

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

HOSPITALITY AND REFUGEEENESS – A COMPARATIVE
DISCOURSE STUDY ON THE SYRIAN REFUGEES CRISIS
IN EUROPE AND THE GULF

by

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to the Center for Arab and Middle Eastern Studies
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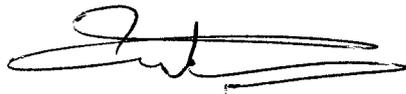
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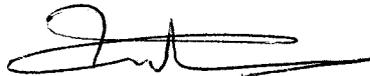
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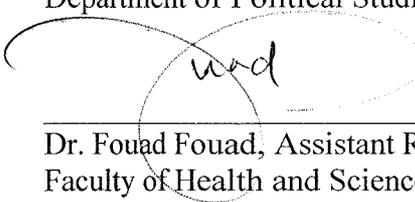
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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The recent public debates surrounding the refugee influx of Europe has inspired an examination of humanitarian responses in both Europe and the Gulf. In light of the tragic death of Alan Kurdi on 3 September 2015, both regions found themselves in the spotlight for the mishandling of their responses towards the crisis. However, both regions have different histories concerning migration and humanitarian response. The European Union is currently made up of 28 Member States, all of which are signatories to the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 Protocol, and a Common European Asylum System is in place which standardizes reception, qualification, and procedures for international protection applicants. Europe has a long history of dealing with irregular migration and refugees, and international legal obligations date back to the post-second world war period. States in the Gulf region, on the other hand, are not party to the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol, and its migration history has dealt more strictly with labor, rather than humanitarian, crises. Moreover, the evolution of labor policies over recent history in the Gulf can inform us of how immigration categories developed, especially in regards to the 1980s when labor migration preference shifted from the Arab world to Asian and south Asian migrants.

This thesis will seek to answer two main questions: what themes or trends feature prominently in the public debates of these two regions, and what factors emerged to shape the public discourse – be it ideological affiliation, security risks, economic factors, or external pressures? In order to answer these questions, a content analysis was produced of major newspapers in Europe and the Gulf. A statistical analysis was run from data collected during article research as well as the review of traditional scholastic discourses on migration in these two regions.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As of February 16, 2017¹, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has registered over five million Syrian refugees, labeling it the "largest refugee crisis for almost a quarter of a century under UNHCR's mandate."² There are news reports every day of new boat arrivals in Greece, as well as casualties from these journeys, as refugees take illegal and dangerous measures to find sanctuary and stability. At the same time, there is relatively no migration to or family reunification in the Gulf due to strict migration controls. Continuous bombardment of civilian areas in Syria, very poor socioeconomic conditions, and little to no legal rights in the main refugee camps and informal settlements in the region, namely, Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey, are forcing increasingly large amounts of people to make the trek across the sea, either from North Africa to Italy, or from Turkey to Greece.

The initial questions that prompted this study were: when in public debates does "illegal activity" turn into "tragedy"? When do military or police operations turn into humanitarian responses? What needs to happen in order to prompt this change? However, as my research and interests evolved I switched focus to **first, how international and legal frameworks (or lack there-of) shaped policy, and subsequently, State responses towards asylum seekers; and second to investigate**

¹ "Syrian Regional Refugee Response," *UNHCR*, 16 February 2017, Access Date: 17 Apr. 2017, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>

² "UNHCR: Total number of Syrian refugees exceeds four million for first time," *UNHCR*, 9 July 2015, Access Date: 8 Nov. 2015, <http://www.unhcr.org/559d67d46.html>.

the public debates concerning Syrian refugee movement and resettlements in Europe and the Gulf. The first question derives its importance from the need to understand what policies are in place and what drove the structure of these policies – most importantly, if they are built upon internationally recognized human rights standards. The second question is important in understanding how public opinion towards protection seekers is shaped and how they evolved over the period in question when number of migrants reached its peak.

Utilizing content analysis, subsequent statistical findings, as well as discourse analysis this thesis will analyze themes and trends in opinion-editorials in two countries in Europe and two countries in the Gulf to track the development of public opinion from September 2015 to September 2016. Concurrently, a study of regional legal frameworks aimed at addressing asylum seekers was undertaken in order to understand changes in national and regional policies regarding asylum and migration as well as provide context to debates taking place during the time period in question.

1.1 Context

On April 23, 2015, the European Union vowed a war on smugglers³ in response to the increasing numbers of migrant lives lost at sea. Nicholas de Genova, a lecturer on urban geography at King's College, comments⁴ on the desensitization of human lives lost at sea:

³ Johnston, Ian, Cendrowicz, Leo, and Dawber, Alistair. "Migrant Crisis: EU leaders declare war on people traffickers as leaders vow to 'identify, capture, and destroy' their vessels." *The Independent*. Last modified 23 April 2015. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/migrant-crisis-eu-leaders-struggle-to-reach-agreement-on-how-to-prevent-deaths-of-refugees-crossing-10199927.html>

⁴ Garelli, Glenda and Alessandra Sciarba and Martina Tazzioli. "Mediterranean Struggles for Movement and the European Government of Bodies: An Interview with Étienne Balibar and Nicholas De Genova." *Antipode* Vol.00 No.0 (2017), 5.

“...we have this incredible banalization of the deaths of migrants. So, we can hear about 200 people this week and 300 people next week, day in and day out, this proliferation of deaths of people crossing the Mediterranean that have no impact at all... we are systematically becoming accustomed (and accommodated) to the idea that the Mediterranean is a cemetery, a mass grave.”⁵

However, on 3 September 2015, when Alan Kurdi's images spread through social media and news networks, the public outcry was tremendous. The image of Alan Kurdi from the point of view of authenticity is null. The image was with no famous four W characteristics: Where, When, Why, What, How? Yet it had given a face to the numbers of lives lost at sea. Suddenly, after months of reports coming in of these deaths, citizens were taking to social media to protest their government's handling of the refugee crisis. *The Independent*, a British newspaper, sponsored a petition on 3 September 2015, to increase the number of refugee resettlement in the UK and garnered over 100,000 signatures.⁶ Humans of the Refuge, a humanitarian spin on the popular Facebook page Humans of New York, was created to give a human voice and image to the refugees arriving in Europe. It has gained almost 60,000 followers since its launch date in September 2015. These are just a few minute examples of the shift in public perception of the crisis.

Meanwhile, in the Gulf, you see a very different response. Many newspaper articles in Gulf newspapers found during initial research pointed to EU or North American responses to the refugee crisis. In contrast, a number of journalists from different publications pointed to the moral responsibility of Gulf countries to take in asylum seekers. However, due to a number of factors, such as the Gulf's strict migration policies, which focus primarily on labor migration, and the lack of participation in

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The Independent. "Make your voice heard: Sign the Independent's petition to welcome refugees." *The Independent*. Last modified 3 September 2015. <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/editorials/make-your-voice-heard-sign-the-independents-petition-to-welcome-refugees-10483488.html>

existing refugee frameworks such as the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 Protocol, there have been little to no efforts to host refugees in the Gulf region. In a *France 24* article from 9 September 2015, Khatya Chhor points to a fear of instability curtailing hosting efforts. This fear includes unrest that could be incited by the introduction of new ideas into the host society or security threats posed by jihadists pretending to be asylum-seekers.⁷ Journalists in the region tended not to mention hosting efforts; instead they focused on lauding their country's own donation efforts to humanitarian organizations in Syria and in the region as a whole – including the funding of two refugee camps, one in Jordan and one in Iraq by the UAE.⁸

As I continued my research, there were various security concerns regarding the crisis, including clashes between migrants and security forces at different checkpoints, the tragic Paris attacks which took the lives of over 100 people, the New Year's Eve attack in Cologne, the bombings in Brussels, and the Bastille Day truck attack in Nice. Initial assumptions were made by the researcher that these security incidents would play a role in the public debates surrounding hosting of refugees by producing negative perspectives of the refugees and leading to increasing rejection of hosting efforts.

1.2 Hypotheses

The two main hypotheses tested in this thesis are: ideological affiliation plays a role in public debates advocating for acceptance or rejection of refugees, and countries that are party to regional and international legal protection frameworks are more apt to

⁷Chhor, Khatya. "Gulf states under fire for not accepting Syrian refugees." *France 24*. Last modified 9 September 2015. <http://www.france24.com/en/20150907-gulf-arab-states-under-fire-not-accepting-syrian-refugees-migrants>

⁸Gokulan, Dhanusha. "UAE throws a lifeline to Syrian refugees." *Khaleej Times*. Last modified 13 October 2015. <http://www.khaleejtimes.com/nation/general/uae-throws-a-lifeline-to-syrian-refugees>

advocate for policies aimed at facilitating protection of asylum seekers. Regarding the first hypothesis, in the international arena, it is widely promulgated that so-called liberal (Left) and conservative (Right) parties differ in their views on immigration. President Donald Trump of the Republican Party won the presidency in the United States on a platform promoting strict anti-immigration policies⁹, Marine Le Pen from the National Front made it to the final rounds of the presidential election running on an anti-immigration platform¹⁰, and nationalist parties have gained a foothold in governments throughout Europe.¹¹ Therefore, it was assumed that writers for “Right”-aligned newspapers would advocate for stronger immigration controls and the reverse would be true from “Left”-aligned newspapers.

As for the second hypothesis, international law has made a place for itself in the global sphere through organizations such as the United Nations. Arguments can be made as to how effective these organizations and the legal instruments they abide by are, but that is not the place of this thesis. Instead, the aim of the researcher was to investigate whether or not these legal instruments, or the absence of, play a role in shaping national policy in Europe and the Gulf.¹²

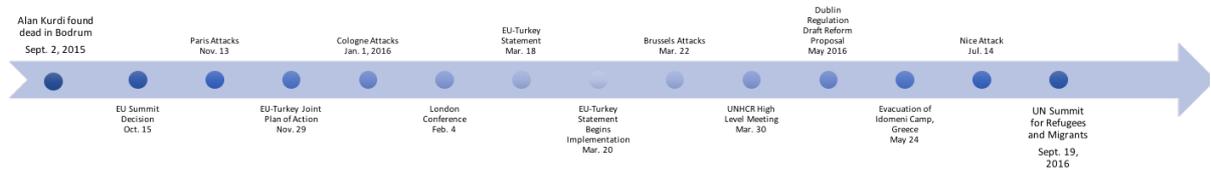
⁹ Santiago, Fabiola. “Trump’s immigration bill seeks to ‘Make America White Again’ – and English-only.” *Miami Herald*, Last modified 3 August 2017. <http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/news-columns-blogs/fabiola-santiago/article165344802.html>

¹⁰ Agnew, Harriet and Anne-Sylvaine Chassany. “Le Pen steps up anti-immigration rhetoric ahead of French Election.” *Financial Times*. Last modified 18 April 2017. <https://www.ft.com/content/967daaae-2412-11e7-8691-d5f7e0cd0a16>

¹¹ Foster, Peter. “The rise of the far-Right in Europe is not a false alarm.” *Telegraph*. Last modified 19 May 2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/19/the-rise-of-the-far-right-in-europe-is-not-a-false-alarm/>

¹² Every Member State of the European Union is a party to the 1951 Geneva Convention and 1967 Protocol, as well as to the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights and legally bound by the 2000 European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights. In contrast, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates are not signatories of the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol. However, they are party to the 1994 Arab Charter on Human Rights which only mentions the category of political asylum and forbidding of extradition of political refugees.

1.3 Methodology



For Europe, newspaper sources were drawn from two major newspapers each in Germany and Greece. These countries were chosen due to their media portrayal as quintessential “destination” and “arrival” countries. They are not meant to represent Europe as a whole, but instead to get a sense of the interplay between national policy, public opinion, and international obligations. To gain a more authentic sense of the debates, two translators – German and Greek – were hired thanks to the generosity of the Nadim Makdisi Memorial Fund. The German translator translated 120 articles from *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Welt* newspapers, and the Greek translator translated 109 articles from *Kathimerini* and *To vima*. These papers were selected to reflect views on both the center right (*Kathimerini*) and center left (*To Vima*), and priority was given to opinion-editorials so that a variety of backgrounds and views could be reflected. Translators were provided with a “codebook,” a set of theoretical focal points or “frames” I wanted to explore further and chosen to inform the complexities of hosting asylum seekers – what forms they should integrate into society (if any); what effects this will have on the country economically, either through providing State-funded aid or through integration in the labor market, and how security incidents impact that thinking. They were informed by recurring themes I encountered during my initial research. In the case of Greece, these focal points included: modes of incorporation (integration, assimilation, and isolation), accepting versus rejecting, economic effects, sectoral issues (integration into labor market and school systems, etc.), securitization of refugees, as

well as transportation and border areas. Please see **Annex 1** for the Greek translations undertaken. Due to time constraints and language incompatibilities, citations from this list of translations will reference article number rather than the traditional Chicago style citation format. In the case of Germany, focal points encompassed: modes of incorporation (integration, assimilation, and isolation), accepting versus rejecting, sectoral issues, and securitization of refugees. Please see **Annex 2** for the German translations. The same criteria for the citations apply; all articles will be cited by article number. It is important to note that regarding the German translations, two translators were hired and the codebook was distributed only to the second translator who worked on articles dating from October 2015 – September 2016.

As for the Gulf region, newspaper sources were drawn from major newspapers in: The United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Kuwait. Qatar and Saudi Arabia were initially to be included among the list of Gulf countries where opinion-editorials would be utilized but due to a dearth of sources, Kuwait was substituted. However, Kuwait's unique role as the leader on the Syria crisis from the Gulf region adds depth to the debates taking place in the region. The Kuwaiti government hosted three donor conferences from 2013 to 2015, with the aim of raising donor pledges to respond to the crisis unfolding in the host countries, raising a total of around \$7.7 billion in donor pledges.¹³

Regarding the newspapers used in the Gulf region: in the UAE and Kuwait; 18 articles from the English daily *The National*, and 20 articles from the *Kuwait Times* were utilized, respectively. In all publications, opinion editorials were used as primary sources, and articles from global news sources were used as secondary sources in order

¹³ Supporting Syria. "Kuwait." *Supporting Syria*. <https://www.supportingsyria2016.com/about/kuwait/>

to understand the perspectives put forth by the media establishments during the relevant time period. The researcher acknowledges the disparity in number of articles between Europe and the Gulf as a limitation of the research. Opinion-editorials dealing with the topic of hosting Syrian refugees were scarce. Further research through another medium, such as Twitter, or Facebook is recommended for additional research in this field. Academic articles, as well as international and regional documents, were used to provide background and insight. A codebook was also utilized for the section pertaining to the Gulf. The themes explored and evaluated included the Gulf response, the West's response, the notion of Arab identity, security implications of hosting refugees, and charitable donations. These "frames" were chosen based on initial research and exploration.

As stated previously, there are limitations in this research. The countries where public debates are surveyed are not wholly representative of their specific regions. The European Union is made up of 28 member states, each with their own history, evolution of national policies, and migration patterns. The same statement is applied to the seven countries that make up the Gulf region. It is necessary to carry out further research in each country of the respective regions to gain a truly comprehensive overview of public debates during this time period.

1.4 Document Structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one is an introduction. Chapter two provides an overview of the basis of European Union law and the Common European Asylum System, as well as an analysis of asylum statistics from September 2015 – September 2016. Chapter three will provide a brief content analysis of public debates in Greece from two Greek newspapers, *To vima* and *Kathimerini*. Chapter four

will provide a brief content of public debates in Germany from two German newspapers, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Welt*. Chapter five provides an overview of labor migration to the Gulf region, as well as a content analysis of two newspapers from Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. Chapter six will be the conclusion and will provide the main findings from the research.

CHAPTER 2

EUROPE – ASYLUM REGIME

The asylum regime in the European Union (EU) is complex and multifaceted due to its supranational legal status. In addition to being party to international protection frameworks such as the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 Protocol, the EU has also developed its own set of legal instruments to deal with the issue of international protection. Asylum applicants in the EU lodge an application for international protection, which can lead to positive or negative decisions based on individual circumstances. Positive decisions, or granting of international protection in the European context, is fragmented into the following categories: refugee status, subsidiary protection, and humanitarian protection. These terms will be defined in Section 2.2.

In order to understand how public debates during this time period have affected reform in regional policies with regard to asylum seekers, it is necessary to analyze the European legal structure that is in place, what this structure is based on, and what policies and protocols are in place to deal with the issue of seeking asylum. Therefore, this chapter will deal with the basis of European Union law (Section 2.1), what legal instruments are in place at the regional level concerning asylum (Section 2.2), and statistics regarding asylum from September 2015 – September 2016, especially regarding Syrian nationals (Section 2.3).

2.1 European Union (EU) Legal Framework

The EU is a unique supranational legal entity based on the rule of law.¹⁴ Citizens of Member States are automatically European citizens. Citizens in Member States (MS) enjoy freedom of movement across the Schengen zone, utilize a single currency,¹⁵ as well as have the right to reside and work in any EU member country. There are several bodies, institutions, and agencies which make up and govern the European Union including, but not limited to: the European Commission, the European Council, the European Parliament, the Council, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU), the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), national parliaments and EU agencies (such as the European Asylum Support Office).¹⁶

The EU has its foundations in two EU treaties: the 2002 Treaty on European Union (TEU)¹⁷ and the Treaty establishing the European Community, later renamed the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), as amended by the 2007 Lisbon Treaty¹⁸ (hereafter called “the Treaties”). In order for a prospective MS to become part of, or accede to, the European Union, they must ratify the Treaties “by their national parliaments or by referendum”¹⁹, as well as “implement EU rules and regulations in all areas” and integrate these rules and regulations into national law.²⁰

¹⁴ *The European Union Explained: How the EU Works*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2014. doi:10.2775/11255

¹⁵ Euro-area encompasses 19 out of 28 MS; United Kingdom and Denmark “opted-out;” Sweden has not yet been accepted in to the euro area; remaining non-euro MS acceded to the EU after the euro was launched and still need to meet certain conditions in order to adopt the euro as currency. *European Commission*. “What is the Euro Area?” https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/euro-area/what-euro-area_en

¹⁶ *The European Union Explained: How the EU Works*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2014. doi:10.2775/11255, 2.

¹⁷ Treaty on European Union ([2002] C325/1)

¹⁸ “Summary of legislation,” *EUR-Lex*, Last updated 22 September 2015, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/LSU/?uri=CELEX:12007L/TXT>

¹⁹ *The European Union Explained: How the EU Works*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2014. doi:10.2775/11255

²⁰ “About the EU,” https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en

The European Union is based on three bodies of law: EU primary legislation such as the Treaties, “general principles established by the CJEU, and international agreements;”²¹ secondary EU legislation such as Regulations and Directives, and Member State (national) legislation. Member States are also bound by rulings of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) and other international treaties, conventions, and courts of which they are party to.²² It is important to note that Article 6(1) of the TEU as amended by the 2007 Treaty of Lisbon elevates the 2000 Charter of Fundamental Human Rights (2000 Charter) to treaty status (only among EU member countries).²³ The 2000 Charter therefore is considered primary legislation in EU law. This will be elaborated further in Section 2.2.

There are several types of legislation EU institutions can issue. These include regulations, directives, decisions, recommendations, and opinions.²⁴ According to Article 288 of the TFEU, a regulation “shall be binding in its entirety and applicable in all Member States.” Directives are binding, “as a result to be achieved, upon each Member State to which it is addressed, but shall leave to the national authorities the choice of forms and methods.” A decision is binding in its entirety, but “specifies those to whom it is addressed shall be binding only to them.” Recommendations and opinions have no binding force.²⁵ However, these different types of legislation can only be

²¹ “Glossary of Summaries,” *EUR-Lex*, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/norms_hierarchy.html

²² Gil-Bazo, María-Teresa. “The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and the Right to be Granted Asylum in the Union's Law.” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* (2008) 27 (3): 33-52
doi:10.1093/rsq/hdn044, 34.

²³ Gil-Bazo, María-Teresa. “The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and the Right to be Granted Asylum in the Union's Law.” In *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol.27, No. 3. Geneva: UNHCR, 2008. DOI: 10.1093/rsq/hdn044, 34.

²⁴ European Union, *Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, 13 December 2007, 2008/C 115/01, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4b17a07e2.html> [accessed 10 December 2015], 579-580.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 579-580.

issued if they are within the competence of the EU institution as defined in the TFEU.

See further:

EU institutions may adopt legal acts of these kinds only if they are empowered to do so by the Treaties. The limits of Union competences are governed by the principle of conferral, which is enshrined in Article 5(1) TEU.

The TFEU defines the scope of Union competences, dividing them into three categories: exclusive competences (Article 3), shared competences (Article 4) and supporting competences (Article 6), whereby the EU adopts measures to support or complement Member States' policies. Articles 3, 4 and 6 TFEU list the areas that come under each category of Union competence. In the absence of the necessary powers to attain one of the objectives set out in the Treaties, the institutions may apply the provisions of Article 352 TFEU, and thus adopt the 'appropriate measures'.²⁶

Member States are also bound by decisions made by the CJEU and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). The CJEU "ensures that EU legislation is interpreted and applied in the same way in each Member State — in other words, that it is always identical for all parties and in all circumstances. To this end, the Court checks the legality of the actions of the EU institutions, ensures the Member States comply with their obligations and interprets EU law at the request of national courts."²⁷ The CJEU is able to "settle disputes between Member States, EU institutions, businesses, and individuals."²⁸ General principles of Union law are decided mostly in case law developed and ruled on by the CJEU, which also serves as the basis for the recognition of fundamental rights. Article 6(3) of the TEU "refers to these fundamental rights as guaranteed by the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member

²⁶ Bux, Udo. *Sources and scope of European Union Law*, Last updated December 2016. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.2.1.pdf, 1-2.

²⁷ *The European Union Explained: How the EU Works*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2014. doi:10.2775/11255, 24.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

States and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.”²⁹ The ECtHR was established under the 1950 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950 Convention).³⁰ It is an independent judicial body whose rulings are “binding and compulsory.”³¹ Set up in 1959, both Member States and individuals can bring cases before it, and it deals directly with violations of the 1950 Convention. Furthermore, in the 2015 EASO Annual Report on Asylum, it states in regards to the ECtHR:

The ECtHR bases its judgments on its competence to ensure the observance of the State Parties of the provisions of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR), including specific provisions such as prohibition of inhuman or degrading treatment (Article 3), prohibition of collective expulsions (Article 4 of Protocol 4), right to liberty and security (Article 5), right to respect of family and private life (Article 8), and right to effective remedy (Article 13). Those aspects remain closely related to asylum, in particular as regards the principle of *non-refoulement* and reception/detention conditions.³²

The complicated nature of shared legal competences between the European Union and its member states makes the case of asylum law, and, more specifically, the Common European Asylum System in the European Union, ambiguous and difficult to enforce on a wide-scale. The legal instruments in place to deal with asylum will be discussed in the following section.

2.2 Common European Asylum System (CEAS)

²⁹ Bux, Udo. *Sources and scope of European Union Law*, Last updated December 2016. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.2.1.pdf, 4.

³⁰ Oetheimer, Mario and Palomares, Guillem Cano. *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Online ed., s.v. “European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR).” Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. <http://opil.ouplaw.com.ezproxy.aub.edu.lb/view/10.1093/law:epil/9780199231690/law-9780199231690-e791?rskey=vNkys0&result=1&prd=EPIL>. Accessed: 10 April 2017.

³¹ Ibid.

³² *Annual Report on the Situation of Asylum in the European Union 2015*. Valletta: European Asylum Support Office, 2016, 59. https://www.easo.europa.eu/sites/default/files/public/EN_%20Annual%20Report%202015_1.pdf

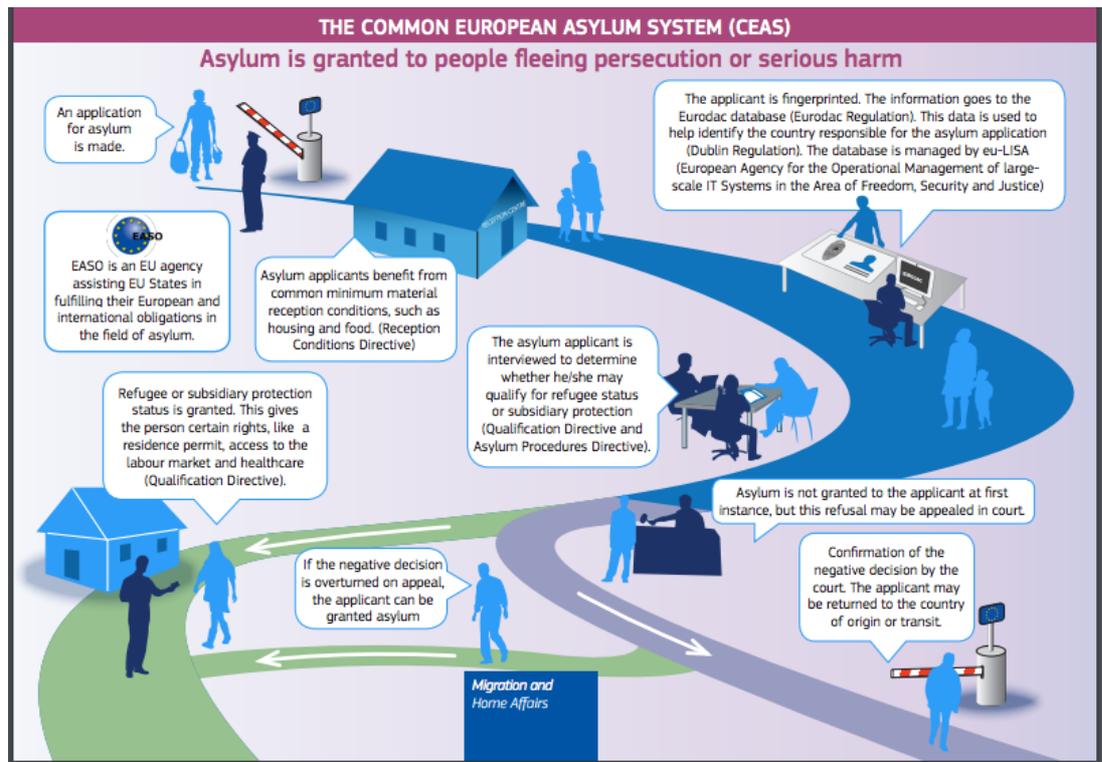
The Common European Asylum System (CEAS) is a set of legal instruments and obligations which are meant to coordinate Member States' responses to irregular migration in the European Union. With the elimination of internal borders constituting the Schengen zone, issues were raised concerning maintaining external borders so that migration patterns resulting from a mass influx of individuals would not flow towards countries seen to have favorable asylum laws, whether true or not.³³ Moreover, "the CEAS regulates and sets common standards in the field of international protection with a view to developing common concepts and criteria, and harmonizing the interpretation and application of asylum law among EU Member States."³⁴ The legal basis for the CEAS can be found in the TEU, TFEU and 2000 Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000 Charter). Secondary legislation was also proposed and developed in this field so as to coordinate Member State responses to a mass influx of individuals seeking protection, from the reception of these individuals to final decisions taken to determine protection status.³⁵ A more recent and relevant development pertaining to the CEAS is the 18 March 2016 EU-Turkey Statement.

³³ *An Introduction to the Common European Asylum System for Courts and Tribunals: A Judicial Analysis*. Valletta: International Association of Refugee Law Judges European Chapter under contract to EASO, 2016, 13.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

Figure 1: Common European Asylum System in Action (EASO July 2016 Factsheet)



The right to grant asylum remains a sovereign right of Member States in the European Union. However, norms and principles are still being developed in the field of asylum and international protection in the EU. As mentioned previously, there are three forms that international protection in the European Union can take: granting of refugee status, subsidiary protection, and humanitarian protection. “Refugee status means status as defined in Art.2(d) of Directive 2004/83/EC within the meaning of Art.1 of the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951, as amended by the New York Protocol of 31 January 1967.”³⁶ Subsidiary protection is granted to an individual who is a third-country national or stateless person who does not qualify for refugee status “...but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin, or in the

³⁶ “Glossary: Asylum Decision,” Eurostat: Statistics Explained. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Glossary:Asylum_decision.

case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country.”³⁷ An individual who is authorized to stay on humanitarian grounds does not qualify for refugee status or subsidiary protection. However, decisions are taken at the national level and individuals granted humanitarian protection are “...protected against removal under the obligations that are imposed on all Member States by international refugee or human rights instruments or on the basis of principles flowing from such instruments.”³⁸

The main international legal instrument on which the European Union and its Member States base the CEAS, international protection and resulting legal principles, such as non-refoulement, is the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 Protocol. Article 78(1) of the TFEU explicitly states:

The Union shall develop a common policy on asylum, subsidiary protection and temporary protection with a view to offering appropriate status to any third-country national requiring international protection and ensuring compliance with the principle of non-refoulement. This policy must be in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951 and the Protocol of 31 January 1967 relating to the status of refugees, and other relevant treaties.³⁹

In the European context, an additional legal instrument which governs international protection is the 2000 Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000 Charter). It came into force in 2009, with the Treaty of Lisbon, and is a detailed list of rights guaranteed to European citizens and residents of the European Union. The 2000 Charter is split into seven categories: dignity, freedoms, equality, solidarity, citizens’ rights, justice, and “general provisions governing the interpretation

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ European Union, *Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, 13 December 2007, 2008/C 115/01, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4b17a07e2.html> [accessed 10 December 2015], 484.

and application of the Charter.”⁴⁰ As stated previously, the 2000 Charter is recognized in Article 6(1) of the TEU to have the same legal standing as the Treaties, designating it as primary legislation within the European Union. Regarding asylum, the 2000 Charter explicitly states in Article 18:

The right to asylum shall be guaranteed with due respect for the rules of the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951 and the Protocol of 31 January 1967 relating to the status of refugees and in accordance with the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (hereinafter referred to as ‘the Treaties’).⁴¹

There are three main points that should be made concerning the interpretation and application of the 2000 Charter. First, Article 52(7) states that explanations drawn up while drafting the 2000 Charter can be used by the CJEU and courts of Member States for interpretation. Second, Article 51(1) specifies that the rights listed in the 2000 Charter are addressed to the “institutions, bodies, offices and agencies of the Union with due regard for the principle of subsidiarity and to the Member States only when they are implementing Union law.”⁴² Finally, Article 51(2) clarifies that the 2000 Charter is not meant to “extend the field of application of Union law beyond the powers of the Union or establish any new power or task for the Union, or modify powers and tasks as defined in the Treaties.”⁴³ Thus, Member State sovereignty is maintained when deciding whether or not to grant protection, and Union law is meant to inform and standardize international protection practices across Member States.

Secondary legislation stipulated by the CEAS concerning international protection in the European Union includes the Reception Conditions Directive, EURODAC Regulation, Dublin III Regulation, Qualification Directive, Temporary

⁴⁰ [2012] OJ C326/02.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

Protection Directive and Asylum Procedures Directive. As discussed earlier, directives are required to be transposed into national law, meaning that national law needs to be amended to reflect the aims of the directive if not already achieving those aims. So, in the case of CEAS, this would apply to the Reception Conditions Directive, Qualification Directive, Temporary Protection Directive and Asylum Procedures Directive. On the other hand, regulations are directly binding on Member States without needing to be transposed, such as the case of the Dublin III Regulation and EURODAC Regulation.

The Dublin III Regulation is a legal “instrument that establishes the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an application for international protection.”⁴⁴ The EURODAC regulation was established with the aim to facilitate implementation of the Dublin III regulation (Article 1), by setting up “a system known as ‘Eurodac’, consisting of a Central System, which will operate a computerized central database of fingerprint data, as well as of the electronic means of transmission between the Member States and the Central System, hereinafter the ‘Communication Infrastructure’. (Recital (6) Eurodac Regulation (recast)).”⁴⁵ The Reception Conditions Directive, Qualification Directive, Temporary Protection Directive and Asylum Procedures Directive were established with the intent of imposing obligations on Member States to standardize living conditions of individuals receiving protection, qualifications for international protection, provision of temporary

⁴⁴ *An Introduction to the Common European Asylum System for Courts and Tribunals: A Judicial Analysis*. Valletta: International Association of Refugee Law Judges European Chapter under contract to EASO, 2016, 34.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

protection in cases of mass influx of protection-seeking individuals, and mechanisms in the processing of asylum applications.⁴⁶

More recently, on 18 March 2016, the European Council released the EU-Turkey Statement with the aim of stemming the influx and ending irregular migration to Europe in the guise of fighting dangerous smuggling operations.⁴⁷ The measures to be taken to achieve this goal were agreed upon with the condition that accession talks would be renewed with Turkey and a visa liberalization scheme put in place for Turkish citizens wanting to travel to the EU. The statement outlined several steps in accomplishing the aim of stemming the influx and ending irregular migration, namely:

- returning all irregular migrants arriving after 20 March to Turkey; migrants would be registered and applications for asylum put forth (according to the procedures of the CEAS), but those who receive a negative decision are returned to Turkey
- “For every Syrian being returned to Turkey from Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled from Turkey to the EU”⁴⁸ in coordination with UNHCR
- Turkey would take responsibility for enforcing borders and increase patrolling efforts of sea routes

These legal instruments which make up the CEAS, as well as the recent EU-Turkey deal, will become more relevant in the next section where statistics collected on asylum applicants for the period of September 2015 – September 2016 will be discussed.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 52, 41, 54, 47.

⁴⁷ European Union: Council of the European Union, *EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016*, 18 March 2016, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/5857b3444.html> [accessed 17 May 2017]

⁴⁸ Ibid.

