant voices

The USA Today gives a refugee the possibility to tell the readership her personal story. In an article published on 15/12/2015, a young mother describes her journey from Pakistan to Sweden precisely. She represents the European Migrant Crisis partly as living hell: “One time they took me in the market. They took my phone and told me, 'tell your husband to come back'.” The young mother and her sons are afraid of policemen and smugglers who threaten them regularly. Hence, refugees and migrants are portrayed as victims who are treated badly and forced to continue the journey as ordered. Apart from the disastrous journey by land and sea, the young woman depicts European

citizens as warm-hearted people as “[t]hey were very kind, the people in Europe.” In the article, it is reported that the young mother and her sons are well-cared for which gives them hope for a bright future in their new country of settlement.

6.2 Portrayal of the European Migrant Crisis in UK newspapers/magazines

6.2.1 The Independent

6.2.1.1 Political reporting

Political reporting is a highly dominant issue in the analyzed articles published by the British newspaper online. Taking all collected articles into account, most of them belong to this specific category which deals exclusively with political matters. Concerning political reporting, The Independent portrays the European Migrant Crisis in a very similar manner compared to the above analyzed American newspaper and magazine articles. Predominantly, it represents the crisis in 2015 as the result of the major political failure of the European Union in general and certain individual European countries in particular. The lack of unity of European member states as well as the fear that the European Union is about to fall apart is discussed in many articles. These representations rely on information provided in different articles published by The Independent online. For example, the headline *Refugee crisis: How Europe's alarming lack of unity over the issue could bring about the break up of the EU*, issued on 16/09/2015, summarizes the political problems the European Union faced in 2015 and further indicates that most European countries have their own individual approach to solve the problems caused by this serious crisis: “All the countries in Europe, and many political parties and many families, are split on how we should respond to the greatest refugee crisis on our continent for 70 years.” In addition, in an article published on 18/12/2015, it is reported that “European Union leaders have departed Brussels after another summit that failed to make decisive headway in resolving the refugee crisis that has plunged the EU into chaos and rancour.” European leaders are not able to find a unified solution and to work together in this matter, but repeatedly fail to develop a common plan in order to defuse the increasingly tense situation in Europe. Furthermore, the European Migration Crisis is portrayed as a considerable threat to one of the European Union's greatest achievements, the Schengen agreement. In an article published on 12/11/2015, the open border system and its possible collapse is focused on precisely: “[...] the survival of the Schengen system, which guarantees passport-free travel between most EU member states and some non-member states, was subject to a “race against time.”

Moreover, according to an article issued on 16/09/2015, the Schengen agreement or “[o]pen continental borders, one of the greatest of EU achievements, may be destroyed [...]” The European Migrant Crisis is portrayed as an influential, great power that has a considerable impact on the European Union's policy success and, therefore, is considered as a significant threat to whole Europe.

6.2.1.2 Excessive demands/ chaos

A few articles published by the British online newspaper fall under the category of excessive demands and chaos. Within this specific category, the European Migrant Crisis is depicted as a chaotic event which causes unsolvable problems. Moreover, The Independent provides information about the consequences of such a crisis, in this case, an overwhelmed Europe. In an article published on 29/08/2015, wall-building projects in Europe are presented as the consequence of an unmanageable influx of migrants and refugees and the country is pictured as “Fortressing Europe”. Particularly mentioned are the European Union member states Hungary, Bulgaria and France whose governments were among the first that decided to build a fence along the border: “The Hungarian government hopes this new fence will stem the flow of migrants and refugees traveling through Hungary in what is known as the West Balkans route.” Similarly, Bulgaria tries to protect its borders with a wall “[...] constructed with the intent of keeping out migrants and refugees crossing from Turkey.” Nevertheless, according to information given in this specific article, physical barriers “[...] failed to stop the growing number of migrants [...]” The European Migrant Crisis is depicted as an event which progresses inexorably and, therefore, leads repeatedly to emergency summits held by the European Union in October as described in an article issued on 27/10/2015: “With winter approaching and many countries closing their borders, Europe risks adding a humanitarian emergency to the refugee crisis.” Additionally, as a consequence of the chaotic situation in Europe, it is reported that individual governments have to make decisions on their own as “[...] it receives no help from the EU.” The Independent further describes the overwhelming situation in Europe by referring to the island of Lesbos in a news report published on 05/11/2015: “Thousands of refugees are bedding down in the open air on Lesbos as a shipping strike continues to trap up to 20,000 asylum seekers on the island.” The stoppage has further “[...] disrupted the chaotic flow of refugees on the island, seeing its two registration camps pushed to their limits.” This article provides facts about the chaotic situation on a tourist island not meant to temporarily accommodate thousands of refugees and migrants who arrive by boat. The Greek island is unprepared to deal with the ongoing influx of refugees and migrants as it lacks infrastructure and supplies are only available in limited amounts. In all of the above-mentioned articles, the European Migrant Crisis is portrayed

as an event which overwhelms Europe completely without any prospects of improvement.

6.2.1.3 Crimes/ violence/ clashes

Crimes, violent acts and clashes are addressed in many articles published online by the British daily newspaper. The Independent portrays predominantly officials as violent and aggressive people in certain articles. More precisely, in a news report published on 16/12/2015, it is stated that the police near Calais “[...] fired tear gas at crowds of people” who attempted to continue their journey from Calais to the United Kingdom. In the same article, refugees are presented as people who are ready to use violence: “Clashes reportedly broke out, seeing migrants throw rocks and projectiles at riot police, including one that injured a lorry driver.” Further references to violent police forces are made in articles published on 04/09/2015 and 17/09/2015. The first published report deals with the tense situation between police officers and refugees as well as migrants in Hungary as the headline *Refugee crisis: Terror on the tracks as Hungarian police try to force refugees into camp* indicates. In this article, desperate refugees and migrants afraid of being forced into refugee camps “[...] were dragged to their feet by police.” The later published news report further emphasizes the negative portrayal of Hungarian officials as it is reported that a “[...] 50-year-old fell and hit his head on train tracks “while trying to run away from the police.” It is further stated that the Hungarian authorities “claim[ed] he had “collapsed”” in order to play the shocking incident down. This report further includes a quote of an UNHCR's representative who says: “We urge the Hungarian authorities to put in place immediate and adequate emergency reception, assistance and registration capacity, so that refugees disembarking in Europe are welcomed into a safe and caring environment.” The abuse against refugees and migrants is further thematized in an article published on 04/12/2015 with the headline *David Cameron accused of condoning abuse against Syrian refugees as he praises Bulgaria for its strong border control*. In this article, it is reported that “refugees who have crossed the Bulgaria[n] border tell of extortion, robbery, physical violence, police dog attacks and threats of deportation at the hands of Bulgarian officials.” Moreover, David Cameron is heavily criticized for supporting this course of action. Not only police forces are portrayed negatively but also British high-ranking politicians are associated with crime and violence concerning the European Migrant Crisis in 2015. The Independent further reports about violence used against refugees and migrants in Germany in an article published on 02/11/2015 with the headline *Refugee crisis: two Syrian men beaten with baseball bats by masked gang in Germany*. The fact that “[...] there have been more than 576 crimes against or around refugee shelters so far this year” shows that the European Migrant Crisis leads to violence not only between police officials and refugees or migrants but also between the latter and European citizens who, in this specific case, do not support the German 'welcome-refugee policy'.

6.2.1.4 Helpfulness/support

Apart from violent incidents and clashes between people during the European Migrant Crisis in 2015, the analyzed articles portray European citizens as very helpful and supportive who warmly welcome refugees and migrants in their temporary or permanent new home country. The Independent specifically refers to Germany and Great Britain in the articles of this category. In an article published on 24/08/2015, Germany's exemplary commitment is praised as "Berlin took the lead in efforts to resolve the European refugee crisis on Monday by declaring all Syrian asylum-seekers welcome in Germany – no matter which EU country they had first entered." Angela Merkel's spokesman further adds that "Germany is a compassionate country and will not allow refugees to be met here by hateful slogans or alcohol-fuelled loudmouths." A similar attitude towards refugees and immigrants can be seen in an article published on 04/09/2015 with the headline *Refugee crisis: English football fans explain why they are supporting #RefugeesWelcome*. In this article, it is reported that "English football fans are to follow the lead of their German counterparts and show their support for the thousands caught up in the refugee crisis." British sports fans show compassion with refugees and migrants who are in difficult situations and with a social media campaign supporters hope "[...] to influence government policy on the crisis. In these analyzed articles, The Independent represents the European Migrant Crisis as a positive event which shows Europe's welcoming side and highlights its cultural openness.