2.3 Asylum Statistics in Europe September 2015 – September 2016

In this section, statistics in the field of international protection in the EU from September 2015 – September 2016 will be explored and analyzed in order to complement and inform the news analysis undertaken during the same time period. The primary sources consulted include the 2015 European Asylum Support Office (EASO) Annual report on Asylum (2015 EASO Report), monthly EASO asylum trends reports from January 2016 to September 2016. The European Asylum Support Office was established in Regulation No 439/2010⁴⁹ by the European Parliament and the Council for the purpose of “strengthening and developing cooperation measures” such as the harmonization of Member States approaches towards collecting statistics and decision-making procedures regarding international protection, as well as to “support the development of solidarity within the Union to promote a better relocation of beneficiaries of international protection between Member States.”⁵⁰

2015 EASO Annual Report on the Situation of Asylum in the European Union

The EASO draws on Eurostat statistics in order to provide monthly and yearly reports on asylum in the European Union (plus Norway and Switzerland).⁵¹ Eurostat, a European data collection database, has been collecting EU-wide statistics since 2008.⁵² The aim of the 2015 EASO Report on Asylum is to provide a holistic overview of the

⁴⁹ European Union, Regulation No 439/2010 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 May 2010 establishing a European Asylum Support Office, 19 May 2010, OJ L.132/11-132/28; 29.5.2010, (EU)No 439/2010, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4c075a202.html> [accessed 19 May 2017]

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Referred to from this point forward as EU+ area.

⁵² *Latest asylum trends – 2015 overview*. Valletta: European Asylum Support Office, 2016, 1. <https://www.easo.europa.eu/sites/default/files/public/LatestAsylumTrends20151.pdf>

situation of asylum in the EU. For the year 2015, the EASO expanded their analysis to the EU+ area.⁵³ The report details major developments in 2015 in the field of international protection, analyzes jurisprudence in Member States concerning the CEAS, analyzes flow of asylum applicants to different Member States, and tries to identify areas in the CEAS where more work is needed.⁵⁴ The EASO drew information from several actors and institutions in the field of international protection in the EU to accomplish this analysis. These include: EU+ Member States (through an Annual Matrix and questionnaire response), EU institutions, civil society (such as EASO Consultative Forum), international organizations, academia, UNHCR, EASO Network of Court and Tribunal Members (provided examples of national casework), and publicly available sources such as the Asylum Information Database mentioned previously.⁵⁵

There were several major developments in the EU+ area during 2015. First, the number of applicants for international protection reached a record number of 1,392,155,⁵⁶ the highest number of applications and sharpest year-to-year growth since EU-wide statistics began to be collected in 2008.⁵⁷ Syrians remained the highest number of applicants for the second year in a row, making up 28% of all applicants in 2015.⁵⁸ Regarding EU institutional developments in 2015, a relocation scheme was negotiated, agreed upon, and adopted by the Council, which would relocate 160,000 asylum applicants from Italy and Greece by the end of September 2017 in order to alleviate the

⁵³ *Annual Report on the Situation of Asylum in the European Union 2015*. Valletta: European Asylum Support Office, 2016, 7.

https://www.easo.europa.eu/sites/default/files/public/EN_%20Annual%20Report%202015_1.pdf

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 9.

burden on the external border countries.⁵⁹ Furthermore, on 20 July 2015, 27 Member States and Dublin participating countries agreed to resettle 22,504 displaced people from outside of the EU who qualified for international protection within two years, marking the first common EU resettlement effort.⁶⁰ According to the report, 4,555 people had been resettled by 15 March 2016, a majority of them Syrians in the neighboring countries of Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey.⁶¹

The EASO 2015 report provides detailed analyses on every step of the international protection application process. For the purposes of this thesis, focus will be given to overall numbers, as well as those pertaining to Syrian nationals and statistics involving Germany. It is important to note that Greece was infrequently mentioned in the majority of any analysis pertaining to applications made, pending cases, withdrawn applications, or decisions of first and final instance. When mentioned in the report, it was within the context of an external border country facing significant challenges due to the refugee and migrant influx.

Concerning applicants for international protection, 95% of applicants in 2015 were new applicants, and 99% of Syrian national applicants were first time applicants.⁶² Germany had the highest share of applicants for the fourth consecutive year, followed by Hungary, Sweden, Austria and Italy.⁶³ In 2015, Syrians become the largest group of applicants awaiting a final decision, numbering 220,815 applicants. Two thirds of Syrian nationals awaiting final decision were in Germany and Sweden.⁶⁴ Moreover, 2015 saw a record number of applications made, as well as a record number of 181,895

⁵⁹ Ibid., 6.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 85.

⁶² Ibid., 8.

⁶³ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 14.

applications withdrawn, the highest since statistics began being collected EU-wide in 2008.⁶⁵ Syrian nationals were one of the top three nationalities to withdraw their applications, and had an implicit withdrawal (withdrawal due to not showing up for appointment or inability to be contacted) rate of 96%.⁶⁶ In countries with external land and sea borders (such as Hungary, Bulgaria, Italy and Poland), implicit rates were highest. In contrast, Germany had the highest number of explicit withdrawals at 93%.⁶⁷

Concerning recognition rates of first instance decisions, there is a wealth of interesting data to be consulted in the 2015 EASO Report, especially concerning Syrian nationals. Later in this section, asylum trends concerning first instance decisions for Syrian nationals in 2016 will be analyzed. To understand how data is collected and analyzed concerning first instance decisions, it is first important to understand what mechanisms were introduced by EU institutions in order to standardize collection methods:

Regulation (EC) 862/2007 on Community statistics on migration and international protection and repealing Council Regulation No 311/76 on the compilation of statistics on foreign workers specifies that the following possible outcomes of international protection procedures be notified by Member States:

1. grant of refugee status (under Geneva Convention);
2. grant of subsidiary protection status;
3. grant of an authorization to stay for humanitarian reasons under national law concerning international protection;
4. temporary protection status (under EU legislation);
5. rejection of the application.

The EU temporary protection mechanism has not yet been used since it was introduced into EU legislation and this section will therefore focus on the grants on positive decisions via refugee status, subsidiary protection or authorization to stay

⁶⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

for humanitarian reasons under national law (referred to as ‘humanitarian protection’ in this document).⁶⁸

In 2015, 624,160 first instance decisions were issued by EU+ countries, a 61% increase compared to 2014.⁶⁹ Of those decisions issued, 327,870 were positive, with an overall recognition rate of 53%, six percent higher than in 2014. The 2015 EASO Report accounts for this by stating that the increase is in keeping with the increase in applications overall as well as nationalities which clearly qualify for protection, such as Syrian, Eritrean and Iraqi nationals.⁷⁰ In 2015, 74% of all positive decisions granted refugee status, 18% granted subsidiary protection, and 8% granted humanitarian status.

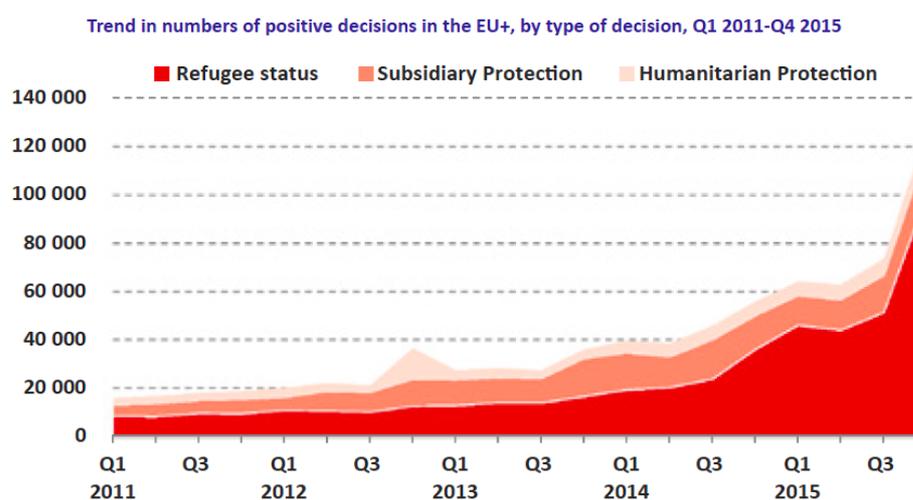


Figure 2: Trend in number of positive decisions in the EU+ (2015 EASO Report Pg.20)

Germany, France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom accounted for most of these positive decisions, and Syrians, Eritreans, and Iraqis were the majority of citizenships of applicants being granted refugee status.⁷¹ In contrast, first instance decisions granting subsidiary protection experienced an incremental increase in 2015 (+1%). Syrian

⁶⁸ Ibid., 19.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 20.

nationals experienced the highest recognition rate at 97% and were granted refugee status at a much higher percentage versus subsidiary protection.⁷² Regarding second and higher instance decisions, there is less data to analyze. However, the 2015 EASO Report states:

Syrian applicants were the citizenship with the highest recognition rate in appeal or review (74%), despite the fact that they have a high chance of receiving a positive decision in first instance. The large majority of the positive decisions issued to Syrian nationals in appeal or review regarded refugee status.⁷³

The 2015 EASO Report highlights the disparity in issuance of positive first-instance decisions to Syrian nationals in 2015. Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Norway, Poland, and the United Kingdom were noted as main providers of refugee status for Syrian nationals. On the other hand, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Malta, Spain and Sweden most commonly granted Syrian nationals subsidiary protection.⁷⁴ The report states, “The overall trend in the EU+ was dominated by that of Germany, while Sweden was stable in issuing mostly subsidiary protection.”⁷⁵ **Figure 3** below demonstrates this trend:

⁷² Ibid., 22.

⁷³ Ibid., 26.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 42.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 43.

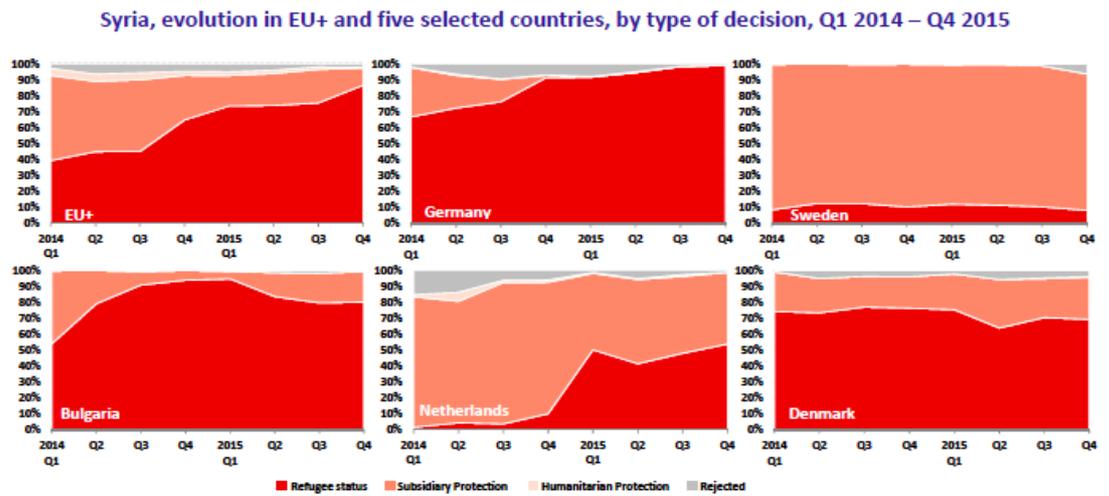


Figure 3: Evolution in EU+ of international protection granted to Syrian nationals (2015 EASO Report, Pg. 45)

Recalling the 18 March 2016 EU-Turkey Statement from the previous section, the 2015 EASO Reports as of 12 April 2016, that only 79 individuals have been resettled from Turkey to the EU “under the 1:1 mechanism.”⁷⁶ Furthermore, regarding relocation schemes within the EU, the Commission published a relocation report on 16 March 2016 summarizing the challenges of implementation. These include: “slow implementation rate, changing number of applicants for relocation, difficulties in relocating unaccompanied minors, insufficient number of formal pledges for applicants to be relocated, obstacles relating to security checks, unjustified rejections, and lack of pre-departure information by the Member State of relocation.”⁷⁷

Latest Asylum Trends – 2016 Overview

At the time of writing, the 2016 EASO Annual Report on the Situation of Asylum in the European Union had not been published. However, information can be gathered from both monthly reports from January 2016 until September 2016 as well as the EASO Latest Asylum Trends – 2016 Overview. For the purposes of this thesis,

⁷⁶ Ibid., 87.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

preference will be given to overall statistics as well as statistics pertaining to Syrian nationals. The table below utilizes the monthly statistics produced from EASO monthly reports for the time period relevant to this thesis. Categories include: overall number of asylum applications; percent change in asylum applications based on the previous month; number of Syrian nationals applying for asylum; percent change of Syrian nationals applying for asylum compared to the previous month, percentage of Syrian applicants overall; number of decisions of first instance for Syrian nationals, percentage difference of first instance decisions issued to Syrian nationals compared to the previous month; percentage of positive first instance decisions issued to Syrian nationals; percentage of positive first instance decisions granting refugee status to Syrian nationals; percentage of positive first instance decisions granting subsidiary protection to Syrian nationals; as well as the main country of origin of applicants in the EU+ for that month.

The EASO Latest Asylum Trends – 2016 Overview (2016 EASO Asylum Trends Report), is quite brief when compared to the 2015 EASO Report analyzed previously. However, there are some trends which are worth noting. The summer months of 2016 experienced the highest rate of applications for international protection, with August recording 137,779 applications.⁷⁸ The report notes that this high level of applications may reflect “the processing by EU+ countries of a backlog of persons who had arrived previously and had been awaiting the formal lodging of their application.”⁷⁹ Moreover, “the number of persons who arrived irregularly at the EU borders dropped considerable

⁷⁸ *Latest asylum trends – 2016 overview*. Valletta: European Asylum Support Office, 2017, 1. <https://www.easo.europa.eu/sites/default/files/Latest%20Asylum%20Trends%20Overview%202016%20final.pdf>

⁷⁹ Ibid.

compared to 2015,⁸⁰ due to the introduction of measures to stem the flow of irregular migration to the EU such as the EU-Turkey Statement and shoring up of external borders.⁸¹

Concerning top citizenship of applicants and issuance of first instance decisions in 2016, Syrian nationals remained the top country of origin for international protection applications, recording 319,991 applications or 26% of applications overall in the EU+ area.⁸² EU+ countries issued 1,130,110 decisions of first instance, 87% more than in 2015, making it the highest number of first instance decisions issued since statistics started being collected EU-wide in 2008.⁸³ Of those, 36% were issued to Syrian nationals or 412,308 decisions of first instance overall. Of those 413,308 first instance decisions, 98% resulted in a positive outcome (either granting refugee status, subsidiary protection or humanitarian protection). In 2016, 54% of Syrian nationals were granted refugee status, and 46% were granted subsidiary protection.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., 2.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 3.

Europe Asylum Support Office - Monthly Asylum Statistics (September 2015 - September 2016) for EU+ Countries⁸⁵

Month/Year	# of asylum applications ⁸⁶	% - or + compared to previous month	# of Syrian nationals applying for asylum	% (+ or -) of Syrian nationals applying for asylum compared to previous month	% of Syrian applicants overall	# of decisions of first instance (Syrians)	% (+ or -) of decisions of first instance compared to previous month (Syrians)	% of positive decisions of first instance (Syrians)	% of first instance decisions granting refugee status (Syrians)	% of first instance decisions granting subsidiary protection (Syrians)	Main Country of Origin of Applicants in EU+
September 2015	172,185	16%	62,000	26%	36%	12,256	9%	97%	77%	20%	Syria
October 2015	176,191	1%	59,744	-5%	34%	19,027	54%	98%	83%	15%	Syria
November 2015	168,802	-4%	54,600	-9%	32%	25,418	33%	99%	90%	9%	Syria
December 2015	110,378	-35%	35,711	-35%	32%	31,202	23%	99%	91%	8%	Syria
January 2016	97,222	-13%	33,370	-7%	34%	31,161	-0.01%	99%	92%	7%	Syria
February 2016	108,490	11%	38,190	14%	35%	34,050	9%	99%	91%	8%	Syria
March 2016	100,700	-8%	35,522	-15%	35%	31,308	-11%	98%	86.6%	11.7%	Syria
April 2016	104,000	4%	29,542	-9%	28%	29,396	-6%	98%	77%	21%	Syria
May 2016	99,000	-5%	28,056	-12%	28%	25,968	-12%	97%	65%	32%	Syria
June 2016	120,471	21%	31,251	11%	26%	34,869	34%	98%	50%	48%	Syria
July 2016	117,459	-2%	28,662	-9%	24%	34,738	-1%	97%	43%	57%	Syria
August 2016	137,688	17%	31,522	10%	23%	36,047	4%	98%	31%	67%	Syria
September 2016	125,809	-9%	28,966	-8%	23%	43,547	19%	98%	32%	68%	Syria
TOTAL	1,638,395	NA	497,136	NA	30%	388,987	13%	98%	70%	29%	Syria

⁸⁵ EU+ comprised of 28 member countries plus Norway and Switzerland; statistics taken from European Asylum Support Office monthly asylum trends reports from September 2015 – September 2016

⁸⁶ Small percentage of numbers recorded are repeat applicants

Now that general trends for the entire calendar years of 2015 and 2016 have been established, it is important to turn to the time period explored in this thesis, September 2015 to September 2016. For this time period, conclusions will be drawn from the **table above** and focus will be given to Syrian nationals. Given that Syrians constituted the majority of asylum applicants for both 2015 and 2016, it is not surprising that Syrian nationals made up 30% of the 1,638,395 applications made from September 2015 to September 2016. Moreover, of the 388,987 first instance decisions issued to Syrian nationals during this time period, 98% resulted in positive decisions, 70% granting refugee status and 29% granting subsidiary protection. Despite the high average of decisions granting refugee status to Syrian nationals, it is clear that April 2016 marked a considerable shift from first instance decisions granting refugee status to granting subsidiary protection. In June 2016, the variance between granting of refugee status and granting of subsidiary protection stabilized before dropping to 32% of first instance decisions granting refugee status and 68% of first instance decisions granting subsidiary protection in September 2016. It will be interesting to note if this trend continues for final instance decisions in the EASO 2016 Annual Report on the Situation of Asylum in the European Union when published later this year. Finally, September 2015 recorded the highest positive percentage change in Syrian national applicants for asylum, and slowly decreased as the year progressed. It is logical to conclude that this may be due to the difficult weather patterns during the winter months, followed by the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement.

CHAPTER 3

GREECE – THE “ARRIVAL”

3.1 Asylum Information Database: 2016 Country Report: Greece

The Asylum Information Database’s 2016 Country Report: Greece (AIDA 2016 Greece Report), was produced by the Greek Council for Refugees in collaboration with the European Council for Refugees and Exiles. The report consults and collects information from the Greek Asylum Service, the Hellenic Police, national and international jurisprudence, reports by EU Institutions, NGOs and INGOs, as well as observations from Greek Council for Refugees’ own work in the field.⁸⁷ The report focuses on a variety of thematic features of international protection including reception conditions, safe country concepts, and access to procedure and registration. For the purposes of this thesis, attention will be focused on applications for international protection submitted, major developments in 2016, reception conditions, and access to labor and education sectors for Syrian nationals.

⁸⁷ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report : Greece*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece> [accessed 20 May 2017], 2.

	Applicants in 2016	Pending applications 2016	Refugee status	Subsidiary protection	Rejection	Refugee rate	Subs. Prot. rate	Rejection rate
Total	51,091	28,030	2,467	244	6,608	26.5%	2.6%	70.9%

Breakdown by countries of origin of the total numbers

Syria	26,692	13,257	:	:	:	:	:	0.9%
Iraq	4,812	3,086	:	:	:	:	:	33.5%
Pakistan	4,695	2,603	:	:	:	:	:	97.6%
Afghanistan	4,371	3,986	:	:	:	:	:	51.2%
Albania	1,420	679	:	:	:	:	:	99.6%
Bangladesh	1,215	721	:	:	:	:	:	96.5%
Iran	1,096	675	:	:	:	:	:	46.8%
Algeria	889	216	:	:	:	:	:	98.7%
Palestine	852	518	:	:	:	:	:	7.1%
Georgia	688	303	:	:	:	:	:	100%

Figure 4: Applications and granting of protection status at first instance: 2016 (2016 AIDA Greece Country Report, 8)

As is evident in **Figure 4⁸⁸**, Syrian nationals constituted the majority of applicants for international protection in Greece for 2016, and experienced the lowest rejection rate.⁸⁹ A critical development which took place during 2016, and which strongly affected Greece, was the implementation of the 18 March EU-Turkey Statement. As explained previously, the EU-Turkey Statement was an agreement reached by the European Council and the Turkish government to halt irregular migration to Europe by granting concessions such as a visa liberalization scheme (which never came to fruition) and beginning accession talks anew. According to the agreement, after 20 March 2016 migrants not qualifying for international protection would be sent back to Turkey, and for every person sent back, one Syrian refugee would be relocated from Turkey (the 1:1 mechanism). Interestingly, in March 2017, the General Court of the European Union stated that the “EU-Turkey statement, as published by means of Press Release No 144/16, cannot be regarded as a measure

⁸⁸ The table was taken as is from the 2016 AIDA Greece Country report. As such, there is no justification as to why the number of pending applications, refugee status, subsidiary protection, and rejection cases do not add up to the total number of applicants in 2016. However, assumptions can be made that there are missing Countries of Origin in this table as well as withdrawn applications as asylum seekers tried to move on to another country.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 8.

adopted by the European Council, or, moreover, by any other institution, body, office or agency of the European Union, or as revealing the existence of such a measure that corresponds to the contested measure.”⁹⁰

Moreover, stricter border patrols between Greece and the FYROM, and closure of the Western Balkan route in March 2016, left over 50,000 individuals seeking asylum stranded in Greece.⁹¹ This led to extreme pressure on the Greek Asylum Service and as such diminished standards for processing applications, resulting in long waiting periods for asylum applicants.⁹² According to the report, in the third quarter of 2016, Greece “had the largest number of asylum applicants per capita after Germany.”⁹³ Greek law in the field of international protection in 2016 was also reformed according to the AIDA 2016 Greece Report:

Substantial asylum reforms, many of which driven by the implementation of the EU-Turkey statement, took place in 2016. L 4375/2016, adopted in April 2016 and transposing the recast Asylum Procedures Directive into Greek law, was subsequently amended in June 2016 and March 2017, while a draft law transposing the recast Reception Conditions Directive has not been adopted yet.⁹⁴

Among the practices implemented to deal with the influx after the EU-Turkey Statement is the “fast-track border procedure.” The report states:

In practice, fast-track border procedure applies to arrivals after 20 March 2016 and takes place in the Reception and Identification Centers (RIC) of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Leros and Kos. Under the fast-track border procedure, which does not apply to Dublin family cases and vulnerable cases, interviews are also conducted by EASO staff, while the entire procedure at first and second instance has to be completed within 14 days. The procedure has predominantly taken the form of an admissibility procedure to examine whether applications may be dismissed on the ground that Turkey is a “safe third country” or a “first country of asylum”; although these

⁹⁰ General Court of the European Union, Cases T-192/16, T-193/16 and T-257/16 *NF, NG and NM v. European Council*, Order of 28 February 2017, press release available at: <http://bit.ly/2IWZPrr>.

⁹¹ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report: Greece*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/greece> [accessed 20 May 2017], 13.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

concepts already existed in Greek law, they have only been applied following the EU-Turkey statement. The admissibility procedure started being applied to Syrian nationals in April 2016 and was only applied to other nationalities with a rate over 25% (e.g. Afghans, Iraqis) since the beginning of 2017. In the meantime, for nationalities with a rate below 25%, the procedure entails an examination of the application on the merits without prior admissibility assessment as of July 2016.⁹⁵

According to the report, this practice “raises serious concerns with the non-discrimination principle.”⁹⁶

Reception conditions in Greece remain a serious concern. The AIDA 2016 Greece Report outlines these concerns relating to reception capacity, temporary accommodation sites, and reception of persons subject to the EU-Turkey Statement.⁹⁷ Concerning reception capacity, as of January 2017, only 1,896 places were available in 64 reception centers out of a promised 2,500. Of those places, a majority (1,312) were allotted to unaccompanied minors.⁹⁸ Temporary accommodation sites were created on the mainland to alleviate the burden on the islands. However, these are commonly referred to as “squats”⁹⁹ by workers on the ground and conditions are criticized for not being uniform and not meeting the standards of common dignity for those who reside within. Regarding the reception of persons subject to the EU-Turkey Statement, “hotspot” facilities were constructed on the islands as a “waiting station” for recently arrived individuals as a part of a European framework for rapid response to the influx and were created to “identify, register and fingerprint incoming migrants, process asylum claims, and conduct returns.”¹⁰⁰ “Hotspots” are currently located in Kos, Leros,

⁹⁵ Ibid., 14.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 15.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 22.

Chios, Lesbos, and Samos; and combined have a capacity of 7,450 places.¹⁰¹ The conditions of these hotspots are abysmal as recorded by the report:

As reported, ‘Hotspot’ facilities on the islands are not only overcrowded but have substandard material conditions in terms of sanitation and hygiene, access to essential services such as health care, in particular for vulnerable groups. Security is insufficient, and tensions persist between different nationalities. A number of fatal accidents and suicide attempts are also reported. On 25 November 2016, a 66-year-old Iraqi woman and her 6-year-old grandchild died at Lesbos (Moria) Hotspot, when a bottle gas with which they were trying to cook inside their tent exploded. In January 2017, three men died on Lesbos in the six days between 24 and 30 January. It is reported that “although there is no official statement on the cause of these deaths, they have been attributed to carbon monoxide poisoning from makeshift heating devices that refugees have been using to warm their freezing tents.” A 41-year-old Iraqi died on 25 January 2017 at the Hotspot of Samos. A series of suicide attempts have been reported in the same facilities from desperate people.¹⁰²

3.2 News Analysis – September 2015 to August 2016

As detailed in the introduction section, 110 articles were translated from two Greek newspapers, *To Vima* and *Kathimerini*. These two newspapers were chosen based on their ideological affiliations of center/left and center/right, respectively, in order to get a broader representation of viewpoints. As noted earlier, due to the number of articles and difficulties in translating the titles into citations, the translations will be annexed to this thesis (**Annex 1**) and citations will reference article number. It should be acknowledged that this research is not meant to be an exhaustive analysis, but rather a cursory overview of public debates during the first year media coverage of the refugee crisis expanded significantly.

Translators were given a codebook to consult and categorize when translating the articles in order to explore thematic viewpoints and their respective explanations more in depth. (**Figure 5**) Based on the descriptions for each theme explored throughout

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., 16.

the articles, data was inputted into a Microsoft Excel sheet to analyze for a more comprehensive understanding of the debates. It is important to note that the last thematic viewpoint in the codebook, “transportation and border issues,” was not used as data for analysis, but rather to contextualize the debates around specific areas affected by the influx, such as Athens, Idomeni camp, the Greek islands, etc.

Figure 5: Greece Codebook

Codebook: Greece	
Modes of Incorporation	Assimilation (social, cultural, economic incorporation into society – <i>becoming Greek</i>); Integration (social and economic incorporation into society – able to retain cultural identity); Isolation (isolate from society)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Acceptance or rejection of hosting refugees
Economic Effects	Hosting refugees leading to negative or positive economic effects
Securitization of Refugees	Is refugee presence a security risk? Danger from refugees’ security or health related? Is presence of refugees dangerous due to increase in popularity of right wing parties?
Sectoral Integration	Discussions, perceptions and policies concerning integrating refugees into education and labor markets (positive or negative)
Transportation and border issues	Discussions of transportation of refugees by sea, land; border closures and openings by sea and land

Throughout the 110 articles analyzed, two main themes emerged: a Greek “Euro-identity crisis” and the mismanagement of the Greek government in handling the refugee influx. What surfaced as most striking regarding the first theme were the dichotomous viewpoints of “Greece as the shining European example” and “Greece as the scapegoat.” Still reeling from the debt crisis of 2009, there were a number of authors who posited that Greece could not only demonstrate to the European Union that Greece possesses the values of freedom and human dignity espoused by the EU¹⁰³, but could lead the European response to the refugee influx, thereby embodying these values and

¹⁰³ For example, please see Article 59.

proving their European credentials. Conversely, there were a large number of authors who resented the treatment of Greece and hypocritical admonitions by the EU¹⁰⁴ for a perceived number of ills, including the inability to police their external borders effectively and inhumane response to refugees. This feeling of resentment is aptly demonstrated in the EU informal “ultimatum”¹⁰⁵ over the borders in December 2015. Article 39 references, specifically, the part of the Commission’s proposals which stated that “Frontex should intervene if the state is unable or unwilling.”¹⁰⁶ He expressed alarm that this appeared to be a “choice between accepting the proposals and Frontex or the choice of exiting from Schengen.”¹⁰⁷

Regarding the second theme, there is continual criticism of the Greek government and Prime Minister Tsipras¹⁰⁸, specifically, in relation to the perceived haphazard preparations for dealing with the crisis. Fotopoulos and Kaimaklioti confirm this in their research. Utilizing a combination of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis, they identify management as the second highest raised topic throughout their Greek news analysis.¹⁰⁹ In this vein, Article 56 states explicitly that Tsipras’ open-door policy has led to negative effects on tourism and the economy and the inefficiency of preparations for receiving the refugees.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Article 22 discusses the Greek government’s request for funds to prepare accommodations and aid for refugees and

¹⁰⁴ For example, please see Article 42.

¹⁰⁵ BBC. “Migrant crisis: Greece denies Schengen threat from Europe.” *BBC*. Last modified 2 December 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34983426>

¹⁰⁶ Article 39.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Please see Articles 22, 42, and 56.

¹⁰⁹ Fotopoulos, Stergios, and Margarita Kaimaklioti. “Media discourse on the refugee crisis: on what have the Greek, German, and British press focused?” *European View* 15 (2016): 265-79. Accessed July 2, 2017.

¹¹⁰ Please see Article 56.

criticizes the government for not allocating enough money to organize relocation centers.¹¹¹

Findings from the statistical analysis drawn from the news articles translations ultimately showed that authors from both newspapers were more accepting of hosting refugees than rejecting – 63.8% average between the two, 38.81% for *To Vima* and 61.19% for *Kathimerini*. *Kathimerini*, or the center/right affiliated newspaper, was the most overwhelmingly accepting of hosting refugees – 41 of 67 or 61.19% were receptive of hosting refugees compared to *To Vima*. This challenged the hypothesis that right-affiliated newspapers would be more rejecting of refugees. However, both of the newspapers are considered to be center of their ideological affiliation – this could reflect the more moderate viewpoints demonstrated. (Figures 6 and 7)

Figure 6: Accepting vs. Rejecting (Count and % of Column)

Newspaper Affiliation	Accepting		Rejecting		Total Count	Total Percentage
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage		
Center/Left	26	38.81%	21	55.26%	47	44.76%
Center/Right	41	61.19%	17	44.74%	58	55.24%
Grand Total	67	100.00%	38	100.00%	105	100.00%

Figure 7: Accepting vs. Rejecting by Newspaper Affiliation (% of Row)

Newspaper Affiliation	Accepting	Rejecting	Grand Total
Center/Left	55.3%	44.7%	100.0%
Center/Right	70.7%	29.3%	100.0%
Grand Total	63.8%	36.2%	100.0%

Another hypothesis challenged by the statistical findings is the level of acceptance vs. rejection of hosting refugees over the captured time period (September 2015 to August 2016). Analysis shows that articles expressing acceptance of hosting refugees, although lower towards the end of the indicated time period than the beginning, was still higher than the number of articles expressing rejection of hosting refugees. (Figure 8) This could be due to a number of factors. By the end of the year,

¹¹¹ Please see Article 22.

the Macedonian and Balkan routes were effectively closed and articles commented on the fact that Greece had become the “parking lot”¹¹² of refugees in Europe. Resignation to this fact could explain the higher levels of acceptance vs. rejection. Additionally, concerning the high levels of acceptance in 2015, due to this being the peak period for refugee flows to Europe (as demonstrated earlier), the emotional recognition of people fleeing war, as well as the fact that it was too early in the migration influx for detrimental economic and social effects, could account for this. Article 104 from August 2016 makes this argument, “...[the] only real human[ist] and good thing we can do for these people is to realize that they will be here for a long time and that we need to make that stay more pleasant for them than it is now.”¹¹³

In the reverse, January 2016 – February 2016 and June 2016 registered peak rejection rates. In January 2016, this can be explained by the New Year’s Eve Cologne attacks¹¹⁴ in Germany and its effects continued into February 2016. Moreover, concerning the June 2016 peak of rejection, this can be attributed to the Brexit referendum which was held on 23 June. As a major financial contributor to the European Union, the United Kingdom’s exit could be perceived as a potential threat for the still-recovering Greek economy. While this is not explicitly mentioned in the articles, the translator noted that there were considerably fewer articles about refugees due to Brexit coverage. However, the economic impact of Brexit was indirectly discussed in Article 94 where the author stated the “huge economic stress” that Greece is already under and how accepting refugees could “exacerbate it” further.¹¹⁵ (**Figure 8**)

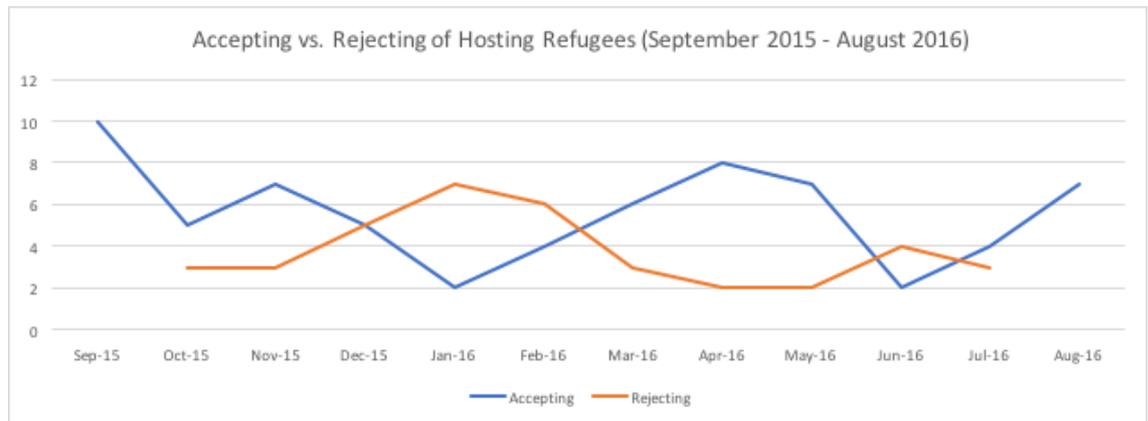
¹¹² Articles 15, 36

¹¹³ Article 104

¹¹⁴ Please see Article 43, 44

¹¹⁵ Article 94

Figure 8: Acceptance vs. Rejection from September 2015 to August 2016



Analyzing the findings concerning the modes of incorporation was challenging. As most people are not familiar with the nuances of the terms of assimilation, integration and isolation¹¹⁶, determination of the category was based on the arguments used in the article – e.g. refugees should adopt Greek culture (assimilation) vs. should be socially integrated through language courses (integration). Isolation was the second highest preference with 39.13%. Assimilation and integration had an equal distribution of preferences making up 30.43% each. (Figure 9)

Figure 9: Mode of Incorporation argument by newspaper affiliation

Newspaper Affiliation	Assimilation	Integration	Isolation	Grand Total
Center/Left	36.00%	32.00%	32.00%	100.00%
Center/Right	23.81%	28.57%	47.62%	100.00%
Grand Total	30.43%	30.43%	39.13%	100.00%

Concerning mode of incorporation preference disaggregated by acceptance vs. rejection preference, integration constitutes the majority of preferences for those that advocate acceptance of hosting refugees – 56% vs. 36% (assimilation). In the reverse, those that advocated rejection of hosting refugees did not support integrating refugees at all, instead preferring to isolate (80%) or assimilate refugees (20%). Interestingly, there were two articles that advocated for accepting refugees which also advocated for

¹¹⁶ The nuances and examples of these terms can be found in the Greece Codebook found in Figure 5.

isolation.¹¹⁷ Article 3 is one such article, and the author discusses the impact on tourism by refugees not being properly hosted, comparing Athens with Rome or Paris where he states refugees being allowed to congregate near would never be accepted. Article 55 argues for more camps and reception centers to be built, because in his view, hosting refugees will only be temporary, since they will want to return to their countries when the conflicts are over. (Figure 10)

Figure 10: Mode of Incorporation preference by Acceptance vs. rejection

	Assimilation	Integration	Isolation	Grand Total
Accepting	36.0%	56.0%	8.0%	100.0%
Rejecting	20.0%	0.0%	80.0%	100.0%
Grand Total	28.9%	31.1%	40.0%	100.0%

In addition to these thematic focal points explored through the articles, there were several other interesting themes and trends that emerged from further analysis of the articles. In the beginning of the indicated time period (September 2015), authors clearly grappled with the question of whether the refugee influx was a Greek or European problem. Article 3 is such a case. In the article, he discusses the inhumane conditions refugees are experiencing in Victoria Square and argued that the refugee crisis is both a localized and a European problem. Moreover, with regard to the main trend cited earlier concerning the criticism of the Greek government response, Article 3 criticizes the Greek government for its inadequate response. Authors also tended to be more empathetic towards refugees in September 2015; all articles advocated accepting refugees in this month. Article 9 discusses how the image of Alan Kurdi forced the world to see the tragedy unfolding in the Mediterranean Sea and states her hope that the

¹¹⁷ Articles 3, 55

power and reach of social media will inspire people to “talk about this issue and act upon it.”¹¹⁸

With regard to security, the articles in the months of November 2015, January 2016, March 2016, and July 2016 focused the most on securitization of refugees. There is a direct correlation between terrorist attacks that took place during those months, namely, the 13 November 2015 Paris attacks¹¹⁹, the New Year’s Eve Cologne attacks¹²⁰, the March 2016 Brussels attacks¹²¹, and the July Bastille Day truck attack¹²² in Nice. Again, the center/left affiliated newspaper refuted assumptions concerning positive views towards refugees – 75% of the articles who found refugees a threat were from the center/left affiliated newspapers. When evaluating security, both terrorist threats¹²³ and health threats¹²⁴ were included in the category. Articles from the center/right (52.94%) found refugees a possible threat more than articles from the center/left (47.06%).

Figure 11: Threat assessment disaggregated by ideological affiliation

Row Labels	Not Threat	Possible Threat	Threat	Grand Total
Center/Left	33.33%	47.06%	75.00%	53.57%
Center/Right	66.67%	52.94%	25.00%	46.43%
Grand Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

¹¹⁸ Article 9.

¹¹⁹ BBC. “Paris Attacks: What happened on the night.” *BBC*. Last modified 9 December 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994>

¹²⁰ BBC. “Germany shocked by Cologne New Year gang assaults on women.” *BBC*. Last modified 5 January 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35231046>

¹²¹ BBC. “Brussels explosions: What we know about airport and metro attacks.” *BBC*. Last modified 9 April 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35869985>

¹²² Visser, Steve. “Death toll rises to 85 in Bastille Day attack in Nice.” *CNN*. Last modified 5 August 2016. <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/05/europe/nice-france-attack-victim/index.html>

¹²³ See articles 4, 28, 29, 56, 66, 86, 97.

¹²⁴ See articles 37 and 72.

3.3 Conclusion

In summation, statistical analysis found that ideological affiliation did not play a defining role in the perception of refugees as assumed. *Kathimerini*, or the center/right affiliated newspaper, was the most overwhelmingly accepting of hosting refugees – 41 of 67 or 61.2% were receptive of hosting refugees compared to *To Vima*. Additionally, ideological affiliation did not play as large a role in defining refugees as a security threat, which also challenged original assumptions. Content analysis demonstrated that a central theme of public debates in *Kathimerini* and *To vima* focused on the refugee crisis as being a Greek or European problem – often expressing bitterness at EU admonitions over ineffectual border policing. Moreover, indecisiveness over how to deal with the refugee influx is increasingly apparent in the statistical analysis, as seen in the table concerning modes of incorporation above. Given the effects that the refugee influx will have for years to come, it will be interesting to compare these findings with statistics that emerge after September 2016 onwards.

Regarding the effects of international and regional frameworks on Greek policy towards asylum-seekers, it is difficult to tell without statistics breaking down awards of refugee status and subsidiary protection by nationality. What is evident, however, is that reception conditions of Syrian nationals are wholly inadequate. Moreover, even though Syrian nationals constituted the majority of applicants for protection in Greece, it is unclear whether there is sufficient access to application procedures. With the rise of enacting stricter border patrols across Europe, Syrian nationals will be forced to stay in Greece until a concerted and coordinated decision is made regarding their incorporation into Greek society.

CHAPTER 4

GERMANY – THE “DESTINATION”

4.1 Asylum Information Database: 2016 Country Report: Germany – News Analysis

As with the previous chapter, an overview of asylum practices in Germany will be given in order to contextualize the public debates which will be discussed later in the chapter. Information is drawn from the Asylum Information Database 2016 German Country Report (AIDA 2016 Germany Report). The report was written by Informationsverbund Asyl und Migration and edited by the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE). It utilizes publicly available information and statistics from the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF), which is the German federal agency in charge of asylum seekers and migrants; responses to parliamentary questions, national case law, practice of civil society organizations, and other public sources.¹²⁵ It was last updated on 31 December 2016. Although this is past the scope of the time period utilized in this thesis, the authors provide a comprehensive overview of changes in asylum trends and policy in 2016 as well as prior to 2016.

The report focuses on providing an overview of the legal framework as well as a wide variety of thematic features of international protection, such as: access to procedure and registration, procedures, as well as guarantees for vulnerable groups and reception conditions. For the purposes of this thesis, focus will be given to legal and procedural changes in asylum over the course of 2016, application procedures for

¹²⁵ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report : Germany*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany> [accessed 20 May 2017].

international protection (especially as they regard Syrian nationals), and reception conditions such as housing and access to education and the labor market.

Figure 12: Applications and granting of protection status at first instance: 2016 (2016 AIDA Germany Country Report, 8)

Applications and granting of protection status at first instance: 2016

	Applicants in 2016	Pending applications in 2016	Refugee status	Subsidiary protection	Humanitarian protection	Rejection	Refugee rate	Subs. Prot. rate	Hum. Prot. rate	Rejection rate
Total	745,545	433,719	256,136	153,700	24,084	173,846	42.1%	25.3%	4%	28.6%

Breakdown by countries of origin of the total numbers

Syria	268,866	58,399	166,520	121,562	910	167	57.6%	42%	0.3%	0.1%
Afghanistan	127,892	102,856	13,813	5,836	18,441	24,817	22%	9.3%	29.3%	39.4%
Iraq	97,162	53,852	36,801	10,912	439	14,248	59%	17.5%	0.7%	22.8%
Iran	26,872	24,045	5,443	257	150	3,806	56.4%	2.6%	1.6%	39.4%
Eritrea	19,103	13,439	16,666	3,652	119	135	81%	17.8%	0.6%	0.6%
Albania	17,236	:	18	73	78	30,020	0.06%	0.24%	0.3%	99.4%
Pakistan	15,528	16,430	275	49	105	8,201	3.2%	0.6%	1.2%	95%
Undefined	14,922	10,586	6,782	6,084	111	1,189	47.9%	43%	0.8%	8.3%
Nigeria	12,916	18,666	127	34	213	1,787	5.9%	1.6%	9.9%	82.6%
Russia	12,234	:	357	127	177	5,712	5.6%	2%	2.8%	89.6%

Source: BAMF, Asylum Statistics December 2016: <http://bit.ly/2kniJo9>; BAMF, Key Asylum Statistics 2016: <http://bit.ly/2llpqJ>; Federal Government, Reply to parliamentary question by The Left, 21 February 2017, 34.

As is demonstrated in **Figure 12**¹²⁶, Syrians made up the majority¹²⁷ (36%) of applicants for international protection. They also experienced the second highest refugee rate at 57.6%, the second highest subsidiary protection rate at 42%, and the lowest rejection rate at 0.1%.¹²⁸ Interestingly, the number of newly arrived asylum seekers decreased dramatically in 2016 – from 890,000 in 2015 to 280,000 in 2016 (or a 69% decrease).¹²⁹ Despite this decrease in new arrivals, there was an increase in applications for international protection. The report attributes this to clearing the

¹²⁶ The table was taken as is from the 2016 AIDA Germany Country report. As such, there is no justification as to why the number of pending applications, refugee status, subsidiary protection, and rejection cases do not add up to the total number of applicants in 2016. However, assumptions can be made that there are missing Countries of Origin in this table as well as withdrawn applications.

¹²⁷ Majority in this case signifies the largest group applying for protection in relation to the 9+ other groups applying for protection.

¹²⁸ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report : Germany*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany> [accessed 20 May 2017], 8.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

backlog of applications from new arrivals in 2015.¹³⁰ Additionally, the report notes a policy change made by the BAMF in the first months of 2016 which resulted in an increase of granting subsidiary protection over refugee status.¹³¹ This affected Syrian nationals significantly. In 2015, Syrian nationals were granted refugee status at a rate of 95.8%, whereas in 2016 the refugee rate decreased to 56.4%.¹³² The immediate effect of this policy change is that Syrian nationals granted subsidiary protection are granted residency permits of one year versus a residency permit of three years granted to those with refugee status.¹³³ Additionally, family reunification was suspended from March 2017 until 2018 for recipients of subsidiary protection, which would also significantly affect Syrian nationals due to the 2016 policy change that resulted in a prevalence of granting subsidiary protection over refugee status.¹³⁴

Regarding reception conditions of refugee status and subsidiary protection recipients, Germany can be considered advanced when compared to Greece in terms of housing and benefits received. Asylum seekers in Germany register their application at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF). They are then sent to and accommodated at initial reception centers across the country. Where they are assigned to is based on a distribution system that takes into consideration “the capacity of the initial reception centers, competence of the branch offices of the BAMF for asylum seeker’s country of origin, and a quota system to which reception capacities are determined¹³⁵ for Germany’s 16 Federal States.”¹³⁶ There are three types of accommodation for asylum seekers: initial reception centers, collective accommodation

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid., 83.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 12.

¹³⁵ Determination is based on tax revenues and number of inhabitants of the Federal State. Ibid., 58.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 58.

centers, and decentralized accommodation.¹³⁷ Asylum seekers are usually required to stay at the initial reception centers for a period of up to 6 months after their asylum applications have been filed.¹³⁸ After this period, asylum seekers are usually then moved to collective accommodation centers where they are to stay for the duration of their procedure; usually in the same geographical location where the respective asylum seekers were assigned to their initial reception center.¹³⁹ Decentralized accommodation usually refers to apartments or other forms of housing maintained by the Federal State. Determination of asylum seekers who are eligible to stay in decentralized accommodation is based on the Federal State's respective policies.¹⁴⁰

Additionally, due to the large influx of asylum seekers in 2015, a large number of emergency shelters were set up in places such as gyms, containers, warehouses, office buildings, or tents.¹⁴¹ There are no statistics on how many people were accommodated in these emergency shelters, but reports indicate that necessity and use of emergency shelters varied among Federal States.¹⁴² Hannah Beitzer of *Süddeutsche Zeitung* criticized the use of Tempelhof Airport in Berlin for the inadequate food and healthcare support given to asylum seekers there.¹⁴³ However, the AIDA 2016 Germany Report cites a survey conducted by the television program "Monitor," which found in 373 towns and districts that participated that only: 6% of municipalities reported being overburdened, 50% of municipalities reported their facilities were operating at capacity, and 16% of municipalities reported they would be able to receive more asylum

¹³⁷ Ibid., 59.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 60.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 61.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Article 35.

seekers.¹⁴⁴ This is a marked difference from Greece, where many refugees were obliged to stay in hotspot reception centers that had relatively little oversight of conditions and an uncoordinated response to where asylum seekers could stay once their asylum procedures completed.

Access to the labor market is another topic which must be explored when addressing asylum seekers. In the newspaper analysis undertaken, 48.7% of authors were proponents of asylum seekers having access to both the education and labor markets. Additionally, another 27% of authors were proponents of access to the labor market alone. This does not necessarily mean that they were against access to the education sector as well, and most likely reflects that the author was discussing access to the labor market only. Only 2.7% of 120 articles rejected access to both markets (**Figure 12**). Arguments for integration in the labor market included the economic power that an expanded workforce would present¹⁴⁵ and the possibility of high-skilled labor that the asylum seekers represent.¹⁴⁶

Figure 13: Stances on sectoral integration segregated by newspaper affiliation

Newspaper Affiliation	Against - Both	Pro - Both	Pro - Education	Pro - Labour	Grand Total
Conservative	2.7%	24.3%	5.4%	10.8%	43.2%
Left/Liberal	0.0%	24.3%	16.2%	16.2%	56.8%
Grand Total	2.7%	48.6%	21.6%	27.0%	100.0%

Regarding German policy on this matter, a law was instated in 2015 which barred asylum seekers staying in initial reception centers access to the labor market. This means that asylum seekers can be barred access to the labor market for the obligatory period which can last up to six months. Moreover, once asylum seekers leave

¹⁴⁴ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report : Germany*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany> [accessed 20 May 2017], 61.

¹⁴⁵ Article 4.

¹⁴⁶ Article 11.

the initial reception centers, they can only enter the labor market after a period of three months.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, this access is further restricted by the necessity to apply for a work permit which requires that the asylum seeker have a sponsor and provide a detailed job description.¹⁴⁸ If all of these time periods are taken into consideration, the maximum amount of time that asylum seekers can wait before accessing the labor market due to the obligatory period in the reception center and three-month restriction is nine months. That leaves three months to find a sponsor and secure a position before the one-year residency permit of recipients of subsidiary protection expires and they can apply to renew. This signifies a sizable hurdle.

In December 2015, the German Labor Minister introduced a job-scheme aimed at integrating refugees in the workforce through “one-euro” jobs. Criticism directed at this scheme pointed out that the actual integration benefits of these positions are null. Stefan von Borstel of *Die Welt* newspaper pointed out that “for a refugee to literally sort puzzle pieces will not introduce him/her to the German professional world.”¹⁴⁹ However, Ulf Poschardt, also of *Die Welt*, praised this scheme, stating it is a “great start in order to give an occupation to refugees and to lessen the burden for volunteers who work in refugee shelters all day.”¹⁵⁰ Another article that pointed out the potential burden of unemployed refugees was written by Wolfgang Steiger, who advocated for a “Hartz-commission for integration,” whereby the Hartz commission is a controversial unemployment policy that offers a relatively low sum of welfare to unemployed citizens and requires them to work, either through their own motivation in securing a job or by

¹⁴⁷ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report : Germany*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany> [accessed 20 May 2017], 65.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁴⁹ Article 26.

¹⁵⁰ Article 27.

assignment to a job.¹⁵¹ This “Hartz-commission” envisioned by Steiger would be directed at refugees, and force them to work so as to lessen the burden on the state.¹⁵²

Access to the education sector was another topic explored in the AIDA 2016 Germany Report. Attempting to incorporate children who come from different backgrounds, who have varying levels of education based on resources available or were forced to stop school due to conflict in their country of origin, and speak different languages presents a challenge to any country experiencing a mass influx of people. The AIDA report states, “As a matter of principle, the right and the obligation to attend school extends to all children who reside in Germany, regardless of their status.”¹⁵³ Varied policies in Federal States in Germany regarding compulsory education and modes of integration further reinforce the challenge of integration in the education sector, leading to uneven results across the country according to the AIDA 2016 Germany Report.¹⁵⁴ The example the authors provide regarding this point is the age limit for compulsory education. According to the report, many Federal States only require children to attend school until the age of 16.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, the NGOs have criticized the fact that access to education services was severely limited for asylum seekers above the age of 16, many of whom have not finished school in their countries of origin and therefore need access to the school system in order to gain a degree.”¹⁵⁶ As seen in **Figure 13** above, 21.6% of authors were proponents of integration of asylum

¹⁵¹ Article 10.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report : Germany*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany> [accessed 20 May 2017], 66.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 67.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 66.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 67.

seekers into the education sector (16.2% from *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and 5.4% from *Die Welt*).

4.2 News Analysis – October 2015 to September 2016

For the time period of October 2015 to September 2016, 120 newspaper articles were translated from *Die Welt* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* newspapers. As was indicated earlier, this time period was chosen specifically to explore the public debates taking place after the image of Alan Kurdi and the story of his death was spread through traditional media sources and social media. Newspapers were chosen due to their ideological affiliations in order to explore a broader representation of viewpoints with *Die Welt* representing the conservative viewpoint and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* representing the left/liberal viewpoint. Additionally, due to the number of articles and difficulties in translating the titles into citations, the translations will be annexed to this thesis (**Annex 2**) and citations will reference article number. In order to keep methodology consistent, codebooks were also distributed to translators to fill in while translating articles and data was collected and inputted into Microsoft Excel sheets in an effort to gain a more comprehensive analysis of the debates taking place. **Figure 13** below provides the codebook distributed with an explanation provided for each theme explored in the articles.

Figure 14: Germany Codebook

Codebook: Germany	
Modes of Incorporation	Assimilation (social, cultural, economic incorporation into society – <i>becoming German</i>); Integration (social and economic incorporation into society – able to retain cultural identity); Isolation (isolate from society)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Acceptance or rejection of hosting refugees

Securitization of Refugees	Is refugee presence a security risk? Danger from refugees' security or health related? Is presence of refugees dangerous due to increase in popularity of right wing parties?
Sectoral Integration	Discussions, perceptions and policies concerning integrating refugees into education and labor markets (positive or negative)

Reading through the translated articles, the main theme that emerged was the debate over what are effective integration techniques and what form of incorporation of asylum seekers should look like. Language was raised as a major issue in terms of integration. Many authors argued that language is essential for integrating refugees into the education and labor sectors. Stefan von Borstel of *Die Welt* argued that language acquisition should come first before entering the labor market and should be especially targeted at asylum seekers under the age of 25.¹⁵⁷ In another article from *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Jan Heidtmann discusses a policy proposal from the Christian Social Union (CSU), which argued for refugees to sign a paper formally accepting German values.¹⁵⁸ Refusal to sign would result in a decrease in financial support. Heidtmann argued that this was a useless policy and viewed refugees as “cultureless beggars,” and instead argued that true integration would only happen through language and courses on culture. The most poignant article which discussed the relationship between language and integration in Germany was written by Yahya Alaous, a Syrian refugee correspondent for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. In it, he discusses the possibility of a machine to “measure” integration of refugees into German society. A satirical opinion piece, Alaous discusses his language skills and family life, but he does not know at what level he is integrated. Given Germans propensity for inventions and mechanics, Alaous

¹⁵⁷ Article 26.

¹⁵⁸ Article 32.

wonders why such a machine does not exist. “After all,” Alaous says, “integration is the key to be able to stay in Germany.”¹⁵⁹

Figure 15: Modes of Incorporation

Newspaper Affiliation	Assimilation	Integration	Isolation	Grand Total
Conservative	8.5%	39.0%	5.1%	52.5%
Left/Liberal	5.1%	39.0%	3.4%	47.5%
Grand Total	13.6%	78.0%	8.5%	100.0%

When discussing the topic of modes of incorporation, **Figure 15** demonstrates that both the conservative and left/liberal newspapers are majority proponents for integration (39%) when compared to the alternatives. However, the conservative newspaper has a higher percentage of authors who support assimilation (8.5% versus 5.1% of authors from *Süddeutsche Zeitung*) and isolation (5.1% versus 3.4% of authors from *Süddeutsche Zeitung*). Ralph Ghadban, a professor of Islamic Studies at the Evangelic College of Berlin and expert in this topic as he has produced in the 80s and 90s many studies about the Palestinian and other Arab refugees situations in Germany, argues for assimilation by telling the readers that he is “educating” them on the image of women in Muslim countries and how this is fostered by Sharia family law.¹⁶⁰ He states that women are seen as “possessions” of men, and that even if they wear the hijab voluntarily, they continue to contribute to discrimination against women in society. He argues that Germany should ban Sharia law and enforce national law for more gender equality.¹⁶¹ He ends by saying that Germans should therefore not be surprised when sexual assaults are committed by refugees. This article was written in February, a month after multiple sexual assaults were committed on New Year’s Eve in Cologne. Hendryk M. Broder in his article for *Die Welt* newspaper is perhaps the clearest example of the

¹⁵⁹ Article 94.

¹⁶⁰ Article 46.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

viewpoint arguing for assimilation. In it, he discusses the positive European perception of Germany’s intake of refugees and how Germans now need to “rethink their society and way of living together.”¹⁶² Broder sees this as ridiculous and that Germany holds values which cannot be compromised, such as equality of the sexes and sexuality. “Germans should not have to adapt their values and language to those of the incoming refugees but the other way around.”¹⁶³

Proponents of isolation of asylum seekers were varied. Perhaps the most interesting argument for isolation came from Heribert Prantl in an article written for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Framed as an argument for better refugee policy practices, Heribert Prantl argued that Syrian refugees who receive asylum in Germany should be employed by the German government to work as educators and medical professionals in Syrian refugee camps in border countries to Syria. Prantl argues that the reason so many people are walking the Balkan route to find asylum elsewhere is because the conditions in refugee camps are appalling and facilitate radicalization. Therefore, employing Syrians in the camps while maintaining their refugee status in Germany would curb radical influences and provide a meaningful way of keeping refugees out of Germany.

Figure 16: Securitization of refugees - Germany

Row Labels	Not Threat	Possible Threat	Threat	Grand Total
Conservative	0.0%	26.7%	33.3%	60.0%
Left/Liberal	13.3%	26.7%	0.0%	40.0%
Grand Total	13.3%	53.3%	33.3%	100.0%

There were several violent incidents linked to the refugee influx that took place in Germany from October 2015 until September 2016, which contributed to the public debates surrounding refugees in the newspapers analyzed. These include the New Year’s Eve Cologne attacks, in which over 1,000 women reported sexual assaults

¹⁶² Article 50.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

perpetrated by men appearing to be of North African or Arab descent at Cologne's central train station.¹⁶⁴ In May, similar attacks were reported by 18 women at a music festival in Darmstadt.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, there were several articles which discussed Pegida, also known as "Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West," activities in Germany. Regarding the Cologne attacks, Torsten Kraul, chief commentator at *Die Welt* called for stricter law enforcement and less tolerance, especially for refugees.¹⁶⁶

Rainer Haubrich, also of *Die Welt*, condemned the media for refusing to discuss the origins of the perpetrators, stressing the importance that the alleged attackers were refugees and Muslims so that people can understand the different image of women they have.¹⁶⁷ Haubrich is referring to Article 12.1 of the German press codex which "states that whether or not a criminal belongs to 'a religious, ethnic or any other minority' must not be mentioned unless crucial to the understanding of the context."¹⁶⁸ Heribert Prantl in his article for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, discusses this policy and whether it limits the freedom of the press.¹⁶⁹ He finds that it does not and instead prevents racism.

Pegida, a right-wing Islamophobic group, is discussed in two articles. In October 2015, Ulrich Clauß in an article for *Die Welt* criticizes the media for displaying outraged articles against Pegida, and instead believes the media should discuss practical solutions for how to deal with the refugee influx.¹⁷⁰ He argues that if Germany fails to do this, then these right-wing groups will be seen as reasonable and will ultimately gain

¹⁶⁴ Richards, Victoria. "Cologne attacks: What happened after 1,000 women were sexually assaulted?" *The Independent*. Last modified 11 February 2016.

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/cologne-attacks-what-happened-after-1000-women-were-sexually-assaulted-a6867071.html>

¹⁶⁵ Osborne, Samuel. "Mass sexual assault reported at Germany music festival." *The Independent*. Last modified 31 May 2016. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-sexual-assault-music-festival-cologne-darmstadt-a7057416.html>

¹⁶⁶ Article 37.

¹⁶⁷ Article 86.

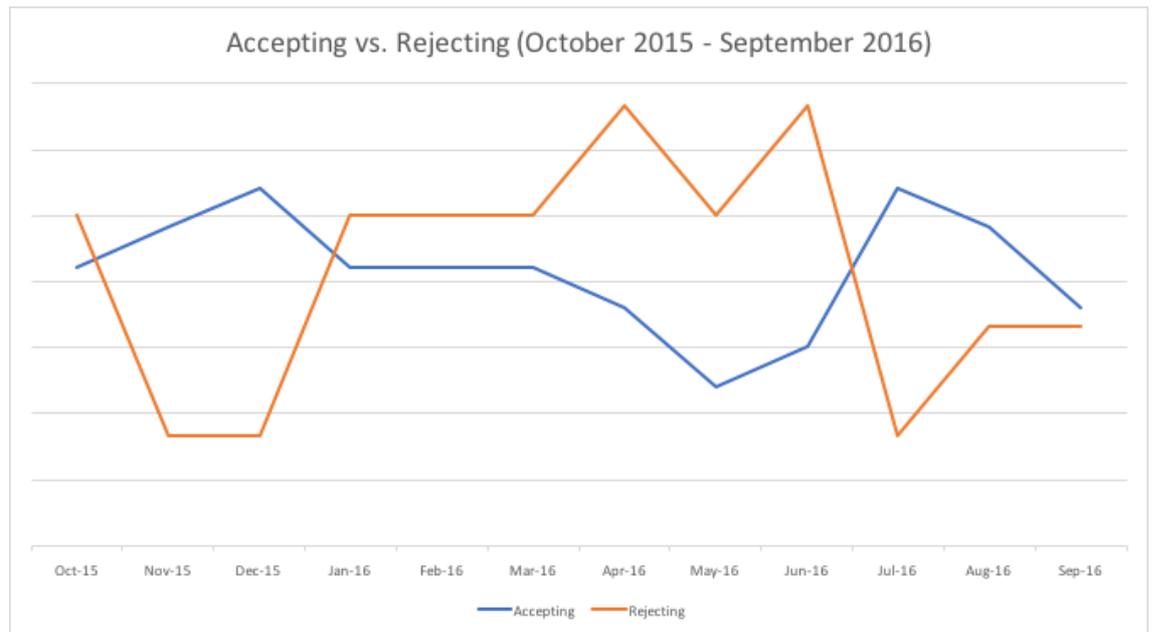
¹⁶⁸ Article 34.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Article 9.

popularity. In contrast, Tanjev Schulz discusses in an article for *Süddeutsche Zeitung* the absurdity that refugees fleeing from civil war in their home countries come to Germany to face violence and racism by followers of the Pegida movement and urges for police officers to be posted at refugee shelters in order to protect them.¹⁷¹

Figure 17: Accepting vs. Rejecting (October 2015-September 2016)



As can be seen by **Figure 17** above, articles advocating for rejecting refugees increased in January 2016 and continued until June 2016. Months which witnessed a marked increase of rejection include January 2016, April 2016, and June 2016. The spike in January and June could be causally linked to the Cologne and Darmstadt attacks. In April 2016, most of the articles discuss the EU-Turkey deal. Moreover, several articles discuss the “unstable” political landscape of Germany.¹⁷² Ulrich Clauß, in an article for *Die Welt*, discusses the newly adopted integration law and how it is more about “stabilizing the political landscape of Germany” rather than tackling

¹⁷¹ Article 12.

¹⁷² Articles 64, 68.

immigration.¹⁷³ He argues that this is not necessarily a bad thing, as German citizens have been feeling neglected lately.¹⁷⁴

4.3 Conclusion

In summation, ideological affiliation did play a role in the public debates focusing on hosting Syrian refugees in Germany. Of the 120 articles analyzed, writers for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (left/liberal) were proponents for accepting Syrian refugees at a rate of 89.3%, versus the 57.9% of acceptance proponents of *Die Welt* (conservative). Both newspapers were equally receptive to integration (39%) as a preferred mode of incorporation. However, the conservative newspaper had slightly higher percentages of authors who advocated for assimilation and isolation. Moreover, 33.3% of authors from *Die Welt* (conservative), found refugees to be a threat. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the main theme that emerged throughout the debates was how to incorporate asylum seekers into society. Language and culture was heavily stressed, and many solutions offered to this problem included courses focusing on these two topics.

It is also clear that international and regional legal frameworks affected policy in Germany. As a member of the EU, Germany has transposed several EU directives and regulations into national legislation. These include the Recast Qualification Directive, Recast Asylum Procedures Directive, Recast Reception Conditions Directive, and Dublin III Regulation.¹⁷⁵ Practically speaking, this means that asylum seekers should have access to application procedures for seeking asylum, adequate reception

¹⁷³ Article 68.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report : Germany*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany> [accessed 20 May 2017], 94.

conditions, as well as protection in cases that clearly have merit. Given the 745, 545 applications for protection that were lodged in 2016, it is evident that asylum seekers have access to application procedures in German. Moreover, with a refugee rate of 57.6% and a subsidiary protection rate of 42% for Syrian nationals, it is also evident that protection is being given. However, the aforementioned 2016 policy change that resulted in preference of granting subsidiary protection over refugee status also makes it clear that these legal frameworks are able to be manipulated to serve the purpose of the state. Going forward, and as the Syrian civil war continues, it is necessary to see if residency permits are renewed for as long as it is still considered unsafe to return to Syria.

CHAPTER 5

GULF – MIGRATION

This chapter will provide a brief history of labor migration to the Gulf (Section 5.1), a cursory overview of regional legal frameworks governing asylum-seekers as well as data regarding migration statistics in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) (Section 5.2), followed by an analysis of the public debates in Kuwait and the UAE (Section 5.3).

5.1 Brief History of Labor Migration to the Gulf

Migration patterns to the Gulf primarily center around labor. Before discovery of oil in the Gulf region in the early 1930s, the economy was reliant on farming, trade, and the pearl-diving industry and labor was supplied primarily by nationals of the Gulf States.¹⁷⁶ When oil exploration expanded in these countries and oil refining operations began, labor policies were heavily influenced by British interests, followed by American interests depending on the country of operation.¹⁷⁷ The nationality ‘clause’ characterizes this confluence of interests. Recorded by Gennaro, “the nationality clause requested that all companies employ local nationals as much as possible while reserving the right to introduce and employ foreign workers if the local labor market could not supply the skilled labor requested by the company.”¹⁷⁸ What this meant in practice is that managerial positions were filled by British (and later American) employees; skilled/semi-skilled laborers were drawn from the Indian sub-continent, and unskilled

¹⁷⁶ Errichiello, Gennaro. “Foreign Workforce in the Arab Gulf States (1930–1950): Migration Patterns and Nationality Clause,” *IMR International Migration Review* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 391.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 395.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 394-395.

laborers from the “national population and neighboring Arab countries.”¹⁷⁹ The nationality clause, was as Gennaro stated, “the main component of the oil agreements, through which the Gulf States, the oil companies, and the British authorities tried to control the migration flows in the region.”¹⁸⁰ This control of migration flows through the nationality clause is the predecessor to the current state of the kafala system that is employed today as a tool for restricting migration.

The kafala system is a “work-permit sponsoring system” used to restrict labor migration to the Gulf.¹⁸¹ Under this system, labor migrants must be sponsored by a citizen of the country they intend to work in. This permit is then linked to their residency and mobility rights.¹⁸² Due to this strict regime, it is virtually impossible to enter Gulf countries without a valid visit visa or work permit, rendering large-scale migration of Syrian refugees to the Gulf impossible. Dito states that the kafala system emerged from the redistribution of wealth that occurred in the wake of the oil boom and emergence of the “rentier state” that “constitutes the core of the state – citizenship relationship.”¹⁸³ Furthermore, he continues by describing the infrastructure boom that led to the increased demand of migrant labor. He argues that the exclusive nature of Gulf society, which can be traced to tribal times, in addition to the need for limiting the number of persons who received benefits from the distribution of wealth were two main factors in excluding migrants from the citizen population.¹⁸⁴ The results of this exclusion, Philippe Fargues states, is that policies aimed at excluding settlement of

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. 394-395.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 397.