6.2.1.5 Housing/accommodation

In certain articles published by the British online daily newspaper, the European Migrant Crisis is represented as a serious crisis, more specifically, in reference to housing or accommodation. In the analyzed articles, the housing conditions for refugees and migrants are portrayed as inhumane and "prison-like" as depicted in an article published on 03/11/2015. This specific article deals with the accommodation situation at a British RAF base in Cyprus and refers to the inhumane treatment of refugees and migrants who are forced to live in temporary camps: "They count us everyday as if we were in prison...We can't stand it anymore." A further article, issued on 12/11/2015, describes the lack of adequate accommodation facilities in Norway and the people's fear to die in the arctic winter: "Until now asylum seekers have been housed in Kirkenes' sports hall but the rising number of arrivals made it impossible to continue. The new reception centre took four weeks to open." In this article, the mayor of a Norwegian city is further quoted: "What I saw along the road was very worrying. Soon it can be minus 20-30 degrees." Similar to Norway, Germany is facing a housing crisis as described in a news report, published on 31/12/2015, with the headline *Refugee crisis: The Nazi-era airport that's now 'home' to 3,000 refugees*. The housing and living conditions at this

airport are described as poor and unreasonable “[p]artly because the building has been abandoned for so long, there isn't any infrastructure – no showers, no kitchens, not enough toilets - and partly because due to the pressure of so many crammed together from different nations and ethnic groups there are simmering tensions which often erupt into violence [...]” The ongoing influx of people to certain European countries and the lack of appropriate accommodation facilities are specifically focused on in these articles published by The Independent. It can be said that the housing crisis contributes significantly to the representation of the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 as an unsolvable event.

6.2.2 The Guardian

6.2.2.1 Political reporting

The Guardian's focus is on national as well as international politics in regard to the European Migrant Crisis. It has an impressive 15 articles falling under this category compared to its UK and US competitors which have far fewer. These long and detailed articles describe the way the governments in Europe have failed to deal with this serious migration crisis. The Guardian portrays the European Migrant Crisis as a major political failure which challenges Europe in many areas. It further represents the European Union as a broken institution as indicated in the headline *EU risks being shaken apart by refugee crisis, warns Brussels* which was published on 04/12/2015. The European Union is reported to be constantly under pressure and faces great difficulties in reaching a solution for the acute situation in Europe in 2015. In an article, published on 17/12/2016, it is said that “European leaders are struggling to agree on action to manage the refugee crisis amid ever deepening divisions, impotence and failure to follow through on earlier pledges.” In most of The Guardian's articles, the European Union is criticized for its inability to manage the crisis and to find unified solutions suitable for all member states. The EU receives criticism from high-ranking politicians, like the French president who states that “[t]he measures have been taken, but not applied.” Certain plans to handle the European Migrant Crisis are agreed on but not put into effect according to information provided by The Guardian. Further emphasized in articles published by the British national daily newspaper is the great divide between European countries. In an article issued on 01/09/2015, it is reported that “Europe's fragmented attempts to get to grips with its worst ever migration crisis are disintegrating into a slanging match between national capitals ahead of what is shaping up to be a major clash between eastern and western Europe over a common response.” The European Migrant Crisis is presented as powerful event which splits Europe as European countries or governments pursue their own goals instead of a cooperation. More precisely, the European asylum policy is under criticism as certain European countries are of the

opinion that “[...] there had to be a fairer distribution.” In this article, it is further reported that some European countries are not willing to accept any refugees or migrants at all while others are overwhelmed with the irresistible upsurge of migration. These articles show that the European Union drifts apart due to the dividing views and measures taken by the member states and the failing attempts to find an agreement on how to cope with the crisis as a unified Europe. Nevertheless, a few articles introduce possible short and long-term plans proposed by the European Union. *EU plans rapid reaction force to tackle migration crisis* is the main headline of an article issued on 15/12/2015 which provides information about the plan to “create a 1,500 strong rapid reaction force under proposals to tackle the migration crisis.” There are certain proposals made by the European Union in order to handle the acute crisis in 2015, but the difficulty to put them into effect is that “the plan must still overcome concerns within the 28-nations EU.” In a further article published on 23/10/2015, the complexity of the implementation of wide-ranging measures in Europe in 2015 is described the following: “The plans [...] are certain to trigger bitter resistance and major clashes within the EU. Berlin backs European commission plans to make the proposed scheme “permanent and binding”. But up to 15 of 28 EU countries are opposed.” This quote shows the great divide between EU member states and the seemingly hopeless situation in a disunited Europe. In the articles published by The Guardian, European politics in terms of the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 is presented as a catastrophic failure.

6.2.2.2 Numbers/figures

The Guardian publishes numbers in its articles especially in order to highlight the continuous immigration to Europe. Additionally, it compares important figures concerning, for instance, arrivals and deaths in order to show the true extent of the crisis. In regard to arrivals, focus is particularly put on the difference between arrivals by sea and land. More specifically, it is stated that “[o]ut of a total of 1,005,504 arrivals by 21 December, the vast majority – 816,752 – arrived by sea in Greece, the IOM said. A further 150,317 arrived by sea in Italy, with much smaller figures for Spain, Malta and Cyprus. A total of 34,215 crossed by land routes, such as over the Turkish-Bulgarian border.” This quote is from an article published on 22/12/2015. The figures show the extraordinary number of arrivals in Europe in general and the considerable difference between sea and land arrivals in particular. The numbers in this article underline the portrayal of the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 as a maritime disaster because most migrants and refugees reach Europe by crossing the Mediterranean. Therefore, emphasis is put on those countries with access to the sea. Comparisons are highly frequent in those articles which fall under the category of numbers and figures. The following quote is from a news report published on 10/08/2015: “Germany has more

people applying for asylum than any other EU country and is expecting to receive more than 400,000 applications this year, more than double the number in 2014.” In order to give the European Migrant Crisis a sensational character, the number of arrivals in 2015 is compared with the total number of immigrants who arrived a year earlier. Moreover, in an article published on 30/10/2016, the European Migrant Crisis is portrayed as a potential threat to Europe in terms of terrorism as official figures show: “In this case, the figures vary somewhat between the different countries, with 64% in Germany sharing this fear compared with 66% in Denmark, 69% in Spain and France, 79% in Italy, 80% in the UK and 85% in the Netherlands.” Apart from the fear that there might be potential terrorists among the incoming refugees, the article provides numbers which reveal the percentage of people willing to help refugees financially: “About 40% of people in Spain say they have donated, or intend to donate, to the relief effort, compared with 18% in France.” These numbers also show that especially Western Europe is split in terms of support and helpfulness during the crisis. Additionally, The Guardian published an article on 10/08/2015 which provides information about the “10 truths about Europe's migrant crisis” numerically. Most striking is the number “1.2 million” which refers to the number of Syrian people who found shelter in Lebanon which has “a total population of roughly 4.5 million.” More importantly, “[t]o put that in context, a country that is more than 100 times smaller than the EU has already taken in more than 50 times as many refugees as the EU will even consider resettling in the future. Lebanon has a refugee crisis. Europe- and, in particular, Britain- does not.” Here, numbers and figures are used to underline that other countries are far more overwhelmed and helpless than Europe is. In this case, figures and numbers are not only used to provide facts about the European Migrant Crisis but are rather indicated to convey a critical message.