¹⁸¹ Dito, Mohammed. “Kafala: Foundations of Migrant Exclusion in GCC Labour Markets.” *Transit States*, ed. Abdulhadi Khalaf, Omar AlShehabi, Adam Hanieh (Pluto Press, 2015), 79.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 80.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 81.

foreign nationals, while at the same time still needing them for labor has led to the “relative narrowing of the demographic base of nationals.”¹⁸⁵

Most pertinent to this thesis is the replacement process of Arab migrants with Asian and South Asian migrants from the late-1980’s recession experienced in the Gulf onwards.¹⁸⁶ As was mentioned previously, laborers from the Indian sub-continent have been present in the Gulf since the 1930s. According to Thiollet’s research, there were two million foreign laborers in the Gulf as of 1975 and 68% of them were Arab.¹⁸⁷ By 1983, there were five million foreign workers of which the percentage of Arab workers had fallen to 55%.¹⁸⁸ This trend continued throughout the 1980s up to now, while at the same time diversification of Asian migration to the region began.¹⁸⁹ The reasons for this shift in labor preference are multi-fold according to Thiollet. The first reason, she suggests, is that it allowed the Gulf more political “autonomy from Arab sending-countries on the regional and international political scenes.”¹⁹⁰ The second reason being the potential for political unrest that Arab diasporas presented. This idea can be traced to the 1960s, when “ethnic” Arab migrants were offered naturalization, a practice which almost stopped in the mid-1970s.¹⁹¹ In this time period, Gulf states began to look at Arab diasporas with suspicion, as it was felt that they “constituted a transnational network through which issues could travel and political action could be organized outside the purview of the host states, if not in direct opposition to them.”¹⁹² In contrast,

¹⁸⁵ Fargues, Philippe. "Immigration without Inclusion: Non-Nationals in Nation-Building in the Gulf States." *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal* Vol. 30, NOS. 3-4, 2011. ISSN 0117-1968, 275.

¹⁸⁶ Thiollet, Helene. “Migration as Diplomacy: Labor Migrants, Refugees, and Arab Regional Politics in the Oil-Rich Countries.” *International Labor and Working-class History* No. 79, Spring 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41306911>, 106.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 107.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

Asian workers were viewed as excluded from society, and therefore easier to control by the state. This view of Arab migrants as potential “political agitators” is another reason why the Gulf will receive a small number of Syrian refugees post-Arab intifada. Given the complexities of the regional political scene in the Middle East, the introduction of Syrian refugees into society could be seen as a potential threat to the delicate balance Gulf countries have in place to quell unrest by foreign migrants.

Regarding the continuing nationalization trend in the Gulf, Fargues traces the most recent nationalization efforts of Gulf states to the post-Gulf War period.¹⁹³ He describes the negative impact that reconstruction efforts had on Gulf nationals, when combined with low oil prices, leading to the reassessment of labor migration policies. Labor migrants were now seen as competition and so nationalization of labor policies aimed at providing employment for nationals were introduced.

“One after another, the Gulf states adopted nationalization policies along two lines: on the one hand, reducing the supply of migrant workforce by reinforcing barriers at entry and stay, and, on the other, by limiting the demand for migrant workers by expanding the list of jobs kept for nationals and taxing employers who hire non-nationals (Shah, 2005).”¹⁹⁴

Despite efforts to curtail dependence on foreign labor, international migrants still exceed most national populations of Gulf states.¹⁹⁵ Two Gulf countries in particular have an imbalanced population in terms of foreign migrants exceeding the national population – both Qatar and the United Arab Emirates’ foreign population had reached almost 90% by the 2000s.¹⁹⁶ In addition to labor migration, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries are also no strangers to refugees according to Helene Thiollet.

¹⁹³ Fargues, Philippe. "Immigration without Inclusion: Non-Nationals in Nation-Building in the Gulf States." *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal* Vol. 30, NOS. 3-4, 2011. ISSN 0117-1968, 279.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 280.

¹⁹⁶ Thiollet, Helene. “Migration as Diplomacy: Labor Migrants, Refugees, and Arab Regional Politics in the Oil-Rich Countries.” *International Labor and Working-class History* No. 79, Spring 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41306911>, 103.

In her article, she posits two driving factors for migration to the Gulf:

political/economic factors and war.¹⁹⁷

“...while the Arab-Israeli conflicts (1947, 1967, 1973), the first Gulf War (the Iran-Iraq conflict, 1980-1988), and the two subsequent ones (the Gulf wars that started in 1991 and 2003) account for the persistent waves of refugees. Conflict is generally presented as a key determinant for population movements in the Middle East. Be it the Palestinian exiles in the Gulf, the migrants’ exodus from Kuwait in the wake of the 1991 invasion by Iraq, or the Iraqi presence in Jordan and Syria after 2003, the main factor behind these short-term waves of migration of forced migration is war.”¹⁹⁸

In summation, the strict migration regime in Gulf countries precludes Syrian refugees from entering without a valid visa or work permit/sponsor in place. Moreover, due to the potential political threat that foreign Arab workers presented to the Gulf from the 1960s onwards, it is not likely that they would be favorable to opening their borders to Syrian refugees now; especially in light of current regional tensions. Another important point, according to Thiollet, is the scarcity of sources regarding asylum in the region due to informal practices. This limitation was also observed while conducting the research necessary for this thesis. As mentioned previously, the Gulf states are not signatories to the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees nor to its 1967 Protocol. This will be discussed in the next section.

5.2 Legal Frameworks for Protection Seekers in the Gulf and Data Availability

Now that a brief overview of labor migration to the Gulf region has been provided, it is important to specify what, if any, legal frameworks guard asylum seekers in the Gulf. As non-signatories of the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees and the 1967 Protocol, the Gulf states have no legal obligation to host refugees

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 105.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

nor do they recognize the category of "refugee" in their systems governing migration.¹⁹⁹ They are a party to the Arab Charter on Human Rights, adopted by the League of Arab States on 15 September 1994.²⁰⁰ The only mention of protection of refugees is in Article 23, stating "Every citizen has the right to seek political asylum in other countries, fleeing persecution. A person who was pursued for a common crime does not benefit from this right. Political refugees shall not be extradited."²⁰¹ However, this only covers the category of political asylum. This limitation starkly contrasts that of the refugee definition provided in the 1951 Geneva Convention:

"As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."²⁰²

De Bel-Air offers several reasons why it is difficult to determine the number of Syrian refugees currently residing in Gulf countries. First and foremost, there is no legal category termed "refugee."²⁰³ Secondly, government statistics that provide a breakdown of nationalities is politically sensitive due to the demographic imbalance between nationals and foreign migrants.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, De Bel-Air points out, there are sensitivities between different foreign groups that reside within the countries, such as the case of Indians outnumbering other groups in the UAE.²⁰⁵ Accessing statistics from sending-countries and foreign embassies within the Gulf is also difficult, as it is

¹⁹⁹ De Bel-Air, Françoise. "A Note on Syrian Refugees in the Gulf: Attempting to Assess Data and Policies." *Gulf Labor Markets and Migration*. No. 11, 2015, 3.

²⁰⁰ Refworld. "Arab Charter on Human Rights." <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38540.html>

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² UN General Assembly, *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 28 July 1951, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 189, p. 14.

²⁰³ De Bel-Air, Françoise. "A Note on Syrian Refugees in the Gulf: Attempting to Assess Data and Policies." *Gulf Labor Markets and Migration*. No. 11, 2015, 3.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 4.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

challenging for these institutions to accurately track their citizens migration and remigration patterns.²⁰⁶ Lastly, Syrian ambassadors were expelled from GCC states in February 2012, and Syrian representation was later handled by the Syrian National Coalition leading to an discontinuity in leadership.²⁰⁷ Most Gulf countries have passed measures since 2011 that tightened entry but relaxed stay of Syrian nationals, but it is difficult to assess the impact of these measures due to scarcity of statistics broken down by nationality.²⁰⁸ De Bel-Air provides a brief overview from what statistics she could find of Syrian migration to the Gulf from 2009 onwards. For the purposes of this thesis, focus will be given to Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

For Kuwait, De Bel-Air utilizes data from the Public Authority for Civil Information and census-based figures from the Central Statistical Office of the Ministry of Planning. Through statistical analysis she found that net migration had actually peaked in 2012 and as of 30 June 2015, there were almost 155,000 Syrian residents.²⁰⁹ This is almost 23,885 more than in 2009.²¹⁰ Measures targeting migration of Syrian nationals evolved from 2012 until 2015. In 2012, stricter security measures targeting Syrians were put in place while, at the same time, the Kuwaiti government continued to allow Syrian nationals already residing in Kuwait to sponsor entry visas and residency permits for their children. However, this was only meant to allow girls under the age of 5 and boys under the age of 10.²¹¹ Moreover, in September 2015, the same month of the death of Alan Kurdi, the Kuwaiti government announced that Syrian nationals would be able to extend their residency permits, regardless of current employment status or

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 8 and 10.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 9.

²¹¹ Ibid.

documentation issues (e.g. expired passport or inability to present necessary documents).²¹² This extended to Syrian nationals who entered Kuwait on a visit visa, however they were not granted residency permits but instead long-term visas.²¹³

In the United Arab Emirates (UAE), it is not possible to verify the UAE's claim that they have granted residency permits to 100,000 Syrian nationals.²¹⁴ Additionally, the UAE does not break down statistics of foreign residents by nationality. De Bel-Air draws witness accounts to assert that it is difficult for Syrian nationals to gain employment as well as have family members visit them there.²¹⁵

With this quite hostile state policy of hosting Syrian refugees, what are the public debates in these countries? Do they advocate receiving them or the opposite? This will be addressed in the next section.

5.3 Public Debates in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates

As with the European portion of this research, articles were drawn from publications in two countries for the time period of September 2015 to September 2016. This time period was chosen to reflect the ongoing public debates from the time when Alan Kurdi's death was broadcasted by the media globally, until a year later in order to gain a cursory overview of trends in public opinion. Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates are the Gulf countries surveyed, and the newspapers were chosen based on availability of articles found. As is evident, there is a clear disparity between the number of articles consulted for the Gulf vis a vis the articles consulted for Europe, with the articles in the Gulf being much fewer in number. For Kuwait, only 20 opinion

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid. 10

²¹⁵ Ibid.

editorials were found in the *Kuwait Times* that discussed hosting Syrian nationals; and for the UAE 18 opinion editorials were found in *The National*. The author cannot account for why there is such a scarcity in sources. However, it is possible to infer that this disparity is due to the fact that Syrian nationals were not showing up en masse at the borders of the respective countries, and so it was possibly not as pressing an issue as it was for Greece and Germany. Hanafi addresses this in his paper, utilizing Rony Brauman’s ‘politics of pity’ theory.²¹⁶

“Pity as a social convention occurs at a distance, while compassion takes place when the person not suffering is in front of the person who is suffering. This conception would be the best to depict the Gulf’s response to the refugee crisis (state and society donations in the Gulf comforted the conscience of Gulf citizens and statesmen with small number of hosted refugees).”²¹⁷

I read and analyzed the articles chosen for the newspapers consulted in this chapter. A codebook was also utilized. The themes explored and evaluated included the Gulf response, the West’s response, the notion of Arab identity, security implications of hosting refugees, and charitable donations. These “frames” were chosen based on initial research and exploration. Data collected from content analysis of the articles were also inputted into a Microsoft Excel sheet in order to provide a statistical analysis and further contextualize the debates.

Figure 18: Codebook - Kuwait and United Arab Emirates

Codebook: Kuwait and United Arab Emirates	
Gulf Response	Was the author critical or supportive of the Gulf response to the refugee crisis?
West Response	Was the author critical or supportive of the West’s response?
Arab identity	Was Arab identity a contributing factor to the article and view of the Gulf response to Syrian refugees?

²¹⁶ Hanafi, Sari. “Gulf Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis, *Facts, Debates, and Fatwas*.” *Sociology of Islam* 5 (2017), 112-113.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

Security	Were security implications mentioned as a factor for hosting efforts of Syrian refugees?
Charity	Were charitable donations and interventions lauded by the author? Or was the author critical that charitable donations not enough to respond to the crisis?

5.3.1 *Kuwait*

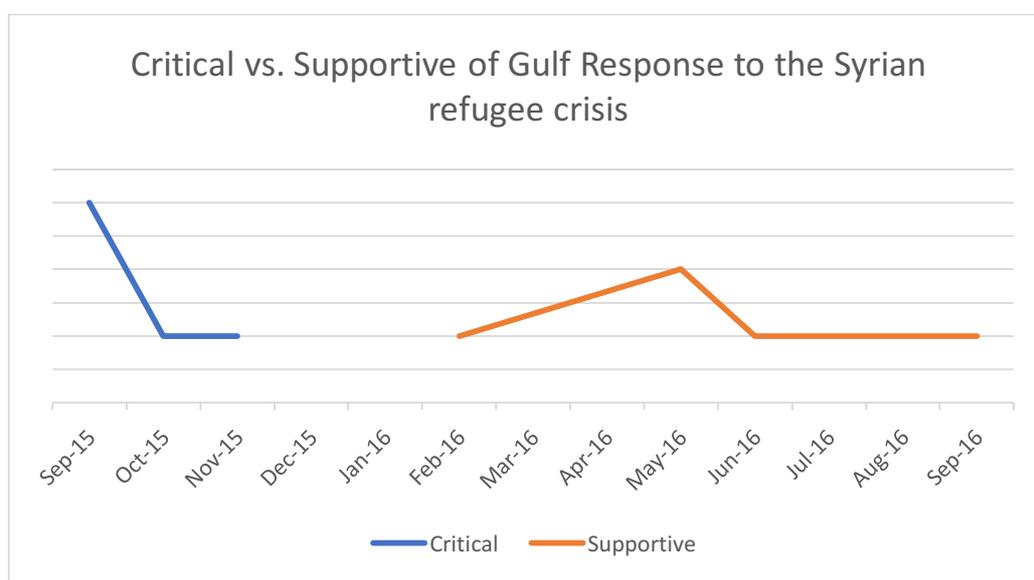
Authors of the 20 articles consulted from the *Kuwait Times* were initially critical of the Gulf response to the Syrian refugee crisis. **(Figure 19)** Muna Al-Fuzai asked in her article, “Why are Syrian refugees not welcomes in Gulf States? Specifically, why doesn’t Kuwait allow Syrian refugees on its land? This is a legitimate question but for the moment it does not seem to have a satisfactory answer.”²¹⁸ Moreover she points to Syrian hospitality towards Kuwaiti citizens and the obligations to support neighboring countries such as Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey that are taking in refugees as well as Greece. She advocates for policies aimed at supporting Syrian refugees currently residing in Kuwait to bring their family members to Kuwait. On the same day that Al-Fuzai’s article was written (5 September 2015), another article was published that clarified the Ministry of Interior’s position on legal status of Syrians in Kuwait. The article quotes the Interior Ministry as saying that “Syrians must pay any outstanding fines to remain in the country until the Syrian conflict is over.”²¹⁹ Furthermore, Syrians who entered the country on visit visas are allowed to stay in Kuwait but will only be afforded long-term stay visas. This was published only three days after the death of

²¹⁸ Al-Fuzai, Muna. "Syrian refugees and Gulf silence." *Kuwait Times*, Last modified 5 September 2015. <http://news.kuwaittimes.net/website/syrian-refugees-and-gulf-silence/>

²¹⁹ Omar, Faten. "No Syrians to be deported, No Long-Term Visa, No Amnesty - MoI clarifies stand on Syrian residents, visa violaters." *Kuwait Times*, Last modified 5 September 2015. <http://news.kuwaittimes.net/website/no-syrians-to-be-deported-no-long-term-visas-no-amnesty-moi-clarifies-stand-on-syrian-residents-visa-violaters/>

Alan Kurdi, and can be inferred as a dramatic response to public outcry. Expressed support in the articles consulted for Kuwait's response towards the refugees in the publication began in February 2016 and continued until September 2016. **(Figure 19)** In this time period, three articles appeared lauding the Kuwaiti Emir's recognition as a humanitarian figure,²²⁰ but no mention was made of hosting Syrians in the Gulf. In total, 54.5% of authors were supportive of the Gulf's response towards the Syrian refugee crisis and 45.5% were critical.

Figure 19: Critical vs. Supportive of Gulf Response (Kuwait Times)



In contrast, support for the West's response to the crisis peaked at the beginning of the time period analyzed and critiques of the response began in January 2016 and continued until September 2016. **(Figure 20)** Of the 20 articles consulted, 63.6% of authors were critical of the West's response and 36.4% were supportive. Referring back to Muna Al-Fuzai's article from September 2015, she writes, "Western world leaders agreed to act as humanitarian leaders... Those leaders have offered the best example in global humanitarian work. Strikingly, Hassan Jouhar, a member of the Kuwaiti National

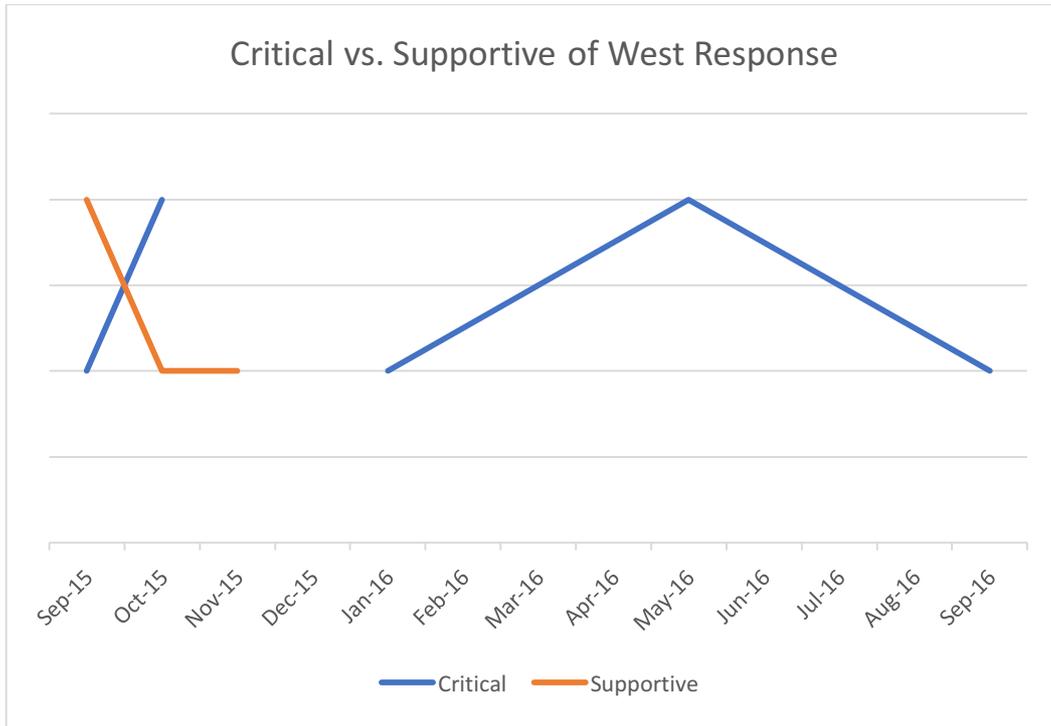
²²⁰ Kuwait Times. "Amir - an 'exemplary' humanitarian figure." Kuwait Times, Last modified 11 February 2016. <http://news.kuwaittimes.net/website/amir-an-exemplary-humanitarian-figure/>

Assembly, also criticized the Gulf's response by pointing to the disparity between the Gulf and the West's responses. He wrote, "Despite their newly-strict immigration laws, lands of 'infidelity' opened wide and thousands of non-believers went out carrying food, flowers, and presents to receive swarms of Syrian refugees while carrying signs with welcoming phrases...It is ironic how 'infidels' and 'non-believers' are now the ones receiving Muslims!"²²¹ However, as mentioned previously debates shifted towards criticism later in the time period. Badyra Darwish, a journalist for the *Kuwait Times*, criticizes the fortification of the Hungarian borders in the name of "protecting Christianity." Badrya laments the deteriorating state of tolerance that goes back five centuries, providing an anecdote of how the croissant was created. She writes, "Croissants were first created by a European baker who had warned European armies of the Ottomans' approach. He baked them to celebrate the Austrian army's victory and mock the crescent of the Ottoman flag. The tolerance we nowadays need requires going back to over five centuries or more!"²²² Whether or not this story is true, it denotes the decline of good will initially felt at the beginning of the media coverage of the Syrian refugee influx.

²²¹ Jouhar, Hassan. "Aylan between faith and infidelity." *Kuwait Times*, Last modified 13 September 2015. <http://news.kuwaittimes.net/website/aylan-between-faith-and-infidelity/>

²²² Darwish, Badrya. "A real conspiracy theory." *Kuwait Times*, Last modified 9 January 2016. <http://news.kuwaittimes.net/website/a-real-conspiracy-theory/>

Figure 20 Critical vs. Supportive of the West response (Kuwait Times)



During initial research, many references of the Gulf’s charitable donations and interventions were found. The positive views of these efforts were also found in the *Kuwait Times*. Of the 20 articles analyzed, 85.7% of the authors were supportive of Kuwait’s charitable efforts towards Syrian refugees. Only 14.3% were critical of these efforts due to them being perceived as insufficient. Referring again to Al-Fuzai’s article from September 2015, she states, “History books will not mention the large amounts of money we paid, but how many souls we saved.”²²³ However, this is critique is an anomaly. Six out of seven articles that discussed Kuwait’s donation efforts and interventions were supportive and a majority of them lauded the Emir and Sheikha Intisar Al-Sabah’s efforts. Specifically, the *Kuwait Times*, ran an article on the

²²³ Al-Fuzai, Muna. "Syrian refugees and Gulf silence." *Kuwait Times*, Last modified 5 September 2015. <http://news.kuwaittimes.net/website/syrian-refugees-and-gulf-silence/>

partnership between UNHCR and Sheika Al-Sabah to assist with registration efforts in Jordan.²²⁴

5.3.2 *United Arab Emirates*

Analysis of the opinion-editorials collected from the *National* was not conclusive in terms of understanding whether Emiratis were open to hosting Syrian refugees. There was not one article of the 18 articles found that advocated this measure. The lack of articles dealing with this topic was also disappointing in terms of being able to provide an extensive survey, as it was for Kuwait. However, there were some articles that clarified topics of ongoing debates during September 2015 to September 2016. First of all, it is important to note that of the 18 articles analyzed, four articles were written by Arab nationals, five articles were written by the *National's* editorial board, and the remaining nine articles were written by foreigners.

There were several themes that emerged over this time period. The most striking theme was that of criticism towards the “West,” meaning Europe, the United Nations, and the United States. Specifically, 92% of articles were critical towards the West’s response. This was due to a variety of factors including, the rise of far-right groups in the Balkans, the lack of coordinated policies by the European government to deal with the influx, as well as a pervasive view that European “values” were not being applied to incoming refugees. Alan Philips, in an article he wrote a day after the death of Alan Kurdi, derides Europe, stating “How come then that modern Europe, a thriving continent not ravaged by war, cannot cope with a humanitarian crisis? Europe is flailing

²²⁴ Kuwait Times. "UNHCR, Sheikha Intisar Al-Sabah announce partnership to provide basic rights to refugees." Kuwait Times, Last modified 22 June 2016. <http://news.kuwaittimes.net/website/unhcr-sheikha-intisar-al-sabah-announce-partnership-provide-basic-rights-refugees/>

around, with tensions rising between north and south, east and west, rich and poor... Both crises together testify to a dangerous fraying of the European project.”²²⁵

There were only two articles that were critical of the Gulf’s response to the refugee crisis. However, they are not directed towards the Gulf or the UAE specifically, but rather to the Arab League. Khalaf Al Habtoor writes, “The very least the Arab League should be doing is finding temporary refuge for these unfortunate people. It should also be pressing hard to solve the root causes of this exodus... The Arab league needs a union that is strong and resourceful with a mandate to take action whenever the peace and security of our region is threatened. Otherwise, what is the Arab League other than an expensive mega-majlis?”²²⁶ As was stated previously, there was little to no mention of the UAE specifically taking in refugees. Instead, focus was given to solving the problem “at its root,” through international cooperation. *The National’s* Editorial board addresses this point in their June 2016 article, “It is clear that the international community must press the restart button on efforts to solve the refugee crisis... Ahead of the UN’s general meeting in September, there have been calls to address the root causes of the refugees issue by ending conflicts around the world.”²²⁷ In fact, 14 out of 18 articles did not take a stance or mention the Gulf’s response to the refugee crisis. Two out of eighteen were supportive. Of the two articles that were supportive, the *National’s* Editorial board wrote an article on 24 September 2016, praising the UAE for

²²⁵ Philips, Alan. "Why can't Europe cope with a humanitarian crisis?" *The National*, Last modified 3 September 2015. <https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/why-can-t-europe-cope-with-a-humanitarian-crisis-1.130384>

²²⁶ Al Habtoor, Khalaf. "Arab League must step up to help solve the Syrian crisis." *The National*, Last modified 26 September 2015. <https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/arab-league-must-step-up-to-help-solve-the-syrian-crisis-1.135117>

²²⁷ National. "Talk is still cheap in the refugee crisis." *The National*, Last modified 20 June 2016. <https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/talk-is-still-cheap-in-the-refugee-crisis-1.224960>

its donation and charitable efforts as well as the recent announcement of the UAE to host 15,000 Syrian refugees over the next five years.²²⁸

The second theme that emerged was that of how public debates are shaped in the international sphere. This could be due to the fact that half of the articles were written by foreign journalists, and so they are used to writing for an audience that is focused on a more international perspective on current events. For instance, there was one article that dealt with the specific topic of the “Hot Migrants” social media page. Rym Ghazal takes up the topic of the controversial social media page dedicated to handsome asylum-seekers on their journey through Europe. She comments, that initially she finds this shocking. However, upon reflection it is par for the course in today’s social media age where everything is recorded and attractiveness garners attention. She uses the example of a blonde refugee child that received a lot of favorable comments for looking European.²²⁹ The point that she stresses is, “What is coming out of the continuing crisis is that stories that trigger strong emotions get noticed and reshaped.”²³⁰ Another article that deals with evocative images and how they affect media coverage is written by Michael Young titled, “Where is the West’s moral compass?”²³¹ In it, he discusses the fate of Omran Daqneesh; the little boy who was pulled out of the rubble and photographed bloody and full of plaster dust in an ambulance. Young berates the West’s attention span that so easily forgot the images of the aftermath of the chemical attacks in Ghouta in addition to many other atrocities that are all well-documented.

²²⁸ National. "Leading the way on the refugee crisis." The National, Last modified 24 September 2016. <https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/leading-the-way-on-the-refugee-crisis-1.178257>

²²⁹ Ghazal, Rym. "Putting a pretty face on the global refugee crisis." The National, Last modified 16 March 2016. <https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/putting-a-pretty-face-on-the-global-refugee-crisis-1.151005>

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Young, Michael. "Where is the West's moral compass?" The National, Last modified 24 August 2016. <https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/where-is-the-west-s-moral-compass-1.138128>

Young writes, “The reality is that countries in the West have abandoned all principle because of fear. Where there is panic, there is no discernment, and this has been reinforced by unfamiliarity.”²³²

5.4 Conclusion

To conclude, public debates in the newspapers analyzed were not as forthcoming on urging their governments to host Syrian refugees as initially expected. Moreover, while criticism towards national governments registered higher in the beginning of the analyzed time period, support for the Gulf’s response did increase as time progressed. It can reasonably be inferred that this is due to the relative, when compared to Europe, physical lack of presence of Syrian nationals at the borders of the Gulf. Moreover, due to decades of strict labor migration policies as well as the absence of legal protection frameworks aimed at addressing the protection needs that Syrian nationals represent; the Gulf does not have a history of implementing conventional asylum procedures and policies that European countries have. This is not to say that the Gulf does not have experience with taking in refugees. Thiollet addressed this in her article, pointing to the 350,000 Palestinians from Kuwait.²³³ However these experiences have not always been positive. Referring back to the Palestinians in Kuwait example, due to perceived Palestinian support of Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait, those same Palestinians were expelled.²³⁴ The perception of political agitator of Arab migrants to the Gulf region could potentially be a factor in the hesitancy of Gulf governments to commit to relocating and hosting them.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Thiollet, Helene. “Migration as Diplomacy: Labor Migrants, Refugees, and Arab Regional Politics in the Oil-Rich Countries.” *International Labor and Working-class History* No. 79, Spring 2011. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41306911>, 108.

²³⁴ Ibid.

Another theme that emerged was that of criticism towards the “Western,” or rather European response. This was closely linked to the notion of the rise of Islamophobia and deterioration of tolerance. While initial reaction to the European response was positive, this notion changed as the crisis deepened and European officials failed to reach a consensus on coordination efforts.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis focused on finding trends that emerged in the public debates concerning hosting Syrian refugees in Europe and the Gulf as well as how international and legal frameworks (or lack there-of) shaped policy, and subsequently, State responses towards asylum seekers. It did so by investigating the public debates in two newspapers each in Greece and Germany as well as one newspaper each in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. Utilizing content analysis, subsequent statistical findings, as well as discourse analysis this thesis analyzed themes and trends in opinion-editorials to track the development of public opinion from September 2015 to September 2016. This time period was selected due to the pervasive media broadcasting of the crisis after the death of Alan Kurdi on 3 September 2015. Newspapers in Europe were selected based on their respective ideological affiliations of “left” (liberal) and “right” (conservative) in order to better understand whether or not ideological affiliation played a role in the debates surrounding hosting Syrian refugees. Concurrently, a study of regional legal frameworks aimed at addressing asylum seekers was undertaken in order to understand changes in national and regional policies regarding asylum and migration as well as provide context to debates taking place during the time period in question.

Limits were observed when conducting this research. Due to the time frame and lack of resources, the researcher focused on only two countries each in Europe and the Gulf. Moreover, the small number of articles found and lack of migration statistics in the Gulf constituted the most obstructive limitation. Additionally, even though the number of articles consulted for the European portion of this research far exceeds that

of the Gulf, it still does not provide for a comprehensive analysis of the wide-scale public debates at that time. Going forward, it would be interesting to see research that is conducted on a more regional scale in order to evaluate public opinion on hosting refugees at the macro-level.

Despite these limits, some conclusions can be made. Ideological affiliation played a role in the debates concerning hosting refugees in Germany but partially in Greece. In Greece, *Kathimerini*, or the center/right affiliated newspaper, was the most overwhelmingly accepting of hosting refugees – 41 of 67 or 61.2% were receptive of hosting refugees compared to *To Vima*. This is definitely a striking analysis as we used to see the left supporting migration more than the right. However, Ideological affiliation did not play as large a role in defining refugees as a security threat, which also challenged original assumptions. Content analysis demonstrated that a central theme of public debates in *Kathimerini* and *To vima* focused on the refugee crisis as being a Greek or European problem – often expressing bitterness at EU admonitions over ineffectual border policing. Given Greece’s role as a border country that has experienced a recent financial crisis, it is not unexpected that bitterness was expressed by authors who felt Greece was being unfairly punished by the EU for its response to the crisis.

In Germany, ideological affiliation did play a role in the public debates focusing on hosting Syrian refugees in Germany. Of the 120 articles analyzed, writers for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (left/liberal) were proponents for accepting Syrian refugees at a rate of 89.3%, versus the 57.9% of acceptance proponents of *Die Welt* (conservative). This shows that the policy option adopted by Merkel was not very popular with its own conservative party and audience. Both newspapers were equally

receptive to integration (39%) as a preferred mode of incorporation. However, the conservative newspaper had slightly higher percentages of authors who advocated for assimilation and isolation. Moreover, 33.3% of authors from *Die Welt* (conservative), found refugees to be a threat. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the main theme that emerged throughout the debates was how to incorporate asylum seekers into society. Language and culture was heavily stressed, and many solutions offered to this problem included courses focusing on these two topics.

Regarding the effects of international and regional frameworks on Greek policy towards asylum-seekers, it is difficult to tell without statistics breaking down awards of refugee status and subsidiary protection by nationality. What is evident, however, is that reception conditions of Syrian nationals are wholly inadequate. Moreover, even though Syrian nationals constituted the majority of applicants for protection in Greece, it is unclear whether there is sufficient access to application procedures. With the rise of enacting stricter border patrols across Europe, Syrian nationals will be forced to stay in Greece until a concerted and coordinated decision is made regarding their incorporation into Greek society.

It is also clear that international and regional legal frameworks affected policy in Germany. As a member of the EU, Germany has transposed several EU directives and regulations into national legislation. These include the Recast Qualification Directive, Recast Asylum Procedures Directive, Recast Reception Conditions Directive, and Dublin III Regulation.²³⁵ Practically speaking, this means that asylum seekers should have access to application procedures for seeking asylum, adequate reception conditions, as well as protection in cases that clearly have merit. Given the 745, 545

²³⁵ European Council on Refugees and Exiles, *Asylum Information Database, National Country Report : Germany*, March 2017, available at: <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany> [accessed 20 May 2017], 94.

applications for protection that were lodged in 2016, it is evident that asylum seekers have access to application procedures in Germany. Moreover, with a refugee rate of 57.6% and a subsidiary protection rate of 42% for Syrian nationals, it is also evident that protection is being given. However, the 2016 policy change that resulted in preference of granting subsidiary protection over refugee status also makes it clear that these legal frameworks are able to be manipulated to serve the purpose of the state. Going forward, and as the Syrian crisis continues, it is necessary to see if residency permits are renewed for as long as it is still considered unsafe to return to Syria.