6.2.2.3 Housing/ accommodation

As the result of the analysis, the European Migrant Crisis is presented as an ongoing disaster in terms of housing and accommodation, with many countries lacking appropriate housing facilities, infrastructure and funds in order to tackle the crisis. Compared to other newspapers analyzed in this thesis, The Guardian addresses the accommodation problem triggered by the continuous arrival of thousands of refugees and migrants in Europe more frequently and in a more detailed way. The issue of funding is dealt with regularly which is not the case in any of the American newspapers and magazines analyzed in the previous chapters. In particular, a new housing plan for Greece is introduced in an article issued on 15/12/2015 with the headline *Greece to receive €80m from EU to help house refugees*. A specific scheme is presented which “provide[s] 20,000 additional reception places to the country on the frontline of Europe's migration crisis” and “offers EU budgetary

support for families, notably providing them with adequate shelter.” Greece is one of the most important countries in Europe because most of the refugees and migrants seeking shelter in Europe arrive by sea. Therefore, Greece needs help in order to register refugees and migrants properly and to provide adequate accommodation upon their arrival. The funding scheme of the European Union is heavily criticized by a Lebanese politician, in an article published on 13/11/2015: “The EU should channel funds into building new schools and hospitals in the Middle Eastern countries hosting millions of Syrian refugees, rather than spending hundreds of millions of pounds on resettling refugees in Europe [...]” This article deals with the migration crisis in Lebanon and the demand that the EU should not only use money for resettlement within their member states. It is regarded as more important to focus on supporting less wealthy countries in the Middle East which struggle to cope with the influx of refugees and migrants to a greater extent. According to this Lebanese politician: “[...] one thing that the EU can do is help in rebuilding or in strengthening the infrastructure.” It is reported that if adequate housing facilities and multiple job opportunities were available in neighboring countries, Syrian refugees would stop taking highly dangerous journeys to Europe. Moreover, the immediate need of adequate facilities and all kinds of supply is highlighted in an article issued on 02/11/2015: “The United Nations refugee agency, UNHCR, is distributing outdoor survival packages, including sleeping bags, blankets, raincoats, socks, clothes and shoes, but the number of people it can reach is limited by its funding, which has so far been severely inadequate.” The major problem concerning accommodation in Europe is that far more refugees and migrants arrive on a daily basis than shelters are available. It is further reported that the housing crisis is foremost noticeable in transit countries, in this case the island of Lesbos, which is ill-prepared for the cold season as “[...] a storm hit the island [...] and adults and children passed out with hypothermia, some with gangrene setting in on their limbs. Parents had resorted to wrapping their children in rubbish bags to try to keep them dry.” As reported by The Guardian, the European Migrant Crisis is overshadowed by the lack of appropriate accommodation for refugees and migrants seeking safety in Europe.

6.2.2.4 Excessive demands/ chaos

As the analysis shows, European countries reach their limit due to the worsening migration crisis. More precisely, European countries are depicted as being overwhelmed by the European Migrant Crisis in many respects. The Guardian specifically foregrounds that the migration crisis is regarded as an emergency situation in Europe. In other words, Europe “is in the grip of madness over immigration and refugees” as indicated in an article issued on 03/09/2015. Reasons for this overwhelming situation are the continuous influx of people which further leads to overcrowded

camps and chaotic scenes. This chaos can be attributed to the fact that people from different cultures are forced to live together in confined spaces. Furthermore, Europe is overwhelmed by the income of people who belong to different religions: “Those arriving have been raised in another religion, and represent a radically different culture. Most of them are not Christians, but Muslims.” The Guardian addresses the highly complex problems Europe is facing and how it is completely overwhelmed in finding solutions. Apart from the lack of accommodation, the European Migrant Crisis causes problems in regard to integration and education, for example, as stated in an article published on 08/10/2015: “The challenges of integration are already much in evidence in the shelters, where reports emerge every day of clashes between residents.” Moreover, there is no agreement on how to control borders in Europe but many countries consider border fences as a last resort in order to avoid mass immigration as addressed in an article issued on 31/10/2015: “Austria and Slovenia have said they will erect fences to stem the flow of migrants.” In addition, it is reported that “The Schengen treaty is under threat” and that there is “confusion over border controls and free movement” in whole Europe. Passport-free travel is misused and Frontex, an agency of the European Union in charge to manage the European borders, is described as overwhelmed by the whole situation and “looks powerless.” In sum, the European Migrant Crisis is too big for Europe to cope with according to the representations in the articles published by The Guardian.

6.2.2.5 Helpfulness/support

Some of the analyzed articles fall under the category of helpfulness and support. In particular, focus is put on financial aid in the articles published online by the British newspaper. The headline *David Cameron 'to use £475m of UK aid budget to ease migration crisis*, published on 12/11/2015, indicates the willingness of the United Kingdom to help managing the European Migrant Crisis by financial means. More specifically, money should be given to Turkey in order to “help it cope with the scale of the refugee crisis it faces” and further 200 million pounds should be donated “to help some African countries address the problems that have driven many migrants out of their home countries.” In regard to the European Migrant Crisis, the UK is portrayed as a generous and supportive country that provides problem-solving strategies by means of financial aid. Moreover, Germany's great openness towards migrants and refugees is addressed in an article published on 21/08/2015: “After all it is, along with Sweden, the country that to date has welcomed the largest number of asylum seekers.” It is further reported that “[i]ts government has shown more generosity than most in distributing aid packages to arriving refugees.” Germany is portrayed as a welcoming country which supports asylum seekers in various ways and provides shelter for those fleeing war and terror. Apart from extensive reports about generosity and helpfulness, articles published by The

Guardian also criticize the EU for providing too little support. *Europe's €1.8bn fund to tackle migration crisis not enough, say Africans* is the headline of an article issued on 12/11/2015. This article provides information about financial means offered by European leaders which should be used by African countries for “the deportation of unwanted migrants from Europe, in their latest attempt to get to grips with the mass movement of people that is destabilising European politics.”

6.2.3 The Daily Mirror

6.2.3.1 Political reporting

In comparison with other US and UK newspapers, The Daily Mirror focuses not exclusively on political reporting but prioritizes other analyzed categories. Nevertheless, political issues are addressed in a few articles published by the British national daily newspaper. More precisely, the European Migrant Crisis is portrayed as result of the European Union's political failure. In particular, European governments are blamed for not responding adequately to this serious crisis in an article published on 18/09/2015: “European governments - including our own - have talked a lot about the crisis. But they still aren't working together. And they still aren't doing enough.” It is reported that European countries need to cooperate in order to ease the crisis and that the great divide between them makes it impossible to find appropriate solutions for the critical situation in Europe in 2015. European authorities meet frequently for discussions but no plans are put into effect while “[t]he refugee crisis is getting more serious every day.” Effective plans are needed on various matters. Financial aid is requested from all European countries as well as safe facilities, especially in “Greece, Croatia, Hungary, Serbia and Italy to receive, assist, register and screen people as they arrive.” Furthermore, the allocation of refugees and migrants in Europe is an important issue which needs to be agreed on and implemented by European authorities. In addition, The Daily Mirror displays the United Kingdom as a failing country which acts in its own interest. *Welcome to the European country that takes 1,000 migrants A DAY – 15 times more than the UK* is the headline of an article issued on 15/08/2015. This article deals with David Cameron's intention to build more border fences in the city of Calais in order to keep refugees and migrants out of the UK. His plan is criticized indirectly by presenting the high number of arrivals in Germany which is “15 times higher than Britain”. While Germany welcomes people with open arms during the European Migrant Crisis, the United Kingdom makes no effort to share the burden. Additionally, it is reported that the United Kingdom plans to reduce financial support for failed asylum seekers. The British government has already cut the amount for people who are in the application process. The purpose of cutting financial support is to “send out a very clear message to those who seek to exploit the system that Britain is not a soft touch on asylum.” Termed as “harsh proposal”, the British

government is strongly criticized because “[it] has a duty to protect all children in this country and previous government have recognised it is morally reprehensible to take support away from families with children.” The Daily Mirror presents the United Kingdom as a failing country in terms of politics during the European Migrant Crisis in 2015.

6.2.3.2 Numbers/ figures

The Daily Mirror presents the European Migrant Crisis numerically as a record event in terms of arrivals and compares the flow of people to European countries in figures. The year 2015 is depicted as a record year in an article published on 29/11/2015: “A staggering 1.5 million people have entered Europe illegally so far this year.” Further emphasized is the incredibly high number in the article's headline *Illegal immigrants entering Europe tops 1.5 million according to EU*. This figure is published in order to refer to the fact that certain European countries need immediate help in order to cope with the high influx of refugees and migrants. Furthermore, a financial deal is addressed in this specific article: “EU President Donald Tusk revealed the figure as a 3 billion euro deal to help Turkey deal with the migration crisis was approved in Brussels.” Most of the illegal immigrants enter Europe through Turkey and due to this deal, it is Turkey's responsibility to stop people from immigrating illegally to European countries. Apart from an overall number of arrivals, further information about the weekly and daily influx of refugees and migrants is provided in an article issued on 11/10/2015: “Nearly 50,000 migrants and refugees are still pouring into Europe every week as the humanitarian crisis deepens.” Furthermore, it is reported that the International Organization for Migration in Greece “ha[s] recorded a sharp increase in the number of newly arrived migrants and refugees to 7,000 a day, up from 4,500 a day recorded at the end of September.” The comparison shows the record-breaking rise of incoming migrants and refugees within one month which further highlights the overall outstanding influx of people to Europe during the European Migrant Crisis in 2015. In addition, numbers and figures are used in the analyzed articles to give details about estimated numbers of arrivals in the future. For instance, it is reported that “[t]he UK has said it will take 20,000 refugees directly from Syria by 2020.” The European Migrant Crisis is an ongoing event and Europe needs effective plans for the present as well as for the future in order to mitigate the crisis.

6.2.3.3 Crime/ violence/ clashes

The Daily Mirror elaborates on the issue of criminality only in a very few articles. Two of the analyzed news reports fall under this specific category and both depict the European Migrant Crisis as a scene of criminal activity. The Daily Mirror published an article on 20/09/2015 which is

concerned with the flourishing people-smuggling trade which benefits significantly from the serious crisis in 2015. It is reported that “30,000 people from gangland kingpins to low-level fixers have joined the trade in human suffering.” Criminals abuse the European Migrant Crisis for their business and “[t]hey are trying to exploit it as much as they can.” Refugees and migrants from Middle Eastern and African countries who try to flee war and terror are often dependent on smugglers who help them crossing the border. The Daily Mirror refers specifically to trafficking gangs which operate in the United Kingdom and France and are often seen near refugee camps. Apart from professional gangs, there are individual criminals who exploit vulnerable people seeking safety in Europe. In addition, The Daily Mirror focuses on terrorist activities in reference to the European Migrant Crisis in an article issued on 24/10/2015. This news report provides information about the fear of the police that “refugees may be vulnerable to radicalisation.” It is reported that ISIS terrorists try to recruit refugees and migrants from temporary asylum camps in European countries. In particular, supporters of the extremist organization were seen in camps in the capital city of Norway talking to Syrian refugees who come to Europe in order to seek shelter. Norwegian authorities express deep concern that extreme Islamists live among refugees in asylum camps who call on refugees from the Middle East to fight against the West and “to stand together within the Islam.” The European Migrant Crisis is highly attractive for criminals and terrorists who exploit the misery and suffering of people from war-torn countries.

6.2.3.4 Deaths/ tragedies/ accidents

The content analysis of the articles published by The Daily Mirror reveals that the British national newspaper particularly emphasizes the cases of death concerning the European Migrant Crisis. Most of the analyzed articles fall under the category of deaths, tragedies and accidents. The European Migrant Crisis is predominantly presented as a maritime tragedy within this category. Taking the overall death toll during the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 into account, it is striking that most deaths occur by sea. The Daily Mirror focuses on these deadly accidents and published several articles which deal with the drowning of refugees. “Refugees [risk] their lives on a sinking catamaran as they flee violence and poverty in the war-torn Middle East”, is a quote from an article issued on 30/10/2015. Refugees and migrants take dangerous journeys in order to escape war and terror on boats which are pictured as “dangerously overcrowded”. Sea routes are from Turkey to Greece as well as from Libya to Italy and it is reported that “[t]he death toll from drownings at sea has mounted recently.” One horrible journey is described in detail in an article published on 23/11/2015: “During our ride, the rubber boat started tipping. Kids were falling on top of each other, and women were falling on top of each other. The whole boat filled with water. Then the boat

just stopped.” The article provides further information about why refugees are not deterred from the dangerous boat rides: “Life isn't safe anymore. We can't live in Syria. [...] the obstacles that we face in Europe are not going to stop us. We've walked over mountains to get this far, and we will get to our destination.” Moreover, The Daily Mirror draws attention to the fact that criminal organizations make money out of the deadly sea journey. It is said that they are “responsible for endangering the lives of innocent people” according to the British Defence Secretary quoted in an article issued on 29/10/2015. Therefore, rescue missions are on the daily schedule of the Royal Navy, for example, during the European Migrant Crisis: “The Royal Navy continues to demonstrate its invaluable work in the Mediterranean, saving 541 vulnerable lives.” The representation of the European Migrant Crisis as a maritime disaster is quite prominent in the articles published by The Daily Mirror.

6.2.3.5 Excessive demands/ chaos

The European Migrant Crisis is portrayed as Europe's downfall in news reports which fall under this specific category. The crisis is worsening and there is no end in sight according to information given in an article published on 18/09/2015: “Gun-toting troops manned borders and miles more razor wire was rolled out yesterday as Europe slammed its doors on tens of thousands of migrants.” The whole country is overwhelmed by the non-stop arrival of refugees and migrants and it is reported that countries which follow a welcoming policy are about to close their borders in those difficult times. Particular focus is put on the sovereign state Croatia which is in a state of emergency: “Authorities rounded up hundreds and took them to the Hungarian border following violent scenes at Tovarnik railway station on Thursday, when 5,000 migrants smashed their way through a police cordon.” Chaos reigns the country as panic spreads through Croatia. The Daily Mirror provides information about chaotic scenes and overwhelming nations without reference to possible solutions. This highlights the representation of the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 as a hopeless case. Moreover, chaos is addressed in further articles which deal with the European Migrant Crisis as a maritime disaster. *Refugee crisis leaves mountains of life jackets on Greek paradise island* is the headline of an article published on 23/11/2015 by the British national daily newspaper. Apart from Croatia, the Greek island of Lesbos is completely overwhelmed as “many of hundreds of refugees arrive there as their first European port.” The mass of life jackets left behind by desperate refugees and migrants indicates the high number of people arriving on the island dead or alive. Additionally, reference to chaos is made in the headline of an article published on 08/08/2015: *Greece refugee crisis described as 'total chaos' as migrants swim with holidaymakers*. Thousands of refugees and migrants arrive at beaches next to high class tourist resorts at Kos. Moreover, it is reported that “[o]n most of the islands there is no reception capacity, people are not

sleeping under any form of roof. So it's total chaos on the islands.” European countries are not prepared for such a serious crisis which seems to be unmanageable. The result of the European Migrant Crisis is an overwhelmed Europe which has to cope with difficulties in all sorts of areas.

6.2.4 The Daily Mail

6.2.4.1 Numbers/figures

The Daily Mail presents numbers and figures in reference to Europe in general and the United Kingdom in particular. Foremost, they are used to highlight the mass migration to Europe in 2015. Above all, one can find numbers and figures when referring to the huge number of people arriving in Europe in 2015: “According to the International Organisation for Migration, almost 900,000 people fleeing conflict and poverty in the Middle East, Africa and Asia have entered Europe this year”, a quote from an article issued on 30/11/2015. Apart from the general information about arrivals, the Daily Mail presents figures about the refugees' and migrants' nationalities in an article published on 18/09/2015: “The number of Afghans lodging asylum claims is up four-fold, from 6,300 to 27,000. Another 17,700 claims were made by Albanians, whose country is at peace. A further 13,900 applicants came from Iraq which, like Syria, is being torn apart by the Islamic State terror group.” In this article, the European Migrant Crisis is portrayed as being intentionally misused by migrants who are not in immediate danger: “EU figures expose the 'lie' that the majority of refugees are fleeing war zone.” A large number of people make its way to Europe due to economic reasons and do not flee immediate war or terror. Therefore, the UK suggests a system where refugees from Syria are brought on the direct path to Europe in order to help “the most vulnerable people”. Furthermore, the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 is depicted negatively as record-breaking event in an article published on 29/08/2015: “The asylum claims data was published by the Home Office last week, alongside shock figures showing the UK's population grew by a record 330,000 in the year to March.” The number of asylum application rises consistently despite plans proposed by politicians to lower the migration to the United Kingdom. Moreover, 29 percent of the British population stated that the UK should not accept any refugees from Syria according to a survey issued on 05/09/2015. Additionally, it is reported that “[a] majority of British people would vote to leave the European Union in the wake of the migrant crisis engulfing the continent.” Surveys are published by the Daily Mail in order to give voice to British citizens themselves and to present their opinion about the European Migrant Crisis and its effect on their home country.