It is unclear whether the presence or absence of international protection frameworks heavily influences public perception of asylum seekers overall. The relatively high number of articles in Europe that dealt with the topic of hosting asylum seekers could reasonably be attributed to the fact that the physical presence of asylum seekers necessitated these debates. Whereas in the Gulf, where migration is heavily regulated and border patrols are strict, it is evident that there is a lack of debate over hosting Syrian refugees. Instead, attention was focused on how the international community can not only assist Syrian refugees better but solve the crisis at its root (i.e. finding an international consensus on how to stop the Syrian crisis). Moreover, due to demographic imbalances between national and foreign populations as well as historical experiences with Arab migrants as potential political agitators, it is understandable that authors would focus more on helping Syrians where they are rather than urging their governments to bring them in. Additionally, the Gulf states are not signatories of traditional international protection frameworks such as the 1951 Geneva Convention and 1967 Protocol. Even though they are party to the Arab Charter on Human Rights, this legal instrument only deals with asylum in strict terms, i.e. political asylum.

The aim of this research was to provide a cursory overview of the public debates in Europe and the Gulf in the time period of September 2015 to September 2016. Public and governmental responses to the Syrian refugee crisis will be studied for years to come. The fact that one image could so deeply resonate with millions of people, and prompt, if not a satisfactory response, at least a wide-scale response is a phenomenon that deserves greater attention and further research in academia. In the age of social and broadcast media where information is readily available, it is necessary to research and understand how public opinion affects government policies so that lessons can be learned and more effective advocacy measures for future crises can be implemented.

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September 2015

1: Racist Rhetoric

Article Characteristics	
Article number	1
Date	25 th September 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/ Right
Author	Stavros Tzimas
Affiliation of Author	Correspondent - Kathimerini
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/832313/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ratsistikh-rhtorikh
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Racist Rhetoric</i></p> <p>This is an article that critiques the other Balkan states for not wanting to accept the plan for redistribution of refugees as proposed by the EU. It highlights that there were very few numbers of refugees assigned to some countries that they would have to accept and how they would have had to have done it in the past. The author argues that a racist rhetoric is forming around refugees in the Balkans and that Greece is accepting and helping far larger numbers.</p>

Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but much more in terms of praising Greece on how welcoming and accepting they are being in contrast to other countries, rather than saying the refugees must be accepted more.
economic effects	N/A
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned (?)
sectoral issues	Much more criticising the Balkan states for not wanting to accept and take in any refugees rather than their incorporation into greek society.
transportation and border areas	Only in terms of redistribution of people.

2: More efficiency, less humanity

Article Characteristics	
Article Number	2
Date	23 rd of September 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/ Right
Author	Roger Cohen
Affiliation of Author	Author is affiliated with the New York Times
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/831987/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-talaipwrhmenh-ellada-kai-to-prosfygiko-didagma
Article Analysis	
Article overview	<p>Article: More efficiency, less humanity.</p> <p>This is a report by someone who travelled to Lesbos to see what was happening in the field. He tells the story of a man who is driving a bus filled with refugees going from the beach where they arrive to reception centres and how kind and caring the Greek people are. He makes a distinction between the Afghan and Syrian receptions, but still puts Greece and Greek people in a very positive light. The article ends with him asking the editor of Kathimerini what the Greek people could teach the world, and he responds that ‘dignity and humanity can be preserved under the most difficult conditions.’</p> <p>This article’s author is from New York Times and it looks like the</p>

	<p>article may have been translated and published in Kathimerini, article can be found here: http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/22/opinion/roger-cohen-more-efficiency-less-humanity.html . The Kathimerini Greek translation skips the last line of the article about how Greece’s new prime minister Tsipras should follow the lead in terms of treatment of refugees.</p> <p>Interestingly, this article is also published in Vima but cuts off the end about asking the kathimerini editor about the lessons, can be found here: http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=739806&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A much more about them arriving and being taken to camps and then leaving soon after.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	Not mentioned apart from how Greece is already troubled by economic crisis.
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Mentions that they don’t want to stay in Greece but would rather move to places like Germany where they will be able to find work.
transportation and border areas	Based on Lesbos where new refugees were coming in. It talks of the welcoming and helpful attitude of Greek people and also of the good welcome they give Syrian refugees especially. Generally is praising Greece for being kind in the face of adversity.

3: A Kabul in the centre of Athens

Article Characteristics	
Article Number	3
Date	26 th September 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Takis Theodoropoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist - Kathimerini
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/832470/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/mia-kampoyl-sto-kentro-ths-a8hnas
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>A Kabul in the centre of Athens</i> The author is writing about an area in Athens – victoria square where

	there are a large number of refugees camping in the square. He points out that the refugee crisis is a European one, but that it is also very much a localised one as well. Especially for the residents of the area who are already stressed by the economic state of the country and now also by the misery they see in front of them every day. The author speaks very critically about the response of the government when the crisis began in Greece and how they responded terribly by not thinking strategically about how to accommodate these people. He also speaks critically about Greece and how it is not a real country but rather a half/semi/approximate country (this is not the exact translation but I couldn't really find a proper word for it) that has left these poor people to the mercy of the traffickers.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	In terms of the way they have been treated in Athens he is saying they are left isolated and not helped.
accepting vs. rejecting	Towards the side of accepting but not explicitly, rather a critique on the government for their reaction than an opinion on the refugees themselves
economic effects	Slightly talks about that when he mentions that this square (victoria square) is very close to the biggest museum in Athens. He says this would not happen in Rome or Paris next to places like the Louvre. So hinting at it being a problem.
securitization of refugees	N/a
sectoral issues	Talks only of the unemployment and crisis for Greek people rather than incorporating refugees in.
transportation and border areas	N/A

4: Allah is great

Article Characteristics	
Article number	4
Date	27 th September 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/ Right
Author	Takis Theodoropoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist - Kathimerini
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/832534/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/o-allax-einai-megalos
Article Analysis	
Article	Article: <i>Allah is great</i>

Overview	The author is talking about a conversation he had with a guy in victoria square and how at first he really thought there were no noreal differences between him and the man. Then when the man starts talking about how he had to leave Kabul because of the Taliban threatening to kill him, and how he crossed the sea and how he believes that allah protected him, the author starts questioning how alike they really are. The essence of the article is about questioning how integration will happen because unlike the Syrians, he believes that the Afghans and other immigrants will want to stay. He questions integration between them and the Greeks and how it will happen, especially questioning sharia laws and Islamic ways of living. He argues that if it is to work, this is something we have to talk about and tackle now.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	This is one of the key questions of the article, the author is mainly wondering whether it will be possible for people to come and live in Greece without changing and without Greek culture being changed. “They are coming to live amongst us, or maybe before soon, we will be living amongst them”
accepting vs. rejecting	It’s not very clear. I think he is more towards accepting but it’s not immediately obvious with his tone.
economic effects	Not specifically mentioned.
securitization of refugees	He talks of Sharia law and the effects that sharia law could have on a society, he cites examples of stoning women or executions. But doesn’t necessarily mean that he thinks it will happen in Greece.
sectoral issues	Not mentioned specifically
transportation and border areas	No

5: At the sea borders

Article Characteristics	
Article number	5
Date	9 th September 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre /Right
Author	Takis Theodoropoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/830155/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/sta-8alassia-synora
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>At the sea borders</i> The article is an account of when the author went to visit Mytiline. He

	talks about the fact that he met a Syrian woman, who was easily discernible from her good English and French and that she asked him where she could find a pharmacy and buy underwear for her children. He highlights that this was days before the iconic image of Alan on the shores of the beach swept the hearts of Europe and pushed leaders like Merkel, Hollande and Erdogan to find a ‘solution’. The author argues that there is not one solution, and rather that trying to find ways to stop the flow of people coming onto the beaches, or turn history around, we need to find ways to channel the flow of people and figure out how to integrate them. The author argues that Greece does not have the resources to do that and that we can’t just leave them to burn up under the sun in the Athenian squares.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Argues that integration is necessary, insinuates that it is necessary more so in the rest of Europe rather than Greece.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but pushing for them to go to other European countries as ‘greece does not have the resources’
economic effects	Slight mention of the fact that they were coming to the shores over the busiest summer period.
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	Relates to maritime borders

6: The refugees and the ghost of nationalism

Article Characteristics	
Article number	6
Date	16 th September 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre / Left
Author	For some reason this article doesn’t have an author and was published anonymously. Tried Googling but couldn’t find him/her – sorry!
Affiliation of Author	Unknown
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=737830&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The refugees and the ghost of nationalism</i> This is a piece which is very similar to the ‘Racist Rhetoric’ article of Kathimerini. It talks about the fact that Europe cannot sacrifice

	humanity and civilisation (in terms of being kind and humane and civil) because some opposition are pushing nationalism and a racist rhetoric. The author urges Europe to see the gravity of the problem and to develop a comprehensive policy that distributes the costs and responsibilities of dealing with the crisis. It talks about the absurdity of Germany opening its borders then closing them again and urges European politicians to take a humane and opening stance.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks more about accepting them into the other European countries and dealing with them there not only just in Greece but not specifically into the modes of incorporation.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting and urging others to accept
economic effects	Not mentioned
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not specifically
transportation and border areas	Pushes for open border and policies.

7: Unaccompanied Minors seeking refuge in Greece

Article Characteristics	
Article number	7
Date	29 th September 2015 (same article repeated 27 th October 2015)
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Tsigris Angelos
Affiliation of Author	The Authors is a lawyer - PhD Criminology. He has served as General Secretary of the Ministry of Justice, the Greek representative to the Standing Committee on Operational Cooperation on Internal Security in Europe of the EU Council and the UN Permanent Representation on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice.
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=741506&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82 the second time they published it with a different title (<i>shame on Europe for the image of unaccompanied minors on the streets but content is the same</i>) http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=748896&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	

Article Overview	Article: <i>Unaccompanied Minors seeking refuge in Greece</i> The article argues that we have a duty to distinguish between illegal immigrants and refugees seeking protections, moreover we must protect the most vulnerable such as the unaccompanied minors who are coming to Europe for safety. The article makes some distinctions between migrants and refugees and highlights that refugees are fleeing from war and prosecution and that it is very easy for unaccompanied minors to slip through the institutional gaps and that we must protect them as they are often victims of trafficking or becoming children of the street.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Must incorporate them into our country as every one has the right to protection
accepting vs. rejecting	Very accepting and urges us to uphold the rights of the refugee even if it is difficult. Especially for the most vulnerable.
economic effects	Not mentioned
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not really mentioned
transportation and border areas	Only mentioned in terms of threat of trafficking and how dangerous that can be for vulnerable populations.

8: The refugee issue and its solution

Article Characteristics	
Article number	8
Date	27 th September 2015
Newspaper	To Vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Ioannis Kartalis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=740936&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The refugee issue and its solution</i> This article argues that the solution to the refugee crisis is about the USA and Russia taking an active role in helping to alleviate the conflict which they ultimately had a huge hand in creating. The author argues that these two nations are the ones which will also suffer and

	be at risk from Islamic extremism and that only if they get involved will Europe be able to deal with the crisis. The author pushes for UN intervention.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The author believes that there is no/little hope for European nations to collaborate on this and that not everyone would be willing to pull their weight and so integration would never properly be achieved because some countries would take more than others and others would refuse so it would never work out.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting and pitying of the refugees
economic effects	Not mentioned
securitization of refugees	Talks of Islamic extremism which he underlies could be a threat
sectoral issues	Nope
transportation and border areas	No

9: Ailan with his little red shirt

Article Characteristics	
Article number	9
Date	6 th September 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Keza Lori
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=735002&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Ailan with his little red shirt</i> This is an article talking about the power of the photograph of Ailan Kurdi found on the beach in Turkey. It talks of the power of an image and how it made the world finally see the tragedy that was occurring in the Mediterranean, how thousands of children had already drowned but the world was surprised to see this one. It speaks of the importance of social media and how hopefully people will start to talk about this issue and act upon it.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation,	Not mentioned

integration, isolation)	
accepting vs. rejecting	Seems to be accepting of refugees and pushing people/politicians to do something about it.
economic effects	Not mentioned
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	Focuses very much on the tragedy of the events occurring in the sea.

10: The refugees, Europe and the opportunity for Greece

Article Characteristics	
Article number	10
Date	9 th September 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Not mentioned (weird how this paper does this)
Affiliation of Author	Unknown
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=735879&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The refugees, Europe and the opportunity for Greece</i></p> <p>This piece is talking about how Greece is going to be faced with the refugee crisis whether they like it or not for the foreseeable future and that the country should use it for its own benefit – to get some credibility back in terms of their relations with Europe.</p> <p>The author is arguing that we need to see the crisis as an opportunity to be able to live up to the values of welcoming and acceptance and to organise ourselves in an admirable and respected way, setting an example for the other countries of Europe, but most of all, adhering to standards of humanity and dignity for the incoming people.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Wants to do this in an effective and welcoming way by setting up the necessary infrastructure and projects before its too late
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting

economic effects	Shows it to be positive, indirectly perhaps related to the euro and Europe and getting over the greek crisis in the eyes of 'Europe'
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	Not mentioned

October 2015

11: In the tentacles of the smugglers

Article Characteristics	
Article number	11
Date	2 nd October 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	
Author	Tasoula Karaiskaki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/833254/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/staplokamia-twn-doylemporwn
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>In the tentacles of the smugglers</i> This article gives an insight into the business of smuggling occurring between Greece and Turkey and highlights how it is not just the mafia of smugglers but saying that also officials and Greek islanders are involved. It talks about allegations of port authorities in turkey sinking boats coming out of turkey, of the fact that this is really a mafia style business fuelled by the pursuit of wealth and that the reason its being allowed is because governments are complicit and allowing it to happen, at some points also taking part in it.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	no
accepting vs. rejecting	Not necessarily either
economic effects	Increase economy in a way in terms of the mafia and smugglers money
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned

transportation and border areas	Very much focused on the border area Greece/Turkey and talks about the numbers of refugees entering (e.g. In Lesbos 5810 arrived on 25 th September alone) Gives insight into the smuggling business and is critical towards government for allowing it to continue.
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12: An extremely critical period for Greece

Article Characteristics	
Article number	12
Date	7 th October 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Thanos Ntokos
Affiliation of Author	General Manager at ELIAMEP (Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy)
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/833844/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/e3airetika-krisimh-periodos-gia-thn-ellada
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>An extremely critical period for Greece</i> The article talks about how the next 12-18 months will be crucial for future of Greece and Europe. One of the main reasons for this is the incoming flow of refugees. The author talks about the importance of not closing any borders, neither along the routes the refugees are taking nor at the destination countries because that will result in what he calls the sinking of Greece. He also speaks of the importance of the amendment of the Dublin II protocol he also calls for a European response and resettlement agreement. Also speaks of funding other countries to reduce flows (like turkey, Lebanon and Jordan) but in the end he starts questioning what this will really mean. Such as the fates of those not eligible for asylum,
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Author poses the question of what the limits of European societies are in terms of acceptance and integration of these new people as his ending sentence.
accepting vs. rejecting	More towards accepting than rejecting
economic effects	Not really mentioned apart from the fact that he says Greece cant cope without European help
securitization of refugees	n/a
sectoral issues	Questions how many people Greece can cope with before becoming “warehouses for souls” and generally also talks about whether European society will be able to integrate refugees effectively in such a short time period that they all came.
transportation	Author points out that granting of financial assistance to Turkey,

n and border areas	Lebanon and Jordan are expected to contribute to reduction of flow of people.
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13: What are the borders of Europe?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	13
Date	16 th October 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre-Right
Author	Nikos Konstantaras
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/835127/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/poia-einai-ta-synora-ths-eyrwphs
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>What are the borders of Europe?</i></p> <p>The article begins by highlighting the differing opinions from different countries on how we should control the maritime borders of Greece/Turkey. He argues that the ideas presented either show that the leaders don't understand how people and states work or they are reluctant to really do anything about the issue. He argues that the flow of migrants can't be stopped at the borders but must be tackled at the source countries which they are coming from. He cites Donald Tusk "The very easy access of Europe is one of the factors making it attractive" but highlights how that fails to account for how dangerous and costly the journey is for many people. The author says how they are waiting to see what the outcome of the talks will bring and whether they will allow more people to keep coming and drowning, simply attempting to strengthen an imaginary border or will they decide to make the European continent into something of hope, humanity and justice. He argues that if we go for closing the borders, we could eliminate all that it really means to be European.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	He is very open towards helping people to come and flee, and does not want to close borders but doesn't necessary talk about the longer term effects and needs (integration etc.)
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting (more so to Europe than specifically Greece)
economic effects	n/a
securitization of refugees	n/a
sectoral issues	n/a
transportation	Very much about opening the borders and challenging the idea of

and border areas	borders in the first place.
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14: The bargain and the refugees

Article Characteristics	
Article number	14
Date	20 th October 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/835576/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/to-alisverisi-kai-oi-prosfyges
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The bargain and the refugees</i> The author starts by describing the moment a photo was taken with Erdogan and Merkel. He goes on to describe the deal between Turkey and the EU and how beneficial it looks for Turkey and Erdogan who were at that time committing human rights violations and limiting freedoms. How Turkey didn't only want monetary compensation but also freer travel to Europe and fastracking of their application. He ends by saying if only the refugees had been at the heart of this debate, who as long as the wars are going on in Syria, will continue coming.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Nope
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting in a way
economic effects	Not really just about the financial burden of hosting refugees
securitization of refugees	Not really
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	Article is mostly about the border discussions and how the focus of the topic seems to be much more about Turkey and the Eu and how much they will give to Turkey, rather than how we can all most effectively help the refugees and their wellbeing

15: A complicated situation

Article Characteristics	
Article number	15
Date	30 th October 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Stavros Tzimas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/836829/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/peripl-okh-katastash
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>A complicated situation</i> The Author is arguing that the EU summit decision is what everyone in Greece feared; that Greece will become the 'parking place' for 50,000 refugees until they can have their papers readied and can be dealt with, which he acknowledges might take a very long time. He poses many questions that he feels are unanswered such as who and how will stop the people who continue to come from Turkey, what are we going to do, sink the boats full of women and children coming for help? And what of the people who are not deemed legal for asylum or relocation? Will they just be left to roam Greece, trying to illegally enter into Europe but blocked by the now militarised borders?
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not strictly mentioned, refugees are not perceived to be people who will integrate but rather who will be temporarily (a long temporary period) a burden on the resources of Greece.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but not in this way.
economic effects	Burden on the economy because they will be using resources
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	About the closure of the northern borders and how that will negatively affect Greece.

16: Europe needs Greece again!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	16
Date	30 th October 2015
Newspaper	To vima

Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	-
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=749818&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Europe needs Greece again!</i> This article talks about the rest of Europe is now calling on the most financially unstable and weakest link in the EU to help them deal with this unexpected crisis and how it is up to Greeks to rise up to the challenge.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about how Europe doesn't know how to integrate the people coming in and doesn't know what to do with them. Talks about how Greece should be the shining example.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but more because it thinks that the refugees and crisis can be an opportunity for Greece rather than because of moral obligations
economic effects	Not specifically mentioned apart from difficult it already is for Greece and how the EU should realise what an economic burden it is to host and be the receiving country for all these people.
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	Not mentioned really.

17: Refugees and Immigrants: The same issue?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	17
Date	23 rd October 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Dimoshakis Anastasios
Affiliation of Author	Former chief of police
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=748167&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article	Article: <i>Refugees and Immigrants: The same issue?</i>

Overview	This is an article by the former chief of police who is talking about the need to separate between the refugees seeking asylum and the illegal immigrants who are trying to come in along with them. The author is very pro having stricter borders and with the support of the EU and local countries to be able to patrol and monitor that border to make sure that we are only allowing people who really need to come in, to enter.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not really
accepting vs. rejecting	Its not rejecting to refugees but certainly makes distinction between illegal immigrants and refugees and very rejecting of illegal immigrants
economic effects	Only mentioned in terms of how much Greece is suffering at the moment
securitization of refugees	Not really
sectoral issues	No
transportation and border areas	Very much pro closing and close monitoring of all the borders (horizontal and vertical) to not allow anyone but refugees in

18: Turkey may not be the gatekeeper of Europe

Article Characteristics	
Article number	18
Date	3 rd October 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Sinan Ulgen
Affiliation of Author	Chairman of a think tank based in Istanbul. The article is also publish in the NYT but this is a shorter version with certain parts cut out.
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=742755&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Turkey may not be the gatekeeper of Europe</i> Article is talking about the talks between the EU and Turkey. It talks about how Europe has to accept Turkish citizens to travel freely in the EU or the possibility of hundreds of thousands more refugees to enter the EU via Turkey. The article seems to be pro a cooperation with Turkey in order to slow down the flow of refugees to Europe.
Modes of incorporation	Acknowledges it will be needed, especially in the future but doesn't go into it much

(assimilation, integration, isolation)	
accepting vs. rejecting	It is not so accepting of refugees and doesn't really focus on them as much as it focuses on Turkey. It is however, not rejecting of refugees either.
economic effects	Not really mentioned
securitization of refugees	No
sectoral issues	No
transportation and border areas	Stricter regulation of borders mentioned and pushed and acknowledges the key role of turkey.

19: Victoria Square

Article Characteristics	
Article number	19
Date	1 st October 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Dimitris Hondros
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=742191&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Victoria Square The article is talking about how the scenes of refugees overcrowding the islands and entering on their boats that we saw in the summer have now moved to Athens and to victoria square. He is criticising the government and mayor of Athens for the fact that nobody is really trying to solve the issue or do anything about it, but that rather the focus is just moving from place to place and each time it is up to local people to try and do something about it. The author mentions that this is leading to rise in popularity of far right parties such as golden dawn and that this is leading to political radicalisation.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Mentioned in terms of the fact that refugees are isolated and not being attended to.
accepting vs. rejecting	Sort of accepting, but not explicitly

economic effects	Not really mentioned
securitization of refugees	No
sectoral issues	No
transportation and border areas	No

20: Putting heads in the sand

Article Characteristics	
Article number	20
Date	28 th October 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Dimitris Hondros
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=749364&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Putting heads in the sand</i> This is a very critical piece on the governments response to the refugee crisis (or lack of response) and poses many questions to the 50,000 people that Greece agreed to host. Such as how will people be differentiated from illegal migrants and refugees when they arrive on the same boat? where will the rest of the people go? how will they be processed when there are far too many coming for the ‘island hotspots’ that have been set up?
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Hints to the need for better infrastructure for processing and receiving refugees but doesn’t necessarily talk about the longer term integration
accepting vs. rejecting	More accepting than rejecting but very critical of the response
economic effects	Talks earlier in the article of the economic difficulties of Greece
securitization of refugees	No
sectoral issues	No

transportation and border areas	Incoming refugees the main point
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November 2015

21: Refugees and Migration: Threat or opportunity?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	21
Date	1 st November 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Thodoros Kouloubis
Affiliation of Author	Professor at University of Athens international relations department.
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/837041/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/prosfygiko-kai-metanasteytiko-apeilh-h-eykairia
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Refugees and Migration: Threat or opportunity?</i></p> <p>The author argues that Greece, whose first industry is tourism (as well as shipping) does not have the luxury to be closed off from the rest of the world and to become fortress like. He further attests this desire to far right, racist parties such as golden dawn. Alongside explaining that the refugee crisis is multirooted in many areas – poverty, war, exploitation and external interventions. He argues that Greece (and Italy) must faces the burden of having to accept and process the many people that are coming here and that we must do it in collaboration with Europe. He seems to be very pro-european and wants us to not fall into the Eurosceptic track that many Balkan states are falling into, something he thinks is definitely a risk.</p> <p>Overall the author wants Greece to work in an efficient and cooperative manner with the other European countries to deal with the crisis.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not necessarily in Greece, rather he wants Greece to process people and allow them to move on.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic	He acknowledges that there will be a cost to Greece but notes it must

effects	be helped by Europe to bear that cost
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	Mentioned in terms of have to abide by our frontex and border protection commitments.

22: A Syrian dentist

Article Characteristics	
Article number	22
Date	5 th November 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Takis Theodoropoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/837571/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/o-syros-odontiatros
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>A Syrian dentist</i></p> <p>The article talks of the plans of relocation of refugees from Greece to the other member states. It gives the approximation used by Tsipras and how 5 years seemed a really good approximation (yet unbelievable).</p> <p>He then talks about people who are educated and where they will go. He says that a Syrian dentist will be a street sweeper in Sweden, but he would rather be there than in Corynthos (Greece). This is something we have accepted, that we will be left with the ones who will be rejected by other countries.</p> <p>He criticises the government for asking for money and yet not having organised the relocation centres and not being ready, furthermore for the fact that out of the 50,000 refugees that we will be the ones to keep half of them.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not specifically
accepting vs. rejecting	Uncertain
economic	Says we are asking for money from the EU for this but seems to point

effects	to Greece not using it efficiently
securitization of refugees	There is a weird joke made about Jihadists going to Germany but in an ironic way (I didn't really understand it)
sectoral issues	He says that people who are highly educated will do lower less skilled jobs and in other countries, and the rest who are rejected left to Greece meaning that he thinks that people don't want to stay in Greece and that they will be doing lesser jobs that the are trained for wherever they go.
transportation and border areas	About the relocation of refugees

23: Steps Backwards

Article Characteristics	
Article number	23
Date	21 st November 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Maria Katsounaki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/839472/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/vhmatapisw
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Steps Backwards</i></p> <p>The article is talking about the aftermath of the Paris attacks and how there has been a call to revise the Schengen treaty. She talks about how the terrorists are winning by inspiring fear.</p> <p>She says that the French president didn't specifically say we are at war, but the meaning was there. She argues that the enemy is not opposite us, it is among us; it has to do with peoples lives and freedoms, the enemy shapes our social constraints and political positions. The fear that we live in is the worst thing that we could have because every movement across a border inspires doubt and fear, and for Greeks it is even more vulnerable because they are amongst so many refugees.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not really specifically
accepting vs. rejecting	I think she is pushing forward for acceptance of people, and to not fear the unknown because that is the worst that could happen. Moreover I think she is telling people not to associate refugees with terrorism and not to give into the biggest weapon that terrorism has – fear.

economic effects	Not specifically
securitization of refugees	There is an acknowledgement of the fact that people could perceive them as a threat, but she is arguing against that
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	It is mentioned in terms of the reviewing of all the European borders and Schengen agreements; she thinks this is a step backwards.

24: How it is to lose everything in the Aegean

Article Characteristics	
Article number	24
Date	27 th November 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Theodoris Georgakopoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/840187/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/pws-einai-na-xaneis-ta-panta-sto-aigaio
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>How it is to lose everything in the Aegean</i> This is a very descriptive piece about a man the author met in Kos who had lost everything – his wife and three children whilst crossing the Aegean from Turkey. The piece gives an emotional description of this man and questions how humanity can continue to function after such sadness and loss. The man now is working alongside volunteers on the island to try and help the other refugees arriving. It is a very emotional piece that grabs the attention of the reader, even if it does not provide much of an opinion it is important because it makes the whole crisis more human.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not mentioned
accepting vs. rejecting	Very accepting, and highlights that these people are people. People who have gone through a lot and who are risking everything to flee.
economic effects	Not mentioned
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation	Journey of the crossing is described a bit.

and border areas	
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25: Testing the true European values

Article Characteristics	
Article number	25
Date	18 th November 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Katerina Sokos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/839020/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/dokimazontas-tis-eyrwpaiques-a3ies
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Testing the true European values</i> Talks about how the attack in Paris has acted as a catalyst to fuel the war on the Islamic state. But then talks about how Parisians are resisting the urge to succumb to fear, which is very important and how it became a political attitude. The author argues that we now have to transfer that political attitude to the interactions we have with members of the Muslim community and to welcome refugees, to be open to travelling freely in Europe. She says this is really important because what is being threatened today is the multicultural and tolerant character of Europe and we must stand up to the test.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The issue of integration and the importance of good integration of migrants is addressed when talking about the fact that the perpetrators of the Paris attacks were citizens of Europe.
accepting vs. rejecting	Very accepting and promoting acceptance
economic effects	No
securitization of refugees	Talks about the threat of ISIS and the difference between refugees and terrorists.
sectoral issues	No
transportation and border areas	Must keep freedom of travel promoted in Schengen according to author

26: The guinea pigs and the refugee crisis

Article Characteristics	
Article number	26
Date	3 rd November 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Dimitris Hondros
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=750782&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The guinea pigs and the refugee crisis</i></p> <p>The article talks about how Greece was the guinea pig for the economic crisis in Europe and how it was then the guinea pig for the refugee crisis. The author points out that Greece has agreed to accept 50,000 refugees, and that he doesn't have any problem with that, but that the country is not in any way ready to do that. The author is criticising the way that the island will not be able to cope and argues that addressing the refugee crisis surpasses the capabilities of the country. The government has lost precious time for preparations and negotiation and will not be able to do this properly.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	People wont be able to do this properly because the government isn't up to the task
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	In terms of greek crisis but not in terms of refugee economic burden
securitization of refugees	no
sectoral issues	no
transportation and border areas	Not really apart from the fact that it acknowledges islands are bearing brunt of incoming people and wont be able to cope.

27: After Paris

Article Characteristics	
Article number	27
Date	7 th November
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Notis Papadopoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=754576&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>After Paris</i> The article talks about how the people responsible for the Paris attacks were born and raised in the ghettos of Paris and France and it questions how these countries have not been able to integrate these people properly into their societies. It speaks critically of the European reaction of indifference to the atrocities occurring in places like Syria and of the inability of Europe to carve out an efficient strategy. The author wonders how after these attacks we will be able to live peacefully with muslim populations.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Very much about integration, but in terms of questioning how it is possible to do it effectively and acknowledging the fact that it has not been done effectively till now.
accepting vs. rejecting	Neither nor, but if I had to decide it would be more accepting than rejecting.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Acknowledges the threat of marginalised populations feeling the need to do something but not necessarily because they are muslim or refugees. Also questions the future of peace for refugees after paris
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

28: The new war and Greece

Article Characteristics	
Article number	28
Date	18 th November 2015
Newspaper	To Vima
Affiliation	Centre/left
Author	Petros Makris
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=754848&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The new war and Greece</i></p> <p>The author is arguing that Greece is in a very vulnerable position at the moment because with all the refugees we are welcoming it is also illegal migrants and maybe also terrorists. The author calls for several measures to be put in place:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - pan European coast guard and protection of the boarders, with the help of turkey. - To reconsider the military bases of Greece being used by NATO, as they would be used to kill civilians in Syria and that would cause more terror and unrest. - Following the extermination of the jihadist groups, the economic restructuring of the countries and return of the refugees there
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The author doesn't really want to integrate people here, he would rather that people go back to their own homelands, once they are 'safe'
accepting vs. rejecting	Uncertain
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Very much about security of Greece and how vulnerable it is.
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border	Pushing for highly controlled and monitored borders with the help of all EU and Turkey.

areas	
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29: Terrorism and immigration

Article Characteristics	
Article number	29
Date	29 th November 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Sotiris Hatzigiakis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=757784&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Terrorism and immigration</i> Argues that the way to deal with terrorism is to try and integrate people. Need to try and prevent the radicalisation of Muslim immigrants and see how we can help them become true European citizens who are not just nominally European but also culturally and socially.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Need full integration to prevent radicalisation
accepting vs. rejecting	Acknowledges that people are coming and that we need to accept them and welcome them to prevent further problems in the future for ourselves
economic effects	Talks about the fact that poverty and marginalisation leads to people becoming radicalised
securitization of refugees	Yes. To prevent, need to integrate them
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

30: Refugee camp next to the Herodion?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	30
Date	14 th November 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Dimitris Hondros
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=753819&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Refugee camp next to the Herodion?</i> This is an article arguing against the decision of placing a camp with chemical toilets and tents next to the Roman odeon on the island of Kos. The author argues that this is one of the most popular tourist destinations and this spot is particularly important for the island. He argues that the camp should not be allowed to exist there.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not really mentioned, apart from the fact that they shouldn't be in places that are visible and tourist attractions.
accepting vs. rejecting	Quite rejecting, but mainly the location not sure if he rejects refugees in general
economic effects	Decline in tourism is a serious effect according to author who highly disapproves of the camp in this in the article
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

December 2015

31: Turkey, Europe and the Refugee crisis

Article Characteristics	
Article number	31
Date	2 nd December 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Thanos Ntokos
Affiliation of Author	General manager of ELIAMEP
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/840749/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/toyrki-a-eyrwph-kai-prosfygiko
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Turkey, Europe and the Refugee crisis</i> The article outlines the various commitments made with the EU and Turkey, but takes the stance that for Greece, the main objective should be to try and find a political solution in Syria because that is the only way that the flow of refugees will really stop. It talks about how Greece should be very concerned that a large number of migrants will be trapped in the country as more and more countries begin to close their borders and it would be good for European funds to be released for the preparations to begin for receiving these refugees in Greece.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about preparing for that, but that money is needed and needs to be released to Greece in order for them to start making the necessary structures and preparations.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but also wary
economic effects	Acknowledges finances needed to deal with so many refugees
securitization of refugees	Not really
sectoral issues	No
transportation and border areas	Preparing for more border closures and changes in imminent future

32: The 'liberation' of Idomeni

Article Characteristics	
Article number	32

Date	10 th December 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	George Terzis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/841670/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-apeley8erwsh-ths-aidomenhs
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The 'liberation' of Idomeni</i> The article is about the buses of people being taken out of idomeni who did not qualify for crossing the border as they were only allowing certain nationalities at the time (Syrian, Afghani and Iraqi (?)). The authors ponders about the fates of the people who are not allowed into Europe such as the Pakistanis, what that will mean for Greece i.e. where will they go once moved from Idomeni, will they be sent home, will they go to camps in Athens – all questions the author asks.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Ponders on how people left behind will assimilate into Greece or whether they will be sent home
accepting vs. rejecting	Towards the accepting side, but not specifically very pro.
economic effects	Not mentioned
securitization of refugees	Not mentioned
sectoral issues	Not mentioned
transportation and border areas	Idomeni is the key part of this article and the idea of allowing certain people to pass but not others, the focus is on wondering what will happen to those not allowed to pass.