Moreover, The Daily Mail presents the European Migrant Crisis as unstoppable. Many articles in this category display figures about estimated future arrivals of refugees and migrants in

Europe. It is assumed that the number of arrivals in Europe will continue to grow in 2016 as depicted in an article published on 01/10/2015: “The European Commission has estimated one million arrivals in total during 2015, soaring to 1.5 million in 2016.” The UN refugee agency said today that it expects 700,000 migrants and refugees to reach Europe via the Mediterranean this year and projected at least the same amount again in 2016.” The growing number of arrivals will not necessarily have only a negative impact on Europe. Apart from a population growth which will have a positive effect on the Gross Domestic Product, “[...] the influx of refugees and migrants from 2015-2017 will end up boosting the EU's economy.” This quote is from an article issued on 05/11/2015 which deals specifically with the effects of the ongoing migration to Europe.

6.2.4.2 Crimes/violence/clashes

Although the British newspaper focuses primarily on presenting numbers and figures, the issue of criminal activity in terms of the European Migrant Crisis is also dealt with in certain articles. The European Migrant Crisis is portrayed as a violent event where violence and criminality are the order of the day. In particular, violent clashes, trafficking and sexual assaults are the central themes dealt with in the articles. The former topic is specifically linked to conflicts between police officers and refugees or migrants. It is reported that the police is unable to control the masses of people entering Europe which results in violent conflicts. The Greek island of Lesbos is specifically addressed in an article published on 05/09/2015 with the headline *More violent clashes in Lesbos as police struggle to cope with thousands of desperate migrants rushing to Greek Island before entering mainland Europe*. Officers are portrayed as brutal and cold-hearted people who “threatened their batons at the frenzied crowds, all desperate to become documented [...]” or “exerted force over young men in the streets.” Furthermore, The Daily Mail published news reports which deal with all kinds of crimes committed by refugees or migrants in Europe in 2015. Foremost, it is reported that criminal gangs in Germany recruit asylum seekers as “cheap drug dealers and traffickers as well as petty thieves” according to an article issued on 30/12/2015. Refugees and migrants are willing to work for little money which is the reason why migrant crime is a major issue for the police nationwide.

Trafficking is a crime prominent in a few articles published by the British newspaper. People-smuggling is a highly lucrative business in such a serious crisis according to a report published on 03/12/2015 with the headline *Migrant ran people smuggling ring from UK hostel: Asylum seeker made £7m...now he wants legal aid for fight to stay here*. The European Migrant Crisis is exploited by criminals who arrange travels to Europe for desperate refugees and migrants. Operated by gangs, there is a huge network of people-smugglers working together in Europe in order to make quick money with people fleeing war and terror. Another topic addressed by The Daily Mail is sexual

assaults on women. “Sex attacks are now said to be an 'everyday' event” in refugee camps in Germany based on information given in an article published on 16/10/2015. Women accommodated in camps as well as female cleaners are sexually assaulted on a regular basis. It is further reported that “[m]igrant women are being forced to become €10-a-time prostitutes in German refugee camps.” Furthermore, rape is an issue in many camps. Women are not only raped in refugee accommodations, but a specific case of rape committed by Syrian refugees in an apartment in the UK is addressed by the British newspaper. The article, published on 06/11/2015, provides detailed information about a young girl's “horror ordeal” and emphasizes that the rapists are originally from Syria. Especially male refugees and migrants are portrayed as criminals in the articles which deal with sexual harassment.

6.2.4.3 Excessive demands/ chaos

In this category, the European Migrant Crisis is depicted as an embarrassment for Europe. The inability of European leaders to cope with the crisis is a central theme in a few of the analyzed articles. There is no clear registration system in European countries which has devastating consequences as described in an article published on 17/08/2015: “[...] Germany's interior minister said it was 'unacceptable' that 40 per cent of asylum-seekers in his country were from the Balkans, calling it 'an embarrassment for Europe'.” Thousands of people enter the country daily and it is an easy game for economic migrants to immigrate without a proper registration procedure. Therefore, the differentiation between those people who are seeking peace and safety and those who leave their countries for economic reasons is extremely difficult. In addition, the European Migrant Crisis is associated with the Third World in an article issued on 06/08/2015. *Like a scene from the Third World, thousands of migrants race to catch the last trains into Europe* is the article's main headline. The terrible consequences of the European Migrant Crisis are stated in detail and portray Europe as being in a state of emergency. Emphasized is the serious situation at train stations in Hungary where masses of people wait “to purchase tickets for the overcrowded trains, where men, women and children stand for hours in claustrophobic cabins and aisles.” Those who are left behind, no matter if women, children or sick people, have to sleep on train tracks or footpaths until the next train arrives. It is reported that especially the transport system in Europe is overloaded due to the large number of people travelling through Europe. The scenes presented in this article are described as scenes from Third World countries. Similar dramatic events are depicted in an article issued on 16/08/2015: “Pushing and shoving each other, hundreds of migrants on an overflowing platform in southern Macedonia have been desperately trying to get aboard trains travelling to Serbia yesterday.” Chaos reigns the Balkan country and although authorities desperately try to come up

with possible solutions to ease the situation, the whole country seems to be powerless regarding the continuous influx of refugees and migrants.

6.2.4.4 Political reporting

As the analysis reveals, The Daily Mail's focus is not on political reporting. Only a few articles fall under this category, quite the opposite compared to its UK and US competitors. Nevertheless, the portrayal of the European Migrant Crisis in those articles is similar. The migration crisis is represented as a purely political event which threatens the European Union as a major institution. More precisely, the Schengen zone is under threat due to Greece and “its failure to manage the vast numbers of people coming in.” Published on 03/12/2015, it is further reported in this article that “[a]t least two of the terrorists involved in Paris attacks came into Europe through the Island of Lesbos posing as refugees.” As the main point of entry to the European Union, Greece is blamed for its inability to scan and register people properly. Therefore, a suspension from the Schengen zone is demanded. Additionally, the Schengen agreement itself is reported to be under threat. Border controls are ineffective and EU leaders talk about reintroducing checkpoints in Europe. The articles show that the European Migrant Crisis has a great impact even on European law.

Apart from Greece, Turkey is a threat to the European Union. An article, issued on 16/10/2015, describes the EU deal with Turkey which “will lead to another mass migration.” Turkey is given €3 billion as well as further talks about the crisis will be held. In return, Turkey will “step up border controls, tackle people-smuggling gangs and re-admit failed asylum seekers who had entered Europe from Turkey.” But Britain fears a new wave of mass migration due to open borders. The great involvement of Turkey in the migration crisis is presented in an article published on 15/10/2015. It is reported that Turkey is about to build a wall along its border with Syria in order to stop the immigration of not only refugees and migrants but particularly jihadi fighters. A full surveillance system at the border is planned which includes a “petrol road and a reinforced fence.” The European Migrant Crisis has a great impact on border controls and more and more countries plan to build fences in order to keep refugees and migrants outside their countries.

6.2.4.5 Housing/ accommodation

The Daily Mail focuses exclusively on future prospects in those few articles categorized as housing and accommodation. A report, issued on 04/12/2015, reveals plans for new homes built in England which will go to refugees and migrants half through within the next five years. It is further stated that “England will need nearly 100,000 extra properties a year to house newcomers.” The continuous immigration requires appropriate accommodation. But opinions about future prospects

are highly divided. According to a former bank adviser, a threefold number of housings will be required in the future. Emphasized in the article is the warning that the influx of refugees and migrants might cause “serious consequences for Britain's environment and infrastructure” as an estimated number of 2 million houses will be needed for refugees and migrants by the year 2037. There is no agreement on how many new homes will be required in the future, but what can be said is that the European Migrant Crisis is not a temporary phenomenon. Moreover, The Daily Mail focuses on future financial issues for UK citizens as a consequence of the serious crisis. In particular, it is reported that “British taxpayers will be forced to foot the bill for every immigrant who comes ashore at a UK military base in Cyprus whether they claim for asylum there or not.” This quote is from a report published on 23/10/2015. Taxpayers will be responsible for those refugees and migrants who remain in Cyprus due to refused asylum application. Food, accommodation and medical care need to be provided for those whose onward journey is denied. People who stay temporarily at the military base are said to live “at the cost of millions of pounds to the taxpayers.”

7 Analysis Part II

The second part of my analysis deals with the portrayal of the refugee trauma in US and UK newspapers and magazines. The method used is the same as in Analysis Part I, but with additional focus on Steel's concept definition of the refugee trauma (see chapter 5.3). The collected articles' content was analyzed thoroughly with main emphasis on any reference to trauma. Notes were taken in a step-by-step analysis and those articles referring to trauma further divided up into pre-formulated categories. The analysis process concerning trauma turned out to be far more difficult compared to Analysis Part I as there is only little reference to the refugee trauma in the selected articles in general. Nevertheless, two major categories are the result of the in-depth analysis:

- Traumatic events/experiences
- Treatment

These two categories are explained, in the framework of this study, more precisely in the following paragraphs.

Articles who describe extreme situations of refugees and migrants belong to the category of *traumatic events/experiences*. More precisely, this category includes reports dealing with traumatic events refugees and migrants undergo either in their country of origin, on their journey to Europe or in European countries. Therefore, it deals with reports referring to war, violence, physical abuse, discrimination or physical and emotional stress which lead to traumatization. The second category, *treatment*, is concerned with articles which refer to or detail the treatment of traumatized people. News reports placed in this category provide information about medicinal or therapeutic measures of refugees and migrants who suffer from any kind of post-traumatic disorders. A complete overview of the finalized categorization is given in table 3 followed by a detailed discussion of the result of the analysis.

	The Guardian	The Independent	Daily Mirror	Daily Mail	The New York Times	The Washington Post	Newsweek	USA Today
<i>Traumatic events/experiences</i>	5	6	4	5	7	5	6	2
<i>Treatment</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

Table 3: Thematic categorization of US and UK newspaper reports in relation to trauma

7.1 Trauma representation in US newspapers/magazines

7.1.1 New York Times

In terms of trauma, the American daily newspaper refers to the topic only by describing traumatic events or experiences in certain articles. Striking is the description of traumatic events which involve violence against refugees and migrants in most of the articles. Particularly highlighted is the detailed reporting about violence used against refugees and migrants in Europe. Published on 23/12/2015, the article deals with the aggressive approach used by the Bulgarian border police: “When the refugees try to cross, they are stopping them and pushing them back, sometimes beating them, robbing them, even unleashing dogs on them.” Refugees and migrants are victims of violence and treated inhumanly by Bulgarian authorities. Furthermore, a refugee from Iraq describes the horrible situation in Bulgaria the following: “They hit me and took my money. [...] I ran away from hell at home, trying to find paradise in Europe. Instead I found another hell.” After leaving his home country to escape war and terror, he experiences traumatic events in a seemingly peaceful country. A further report concerns attacks against refugees and migrants not committed by police forces but by European citizens. Issued on 13/08/2015, the article focuses on hate crimes and the “persistent pattern of violence against migrants, raising concerns about escalating far-right oppositions.” Hatred towards foreigners is demonstrated through attacks on refugee shelters, for example, dangerous arson attacks making accommodations uninhabitable. Aggressive and repellent behavior contributes to the emotional stress people fleeing from war-torn regions are already exposed to. Moreover, traumatic situations experienced in people's home countries are subject of an article published on 04/08/2015. A Syrian teacher explains how her life in Damascus was before she left the country: “In Damascus, she said, the bombs arrived regularly and basic services were gone. I was dying there every day.” It is furthermore reported that the young woman shows videos of explosions and fires as a proof. Damascus is represented as an extremely dangerous city where people are exposed to traumatic situations on a daily basis. Being in constant fear of life, people from war areas are under extreme emotional distress which enhances the refugee trauma.

7.1.2 The Washington Post

The analysis of the articles reveals that The Washington Post focuses exclusively on the description of traumatic events in its reports. Traumatic and stressful situations refugees and migrants experience are either described objectively by the article's authors or more subjectively by refugees and migrants themselves. In terms of the refugee trauma, Middle Eastern regions are portrayed as war-torn, traumatic places to live where citizens experience violence and are eyewitnesses of

explosions, killings and bombings. The desperation of the “helpless and destitute refugees” is highlighted in an article issued on 29/08/2015: “This is not life. We are only alive because we are not dead.” Living in the midst of conflicts is described as complete misery as “mothers clutching children sleep on traffic circles, under bridges, in parks and in the doorways of shops. Families camp out on farmland in shacks made of plastic sheeting, planks of wood and salvaged billboards advertising restaurants [...]” People in Middle Eastern countries live under inhumane and intolerable conditions. Traumatized children are a further subject of this article: “Rashid Hamadi, 9, remembers his house, with bedrooms for himself and his siblings [...]. He remembers tanks and bullets and running in fear from bombs.” It is reported that children are negatively affected in their physical and mental development by the lack of food, medical assistance and education in war-torn countries. In addition, children are given voice in further articles through the presentation of pictures drawn in refugee camps. “My home is all broken in Syria” and “A rocket came, [...] and hit my father in the head” are descriptions of young girls aged between 4 and 6 years. This article issued on 15/10/2015 deals with the effects of man-made conflicts on children and their future. It is stated that “[t]he young can be admirably resilient. But seldom in history have adults managed to traumatize children on so vast a scale.” The representation of refugee children suffering from trauma is highly prominent in this news report. The author of the article itself raises rhetorical questions about the lingering effects of war on children who are victims of violence, lost their homes and have decreasing opportunities for a good education. Furthermore, desperate parents talk about their concerns in regard to their children's well-being and future prospects: “I am always scared for my girls [...]. They haven't seen anything from life yet.” In this article, children are portrayed as being highly vulnerable to suffer from trauma through war experiences as well as through the fact that they have an uncertain future. In addition, The Washington Post refers to traumatic events experienced on refugees' and migrants' journey to Europe in an article issued on 04/08/2015: “Whoever can swim, get out or we will all die!”. This statement is from a pregnant woman who fought for her life in a sinking boat crossing from Turkey to Greece. It is reported that the boats used to cross the ocean are highly dangerous and responsible for many deaths by drowning. Refugees and migrants are not only exposed to traumatic events in their war-torn home countries but they describe the journey and stay in Europe as equally horrible: “This is the opposite of what we thought Europe would be [...] It's a disaster – just like my country.”

7.1.3 USA Today

USA Today turns out to be the newspaper which refers rarely to the refugee trauma compared to all other selected newspapers. Nevertheless, two articles belong to the category of traumatic events and

both are concerned with the representation of the journey to Europe as being traumatic and dangerous. One article, published on 15/12/2015, is written from the perspective of a mother from Pakistan fleeing to Sweden. She describes the exhausting and dangerous journey with her two children as follows: “I lost my bag. It was dark and I couldn't find it. There were Kurdish men there shouting 'go down, go down, the police are coming. My children were crying.” Apart from being haunted by the police, the family lost money needed to pay smugglers in order to reach Europe. It is further reported that the children suffered tremendously from the stressful journey, starving and crying constantly for fear. In contrast, the traumatic events experienced on the journey to Europe are portrayed differently in a further article issued on 21/12/2015. The USA Today refers to the deadly journey to Europe by sea through the eyes of lifeguards: “[Refugees and migrants] don't know when they arrive they have to walk many kilometers to a refugee camp. They don't know how overcrowded the boats are. The other day a baby drowned in the middle of a boat because the smuggler put so many people on the boat [...] and the mother didn't realize the baby's head was down and there was water in the boat.” Traumatic scenes are common in Greece where an incredible number of people risk their lives on unsuitable boats provided by smugglers. Furthermore, it is reported that pregnant women and babies had to be saved from rocks where they were stuck in the sea. Foremost, the sea route to Europe is portrayed as being quite traumatic for refugees and migrants leaving their home countries.

7.1.4 Newsweek

The Newsweek magazine portrays the European Migrant Crisis itself as a traumatic event in terms of arduous journeys, violence, poor living conditions and insufficient supply.