33: A boat at the temple

Article Characteristics	
Article number	33
Date	24 th December
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist

Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/843606/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/varka-ston-nao
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>A boat at the temple</i> The author is wondering who we should be commending this year for being the personality of the year and is saying that whoever we chose won't really be a choice because this has been a sad year full of misery. The author is condemning the European countries who have promised to take refugees but haven't and for the politicians for deciding to filter who they take, picking based on ethnicity, education and religion. Generally a very sad piece about how the symbol of the year is an orange life jacket or capsized boat. Maybe that's what we should chose as the symbol of the year and it could pull at the heartstrings of the Gods or the people to do something about this mess.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	No
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but just very sad about the whole situation, almost defeated
economic effects	No
securitization of refugees	No
sectoral issues	No
transportation and border areas	About the many people dying in the Aegean and the tragedy of it all. Also criticising towards other countries for not taking in people and helping more.

34: Refugees Welcome

Article Characteristics	
Article number	34
Date	25 th December 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Aristos Doxiadis
Affiliation of Author	Board member of Solidarity Now (I think its an NGO)
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/843666/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/kalode-xoymenoi-prosfyges
Article Analysis	
Article	Article: <i>Refugees Welcome</i>

Overview	A very positive piece about how we should welcome and embrace refugees in Greece because it could come with many benefits. Looks at the history of immigration in Greece citing examples of the Albanian immigration and how well their integration and assimilation has gone.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Author proposes a model of dispersing refugees across the country so that they are not all stuffed into small crime filled areas and impoverished, but rather distributed evenly across the country with 150 people in each municipality across Greece. He says that the money from the EU could help to fund their rent in housing that NGOs and Governments can help to find for them, and that they can be given quicker processing and allowed to work. He also talks about the way that they can be given a sum of money to start of their lives again for the first months but then go onto doing it themselves.
accepting vs. rejecting	Very accepting and promoting of the benefits that could come about for Greece
economic effects	Would be very positive for Greece, the author says
securitization of refugees	Recognises fears of crime but says we should not fall into that trap
sectoral issues	Not really expanded on much but alludes to good integration
transportation and border areas	Not really mentioned

35: The importance of giving

Article Characteristics	
Article number	35
Date	24 th December 2015
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Editorial (I didn't find many for this month)
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/843612/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-shmasia-ths-prosforas
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The importance of giving</i> This is a very short piece that highlights the importance of offering to others and how NGOs and volunteers across Europe are helping people in need, and says that our obligation is to contribute to this great effort and teach our children the importance of giving.

Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	No
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	No
securitization of refugees	No
sectoral issues	No
transportation and border areas	No

36: The Refugee parking

Article Characteristics	
Article number	36
Date	6 th December 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/left
Author	Ioannis Prenteris
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=759567&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The refugee parking</i> Author is talking about the decision to sieve through refugees and only allow certain nationalities and how that will lead to problems for Greece who will be stuck with all the ‘undesirables’. He questions what will happen to all the people not admitted to the rest of the EU and what that will mean for Greece. He also talks about how unrealistic it is that the Turks will really control the flow.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The author is arguing that they will be left with the people who nobody else wants and who wont be able to fit into Greece
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting of the refugees not of the policy of filtering out between different groups
economic	-

effects	
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Borders of Europe and policy of relocation are mentioned

37: Refugee crisis and public health

Article Characteristics	
Article number	37
Date	13 th December 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Christina Papanikolaou
Affiliation of Author	Biopathologist and former general secretary of public health
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=761518&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The refugee crisis and public health</i> The author is talking about the health threat that the large numbers of refugees coming from war torn regions might bring to people in Greece. She talks about children who did not go through the vaccination processes required at a young age and who have missed vaccinations for over 3 years and how this could be a threat to Greece. Her main point is that we need systemic coverage, support and documentation of the medical situation of the refugees. She says this should play a key role in our bargaining at the EU of how to proceed and what to do next. “At the same time it should also function as a catalytic initiative to establish a pan-European contingency plan for protecting the health of European citizens, refugees and immigrants.”
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Points of concern in terms of integration into society if they will bring health problems, needs to be tackled.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but with caution
economic effects	Health effects more than economic.
securitization of refugees	Health threats
sectoral issues	-
transportation	-

and border areas	
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38: What comes after Idomeni?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	38
Date	21 st December 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Markos Papakonstantis
Affiliation of Author	Lawyer and Professor of Law at Panteion University
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=763603&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>What comes after Idomeni?</i></p> <p>The author first gives a brief history of the movements of people to Greece in different phases and explains that this is different now because instead of it being migrant young men wanting to pass to the rest of Europe it is also vulnerable families.</p> <p>He talks about the benefits of the latest policy changes being that the EU now realises that this is an EU problem that must be dealt with together, rather than a Greek problem that can be dealt with, with the help of the EU and secondly that the key role of Turkey has been recognised. In terms of what will happen after idomeni, this is the question he is raising, especially in regard to Turkey and their role and the European partners and their continued support.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Barely
accepting vs. rejecting	Doesn't really focus that much on the lives of refugees, much more about the European politics behind it all.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	About idomeni and border closures. Seems to think it was a good idea.

39: Refugee crisis: there's a difference between scaremongering and of awareness raising

Article Characteristics	
Article number	39
Date	25 th December 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Dimitris Christopoulos
Affiliation of Author	Vice president of the International Federation of Human Rights, Associate Professor of Political Science at Panteion University.
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=764531&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Refugee crisis: there's a difference scaremongering and of awareness raising</i></p> <p>This is a reflection on the year as related to refugees. He brings up the point of the 'entrapment' of refugees in Greece and tries to counter it saying this was not the first time this has happened. He says we shouldn't underestimate the threat that this might have, but we also shouldn't scaremonger.</p> <p>He is concerned about the part of the commissions proposals saying that Frontex should intervene if the state is unable or unwilling and he hopes this is deleted from the proposal. He is annoyed and feels the choice between accepting the proposals and Frontex or the choice of exiting from Schengen.</p> <p>The author fears that Greek people don't have enough belief in themselves that they (as Greece) can do something about the situation and that this non belief in themselves will lead to bigger problems in 2016 than just a refugee crisis.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	No, only talks about the fact that we must stay true to article 5 of greek constitution: "all persons within the Greek territory shall enjoy full protection of life, honour and freedom."
accepting vs. rejecting	Wary but not outright rejecting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	It could be a threat to security in terms of problematic if the 'unwanted' people from idomeni are trapped in Greece but he doesn't see it as a huge threat
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border	Latest policies on sieving and selection of people to pass through the northern borders.

areas	
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40: The absurdity of borders and frontex

Article Characteristics	
Article number	40
Date	4 th December 2015
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	-
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=759101&wordsinarticle=%CE%A0%CF%81%CF%8C%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The absurdity of borders and Frontex</i> The author is insulted by the fact that Greece faced exit from the Schengen or the option of Frontex patrolling its borders. However he also acknowledges that Greece has been failing in terms of controlling borders and responding to the situation, both financially and management wise.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Criticism of the way people received and treated whilst here.
accepting vs. rejecting	Neither nor, mainly accepts it as a fact
economic effects	Financially burdened by having to deal with this crisis
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	
transportation and border areas	Frontex border patrol is not pleasing to the author but also acknowledges its necessity.

January 2016

41: Fear

Article Characteristics	
Article number	41
Date	27 th January 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Takis Theodoropoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/847312/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/fovos
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Fear The article is a little bit resentful to the fact that Greece has faced such a huge crisis economically and that it now has half a million unemployed, half a million refugees and has become the perfect pit for investor suicide.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not mentioned
accepting vs. rejecting	The article is not necessarily rejecting refugees but it is very cynical and bitter about the situation that Greece has been put in; its borders closed, its maritime borders patrolled by external forces, being threatened by exit from Schengen if it doesn't comply. The author seems to feel very bitter.
economic effects	Very much about how difficult it is for Greece
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Border closure and border control is a sensitive issue for the author.

42: EKAS Hellas

Article Characteristics	
Article number	42
Date	30 th January 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of	Journalist

Author	
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/847669/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ekas-h-ellas
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>EKAS Hellas (referring to pensions scheme in Greece)</i></p> <p>The article is going through several events saying sarcastically that Greece should be blamed for them. The author asks whether Greece should be blamed for the refugees? Yes because she sent the invading forces to fight the Taliban. Or whether Greece should be blamed for the influx of refugees to come to Europe, yes because Greece, through the mouthpiece of Merkel told them all to come and seek refuge here. Or whether Greece should be blamed for the violence against the Kurds that turkey is doing? Yes of course etc etc etc.</p> <p>Generally a very miserable author being very sarcastic about the fact that Greece should be to blame for all things he actually thinks Greece had no involvement in, but is left to suffer the consequences. He mentions the fact that Greece was 'blackmailed' to support the EU with Frontex control or leave Schengen and is very bitter about it. He blames Tsipras.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	No
accepting vs. rejecting	Rejecting of the situation not necessarily of refugees per say.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Mentions the Schengen/Frontex deal that Greece had to choose between.

43: Closed borders

Article Characteristics	
Article number	43
Date	15 th January 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Stavros Tzimas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/845816/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/klei

	<u>sta-synora</u>
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Closed Borders</i> The author is talking about the danger that other EU countries will start closing their borders more and more and that eventually Greece will be stuck with all the refugees and migrants, unable to cope with them. The author mentions the NY events that occurred in Germany and how that is having effects on the openness of Germany and he also speaks of the increased checks at borders of other Schengen countries such as Sweden and Denmark.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	There is a fear of how they will be left to deal with the people and also it speaks of the isolation of them in idomeni
accepting vs. rejecting	Condemning Europe rather than refugees
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Spoke of the events at New Years in Germany
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Border closures across Europe leave the author worried about the future of Greece

44: The Refugee crisis will also be a problem of 2016

Article Characteristics	
Article number	44
Date	10 th January 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Angelos Stagkos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/845124/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/kyri-o-provlhma-to-prosfygiko-kai-to-2016
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The Refugee crisis will also be a problem of 2016</i> Political unrest in the Middle east is going to cause further problems and undermine stability in Europe and in Greece in 2016. Talks of the complexity of the conflict and how it is already not only causing issue in the region but here as well – the German New year celebrations harassments, the shooting down of Russian aircraft in Turkey. Points out that Syrian conflict is not just for or against ISIS but involves many players.

	In Europe refugee issue poses problem because it reinforces feelings of insecurity and right wing populism, increased safety concerns after attacks (especially freedom of movement is affected). Half of those who arrive in Greece are refugees, other half economic migrants (to whom nobody is willing to offer asylum). The author concludes that the risk of Greece becoming isolated and turning into an immigrant installation country is huge, and that everything else that concerns us is of no importance.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Not really very accepting, especially of economic migrants
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Mentioned, especially in terms of the effects of this in Europe and how this has affected borders and freedom of movement.
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	About the freedom of movement only

45: Beautiful Europe

Article Characteristics	
Article number	45
Date	15 th January 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/845821/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-wraia-eyrwph
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Beautiful Europe</i> The article talks about the way that some European countries, specifically Denmark have tried to dissuade refugees from trying to come and seek asylum in their territories. It talks about the newspaper ads that Danish government had put in several Lebanese newspapers telling people that they should not come to Denmark as the social benefits were cut in half. Or the journey several Swedes

	made to the Greek islands to hand out leaflets about how there were ‘no jobs and no money’ in Sweden. Author then talks about the policy that Denmark had of limiting the amount of Euros and possessions/valuables that a refugee could come into the country with, taking away excesses (excluding a wedding ring as it was deemed sentimental)
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The author is really just talking about the unwelcoming attitude that he perceives other European countries of having towards refugees.
accepting vs. rejecting	Shows others to be rejecting but isn’t necessarily being very accepting himself
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

46: Greece guards its borders and does not sink boats!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	46
Date	31 st January 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Nikos Xidakis
Affiliation of Author	Deputy Minister for European Affairs.
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=772810&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CF%8C%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Greece guards its borders and does not sink boats!</i> The article is in response to the claims that Greece is not honouring its Schengen commitments and the threats of it being kicked out of Schengen if it doesn’t accept the Frontex guards. The author thanks and praises the greek coast guard and the volunteers who have worked tirelessly to save lives in the Mediterranean over the last months, and it states very clearly that it is not acceptable in this day and age to allow people to drown in the Mediterranean.

Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not really talked about
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Indignant about the work Greece has done, and how it hasn't been recognised, rather scrutinised for not sending refugees back and protecting European borders.

47: The glossary of kolotoubes: immigrants

Article Characteristics	
Article number	47
Date	10 th January 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Theodoros Pangalos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=767325&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CF%8C%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The glossary of kolotoubes: immigrants (kolotoubes means forward rolls like in gymnastics but I cant find an appropriate translation)</i></p> <p>The article is about the difference between illegal immigrants and refugees and the author is very adamant that we should be send illegal immigrants back to their home country immediately. He has no solidarity with illegal migrants and thinks Greece isn't putting in a good enough effort to stop them and not make them think they are welcome. He believes that the government that is running now is idealistic and thinks they are working in the mind-set of 40 years in the past.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about how immigrants from india and Pakistan are working in poverty and terrible conditions, in isolation and not integrated, earning close to nothing here in Greece
accepting vs.	Rejecting of immigrants, not really mentioning refugees

rejecting	
economic effects	Thinks it will have negative effect on country if more people come
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	Immigrants go to the lowest paid jobs like factories, he says
transportation and border areas	Need better control of the borders to make sure they are quickly separated and kicked out.

48: The price of unreliability

Article Characteristics	
Article number	48
Date	31 st January 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centr/Left
Author	Ioannis Kartalis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=772944&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%83
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The Price of unreliability</i> The article is criticising the European Union countries for not sticking to their commitments, and not doing what they have said they would do (in terms of taking in people). It says that we are now facing a huge problem which we would not have been facing if we had acted as a real union and all helped eachother. Ultimately the author says, what we really have to do if we want people to stop coming is to act at the source of the problem and aid in resolving the problems in Syria and middle east.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about the isolation of refugees who were left to sit in squares in Athens, not being accommodated for
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting, but its not so much about refugees being accepted or not rather the EU and the whole response
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-

transportation and border areas	Borders are difficult to protect at sea and we need the friendly cooperation of Turkey.
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49: The Blindness of Europeans

Article Characteristics	
Article number	49
Date	28 th January 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Notis Papadopoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=772327&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%83
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The Blindness of Europeans</i> This article is again talking about the fact that Greece were threatened with having to leave the Schengen and how outrageous the author thinks this is. He condemns countries for not taking in refugees, such as Austria, and urges that work together. He does not think we should be taking boats full of people who are vulnerable and escaping war, back to wherever they tried to escape from. His final message is that we need to focus our energy and militaries to Syria to stop this at the root of the problem.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Wants other countries to incorporate refugees to their countries, and accept them
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting, but rejecting of the policies being implemented
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Does not believe we should be stopping people at sea from coming.

50: Not being able is not something to be ashamed of, not asking for help is something to be ashamed of

Article Characteristics	
Article number	50
Date	30 th January 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Kirkos Miltos
Affiliation of Author	Member of European Parliament
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=772713&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%83
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Not being able is not something to be ashamed of, not asking for help is something to be ashamed of</i></p> <p>The article explains the ways in which the commission thought that Greece had not been working effectively in terms of registering the new people into the country and effectively checking their documents. The author argues that the commission had asked Greece whether it needed any help and whether it thought it was capable of reaching the standards necessary, and that Greece had assured that it was. The author argues that the country should have asked for help and blames the member of parliament who didn't, and assured the commission that all was well.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about the initial registration, not much more.
accepting vs. rejecting	Neither nor, mainly more about the debate and the mess everything is in now, because of not asking for help.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Entry points are the main topic

February 2016

51: Not in my backyard

Article Characteristics	
Article number	51
Date	11 th February 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Xenia Kounalaki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/849021/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/oxi-sthn-pisw-aylh-moy
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Not in my backyard</i> The author is talking about the discontent of the residents of the islands which have been made into refugee reception hotspots such as Kos, Lesvos, Samos, and how the government has done this without really consulting the residents to see whether they agree with this. She talks about how this has led to a ‘not in my backyard’ feeling towards refugees, whereby people are accepting to them but not when it means they have to sacrifice their own personal space or lifestyles.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not mentioned
accepting vs. rejecting	Somewhere in between, its mainly an attack at the government for not doing effective consultation and ‘ <i>exercising power with only their voters in mind</i> ’
economic effects	Economic effects for the islands who rely on tourism
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Islands

52: The Syrian exodus

Article Characteristics	
Article number	52
Date	26 th February 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Nikos Konstantaras

Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/851005/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-e3odos-twn-syrwn
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The Syrian Exodus</i> This article is about the fact that the way we treat refugees now will determine who we are and where we will go. He talks about how on the one hand there is a giant mobilization of people volunteering to provide all that they can – water, food, clothing and on the other hand governments, one after the other are closing their borders to these people. The problem, he says is huge and the risk of failure, even greater.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	I think he is referring to the way we treat refugees in the long run and how that can affect societies, although no concrete measures or solutions in terms of this category are provided.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Could also be referring to the implications of failure and how that could backfire on Europe if we don't act in the right way and how it could affect us in the future.
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Border closures are a key thing he speaks of across Europe.

53: The humans and the lowest of the low

Article Characteristics	
Article number	53
Date	27 th February 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/851199/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/an8rwpoi-kai-kataka8ia
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The humans and the lowest of the low</i> This is an article, at the beginning describing the way a smuggler will see refugees, when everyone else pities them, will see

	opportunity. Or the way the racist people in Greece will beat people who try to help and offer water or food to refugees. It is describing the way that most humans, most Greeks are ashamed of the way these few racist people treat the refugees, who most Greeks, islanders and mainlanders wholeheartedly want to welcome.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Very open and welcoming of refugees and condescending of those who aren't
economic effects	Talks about the economic benefits of smugglers and traffickers
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

54: Drawing a crying sun

Article Characteristics	
Article number	54
Date	8 th February 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Maria Katsounaki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/850849/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/zwg-rafizontas-enan-hlio-poy-klaiei
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Drawing a crying sun</i> This article is about refugee children who have forgotten that they are children and how severely impacted their childhoods have been by this. The author explains how the little girl is drawing a sun that's crying. The author poses questions relating to how these children will be affected in the future. Also talks about the numbers of unaccompanied minors that have gone missing in Europe and how they are presumed to be in the sex/organ trade.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about and poses questions as to how they will grow up and what ways they will integrate into the societies they are destined to go to, especially the unaccompanied minors. How will they lead normal lives in societies with childhoods so different to theirs.

accepting vs. rejecting	Very accepting and pulling on heartstrings of the readers
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

55: In this difficult time of the refugee crisis, are we for or against?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	55
Date	28 th February 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Kostas Kallitsis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/851230/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/sth-dyskolh-wra-ths-prosfygias-mazi-h-apenanti
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>In this difficult time of the refugee crisis, are we for or against?</i></p> <p>The article talks about the need to act upon the refugee crisis and to not turn against them, as is the trend with the far right governments rising. The author talks about how it's actually not even that large of a number of refugees and how the developing world is hosting 86% of refugees world wide and how Europe will need to accommodate only a few, and not even for that long, because the authors says, soon they will be able to go back to their home countries. He calls on all of us to be humane and kind people</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	It is thought that more camps and reception centres should be made, as it is seen as a temporary problem by the author
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	Also says that it can be a huge impetus for economic growth because of building new infrastructure

securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

56: The summer Davos became a... hot spot!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	56
Date	26 th February 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Notis Papadopoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=779854&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The summer Davos became a... hot spot!</i> The article is talking about the way that a year ago, Tsipras 'open doors' government meant to an unimaginable number of refugees entering Greece, now Tsipras has turned around 180 degrees and has to try a new approach. It talks about all the negatives of what it has done; effects on tourism, and economy and also how the EU must do more, but also how Greece needs to do more to prepare to host the refugees and deal with the situation it has put itself in.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	In terms of hosting it talks about setting up camps it talks about how Greece has to try and do that effectively.
accepting vs. rejecting	Not very accepting and seems to think it is the fault of Greek government that there are so many people now here
economic effects	Talks about problems in the islands which have been receiving refugees and how the number of holiday makers has significantly decreased and how this is an economic burden
securitization of refugees	Talks about how Greece could threaten to send Jihadis to Europe and how they are scared of that
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Talks about the idea of having the borders closed and open and how it has changed because of the way Tsipras thought it would be ok to accept all the refugees at the beginning but is now realising that it wasn't ok

57: The management of the refugee crisis – ten steps

Article Characteristics	
Article number	57
Date	26 th February
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Evangelos Venizelos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=780012&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The management of the refugee crisis – ten steps</i></p> <p>This is a list of ten steps that need to be taken, in the opinion of the author, to manage the refugee crisis.</p> <p>He talks about the fact that other countries in Africa and Arab countries, as well as all of Europe, should share the responsibility of relocation and taking in refugees. That turkey should not allow economic migrants to come to Greece, only refugees. And there should be strict rules on sending them back. Sea routes should be stopped and land routes should be used in order to appropriately identify and register refugees and send back migrants. Create a single European asylum service. Not allow countries in the EU to behave like Austria and quickly implement rules on that unity.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks of needing an integrated refugee plan, but this is not very specific at all and doesn't really mention how it would deal with the incorporation of refugees into society.
accepting vs. rejecting	It is very rejecting of migrants who do not need refugee status and are coming in search of jobs, and seems to be somewhat accepting of refugees but not very empathetic.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Talks a lot about how to manage the borders and that stronger protection should be used, especially in order to determine who are refugees and who are migrants.

58: Is 2016 the new 1922?

Article Characteristics

Article number	58
Date	25 th February 2016
Newspaper	To Vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	George Malouchos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=779472&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Is 2016 the new 1922?</i> This article is questioning whether 2016 will turn out to be the destruction of the country. The author is talking about how Greece is losing its sovereignty, how Turkey keeps on sending more and more refugees without controlling them, that Greece is becoming cut off from the cultural, legal, geopolitical and economic environment of the west and becomes more distinct and largely unwanted by the rest of the EU. That the country is slowly being destroyed.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	It doesn't explicitly say that all of this 'destruction' is as a result of the incoming refugees, but that is what it is implying. It calls for the government to do something, but it is also quite clear that this author seems to feel that it is the fault of the refugee crisis that the country is going this way
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Its all about the borders and how the Eastern borders have collapsed and the northern borders and pushing Greece further and further away from Europe and leading to its isolation, because nobody wants them because of their refugee burden.

59: Greece and Refugees: Responsibilities, Challenges and Prospects

Article Characteristics	
Article number	59
Date	19 th February 2016
Newspaper	To vima

Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Costas Pantazis
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=777917&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Greece and Refugees: Responsibilities, Challenges and Prospects</i></p> <p>The article starts by acknowledging the immensity of the crisis and talks about all the difficulties such as the fact that it was not Greece's fault but still they bear a large brunt of the responsibility, or that Greece was too willing to openly accept everyone and now realises that its not just refugees but all sorts of migrants, etc. But it turns it around and shows that Greece could be a shining example and lead Europe out of the crisis. The author proposes Greece asks frontex for help in setting up registration points, that it asks for money to effectively deal with the number of people coming in, that it has effective registration systems so that it can send the immigrants (not refugees) back to turkey. The author believes that Greece can use this to pull Europe out of the crisis and be a shining beacon in the midst of the crisis stricken Europe.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about the need for setting up effective spaces and centres for dealing with the large numbers of people already here.
accepting vs. rejecting	Not accepting of economic migrants but seems to be accepting of refugees
economic effects	Just highlights that money will be needed for the whole thing.
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	A lot about the borders still, mainly talking about the need of filtering the migrants to the refugees and how it can do that effectively

60: The end of a country

Article Characteristics	
Article number	60
Date	23 rd February 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left

Author	George Malouchos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=778931&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The end of a country</i> This is an article very similar to article 58 (and by the same author) which talks about how the refugee crisis is bringing the end of Greece. He talks about how this does not come as shock and we should have realised that the politicians Greece put in power would have done this. How Greece is unprepared to deal with the large number of people now it has to host, how it will become isolated from the rest of Europe, how Turkey is sending people on purpose.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks of the incapability to incorporate or deal with any of the people that are here or will be coming.
accepting vs. rejecting	Rejecting, seems to think it will be the end of the country.
economic effects	Not mentioned but implied
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	All about the borders, isolation from Europe.

March 2016

61: A solution is needed now

Article Characteristics	
Article number	61
Date	25 th March 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Stavros Tzimas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/854417/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/aparaitith-mia-lysh-twra

Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>A solution is needed now</i> The author is arguing very strongly that we must act now, in terms of Greece must do something right now for the people stuck in Idomeni and it is unacceptable that the situation has even been allowed to go this far, and this bad.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talking about the isolation of the people in Idomeni, who say they would rather die than go back and where there are children almost dying and how the government has ignored it for far too long.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting of refugees and writes very passionately about how they do not deserve to be treated like this.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Mainly about Idomeni, and how terrible it is.

62: Why the jihadists 'win'

Article Characteristics	
Article number	62
Date	27 th March 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Stamos Zoulas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/854466/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/giati-nikoyn-oi-tzixantistes
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Why the jihadists 'win'</i> The author is addressing the issue of extremism and islamisation. He talks about how Europeans are now feeling the effects of years of colonialism and exploitation of foreign wealth. He also talks about the bomber from the paris attacks being born and raised in Brussels but in a very muslim community which was marginalised. He also mentions that fear is the worst counsellor and that violence only brings more violence. I think what he is trying to say is that people are becoming scared of the 'other' and that that will result in fear and terror ruling, which would not be good for anyone.

Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Mentions the fact that there are many un-integrated and marginalised communities of Muslim populations which leads to extremism.
accepting vs. rejecting	He is more accepting than rejecting and shows the need for good integration.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Yes, very much about the issues that could arise with lack of integration and unfair treatment
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

63: An odyssey without Ithaca

Article Characteristics	
Article number	63
Date	9 th March 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pantelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/854732/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/odysseia-xwris-i8akh
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>An odyssey without Ithaca</i> This is an article describing the difficulties that refugees face in terms of the interactions they have with humans on their journey and how they have undergone this journey but are not reaching their destination. The author talks about the way that people have been subject to violence in their home countries by people, have been exploited and cheated by smugglers, have been lied to by politicians. They have also been handed loaves of bread and helped along the way but the author questions how they will ever be able to trust again, how they will be able to see humanity properly again.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Very much about how people will be able to live as normal humans again in the future after all the terrible things that have happened to them and the many multiple ways in which people have mistreated them.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting

economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Mentions smugglers and the fact that these people are trapped with closed borders, unable to continue their journey.

64: Heels on the asphalt

Article Characteristics	
Article number	64
Date	29 th March 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Lina Giannarou
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/854726/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/takonyia-sthn-asfalto
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Hells on the asphalt</i></p> <p>The article is about the way Greek people accept islam and Islamic practices into Greece. It starts off with the Nigerian basketball player who acquired Greek nationality and then played top basketball for Greece. Then talks about the sturggles that greek people have in accepting the integration of islam into society. It mentions how people are torn because of the knowledge they have of the extremism and the terrible things that ISIS for example is doing – beheadings and killings etc, but also that sometimes it is just a little girl who wants to walk in a parade for Greece, wearing her headscarf.</p> <p>The author argues that we can't keep living with double standards of seeing people as extremists but then also accepting when it suits them. The author is pushing for the acceptance of these people into society.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talking about the issue of integration and the way that refugees are perceived and accepted. Argues for the acceptance and the realisation that islam is not only just the views of extremism that we have.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting

economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Talks about the extremist practices of islam which people associate with muslims
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

65: The Hellenisation of refugees

Article Characteristics	
Article number	65
Date	4 th March 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Paschos Mandravelis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/854262/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/o-e3ellhnismos-twn-prosfygwn
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The Hellenisations of Refugees</i> The author is talking about the fact that we are obliged to grant protection to refugees and to help them, but that they are also obliged to follow the laws of the country. He mentions some examples of rape and violence in Idomeni and that it is not acceptable but then he goes on to say that, refugee will take by the example of Greek people in terms of following laws and rules and that if Greek people don't start becoming more law abiding citizens, then instead of being just Greek trash thrown onto the street, it will also be refugee trash because they will do as Greeks do. He uses this as an argument to push for Greek people to become more law abiding and to set an example for the refugees who are here.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	An interesting take on assimilation and what it will mean if Greek people keep acting the way that they do.
accepting vs. rejecting	Neither nor.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-

transportation and border areas	-
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66: Government of NGOs?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	66
Date	4 th March 2016
Newspaper	To Vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	-
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=786960&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Government or NGOs?</i> This is an article that argues for the increased government participation in the refugee camps of Piraeus and Idomeni. It argues that it cannot be left to the NGOs alone to do all the work and that if we do not do something about the situation, soon we will have angry people, conducting meaningless attacks such as the violence in Brussels.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Mentions the fact that the areas such as Piraeus where refugees are currently, have been left to their own devices without any gov help and that the army was only considering doing food distribution. This isolation, according to the author needs to change and the gov needs to deploy more people to help and get more power in controlling the camps.
accepting vs. rejecting	It's not clear, the author isn't necessarily rejecting but isn't very accepting either. Wants to ensure more power in the camps but also says it's because it will help the people there.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Threats from the Brussels attacks linked to the fact that there are so many angry people in Idomeni and Piraeus.
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

67: After Paris and Brussels...

Article Characteristics	
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Article number	67
Date	3 rd March 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Notis Papadopoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=786679&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>After Paris and Brussels...</i> The author is talking about the fact that both attacks were done by members of marginalised communities in Brussels, who were at risk from becoming radicalised. The author says that the one thing we can do is to show support for Muslims and try and help to end the conflict in the middle east, and try and help with the development of the areas which suffered as a result of the US intervention in Iraq and the civil wars. However, he ends saying, but which country will now be willing to accept refugees after what has happened in Paris and Brussels?
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about the way that people are not integrated and are marginalised in Brussels. Doesn't really expand on this though.
accepting vs. rejecting	Uncertain, he's not pushing a very strong case for acceptance but seems to think we should be helping.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Need to help in order to not become victims again of terrorism
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

68: Syria and the iceberg of refugees

Article Characteristics	
Article number	68
Date	29 th March 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left

Author	Julia Gillard
Affiliation of Author	Former prime minister of Australia and president of the Global Partnership for Education
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=788044&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Syria and the iceberg of Refugees</i> Article is arguing for the importance of education of children, especially if they are in such difficult situations where their lives are disrupted, they need to have good solid education.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Author wants to express the need for good education of children, which would mean even if they are isolated from the rest of the country they should be able to access good education sources.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

69: The time of the pan-european coastguard

Article Characteristics	
Article number	69
Date	25 th March 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Petros Makris
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=787231&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The time of the pan-european coastguard</i> This article is mainly talking about the incapability/lack of desire of turkey to stop people crossing the sea and the militarisation of the Greek coastal borders. The author is calling for the navy and army to be placed at the borders in order to guard them and for Greece to be able to keep its sovereignty. Anything for not having NATO at the

	borders.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Rejecting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Doesn't want to have anything to do with Turkey, and doesn't believe they really want to help. Wants the borders more militarised.