Concerning the sea crossing to Europe, The Newsweek emphasizes the high number of children who drowned at sea in an article published on 30/10/2015: “[...] dozens more children have met a similar fate. For those who do survive the perilous crossings, some are found drifting for hours in the sea, while others arrive on Greek islands suffering from hypothermia and in need of immediate hospital care.” This article highlights the trauma children experience on their way to Europe.

Refugees and migrants fight for their lives at sea on a regular basis and it is foregrounded that there is “a constant stream of dying children.” Furthermore, it is reported that smugglers are responsible for the refugees' and migrants' traumatic experiences because they are told to cross the sea in boats referred to as “death traps”. Additionally, traumatic scenes are said to occur in various refugee camps in Europe. The severe suffering of refugees and migrants is aggravated by inhumane living conditions as described in a report issued on 16/09/2015: “More than 1,000 people, including some with disabilities, are sleeping on a closed highway along the Serbia-Hungary border with very

limited access to food, running water or toilets and without a properly functioning humanitarian aid system.” Refugees and migrants fleeing war and terror are in urgent need of food and sanitary facilities after arriving in Europe but countries are not prepared for the massive influx of people. Therefore, they are forced to sleep in tents outside in cold months or even on streets or in forests without any adequate equipment. Moreover, The Newsweek is the only American magazine referring to the treatment of mental disorders in an article published on 03/12/2015: “The healthcare system is very problematic. People suffering from a mental disorder should be assigned to a specialist, not a doctor.” In this article, the Human Rights Watch criticizes that refugees and migrants receive poor medical care. It is said that pain killers are usually supplied for most symptoms and psychological conditions are rarely treated in refugee centers. The treatment for trauma is not referred to specifically in any article of the newspaper.

7.2 Trauma representation in UK newspapers/magazines

7.2.1 The Independent

Compared to other selected newspapers, The Independent follows a similar scheme describing only traumatic events in the analyzed articles without any reference to treatment. First and foremost, traumatic events are described by refugees themselves. For example, a young man from Baghdad tells a journalist the story of his violent abduction in his home country. Published on 31/12/2015, it is reported that “in September, he was abducted by a criminal gang who kept him blindfolded and locked up while they demanded ransom money from his parents. [...] As a signal of their intent, they cut off his finger and sent it to his parents.” This traumatic experience the young man underwent was responsible for his flight to Europe. According to his opinion, he could not stay in Baghdad not knowing what will happen next. The article further includes a line saying that “[...] he is still quite evidently, utterly terrified.” This quotation indicates that he still suffers from psychological consequences triggered by the traumatic abduction. Similarly, a journalist tells the stories of refugees he met and spoke to in an article issued on 09/08/2015. Being told that a young Syrian boy lost his parents in the war, he talked to him “but he seemed shell-shocked by the shattering events that had engulfed his life.” The boy seemed to be traumatized due to the tragedy he experienced in his home country according to the journalist's report. Furthermore, Laura, a young woman from Cameroon, was exposed to traumatic events in Africa. More precisely, Laura was raped and her mother “sold into slavery in Libya by a priest.” While the above mentioned refugees told the authors of the articles their horrible stories by themselves, children often express their trauma through painting. The article with the headline *Syrian girl's painting captures the*

horrors of the conflict pays attention to how children portray the experienced events in their war-torn home country by the means of arts. Published on 29/09/2015, it is depicted that “[o]n the left side are the horrors of the Syrian civil war. A woman who has lost a leg walks away on crutches. Next to her, a child holds his arms above his head. Dead Syrians lie in the streets, next to destroyed buildings.” The illustration reflects the young girl's terrible experiences making her home country a horrible place to live. As eyewitness of war and death, her trauma is expressed through the detailed depiction of injured people and destroyed buildings.

Moreover, The Independent published an article on 29/10/2015 which portrays the journey to Europe as extremely burdensome. Badly constructed refugee boats sink regularly on the open sea, causing many death and extreme desperation: “A woman lost her baby and her husband, another woman saw her three- or four-year-old child die and her other child rushed to hospital.” Families are torn apart and those who survived are described as “soaked, freezing and traumatised.”

7.2.2 The Guardian

The British daily newspaper focuses exclusively on the traumatic stories of refugees and migrants in the analyzed articles. In terms of trauma, striking is the representation of Europe as living hell. First, the journey to Europe as well as the inhumane conditions at refugee centers are described in many articles. One article, issued on 03/09/2015, deals intensively with the traumatic experiences people underwent on their flight to Europe: “When mothers are desperately trying to stop their babies from drowning when their boat has capsized, when people are being left to suffocate in the backs of lorries by evil gangs of traffickers and when the children's bodies are being washed to shore, Britain needs to act.” Many refugees and migrants are reported to be victims of smuggling gangs who take advantage of their desperate situations. Additionally, although traffickers demand plenty of money from refugees and migrants, nobody is guaranteed a safe travel to Europe. In contrast, many boats at sea sink and refugees and migrants are left to their fate. The inadequate accommodation situation and its consequences are further described in this article: “Adults and children passed out with hypothermia, some with gangrene setting in on their limbs. Parents had resorted to wrapping their children in rubbish bags to try to keep them dry.” This quote implies that traumatic experiences are not left behind by leaving war-torn regions, but refugees and migrants have to deal with difficult times also in their temporary accommodation or new country of settlement. Psychological consequences of the poor conditions are briefly mentioned in an article issued on 24/08/2015: “Depression is also on the rise, not helped by the lack of privacy, with reports of many spending their days huddled under blankets.” Many European countries are overwhelmed by the ongoing influx of refugees and migrants and cannot provide adequate shelters and sufficient medical

assistance which makes it nearly impossible for refugees and migrants to process their trauma.

7.2.3 The Daily Mail

The Daily Mail is one of the few newspapers who refers specifically to the treatment of trauma in one of its articles. Additionally, several traumatic experiences made by refugees and migrants in their home countries, on their way to Europe and in Europe as well are subject of the analyzed articles. These articles include stories told by refugees who have already completed their journey to Europe. For instance, a desperate father from Syria describes the trauma he and his children underwent in Syria precisely in an article issued on 02/12/2015: “These are my motherless children. Their mother Batu died saving Luna when our house in Syria was bombed. Look at her legs [...]. But in Hungary she was spat on and called “another stray dog.” This quote does not only depict the cruelty of the Syrian war but furthermore indicates the inhumane treatment of his injured child in Hungary, a European country where they thought to find true peace.

Moreover, refugee trauma through violence is an important topic in several of the categorized articles, especially in reference to European countries in which refugees and migrants are residing. Serving as examples are attacks on refugees described in an article published on 05/09/2015. Police forces are portrayed as being highly aggressive towards refugees and migrants by the author of the news report: “[...] as desperate families queued to have their details taken at Lesbos port, officers exerted force over young men in the streets.” Further attacks on refugees and migrants with weapons are highlighted in the newspaper article: “Young men fainted in the afternoon heat as officers threatened their batons at the frenzied crowds [...]. Some collapsed after being stricken while frightened children wept in their mother's arms.” Refugees and migrants are regularly exposed to traumatic events related to violence in various European countries as police forces recourse to weapons in order to manage the rush. European forces are portrayed as making no difference between the young and the old, but several cases of severe violence against children and babies are officially known. The victims of violence do not only have to cope with their physical injuries but have to process the traumatic experiences mentally as well. Additionally, The Daily Mail reports that “migrant women are being forced to become €10-a-time prostitutes in German refugee camps [...]” This quotation is from an article issued on 16/10/2015. Violence and rape are daily business in refugee camps according to this article. First and foremost, women are affected by sexual attacks and abuses in their physical and emotional well-being. While this article does not include any reference to the treatment of traumatized women, another article published on 16/08/2015 does. The terrible story of a 22-years-old woman who was locked in a football stadium in Europe without food, water or sanitary facilities is told. After the traumatic experience, it is

reported that “many fainted in the fierce heat or were treated for trauma after being crushed in a crowd.” For the first time, a newspaper refers explicitly to the fact that traumatized refugees and migrants are treated professionally after experiencing a stressful situation.