70: The right-wing hysteria towards immigration

Article Characteristics	
Article number	70
Date	6 th March 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Sotiris Hatzikakis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=782140&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The right-wing hysteria towards immigration</i> The article is arguing that we need to stop being hysterical about the situation with refugees at the moment, which the far right is using to their advantage, making people fearful and hysterical. The author points out that Europe is made up of an incredible amount of diversity and that immigration is not something new to the continent. Further to this he points out that people coming in could actually help us because of our low birth rates and bring something to the EU instead of only burdening it.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	States the need for creating a coherent immigration policy and how to treat these people, not in a culturally and politically marginalising way.
accepting vs.	Very accepting

rejecting	
economic effects	Could be positive, argues the author
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

April 2016

71: The armed forces and the refugee crisis

Article Characteristics	
Article number	71
Date	19 th April 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/right
Author	Thanasis Davakis
Affiliation of Author	MP Laconia program. Deputy Minister of Defense and head of the Department of National Defence ND
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/857291/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/enoples-dynameis-kai-prosfygikh-krish
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The armed forces and the refugee crisis</i></p> <p>The author of this article is arguing that the armed forces should have nothing to do with the refugee crisis and should not have the responsibility of being the ones charged with the camps and dealing with the situation in Greece.</p> <p>The author argues that the armed forces mission is to protect the territorial integrity and independence of the country against external threats and support national interests, as defined by each National Defence Policy.</p> <p>Their mission does not involve the exercise of control over the movements of individuals, groups or goods at the border and fulfill the obligations of the Schengen Treaty. The author argues that this is the responsibility of other bodies of the government and the government should take this over.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation,	-

integration, isolation)	
accepting vs. rejecting	Uncertain.. It's not rejecting but also isn't outwardly accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Talks about the guarding of borders

72: The lies about Elliniko, and the refugee and immigrant victims

Article Characteristics	
Article number	72
Date	16 th April 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	George Papanikolaou
Affiliation of Author	Ex MEP and mayor of Glyfada
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/856992/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ta-yeydh-gia-to-ellhniko-me-8ymata-metanastes-kai-katoikoys
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The lies about Elliniko and the refugee and immigrant victims</i></p> <p>The author is talking about the terrible conditions at Elliniko, which is a site in Athens hosting refugees that used to be the old airport. He talks about how it is a risk to public health and how they are suffering so much. They have 5500 people with 40 chemical toilets and there is no plan about what to do with them.</p> <p>He is very critical of this and says that the local residents and the volunteers are the only ones who are holding the situation up, but must be helped.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	
accepting vs. rejecting	

economic effects	
securitization of refugees	
sectoral issues	
transportation and border areas	

73: An insulting simulation

Article Characteristics	
Article number	73
Date	27 th April 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/857969/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/yvri-stikh-prosomoiwsh
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>An insulting simulation</i></p> <p>The article is describing and condemning the Norwegian minister who jumped into the Aegean to see what it would feel like to be a refugee. He argues that not only is it nowhere near like what it would feel like to be a refugee, as she was wearing a full life buoyancy suit and ‘rescued’ 2 minutes after jumping in, but it is also insulting to all those who have had to undergo this perilous journey.</p> <p>He hopes she will never understand what this is, because it must be terrible.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Very accepting and sympathising of refugees and the treacherous journeys they have undertaken
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation	Sea crossings

and border areas	
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74: Decalogue for the refugee crisis and its management

Article Characteristics	
Article number	74
Date	20 th April 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Thanos Ntokos
Affiliation of Author	General manager of ELIAMEP
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/857417/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/dekalogos-gia-to-prosfygikometanasteytiko
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Decalogue for the refugee crisis and its management</i> This is interesting because of the previous article (number 57) from the Vima paper. This is similar in the set up as it gives ten steps which should be taken in order to address the refugee crisis. This article takes the angle that Greece needs; an experienced person taking charge with experience in humanitarian crisis, not dependent if they are from Greece or not; financial management skills; good connections with all surrounding countries and good diplomacy between all; better infrastructure to host all incoming people; an end to occupation of public spaces (such as ports); NGOS complying with legislation and pushing for arrests of smugglers; a good integration policy; more training for all involved; active participation in the 'European coastguard' but most of all, the author argues there needs to be a big change in mentality and cooperation.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about the need for integration strategies but doesn't go into too much detail as this is just a list of things the author thinks need to be done.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting and unlike most of the articles I have read, forward thinking for the future not just the present situation
economic effects	Only talks about how EU funds need to be managed efficiently and effectively by someone with experience in this field.
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Coastguard needs to work all together.

75: A prayer for the people

Article Characteristics	
Article number	75
Date	19 th April 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/857303/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/mia-proseyxh-pros-toys-an8rwpoys
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>A prayer for the people</i></p> <p>This article is talking about the pope visiting the refugee camps in Greece and how the author feels that not even the pope could convince the politicians to become human and see the problems in front of them, but maybe it will be able to convince the ordinary people who look at him with respect and admiration. He ends by saying that maybe we will wake from our European giant communal slumber and do something about this terrible situation.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Pushes for more awareness and more acceptance of refugees
accepting vs. rejecting	Very accepting and pushing others to be the same and further than being accepting he is calling for change in a way.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

76: Programme on health security of migrants

Article Characteristics	
Article number	76
Date	30 th April 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left

Author	Alekos Papadopoulos
Affiliation of Author	Former minister of health
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=796161&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Programme on health security of migrants</i> This article is about the threat of new diseases that the influx of migrants and refugees could bring to Europe. The author is calling for a pan European approach of recording and acting upon the issue of migrant health.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	He wants to incorporate refugees/migrants into a separate health system so that their health can be tracked and monitored to make sure that there no problems arising for the health of people in Europe
accepting vs. rejecting	He has accepted the fact that all these people are here and coming but doesn't necessarily seem very proactive in his acceptance. He does though, look on the long term scale instead of shorter term.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

77: Irresponsible government for the situation in Idomeni?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	77
Date	12 th April 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	-
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=791807&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Irresponsible government for the situation in Idomeni?</i> The article is criticising the government for not taking action sooner on the camps in Idomeni, Piraeus and some islands. It says that it has been left out of control and it is shameful of them to have left it to get so bad. The author proposes that they step in as soon as possible to make sure it doesn't even get any worse.

Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks of the isolation of the people in the boundary camps and how terrible the situation for them is.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting and condemning of the gov.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Talks a lot of idomeni and of the port.

78: What hides behind the headscarf?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	78
Date	3 rd April 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Anna Diamantopoulou
Affiliation of Author	President for the Network for Reform in Greece and Europe
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=789435&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>What hides behind the headscarf?</i></p> <p>This is an article arguing for the importance of integration of refugees into society. It talks about the various attempts that we have made throughout Europe but also how we have failed; describing the situation of the integration of muslims in Europe as people who live parallel to the society but not fully integrated into it. She argues that in times of peace this is fine, and functions peacefully without a problem. The issues arise when hardship such as economic crises come about and that is when extreme parties are formed and more tensions arise. Women are especially vulnerable because the headscarf they wear is almost like a symbol for Islam and religion and so they are not able to blend so well into societies. The author argues that one of the most important things will be now for the greek government to create a good plan for the integration of the refugees into society; it has already started with schools, but it should happen with the help of experts and quickly.</p>

Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Very much about the importance of integration into society, not only in Greece but Europe as a whole.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	Talks about how economics, such as economic crises can lead to issues for refugees/immigrants
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

79: The two issues surrounding the refugee crisis in Greece

Article Characteristics	
Article number	79
Date	10 th April 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Dimitris Christopoulos
Affiliation of Author	vice president of the International Federation of Human Rights, Associate Professor of Political Science at Panteion University.
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=791181&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The two issues surrounding the refugee crisis in Greece</i></p> <p>The article takes the stance that there are two main problems that Greece is facing; the implementation of the EU-Turkey deal and the long-term issue of how to deal with the refugees already in the country.</p> <p>The author argues that the problem of the turkey deal is that there is a lot of legal frameworks wrong with it and that it will be very difficult for Greece to implement the deal and send back hundreds of people en masse because it will have to filter through mothers and children and families and make sure it knows who are refugees and who are migrants, also having to assume at the same time that Turkey is a safe third country.</p> <p>Secondly the author argues that Greece needs to stop thinking of</p>

	itself as a transit country and as a destination country, even if that is by accident. This means that the government will need to very quickly start thinking about a way of integrating and setting up the infrastructure for hosting the 50,000 refugees in the country.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	This is very important for the author and the main thing that he talks about is the shift in thinking of the country and the government in order to be able to set up the appropriate infrastructure to take care of people
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting and wanting them to well looked after
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

80: Open the hotspots again!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	80
Date	24 th April 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Fred Abrahams and Eva Kose
Affiliation of Author	Human Rights Watch Researchers
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=794716&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Open the hotspots again!</i> This article is arguing for the need for the hotspots to be opened again in order to register and receive migrants in a dignified way, rather than the inhumane detention centres where people are now arriving.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-

accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Border areas- it is talking about the islands and how people are still arriving, therefore need to be received properly.

May 2016

81: The republic of Idomeni

Article Characteristics	
Article number	81
Date	19 th May 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Takis Theodoropoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/860342/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-dhmokratia-ths-aidomenhs
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The republic of Idomeni</i> The article is talking about the way that idomeni has become so separated from the rest of Greece that it has become its own society governed by its own rules. The author is quite critical, implying that Greece fears doing anything about the area and that it is controlling Greece. He mentions several different problems such as the economic effects of having the railways closed, the drugs and crime that are arising and how people fear it.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Very much about the isolation of idomeni, and how it has been left to its own devices too much
accepting vs. rejecting	Quite rejecting, talking about how we seem to perceive all refugees as Syrians but they are not and there are also Moroccans and Tunisians and others who are here to get work or become criminals.
economic effects	Closure of the railways for 60 days meant huge losses the author says.

securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	All about idomeni.

82: The bill of idomeni

Article Characteristics	
Article number	82
Date	20 th may 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Stavros Tzimas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/860501/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ologariasmos-apo-thn-eidomenh
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The bill of Idomeni</i> This article is talking about how expensive it is to keep the railways closed and all the money that is being wasted as a result of it. It is very critical of the government for failing to intervene and not be able to stand up to the refugees who are occupying it. The author feels they should be moved and the railways freed, and the government should take control of the chaos.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The isolation from the government and the way that idomeni is left to its own devices
accepting vs. rejecting	Kind of rejecting, imply9ng that refugees are costing Greece a lot of money, but also very critical of the gov. and its response to the situation.
economic effects	All the money lost from the closed railway
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	All about borders of Idomeni.

83: Are those who rule ashamed?

Article Characteristics

Article number	83
Date	25 th May 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Paschos mandravelis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/861084/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ntre-pontai-poy-kyvernoyn
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Are those who rule ashamed?</i> The article is talking about the evacuation of idomeni and the fact that journalists were not allowed. The author is questioning why they were not allowed and whether it was because the riot police and others who were ordered to remove the people were doing something shameful.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting of refugees and saying that they shouldn't be treated with violence
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Idomeni evacuation

84: Undocumented Idomeni

Article Characteristics	
Article number	84
Date	27 th May 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/861391/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/anidwth-eidomenh
Article Analysis	

Article Overview	Article: <i>Undocumented Idomeni</i> The article is talking about all the undocumented people and lives that have died or gone missing on their refugee journey. It talks about all the thousands of people who have died trying to cross the Mediterranean, all the people lost somewhere in the mountains trying to cross to Europe, all the people who have 'disappeared' within European cities. Finally it questions why the clearing of idomeni was undocumented and what that means.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Isolation
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting and condemning of gov. response
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Borders and transport of refugees, how dangerous it is.

85: Investment 'refugees'.

Article Characteristics	
Article number	85
Date	20 th May 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Tasoula Karaiskaki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/860497/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ependysh-prosfyges
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Investment 'refugees'</i> This article is talking about the way that economiss are trying to pose the refugee issue as something of an economic opportunity for Europe but she argues that there are so many missing parts, like all the investments the refugees have to make and all the black market money that is being spent on people traffickers for example. The author believes that by turning the issue into something economic, you are taking away a human aspect from it, and while

	we are all thinking about how much of an investment it can be for Europe and how much it will benefit (or not) economically, we are not thinking about what they have lost and are still losing.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	Talks about the possible economic effects that incoming refugees can have into Europe, and how it will spur the economy to have more people coming in
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	Talks about the way that refugees wouldn't detract from jobs because they would take lower jobs that they are trained for
transportation and border areas	-

86: The new threat

Article Characteristics	
Article number	86
Date	29 th may 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Ioannis Kartalis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=803302&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The new threat</i> The author is talking about the fact that the new route is opening up in from Libya to Italy and because the isalmic state controls a large part of Libya, 'Jihadis are sending terrorist fighters across with their families dressed in American clothes carrying papers in English, to try and seem like incoming refugees.' The author argues that this will lead to an increase in extremist parties like the extreme right. He uses the example of Austria electing a right wing president.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration,	-

isolation)	
accepting vs. rejecting	Uncertain, he doesn't seem to be rejecting, but is thinking much more about what will happen in Europe rather than what will happen to refugees
economic effects	Economic uncertainty will also contribute to extreme political ideals he says
securitization of refugees	Says that Jihadis are sending terrorist across from Libya, if Libya is controlled by ISIS completely, it will be very difficult to control this
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Borders of Europe not just Greece.

87: The return of terror

Article Characteristics	
Article number	87
Date	22 nd May 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Ioannis Kartalis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=801306&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The return of terror</i> This article is talking about how there is an increase in terrorism and terror attacks across Europe and how people are becoming more and more fearful. This is increased by the incoming flow of refugees. This is a period where terror is returning and the only way that we can do anything about it is to stop the source of the marginalised populations and become more inclusive, because all the attackers so far have come from Europe, but from marginalised communities within Europe.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talking about the isolation and marginalisation that a lot of Islamic communities face which leads to an increase in radicalisation. Talks about the need for better intergration and inclusion.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting.
economic effects	-
securitization	All about the threat that people feel that they pose.

of refugees	
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

88: Stop concealing the problem of refugees

Article Characteristics	
Article number	88
Date	19 th May 2016
Newspaper	To Vima
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	-
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=800554&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Stop concealing the problem of refugees</i> This article is writing about the fact that the government is ignoring and hiding the problem of the refugee crisis. The author talks about the way that in the past Greece was able to deal with large numbers of refugees, but that it is now failing. The author calls for governmental action to tackle the growing isolation of the refugees in the country.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Isolation, especially in idomeni where it is becoming its own kind of country.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	Mentions the economic effects of the train lines closing
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

89: The Mandela message

Article Characteristics	
Article number	89
Date	31 st May 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/ Left
Author	George Malouchos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=803937&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>The Mandela message</i></p> <p>The article is talking about the importance of loving your country and loving Greece. In order to start fixing all the multiple issues that Greece has, especially in terms of the refugee crisis, it first needs to have more of a unity and a sense of pride. Then they can start working towards a new start all together.</p> <p>Sorry this is not super related..</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Neither nor
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

90: The refugees, the populists and the European vagueness

Article Characteristics	
Article number	90
Date	19 th May 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left

Author	Ana Palacio
Affiliation of Author	Former Spanish foreign minister
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=800589&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The refugees, the populists and the European vagueness</i> This article is about the need for Europe to tackle three problems in terms of the current refugee situation; the protection of refugees, as defined by European and international law, the development of an effective immigration policy which will benefit the EU, and the management of discontent migrant communities second and third generation in Europe. The article gives a small piece of advice on how to do each of these things. The author urges Greeks to know their responsibilities, be understanding and united
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about the importance of this, especially if Europe wants to prevent more events like Brussels.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting, but only for those who need the protection, for other types of migrants, the author argues we need to have other measures in place to see if they qualify.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Talks about prevention through integration and points out that recent terrorist attackers have been European.
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Need to have clear idea of who we will allow in or not in Europe

June 2016

91: Six Greece's

Article Characteristics	
Article number	91
Date	22 nd June 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of	Journalist

Author	
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/864543/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/e3i-ellades-3erizwmenoi
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Six Greece's</i> This article starts by stating the extreme ridiculousness and hypocrisy of refugee day, then pondering upon the facts and figures released by UNHCR on the number of people forced to leave their homes; 65.3 million – this the author points out, is equivalent to six Greece's (whose population is about 11 million)
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Written in an accepting tone, and talking about how terrible it must be
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

92: Unfenced pasture

Article Characteristics	
Article number	92
Date	12th June 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	-
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/863440/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/3efr-ago-ampeli
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Unfenced pasture</i> This article is talking about the lack of regulation in place in Athens regarding the refugee situation and how people are illegally squatting places without any state intervention. The author argues that this is not the way to deal with these problems and the laissez-faire approach will not work.

Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Isolation of people, which is leading to disorder – the author argues
accepting vs. rejecting	Not sure, doesn't seem very accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

93: The solution seems more like an incantation than a prospect

Article Characteristics	
Article number	93
Date	5 th June 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Maria Katsounaki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/862131/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-lysh-moiazei-me-3orki-para-me-prooptikh
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The solution seems more like an incantation than a prospect</i> The author is talking about the incredible amount of vagueness that is present in today's talk of refugees; it talks about how recent news said that between 700-900 migrants were lost at sea a few days ago – this is a staggering number, and the difference between the two numbers is also huge. She also talks about the refugee minors who are currently number 1800 and how they are also not sure about them. There is so little certainty in anything regarding the refugee crisis. She mentions how people are perceived as something far away, something visible yet invisible and all the time, they live among us.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Referring to the isolation of migrants and refugees and how they are not integrated at all into our lives, seen as something 'other' and far away even though they are in the same streets as us.

accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Only about the number of people dying at sea.

94: Between two forms of poverty

Article Characteristics	
Article number	94
Date	3 rd June 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Maria Katsounaki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/862301/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ana-mesa-se-dyo-e3a8liwseis
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Between two forms of poverty</i></p> <p>The article is talking about rising tensions in the camps across Greece and how people are getting more and more tense and stressed, more fights and various forms of violence are emerging between different ethnic groups and how each group feels they are not be treated as fairly as the other.</p> <p>The author points out that many NGOs who are helping the refugees are also working for Greek people living under the poverty line. One NGO is giving food to refugees when it has a waiting list of 7000 Greek people that also want help. The author questions, whether without soon intervention the Greeks who are suffering and living in poverty will start feeling unfairly treated compared to the refugees.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about rivalry between groups, and also the feeling of Greeks towards Refugees, shows that there is an 'us and them mentality'
accepting vs. rejecting	Uncertain, I think more accepting than rejecting but not super clear
economic effects	Points out what a huge economic stress Greece is already in and how this could exacerbate it
securitization	-

of refugees	
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

95: Left sided humanism

Article Characteristics	
Article number	95
Date	3 rd June 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Socrates Tsihlias
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/862302/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/peri-aristeroy-an8rwpismoy
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Left sided humanism</p> <p>The article is arguing that the best way to deal with these refugees who have now been left to chaos and squalor and who are getting in a worse and worse situation by the day, is to have more control over them, especially by the state. He says however, if you ever try to even suggest that, you are accused of being an extreme conservative with stereotypical ideas of these people and how they need to be dealt with or that you have no feeling. He argues that people are denying the fact that amongst these people who have arrived, there might also be criminals and crazy people who would do bad things. He also says that at the end, it will be the refugees who suffer, because they will live in conditions that continue to degenerate further and further by the day.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Believes that the state should oversee what they are doing in the places that they are living, so I guess that means mainly in the camps. Seems to be a little less isolated.
accepting vs. rejecting	He is not super accepting but I think he does want the best for people.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Saying that some refugees are causing problems in the camps, cites the fires in Lesbos, fights between ethnic groups.
sectoral issues	-
transportation	-

and border areas	
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96: Logical reactions to the implementation of Sharia laws

Article Characteristics	
Article number	96
Date	18 th June 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Ioannis Marino
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=808724&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Logical reactions to the implementation of Sharia law</i> This article starts by explaining that the municipality of Quebec in Canada refused to accept a request from a Muslim family, to not serving pork in the school canteen. The author argues that this was the right response, because if people want to live in Canada they have to fit in to the traditions and way of life. The author continues to argue that in Europe we have become too accepting and lenient in our own ways of life and are being taken over by outside traditions and cultural ways – he talks about how London elected a muslim mayor and how in Greece, there are Albanian parents asking for a separated school, without Greek children. The author says that if Muslims don't want to live in Canada, or in any other non muslim country, there are also 57 Muslim countries that they could go to.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Very much about the integration of people into society. The author is very closed in terms of the idea of having a mixed culture and believes people need to adapt to the traditions of the hosting country.
accepting vs. rejecting	Not very accepting, seems to think that Greece and Europe will lose its cultural identity
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

I'm sorry, I really couldn't find any other opinion pieces from 'To vima' for June 2016 that were relevant enough, it was all about Brexit in the news, sorry!

July 2016

97: The terrorist threat will change Europe

Article Characteristics	
Article number	97
Date	27 th July 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Alexis Papahelas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/869020/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-tromokratikh-apeilh-8a-alla3ei-thn-eyrwph
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The terrorist threat will change Europe</i> This article is arguing that the threat of islam will make Europe more fragmented, that people believe we cant have a fortified Europe so will start voting more and more to have fortified countries within Europe instead. The author believes that Islam seems to be the “elephant in the room which we cannot talk about” and seems to think that the more we don't do anything or that we persecute or are suspicious of muslims, the more they will go to isis.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about a clear segregation between Muslim communities in Europe, and the fact that people will build more and more walls to keep them out.
accepting vs. rejecting	Kind of rejecting, seems to think it is the fault of islam, not necessarily speaking of all refugees.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Threats from ISIS
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Borders fortified and fragmentation of Europe.

98: Antiracism without a plan

Article Characteristics	
Article number	98
Date	23 rd July 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Apostoles Lakasas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/868568/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/anti-ratsismos-xwris-sxedio
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Antiracism without a plan</i> This article is talking about a girl in a German school that shouted about how much she hates Allah and that all refugees copulate with goats. It uses this point to accentuate the difficulties that Greece will face with implementing its plan of integrating all refugee children into schools this coming September. The author poses the questions of whether both the students will be ready, and will be at the correct level, and if the teachers will know how to deal with this situation. He argues that this happened as a result of populism.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Author argues that this is an attempt of integration without a real plan, for how it will actually be carried out.
accepting vs. rejecting	Not sure whether hes accepting or not, seems to be quite critical of the idea, but not sure if hes critical of refugees in general.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

99: Love at the port

Article Characteristics	
Article number	99
Date	30 th July 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Takis Theodoropoulos

Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/869501/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/erwt-es-sto-limani
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Love at the port</i> This article is written in a slightly sarcastic way, talking about the love story that one politician had with the refugees at the port who he went to see, just the final day before they were 'cleared away'. It is questioning what will happen to these people and writing about the condescending way that they are dealt with by the government.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	All the port and elliniko refugees supposedly cleared and transported to camps.

100: Amoral Blair-ism

Article Characteristics	
Article number	100
Date	8 th July 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Pandelis Boukalas
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/866723/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/amoralistikos-mplerismos
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Amoral Blair-ism This article is talking about the way that the UK refuses to take responsibility for the refugees it has caused and will not take people. The author argues that Blairs decision to invade Iraq in 2003 meant that thousands of people have suffered. The reluctance now to take

	people in is shameful.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting and condemning the UK for not being so accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	About the UKs basically closed borders

101: Transnational electronic identification in tackling the refugee problem

Article Characteristics	
Article number	101
Date	9 th July 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Alexandros Sideridis
Affiliation of Author	Athens University
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=813960&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Transnational electronic identification in tackling the refugee problem.</i></p> <p>The author argues that the use of technology, namely an e-identification system would help greatly in the registering and processing of refugee applications. He says its not about monitoring but much more about having an electronic identity – something which is already in place in many places across Europe.</p> <p>The article talks about the way that it could be used for voting in their home countries and used to help try and stabilise their source countries and can help support refugees to go home when they can. (bit vague about that)</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation,	-

integration, isolation)	
accepting vs. rejecting	I think its accepting but its quite a different angle. He talks about them not really wanting to be here in the long term and how this could help them go home. But he also wants to help them in their registration process
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Borderless identification

102: Wanted: National Plan for refugee and migration problem

Article Characteristics	
Article number	102
Date	9 th July 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Panagiotis Kokoris
Affiliation of Author	Secretary of social insurance
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=813964&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Wanted: National Plan for refugee and migration problem</i> This article is discussing the huge amounts of money that have been given to Greece in order to deal with the refugee problem, and the author is calling for action to finally take place in terms of a long term coherent plan. “It’s easy to open your home to hospitality, yet embarrassing not to offer your guests the basic infrastructure for that hosting
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Making a long term plan about how they will host these people in the country, so in a way hinting at integration plans too, although its not explicitly said
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic	Talks about the money we have received to do this and vague

effects	estimates of what it will cost
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

103: The world after the murder of Nice

Article Characteristics	
Article number	103
Date	17th July 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Antonis Karakousis
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=815655&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The world after the murder of Nice</i> This article doesn't directly relate to incoming refugees but just in general the sentiment in Europe and the rising fear of attacks. The author is talking about how right wing extremism is on the rise and how the world needs a new agreement on how to deal with the problems and disparities because this is getting critical.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	-
accepting vs. rejecting	Uncertain but I think the author is pushing for having solution stop problems that people are facing to stop the increase in terror.
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Not explicitly refugees but maybe more about the divide between east and western people within europe
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Increase in borders and nationalism. `

August 2016

104: What is humanism?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	104
Date	23 rd August 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Maria Katsounaki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/871939/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ti-einai-an8rwpismos
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>What is humanism?</i></p> <p>The author is arguing that people are often talking about the refugee crisis and often writing about what humanitarian works needs to be and how it should be done. The author also points out that peoples perceptions change about the refugee crisis, according to key events that are happening throughout the year (e.g. the death of Aylan, the Paris attacks, Brussels etc).</p> <p>However, the author argues that the only real humanism and good thing that we can do for these people is to realise that they will be here for a long time and that we need to make that stay for them more pleasant than it is now.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about the living conditions of the people who are stuck in the country, she refers to them being ‘parked’ here.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	Talks about the effects of refugees on the tourism industry and the arguments made regarding the decrease in tourism on the islands and the discourse surrounding the differing views.
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Refers to the islands and the fact that people are coming in but not more than that

105: Humanitarians and human guilt

Article Characteristics

Article number	105
Date	19 th august 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Nikos Konstantaras
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/871546/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/an8rwpistes-kai-an8rwpines-enoxes
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Humanitarians and Human guilt</i> Article is questioning why so many people are engaged in helping the refugees who are arriving in Greece and Europe but why so few are focusing their energies on stopping the problem at its source. The author talks about how the wave of refugees meant that people had to face the problems very much first hand and didn't have time to take decisions on whether to deal with it or not, such as in the Greek islands where people arrived. He argues that history will judge the people on their responses to the crisis. The authors ends by arguing that we need to intervene in these types of issues so that the Syrian war isn't repeated again, otherwise we will keep having one day a year where we celebrate humanitarianism and the problems still prevailing (referring to world humanitarian day).
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about different ways that different countries have received and welcomed refugees (or not in some cases)
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but thinks we should be helping people to be able to stay where they are rather than focusing all the attention on when they arrive
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Borders are the ones who are the most quickly forced to act.

106: Tolerance in a liberal state

Article Characteristics	
Article number	106
Date	15 th August 2016 (printed originally in NYT 23 rd May 2016)

Newspaper	Kathimerini and NYT
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	William Egginton
Affiliation of Author	NYT
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/871049/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/h-anehtikohta-se-mia-fileley8erh-politeia original and longer version in NYT http://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/23/opinion/letter-from-austria-is-europes-tolerant-society-backfiring.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>Tolerance in a liberal state</i></p> <p>This article has already been printed in the New York Times, about 3 months prior to its printing in the Kathimerini, however the new york times version is a bit longer. The article is talking about the ways of integrating a new culture and belief system into a seemingly liberal society. The main things that have been cut from the original are more about the USA, the kathiemrini version focuses more on the EU problem and context.</p> <p>The article is essentially questioning what the balance between tolerance and acceptance is with being liberal and open to everything.</p>
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about integration in a way, because of the challenges that will be faced in the future with integrating people into Europe
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

107: Ghost busters

Article Characteristics	
Article number	107
Date	10 th August 2016

Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Takis Theodoropoulos
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/870699/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/kynhgoi-fantasmaw
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Ghost Busters</i> This article is a comparison of 2015 to 2016 and how people feel that they were going to try and do better in 2016 than 2015. The author is very sceptical about all of this and highlights all the things that have gone wrong, that people said would have been better. He argues that conditions on the islands are still terrible and overcrowded and unmanageable and that Greece will and has yet again found itself unprepared to deal with the problem at hand.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Talks about the lack of planning for dealing with people in terms of infrastructure.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting in a way but more criticising the gov. than pro refugees
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	Talks about how the security issues that arose throughout the year have been almost an excuse for people
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Islands suffering tremendously still.

108: Dissemination of violence

Article Characteristics	
Article number	108
Date	6 th august 2016
Newspaper	Kathimerini
Affiliation	Centre/Right
Author	Georgos Bourdaras
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.kathimerini.gr/870390/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/diaxysh-ths-vias

Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>Dissemination of violence</i> The article is talking about the rise in hate speech and hateful rhetoric that is happening across Europe and across Greece. The author argues that it was something that was always present but just didn't make itself known until more difficult circumstances arose, so when people are doing well and are healthy and economically stable they don't seem to show their racism as much as when they are feeling pressure. This, he argues, is happening in regards to refugees.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	People are isolating people for being refugees and increase in racism and discrimination are occurring
accepting vs. rejecting	The author is against the rise in racism and accepting of refugees
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

109: The refugee crisis can't be addressed with theories alone

Article Characteristics	
Article number	109
Date	24 th August 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	-
Affiliation of Author	-
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=823478&wordsinarticle=%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CF%86%CF%85%CE%B3%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: <i>The refugee crisis can't be addressed with theories alone</i> The author is arguing that the conditions are still terrible and people are still arriving but now we have an even bigger problem of dealing with the people who are here and are here to stay for a longer time. The author calls for a comprehensive plan to deal with the thousands and thousands of people who are here in Greece, living in terrible conditions. With good intentions and solidarity you are only managing to gloss over the surface of the problems, the author argues, you need good long term planning in order to actually deal

	with the people here.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The author poses questions such as how children will be educated and what teacher will know how to deal with an influx of refugee children in their class for example. The author says we need to ask for help from experts and from Europe to deal with the situation.
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting
economic effects	-
securitization of refugees	-
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	Islands need support the author says.

110: A rendezvous in New York and four ways to deal with the refugee crisis.

Article Characteristics	
Article number	110
Date	19 th August 2016
Newspaper	To vima
Affiliation	Centre/Left
Author	Richard Hass
Affiliation of Author	president of the Council on Foreign Relations.
Link to article	http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=822567&wordsinarticle=%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%82
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: <i>A rendezvous in New York and four ways to deal with the refugee crisis.</i></p> <p>The article starts by talking about the conference on refugees coming up in NY in September. The author is highlighting concerns about security and raising extremism in far right politics. The author is arguing that there are four things which need to be done for refugees, the first and most important is to take action so that people are not forced to leave their country or to create conditions for return. This would require more to be done to put an end to the war in Syria, but unfortunately there is no consensus on this. The second way to help refugees is to ensure the safety and wellbeing. The third way is to dedicate resources to the UNHCR. The fourth is to find places for refugees to go.</p> <p>The author believes that the international lack of community will mean that people are less reluctant to be the ones who take people in</p>

	and deal with the problem.
Modes of incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Doesn't really go into a lot of detail
accepting vs. rejecting	Accepting but doesn't really say that much about how.
economic effects	Funding needs to go to the UNHCR, he says
securitization of refugees	People get scared because of potential threats
sectoral issues	-
transportation and border areas	-

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120: THIS IS WHY THE REFUGEE CRISIS LOOKS BIGGER THAN IT ACTUALLY IS

149

October 2015

1: Let them all be Germans

Article Characteristics	
Article number	1
Date	3 rd October 2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Thorsten Denkler
Affiliation of Author	Left – political U.S. correspondent for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/gauck-am-tag-der-deutschen-einheit-lasst-sie-alle-deutsche-sein-1.2675761
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Let them all be Germans</p> <p>President of State ‘Gauck’ gave a public speech for the 25th day of German Unity in which he reminisces on the situation before the fall of the Berlin Wall: refugees on the Hungarian-austrian borders attempting to enter West Germany. He (and the author alike) sees Germany as a hosting country for refugees – in the past and present. The largest challenge will be the unity in ideologies, which he emphasises, must be achieved. Not everyone can enter the country declaring his/her views as the ultimate ones. Germany stands for human dignity, freedom, unity and tolerance. He calls upon these values in Germans who reject refugees as well as newly arrived refugees finding their place in German society.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – the big emphasis of this article is that ideologies have to meet. In the light of Germany’s history, Gauck reminds his audience of the values that Germany stands for, that the goal is a homogenous ideology, not ethnic homogeneity.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A

Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A
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2: Paradise with Faults

Article Characteristics	
Article number	2
Date	01.10.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	left/liberal
Author	Stefan Ulrich
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/writer/lawyer
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/deutschland-paradies-mit-fehlern-1.2673601
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Paradise with Faults</p> <p>This article says that Germany found its identity in the consensus on liberal values – hence an identity that has little to do with nationality and race. This is because of Germany’s history and only recent reunification. This also has consequences for how we should welcome refugees. If the ‘newcomers’ agree to our consensus they should be able to become part of Germany the same way East Germans did a few decades ago. Ulrich suggests that Europe should overcome its nationalistic phase, in which it attempts to protect the values it has been fighting for and instead invite new members to benefit from its ideals.</p>

Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

3: Elegant Path

Article Characteristics	
Article number	3
Date	11.10.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Cerstin Gammel
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – deputy editorial director for economic policy at Süddeutsche Zeitung
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlings-soli-eleganter-weg-1.2686686
Article Analysis	
Article	Article: Elegant Path

Overview	This article is concerned with the financing of issues that arose due to the influx of refugees inside the European Union (securing borders, cooperation with Turkey, etc.). The author suggests that the EU should pay with money taken from the EU budget rather than national budgets. The recommendation here is to make all EU states pay and thereby at least financially involving them into the process of aiding refugees in Europe.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – this is an economic opinion piece in which the author suggests all EU member states even those not directly affected by the influx of refugees should make a financial contribution.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

4: Why empathy gets lost

Article Characteristics	
Article number	4
Date	15.10.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung

Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Sebastian Gierke
Affiliation of Author	Left – deputy head of department policy at SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-in-deutschland-warum-das-mitleid-verloren-geht-1.2683866
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Why empathy gets lost</p> <p>Following the enthusiasm and great willingness to welcome refugees to Germany suddenly sees a crass contrast: an unwillingness and perceived incapability to welcome ‘all’ refugees. The author reminds the reader of the demographic and economic opportunity and benefits the influx of refugees will have on the long run. He concludes by saying ‘relax – and enjoy.’</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	While the author does not mention the particular ways in which Germany should attempt to incorporate refugees into the professional world, he makes it his emphasis to point out the economic power and additional work force the incoming refugees present.