7.2.4 The Daily Mirror

Similarly to many US newspapers analyzed in the previous subchapters, The Daily Mirror depicts exclusively traumatic events in those articles related to trauma. Additionally, the refugee trauma is mainly portrayed in connection with suffering children. For example, an article published on 10/11/2015 captures the trauma a child went through on the way to Europe expressed through a picture which “shows terrified refugees in life-jackets, drowning in the sea screaming 'help me'.” Furthermore, “[o]n the Turkish side the body of a boy lies face down in the sand.” The horror of the journey to Europe and the traumatic scenes burned into the head of the young girl are described precisely and display the child's emotional distress. The 5-years-old girl tries to cope with the traumatic experiences by means of arts. Focus is put on children also in further articles published online by The Daily Mirror. “Children are suffering now in Europe from cold, hunger and fear [...]. This Christmas there will be many children waking up cold in makeshift camps and tents, some of them separated from parents and family and extremely vulnerable to exploitation,” are text passages from an article published on 22/12/2015. Apart from what they experienced in their home countries, children are exposed to extremely stressful situations in Europe, a country they expected to be like paradise.

Moreover, traumatic events at sea are depicted in detail in an article issued on 23/11/2015: “Kids were falling on top of each other, and women were falling on top of each other. The whole boat filled with water. Then the boat just stopped.” Here, the journey to Europe is portrayed as extremely dangerous and traumatic whereby each individual is in fear of his/her life. It is reported that refugees and migrants leave their home countries due to growing insecurity and violence and they experience severe suffering on their way to Europe in search for a better future. In Europe, they are then victims of violence as represented in an article published on 18/09/2015: “We also need internationally agreed humanitarian rules to stop some of the abuses we have seen, particularly from Hungarian police who have used tear gas and water cannon against groups of refugees.” Refugees and migrants are eyewitnesses of violence or personally affected by oppression and aggressive behavior in European countries. Therefore, the article emphasizes the UNHCR's call to protect these vulnerable people from exploitation and abuses.

8 Conclusion

The European Migrant Crisis in 2015 was an unforeseen and overwhelming event for Europe. The continent faced major challenges in various areas by trying to provide shelter for an incredibly high number of refugees and migrants in European countries. Due to its sensational character, the European Migrant Crisis became the main topic in the media in this specific year.

On the basis of the results of this study, it can be concluded that the European Migrant Crisis in 2015 is almost exclusively presented as a political event as the humanitarian aspect fades into the background. Most striking is that especially US newspapers and magazines focus predominantly on political themes, while the British quality and tabloid press pays more attention to further topics, for example, crimes, violence and excessive demands. More precisely, The New York Times, The Washington Post and Newsweek report predominantly about political issues concerning the mass migration to Europe. The results did not support the expectations that the tabloid and quality press' portrayals differ significantly. Except from the magazine USA Today, which does not pay much attention to political issues, the further selected online newspapers report about the European Migrant Crisis in a similar manner. Apart from political reporting, criminal activity as well as the portrayal of Europe as an overwhelmed country is highly common in US news reports.

Striking is that British newspapers are not as focused on politics as their US counterparts. In contrast, regarding articles from the UK tabloid and quality press, considerable differences between the selected news services are notable. Although, in general, most of the collected articles fall under the category of political reporting, The Guardian is the British daily newspaper which represents the European Migrant Crisis most frequently as a political event. While the Independent shows no clear tendency towards categories, as its articles are more or less equally distributed among them, the Daily Mail focuses clearly on the portrayal of the crisis as a deadly and dangerous event. Additionally, the results reveal that The Daily Mirror depicts the migration crisis foremost numerically with further focus on crimes and violence.

The second part of my analysis concludes that trauma and traumatization are not elaborated on in detail as similar findings are obtained in all of the analyzed newspapers and magazines. While some articles give insights into traumatic experiences refugees and migrants underwent, there is barely any reference to the treatment of traumatized people or the health effects of traumatization. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the USA Today's articles refer to the refugee trauma the least taking all quality newspapers and tabloids into account.

The year 2015 was not only the beginning of the European Migrant Crisis but also a record year concerning the migration to Europe. Nevertheless, it is of great importance that the crisis is still

ongoing in Europe. The European Migrant Crisis is a current topic covered by the media. Therefore, further researches need to be done concerning the crisis in order to understand how the media shapes the public's meaning. For example, different media types and their representations of the European Migrant Crisis can be compared in further studies with particular focus on the target audience. In any case, this challenging and sensitive topic is of great importance in many people's personal life, for the media and also for academic research.

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10 Appendix

10.1 German Abstract

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit setzt sich mit der Frage auseinander, wie die Migrationskrise im Jahr 2015 in britischen sowie amerikanischen Zeitungen und Magazinen dargestellt wird. Weiters beschäftigt sich die Forschungsarbeit mit der Darstellungsweise des Flüchtlingstraumas in vorselektierten Zeitungs- sowie Magazinartikel.

Im Laufe des Jahres 2015 durchlebte Europa eine krisenhafte Einwanderung bzw. Durchreise zahlreicher Flüchtlinge und Migranten. Der westliche Kontinent wurde zum Ziel von mehr als einer Million Menschen erklärt, die hauptsächlich aus Krisenregionen stammen. Vor allem Medien wie Zeitungen und Magazine veröffentlichten eine Großzahl an Berichten über die Krise bezüglich Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Beherbergung und Kriminalität etc. Ziel der Arbeit ist die Darstellung der Migrationskrise sowie der Traumatisierung vieler Flüchtlinge und Migranten in ausgewählten Zeitungs- bzw. Magazinartikeln zu erforschen.

Diese wissenschaftliche Arbeit untergliedert sich in drei Teile. Der erste Teil setzt sich aus detaillierten Informationen zur Migrationskrise im Jahr 2015 sowie dem Hintergrundwissen zum Syrienkrieg und weiteren Konflikten, welche im Zusammenhang mit der Krise stehen, zusammen. Zusätzlich wird ein Überblick über die Traumatheorie zum besseren Verständnis der nachfolgenden Analysen geboten. Der zweite Teil der Masterarbeit legt den Fokus auf die vielfältige Darstellung der Migrationskrise in 280 Artikeln. Im letzten Teil wird der Frage nachgegangen, ob auf das Flüchtlingstrauma in den online publizierten Artikeln hingewiesen wird und wenn ja, wie wird auf das Thema eingegangen.

In dieser Arbeit wird ein äußerst relevantes politisches sowie gesellschaftliches Thema mithilfe von Mediendarstellungen behandelt.

10.2 Curriculum Vitae

Geburtsdatum: 17 Juni 1991

Geburtsort: Steyr

Staatsbürgerschaft: Österreich

Ausbildung	03/2014 - 06/2014	Diplomlehrgang zur Reiseleiterin/ Reisebegleiterin (Club Europa), Wien
	03/2014 - dato	Masterstudium “Anglophone Literatures and Cultures” Universität Wien (Master of Arts)
	10/2010 - 03/2014	Bachelorstudium “English and American Studies” Universität Wien (Bachelor of Arts)
	07/2009	Ausbildung zur Flugbegleiterin, Wien-Schwechat
	06/2009	Maturaabschluss am Stiftsgymnasium Seitenstetten
Arbeits- erfahrungen	12/2016 - dato	Assistentin der Kundenbetreuung – DeutschAkademie, Wien
	07/2016- 09/2016	Au Pair in Sydney, Australien
	08/2015- 06/2016	Prüfungsassistentin - Club International (Sprachschule), Wien
	07/2015- 08/2015	Kursleiterin in Dublin - EF Sprachreisen
	04/2015	Reiseleiterin in Frankreich - Club Europa
	05/2014 - 10/2015	Interview- und Büroassistentz - OGM Marktforschungsinstitut, Wien
	08/2014 - 09/2014	Interviewerin - GfK Austria Marktforschungsinstitut, Wien
	07/2009 - 05/2010	Flugbegleiterin in Wien - NIKI Luftfahrt GmbH
	07/2008	Praktikum in Linz - TBP Engineering GmbH Architekturbüro

Kenntnisse

Sprachen:

Deutsch: Muttersprache

Englisch: Fließend in Wort und Schrift

Französisch: Fortgeschrittene Grundkenntnisse

Italienisch: Grundkenntnisse