5: An Emergency

Article Characteristics	
Article number	5
Date	29.10.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Heribert Prantl
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/lawyer- head of the <u>domestic policy</u> department of the <u>Süddeutsche Zeitung</u> .
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/bundeswehr-hilfe-ein-notfall-1.2713673
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: An Emergency?</p> <p>This article is concerned with the role of the German army in the refugee crisis. Article 35 of the German civil code states that the German army must intervene and offer its support in situations of severe danger and emergencies. The author attempts a discussion on whether or not the refugee crisis must be considered such an emergency. He is of the opinion that the army can and should offer first aid in transporting refugees, take over logistics for food and shelter: the army should ‘work for peace without weapons’.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – the article assumes a total acceptance of refugees to Germany and is concerned with more efficient ways to meet the basic needs of refugees in Germany.
Securitization of Refugees	Emphasis on the need for more support in securitization: calling upon the help of the German army, which has thus far not been involved in the securitization of refugees.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees)	N/A

applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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6: Is Angela Merkel just getting started?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	6
Date	01.10.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Thomas Schmid
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/Editor of Die Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/article147081660/Startet-Angela-Merkel-gerade-durch.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Is Angela Merkel just getting started?</p> <p>This article is a summary of Merkels political career with an emphasis on her coming from the former east. The author assumes that she defends a policy of welcoming refugees to Germany because she herself wanted to flee from the GDR. The author states that Europe must face the decision Merkel took and that Europe will necessarily change in many ways in the coming years. Germans can choose to condemn this or to live with it and actively co-create Europe's future. In the end he makes a comment along the lines of 'how funny would it be if the new Europe would have been created by woman that came from a small, awkward country that didn't know anything about the world or migration'.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Ambiguous (he seems to be neither for nor against but says that regardless of what he would wish for in an ideal world, refugees will be coming into the country and the best way of dealing with this will be a constructive way)

Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

7: We must prevent criminal refugee gangs!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	7
Date	07.10.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Christian Stahl
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/author
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article147330215/Wir-muessen-kriminelle-Fluechtlingsgangs-verhindern.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: We must prevent criminal refugee gangs!</p> <p>This is a commentary by Christian Stahl who has done extensive research and shot a documentary on the gangs of Neukölln, Berlin's neighbourhood with the highest percentage of immigrants. Stahl describes his observations with minors who become involved with crime as the only occupation that will provide them with more money than the state welfare. The generation of Palestinians who fled to Germany after the Lebanon war could be a future vision of what will happen with Syrian refugees if Germany does not take better measures</p>

	to offer perspectives. Stahl emphasizes that refugees must be allowed to work from the day they arrive, that children must be granted an education without fearing deportation. If Germany fails to make refugees feel like they are German, like they are welcome and inherently part of German society there is bound to be a continuation of refugee crime and gangs.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration: learning from the lessons of previously attempted immigration of Palestinians, Germany must change its course of action. Being able to work and receiving a good education is key. What he believes to have seen in his research is that all refugees simply finally want to belong. In this case to German society.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (although he sees the difficulties and problems that Germany had to face with refugees and immigrants previously and finds that criminality is always a personal choice, he believes that more acceptance instead of less is the answer to this problem)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Many refugee children attend school with the thought in mind that they might be deported any time. Furthermore, many refugees are granted asylum but are not allowed to work, obtain a driver's license, etc. Therefore the motivation to attend school regularly and strive for a good education is very limited. If one knows that there cannot possibly be a career after even the best of A-levels, it is not surprising that many refugees and immigrant students do not care to attend school regularly. He also mentions the need of providing work for refugees and immigrants from day one. The state welfare refugees live off who do not have work permits is ultimately tax payer's money, which he thinks is not fair. Refugees should be part of society, working and paying taxes themselves.

8: Welcoming culture has burned down Schengen country

Article Characteristics	
Article number	8
Date	13.10.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Michael Stürmer

Affiliation of Author	Historian/ right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kolumnen/Weltlage/article147558710/Willkommen-skultur-hat-Schengenland-abgebrannt.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Welcoming culture has burned down Schengen country</p> <p>This article assumes that Germany's decision to open borders and welcome refugees to Germany (and Europe) was a selfish act and will destroy the E.U. The author describes that while Britain and France had experience with immigrants and multicultural societies in their country, Germany did not and more or less blindly invited everyone inside. This was foolish, the author says, and provoked France and the UK to resent the Schengen area.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rejecting (for the sake of the Schengen area)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

9: Rituals of outrage because of Pegida are replacement-actions

Article Characteristics	
Article number	9
Date	20.10.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulrich Clauß
Affiliation of Author	Weekly editor of Welt/ conservative/right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article147851564/Empoerungsrituale-wegen-Pegida-sind-Ersatzhandlung.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Rituals of outrage because of Pegida are replacement-actions</p> <p>The article is a criticism to the German media making outraged articles the dominant discourse (the hate-speaking right-wing movement) in current news. The author finds that much rather the practical issue of dealing with the large number of refugees who have entered Germany should be discussed. One should try and find creative solutions rather than finding a distraction in criticizing Pegida. If Germany fails to do this, he believes that the right-wing voices may ultimately have much more reason and gain popularity.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration/assimilation (either way, as long as there is a debate/a solution)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	Not really mentioned but certainly not by focussing on inner-political issues such as Pegida, according to the author.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in	N/A

Germany, employment in general)	
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10: We need a Hartz-commission for integration

Article Characteristics	
Article number	10
Date	29.10.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Wolfgang Steiger
Affiliation of Author	Conservative/Christian (he is the general secretary of the CDU economic council)
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article148211470/Wir-brauchen-eine-Hartz-Kommission-zur-Integration.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: We need a Hartz-commission for integration</p> <p>The author speaks from a political point of view: what Germany needs is a strict law for numbers of refugees that can be let into the country and in which ways they will then be integrated into the country (on a policy level). He condemns that some issues are taboo and one must admit and unemployment amongst immigrants is much higher than amongst Germans hence the potential many saw in the arriving refugees might be false. Germany should therefore only accept refugees with high skills.</p> <p>‘Hartz’ has been a very controversial policy for unemployment in Germany. It offers a (relative low) sum of welfare to unemployed citizens and requires them to work – possibly in any assigned job – if he/she seems to lack motivation to find a job themselves.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration – though not so much socially, rather economically
Accepting vs. Rejecting	ambiguous
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral	Emphasizes that refugees should work in order not to cost the state as

Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	much money as they do now.
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November 2015

11: Pleads to the Economy

Article Characteristics	
Article number	11
Date	3.11.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Cerstin Gammelin
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – deputy editorial director for economic policy at Süddeutsche Zeitung
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tag-der-industrie-bitten-an-die-wirtschaft-1.2720186
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Pleads to the Economy</p> <p>The article is a summary of the ‘Day of German Industry’ where both chancellor Merkel and SPD-party head Gabriel spoke to the most important actors of Germany’s economy. While Merkel demands support from the audience by creating work opportunities for refugees, Gabriel is more ‘realistic’. He states that the strong economy is the only reason Germany was able to welcome refugees in first place. The essence of the article is that many companies, which were excited about the new workforce refugees present Germany with, now demands from the government more ‘limits’. Although 600 000 job</p>

	openings for refugees have been published, language skills and qualification are not a given.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration – this isn't explicitly mentioned but could be read from the attempt to integrate refugees as soon as possible into the German job market.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Since the article is merely an account of different opinions, this is difficult to say: Merkel voices acceptance, Gabriel and the head of the Association for German Industry Ulrich Grillo voice concern for the real possibilities Germany has in integrating refugees into the job market (which could be understood as a realistic outlook or rejection).
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Although in summer 2015 the German industry leaders were thrilled about the acceptance of many high-skilled refugees as new workforce, this excitement has decreased in face of a lack of language skills and qualifications. Hence there is the thought and attempt to incorporate refugees as soon as possible into the German job market but the obstacles in doing so become more and more apparent.

12: Whose country this is

Article Characteristics	
Article number	12
Date	03.11.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Tanjev Schulz
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/professor of journalism at <u>Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz</u>

Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/mob-wessen-land-dies-ist-1.2720101
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Whose country this is</p> <p>The article is a critical account of the rise of violence against refugees, particularly in the former East Germany. While the leader of the PEGIDA-movement Lutz Bachmann is a known evil, the true danger emanates from the anonymous violent followers of the movement. The author voices his disbelief and disappointment that humans who have escaped a civil war must now fear for their lives in Germany. This, he says, is not Angela Merkel's country who unapologetically makes Germany a country, which helps in situations of emergency. More police forces must be placed at refugee shelters.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	Enforcing the presence of police at refugee shelters and more thorough, strict follow-ups on incidents of violence against refugees so that those who commit these crimes of violence can be held accountable.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

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13: Good Morning, Germany!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	13
Date	25.11.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Stefan Braun
Affiliation of Author	Journalist at SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlingsdebatte-guten-morgen-deutschland-1.2753657
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Good Morning, Germany!</p> <p>As the tensions between Merkel's party CDU (and her policies) and the opposition (Green party and far left) become increasingly severe, Merkel communicates clearly: life on the quiet, safe 'island Europe' is over. Europe must face the impact that international political crises have on common citizens' lives. The author praises Merkel for first successes in the management of the refugee influx but also points out the endless dependencies in attempting to battle the current state of affairs: Russia, Iran, Saudi-Arabia to end the Syria conflict. Turkey to decrease the number of refugees entering Germany. The author criticizes the opposition for disapproving with Merkel's practices while failing to suggest alternatives.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	The ways in which securitization could be attempted are not mentioned but the author congratulates Merkel's policies for finally finding order in the chaos of the past months by appointing a budget for the aid of refugees and creating better coordination between government, counties and cities.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation)	Other than the abovementioned budget the author does not elaborate on this point.

refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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14: What really helps, isn't done

Article Characteristics	
Article number	14
Date	26.11.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Th
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/lawyer – head of domestic policy department of Süddeutsche Zeitung
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlingslager-sos-ohne-echo-1.2755546
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: What really helps, isn't done</p> <p>This article is a recommendation for better practice in refugee policy. The author suggests that the reason so many refugees continue to walk the Balkan route to Germany is that the refugee camps in the area of the Middle East are unliveable. Hence instead of leading debates on refugee quotas for Germany, the attention should be shifted to investing in schools, food and infrastructure in the camps in Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey and Iraq. High numbers of children in camps who cannot attend schools will, in the long run, result in scarce opportunities for their futures and is a fertile ground for terrorist groups to recruit new members.</p>
Modes of Incorporation	The focus here is not on incorporating refugees into German society but rather finding meaningful ways of keeping refugees outside of

(assimilation, integration, isolation)	Germany.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Not explicitly mentioned but we can assume an accepting stance since he rejects quotas set on numbers of refugees in Germany.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	The author suggests that refugees that have been granted asylum should be employed by the German government to work in the camps in the Middle East to teach and offer medical support while keeping their refugee status in Germany.

15: German Language, expensive language

Article Characteristics	
Article number	15
Date	29.11.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Jan Bielicki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/expertenkommission-deutsche-sprache-teure-sprache-1.2759476
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: German Language, expensive language The article quotes a recent study, which found that in order to teach German to all incoming refugees the budget for these language courses

	would have to be more than doubled. A new approach in refugee integration policy now suggests that upon arrival refugees should be asked about their previous education, qualifications and level of German. Every applicant for asylum with a high chance of being granted asylum should be assigned to a language course. Mainly volunteers (retired German teachers and members of migrant-associations) should then teach these courses.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	The strong emphasis here is on the ways that Germany will be able to effectively integrate refugees. A new commission has been founded, which will make recommendations for changes in refugee policy. The first recommendation concerns the acquiring of the German language, which should happen as soon as possible in courses taught by volunteers (to keep the expenses realistic and feasible). At the same time the commission also recommends the inclusion of Arabic, Kurdish etc (native languages of refugees respectively) in official institutions and the everyday social life.

16: How I encountered the refugee-reality in Hamburg

Article Characteristics	
Article number	16
Date	02.11.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	Conservative

Author	Oliver Rasche
Affiliation of Author	Columnist at welt.de
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/vermischtes/article148354019/Wie-ich-in-Hamburg-der-Fluechtlings-Realitaet-begegnete.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: How I encountered the refugee-reality in Hamburg</p> <p>This a contemplation of the author who, after having reported on refugees innumerable times, finally saw masses of refugees arriving to the Hamburg central station. He states that he didn't find the (mostly) men very intimidating or scary, rather tired but the truly intimidating fact was the sheer number of people he saw arriving. Suddenly he wasn't so sure whether Germany was capable of handling this while at the same time realizing that these 'refugees' who are arriving are ultimately humans who need help. Though he wonders how one could possibly help.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting, though not sure it will be possible to accept everyone who is arriving
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

17: Must we follow Merkel like an empress?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	17
Date	09.11.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Roland Tichy
Affiliation of Author	Liberal-conservative/journalist and publicist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article148644036/Muessen-wir-Merkel-folgen-wie-einst-dem-Kaiser.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Must we follow Merkel like an empress?</p> <p>This article is a harsh criticism towards the current government. The author claims that from several perspectives; economic, political, socially the government is failing to push the country forwards. The article is in a way a reply to previous criticism to the author and his government-critical views. Opponents have said that in difficult times like these people must stand united and not criticize the political course of the current government. The author claims that criticism is important to demand more democracy as currently he finds that Germany is lacking democracy.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Leaning towards rejection
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated)	N/A

refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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18: The happy country, in which intense fighting exists

Article Characteristics	
Article number	18
Date	16.11.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Uwe Schmitt
Affiliation of Author	journalist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article148876739/Gluecklich-das-Land-in-dem-es-heftigen-Streit-gibt.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The happy country, in which intense fighting exists</p> <p>This article is a commentary that puts into positive light the fighting and arguments and public debates that have seemingly ‘divided’ Germany in the past months. The author demands of the audience to appreciate this fighting, to appreciate the debate because this is what freedom means in the democracy that Germany is. In light of the incoming refugees he admits that the country is facing difficulties that are here to stay but getting into a habit of desperation and stress is not constructive. Rather the German people should appreciate their right to argue and welcome the challenges to come.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not really clear: assimilation/integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting and he makes a plea to the people to do this with more ease and less negativity.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral	N/A

Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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19: Parallel Societies? Lovely!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	19
Date	23.11.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Hannes Stein
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/author – regular contributor to Die Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/kultur/article149165474/Parallelgesellschaften-Aber-gerne-doch.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Parallel Societies? Lovely!</p> <p>This article is basically a summary of the author’s day. He lives in New York and describes how we went shopping at a Russian food market, then drank tea with jam in a café close by. Afterwards he went to get the best hummus in town in a Syrian restaurant next to a fundamentalist mosque and finished his day in China town eating sesame noodles. In between he reads an article by a German journalist who says Germany must at all costs prevent the creation of parallel societies. He then finishes his article by reminding the reader that parallel societies make for diversity and are crucial in any democratic society. This, he says, should be an example for Germany in the refugee question.</p>

Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Laissez-faire approach: if immigrants desire isolation, this is fine. It will merely make for a more diverse society.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

20: Refugees, go to football pitches, do sports!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	20
Date	29.11.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Özcan Mutlu
Affiliation of Author	He is the spokesperson for sports-politics of the green party
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article149412020/Fluechtlinge-geht-auf-die-Bolzplaetze-macht-Sport.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Refugees, go to football pitches, do sports!

	This article is a justification for why the government should invest more money into local sports associations and clubs and why continuously accommodating refugees in gyms and schools cannot be a solution. The author cites studies that have shown that doing sports together facilitates integration. He therefore thinks that including refugees in local sports facilities is a meaningful way of moving towards better integration. By offering school gyms as housing this becomes of course more difficult.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration – through playing sports together. The author says that this also teaches communication skills and ‘fair play’.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Before this can happen, there must be a sort of social integration, in which sports could potentially play a big role.

December 2015

21: Individual-Case-Test as efficient brake

Article Characteristics	
Article number	21
Date	03.12.2015

Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Stefan Braun
Affiliation of Author	Journalist at SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-wirksame-bremse-des-fluechtlingszustroms-1.2766999
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Individual-Case-Test as efficient brake</p> <p>In light of the Paris attacks there has been a change in policy concerning the ‘tests’ for asylum for incoming refugees. While previously under the refugee convention of Geneva all Syrian refugees were granted asylum, after the attacks a new individual-case-test has been implemented. This will put a brake on the number of refugees entering the country however it will also prolong and complicate the process of family reunification, which the author describes as a painful side effect.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	The article is more concerned with securitizing Germany from the massive influx of refugees, specifically those that may come to Germany with ulterior motives (in light of the Paris attacks).
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

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22: Department of Fate

Article Characteristics	
Article number	22
Date	07.12.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Jan Bielicki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/asylbescheide-das-schicksalsamt-1.2771303
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The Department of Fate</p> <p>This article is concerned with the ‘Department for Migration and Refugees’ (commonly called ‘Bamf’ in German) in Berlin, which all asylum seekers have to report to upon their arrival in Germany. This department decides on whether or not refugees are granted asylum and may stay in Germany. The author criticizes the slow pace in which the applications for asylum are being handled. And while the department itself is partially at fault, the author blames politics: rather than holding a hearing for each applicant, he suggests a written application must suffice. He argues that the in-between of rejection and integration is more costly – financially, socially and humanitarian, than reinforcing the structures the department.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	We can assume that the author argues for integration with a focus on the urgency of integration. The underlying message is that Germany has no time to lose on bureaucratic processes.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	First step: processing applications as soon as possible
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system -	N/A

primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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23: ‘Lageso’ (state office for health and social issues) doesn’t want to register refugees on Christmas

Article Characteristics	
Article number	23
Date	09.12.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	unknown
Affiliation of Author	
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/berliner-behoerde-lageso-will-an-weihnachten-keine-fluechtlinge-registrieren-1.2776147
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: ‘Lageso’ (state office for health and social issues) doesn’t want to register refugees on Christmas</p> <p>The president of the Lageso finds that his employees need a holiday. While refugees will still receive shelter and food, nobody will be registered on Christmas Day. The Lageso has been widely criticized for the chaotic and inhumane circumstances: refugees waiting outside in the rain and cold waiting to be registered. The author also recounts that there have been criminal charges against the Lageso president for assault and coercion in the state office.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Not specifically answered as the article is mostly concerned with criticism towards the slow bureaucracy and inhumane condition in and

	in front of the state office of health and social issues.
Securitization of Refugees	By faster processing of applications as well as reconsidering the staff in charge of the registration at the Lageso in Berlin.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

24: This photograph is a command to all of us

Article Characteristics	
Article number	24
Date	18.12.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Nadia Pantel
Affiliation of Author	Journalist for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-dieses-bild-ist-ein-befehl-an-uns-alle-1.2788606
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: This photograph is a command to all of us</p> <p>This article is an opinion piece reflecting on the year 2015 taking the UNICEF photo of the year as a point of departure. The photo was taken in Macedonia and shows two Syrian children crying in midst of Macedonian armed police. The author recounts the journey through the Balkans, which is a shared experience amongst many refugees. She also reminds the audience that while this photo may be photo of the year, it doesn't mean that conditions will not get worse. Winter is</p>

	coming and the civil war in Syria continues thus more refugees will attempt the same journey. She particularly describes the role of children throughout this path: brave, mature and often protective over their parents. All the more reason to worry when these children cry – they mirror the anxiety and desperation of the entire family.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The article focuses more on illustrating the atrocious fates many refugees live at the moment rather than giving recommendations for incorporation.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	More structure, less dubious instruction to police and border control, clearer communication on which borders are open, which processes to follow (avoid word to mouth communication and the resulting rise of traffickers)
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

25: As long as Santa Claus doesn't enter through the chimney

Article Characteristics	
Article number	25
Date	24.12.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal

Author	Yahya Alaous
Affiliation of Author	The author is a Syrian correspondent who used to work for one of the biggest newspapers in Syria. Due to his critical views on the regime, he was imprisoned for two years, and then released with a ban to work - he continued working for underground opposition newspapers. When the political situation became more severe he fled to Germany with his wife and two daughters. He now lives in Berlin and writes a weekly commentary for the Süddeutsche Zeitung.
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/syrischer-fluechtling-in-deutschland-hauptsache-der-weihnachtsmann-kommt-nicht-durch-den-kamin-1.2795970
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: As long as Santa Claus doesn't enter through the chimney</p> <p>This commentary is a really interesting discussion on the symbolism of Christmas for Syrian refugees in Germany. He recalls overhearing a conversation between a young Syrian boy and his father on a Christmas market, in which the boy voices his concern that Santa Claus might come through the chimney while his mother isn't wearing a hijab. The author describes this incident as a fitting example for the confrontation with new, Western and often Christian values and traditions that many Syrian refugees are facing. Conservative families, he says, reject the holiday as a sort of religious missionary. Less conservative families enjoy Christmas as a ritual and pleasant celebration.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Assimilation vs. integration vs. isolation: this is the question he is discussing. Giving no right/wrong answer here, he shows that all three options are possible and already happening in Germany. The way that individuals incorporate themselves into society depends largely on the family but also age, occupation, etc. He states that children are generally much keener to integrate than their parents might be. He warns of the potential gap between cultures a rejection of these cultural celebrations may create.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and	As a Syrian refugee working for one of the largest German newspapers, we can assume that the author sees the importance of integrating himself into the professional world as quickly as possible. He also mentions having bought a Christmas tree himself and planning on celebrating the holiday with a German family. Social as well as professional integration seem to be a pressing priority to him.

university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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26: One-Euro-Jobs for refugees? There is better

Article Characteristics	
Article number	26
Date	01.12.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Stefan von Borstel
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/political editor for Die Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article149512291/Ein-Euro-Jobs-fuer-Fluechtlinge-Da-gibt-s-Besseres.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: One-Euro-Jobs for refugees? There is better</p> <p>The German minister for work came forth with a plan to include refugees into the professional work: by offering them ‘one-euro-jobs’. These infamous positions were initially created for Germans who have not worked for many years in order to slowly reintroduce them to the professional world. Now 100.000 of such jobs have been created for refugees. The author believes that this has no benefit since these positions are usually ‘supplementary positions’ meaning that they are not actually needed. For a refugee to literally sort puzzle pieces will not introduce her/him to the German professional world. Rather, the author suggests, language courses should come first especially among the below 25 year olds. The single thing he knows these jobs will be useful for (especially in the interest of the minister) is decreasing the percentage of unemployment.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration through language courses/education in general

Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	The jobs that have been created (with help of a rather large budget) have been created in vein since it will by no means have a positive effect on the integration of refugees. It will only statistically make them seem like they have been included into the work market. Education, especially, language is the only effective way towards integration into the professional world.

27: Open the job market to refugees already

Article Characteristics	
Article number	27
Date	05.12.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulf Poschardt
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/author – editor in chief of Die Welt, used to be editor in chief of SZ (1996-2000)
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article149633486/Oeffnet-den-Fluechtlingen-endlich-den-Arbeitsmarkt.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Open the job market to refugees already In this article the author claims that rather than being so busy with discussing whether Germany will be able to deal with the ‘refugee crisis’, people should concern themselves with the question: how will Germany deal with the refugee crisis? The only way that the motivation of refugees to integrate and the positive public discourse

	will remain is by integrating refugees into the job market. This gives incentives and something to strive for and will finally bring about the positive economic effect many have been hoping for. He admits that there are inherent differences in culture and thinking but exactly those differences, he believes, will drive innovation and growth.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Refugees should be integrated into the job market as fast as possible. One-Euro-Jobs are a great start in order to give an occupation to refugees and to lessen the burden for volunteers who work in refugee shelters all day. Furthermore many of the CEOs of large German corporations are in favour of accepting refugees into their work force.

28: Welcoming culture for German Sharia-policeman

Article Characteristics	
Article number	28
Date	15.12.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulrich Clauß
Affiliation of Author	Weekly editor of Welt/ conservative/right wing

Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article150005880/Willkommenskultur-fuer-deutschen-Scharia-Polizisten.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Welcoming culture for German Sharia-policeman</p> <p>In this article the author describes the life of a German Muslim, who has been travelling to Syria and supposedly attracted many young Muslims towards extremism. He has created his own group, the Sharia-police in his hometown Wuppertal. Each time the police has been unable to arrest the man because of a lack of evidence. The author thinks it is a miracle that no terror attacks have happened in Germany so far and predicts that soon there will attacks on Germany if the police continues to be so ineffective and liberal.</p> <p>Generally the tone is really negative and holds a narrative of ‘we will all fall victim to extremist terror attacks – you should panic’.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not really clear – rather sounds like he doesn’t want any refugees at all
Accepting vs. Rejecting	See above – same tone
Securitization of Refugees	Police must take much stronger measures to track down suspicious behaviour and arrest those who seem culpable.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Not mentioned

29: The genderization of humanity

Article Characteristics	
Article number	29
Date	26.12.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Hendryk M. Broder
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/author/TV personality – outspoken member of German Jewish community
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/henryk-m-broder/article150329516/Die-Genderisierung-der-Menschlichkeit.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The genderization of humanity</p> <p>This article comes to conclusions about gender differences with the example of the so-called refugee crisis. Pointing out that 9 out of 10 volunteers is female, he claims that this is proof of women being naturally (biologically) more caring, more pragmatic, more loyal and harder-working. This, he says, should make the reader think about whether or gender is really a social construct. Either way, Germany must be thankful to its women for creating an image of great humanitarian aid, strong moral commitment and countless (female) refugees who have facilitated on a social level the political decision to welcome refugees.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees)	No recommendations made but he writes that without women giving free, voluntary language classes to refugees, organizing soup kitchens, collecting clothing, etc. Germany would have been utterly unable to welcome as many refugees as it has.

applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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30: Knit an integration-hat for refugee children!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	30
Date	30.12.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Robin Alexander
Affiliation of Author	Political editor of Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kolumnen/platz-der-republik/article150473306/Haekelt-Fluechtlingskindern-ein-Integrationsmuetzchen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Knit an integration-hat for refugee children!</p> <p>This article is a satirical commentary on effective ways of integration. Now that many institutions demand an integration law, which will dictate what refugees have to learn and accept in order to stay in Germany, the author collects what has been suggested: that Germany is a country in which women are bosses, Germany is a country in which men kiss openly, etc. The author finds this critical since many Germans even struggle to accept these values. Rather he suggests (in all seriousness) that German crafts such as knitting should be taught because it also opens up a space for conversation.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (through knitting)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral	Not mentioned but rather than giving lengthy integration courses,

Issues (incorporation of refugees into the education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Germany should consider offering arts and crafts courses to bring together Germans and refugees in an informal setting.
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January 2016

31: Merkel against the CSU (Christian Social Union)

Article Characteristics	
Article number	31
Date	04.01.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Nico Fried
Affiliation of Author	Correspondent – SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-merkel-gegen-die-csu-1.2805124
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Merkel against the CSU (Christian Social Union)</p> <p>The article gives an account of the discussion between CDU (Christian Democratic Party – Merkel’s party) and the CSU. Although they appear in national politics as one combined party, their stances on refugee intake differs immensely. While CSU demands a limit of 200 000 new refugees per year, the CDU finds this limit impossible to realize as well as too superficial a solution. The opposing parties suggest that the only way to enforce such a limit would be by building walls, fences, and the use of weapons. Instead the problem should be</p>

	solved on a European level with the help of all member states.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	Coming up with a quicker registration process in order to turn illegal migration into legal migration.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

32: Sign here, otherwise no money? How disrespectful!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	32
Date	05.01.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Jan Heidtmann
Affiliation of Author	Deputy Editor in Chief of SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/integration-unterschreiben-sie-hier-1.2805111
Article Analysis	

Article Overview	<p>Article: Sign here, otherwise no money? How disrespectful!</p> <p>This article is an opinion piece on a policy suggestion by the CSU: in order for integration to be more successful refugees must agree to accept German values with a signature. If they refuse to sign, they get shortages on their financial state support. The author claims that this is disrespectful and inefficient. In his opinion it shows refugees as cultureless beggars. He agrees that those who want to live in Germany have to adhere to the rules of living together but he argues that integration will happen through language and integration courses, not a signed piece of paper.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (through education, not superficial agreements)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	In order to attempt meaningful integration, the author emphasizes language and integration courses.

33: A miracle is ending

Article Characteristics	
Article number	33

Date	06.01.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Thomas Öchsener
Affiliation of Author	Correspondent for SZ in Berlin – writes about the labor market and Hartz IV, pension and health policy
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/arbeitslose-ein-wunder-geht-zu-ende-1.2806555
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: A miracle is ending</p> <p>This article discusses the German job market and unemployment and the role of refugees therein. While 2015 has been the year with the lowest unemployment rate since 1991, the author is pessimistic about the future. The number of registered refugees that are unemployed will change the statistics for 2016. Refugees need certainty about a future in Germany during their training and start to a professional career.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	The author emphasizes the importance of an insured perspective to a life in Germany. Else refugees won't feel motivated to take their education and/or work seriously. For the well-being of the Germany economy he believes that the successful integration of refugees into the educational and professional system is crucial.

34: When should the country of origin of criminals be mentioned, when should it not

Article Characteristics	
Article number	34
Date	15.01.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Heribert Prantl
Affiliation of Author	journalist/jurist – head of domestic policy department of SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/straftaten-maulkoerbe-selbstgemacht-1.2819590
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: When should the country of origin of criminals be mentioned, when should it not</p> <p>This article is an opinion piece of the freedom of press: while the German civil code states that the press must ‘never be censored’, in the past there has been a trend in German newspapers to not mention the ethnicity or country of origin of criminals. Article 12.1 of the German press codex states that whether or not a criminal belongs to ‘a religious, ethnic or any other minority’ must not be mentioned unless crucial to the understanding of the context. The author discusses whether this is a restriction to the freedom of press in Germany and he finds: no. Much rather does it prevent racism and whoever is of the opinion that the ethnicity/religion of a criminal is responsible for his/her crime is racist. He fully supports article 12.1 and the practice thereof.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	Here the press is mentioned as a large influencing actor in how refugees are being perceived and treating in Germany. He welcomes the fact that recently origin, religion or ethnicity should not be mentioned unless important to understand the nature or motivation for the crime.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation)	N/A

refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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35: Why Germany's largest refugee shelter is so controversial

Article Characteristics	
Article number	35
Date	28.01.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Hannah Beitzer
Affiliation of Author	Journalist as SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tempelhofer-feld-warum-deutschlands-groesste-fluechtlingsunterkunft-so-umstritten-ist-1.2839170
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Why Germany's largest refugee shelter is so controversial</p> <p>This article is a discussion on the plans of turning the old Tempelhof Airport in Berlin into a refugee shelter. While it would offer the required space to host 7000 of the incoming refugees and include many of the social initiatives already present on the airport grounds, the risk of it turning into a 'refugee ghetto' seems to be likely. The Berlin senate is already failing to provide necessary food and healthcare for the refugees currently residing in the former airport halls (which holds 2000 refugees) hence the author is sceptical that a newly built shelter on the airport field would provide better care.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation,	N/A

integration, isolation)	
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Generally accepting, very concerned with the logistics of humane housing and shelter however.
Securitization of Refugees	The author makes no suggestions for alternatives but is sceptical about the former Tempelhof Airport being a valid option for refugee housing. The large number of refugees being housed in sport halls, etc has been a point of criticism all over Germany. This trend should therefore not be continued.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

36: Refugee crisis is task of our generation

Article Characteristics	
Article number	36
Date	04.01.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Jörn Lauterbach
Affiliation of Author	Conservative – he is the chief editor of ‘Welt Hamburg’
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/regionales/hamburg/article150607212/Fluechtlingskrise-ist-Aufgabe-unserer-Generation.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Refugee crisis is task of our generation

	This article talks about the ways in which the generation that is currently in charge of politics/economy/legislation will have to struggle with this challenge of refugees. The author believes that it is a challenge of ideology and moral: a challenge to be consequent but not radical. In this he believes that citizens must become more tolerant about refugee shelters in their neighbourhoods but that policy makers also have to be more daring in deporting refugees.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not really mentioned: for those refugees he thinks can/should stay probably integration.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Ambiguous: Germany cannot 'keep' all refugees and should therefore be more consequent in deporting refugees as well.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

37: The disinhibition starts with the one-time-getting-away

Article Characteristics	
Article number	37
Date	07.01.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Torsten Krauel

Affiliation of Author	Chief commentator at Die Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article150750800/Die-Enthemmung-beginnt-mit-dem-Einmal-Davonkommen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The disinhibition starts with the one-time-getting-away</p> <p>This article is a call for stricter law enforcement in Germany regarding the incidents of sexual harassment in Cologne on the new years eve night 2015/16. Many girls had been grabbed and the culprits were apparently all refugees applying for asylum. The author claims that the German state has been far too lenient with criminals and that this will create more crime and a mindset of committing the same crimes time and again. Hence less tolerance even and especially with refugees is important.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	None of these: rather deportation
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rejecting (in the case of criminal behaviour)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

38: Even concealing sows violence in our cities

Article Characteristics	
Article number	38
Date	11.01.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulrich Clauß
Affiliation of Author	Weekly editor of Welt/ conservative/right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article150887441/Auch-das-Verschweigen-saet-Gewalt-in-unseren-Staedten.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Even concealing sows violence in our cities</p> <p>This article speaks about an incident shortly after the sexual harassment cases in Cologne where groups of civilians have felt the need to ‘revenge’ these acts of harassment by beating up refugees. The author warns that this is the beginning of a dangerous path for German society. The public discourse is more and more shifting from friendly welcoming to hostile rejection and that many neighbourhoods have appointed informal ‘patrols’. This even, the author claims, can easily escalate and lead to more violent hostility towards refugees.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting! And pleading for acceptance among German citizens.
Securitization of Refugees	If German police does not make German citizens feel more at ease, many will feel the need to take matters into their own hands, which will be extremely dangerous, the author claims.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for	N/A

professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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39: Vienna's border-regime can save Merkel's chancellorship

Article Characteristics	
Article number	39
Date	20.02.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Alan Posener
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article151261913/Wiener-Grenzregime-kann-Merkels-Kanzlerschaft-retten.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Vienna's border-regime can save Merkel's chancellorship</p> <p>This article claims that for Austria to close its borders was the best thing that could have happened to Merkel and Germany. After Merkel's plan of a European solution failed, Austria's forced halt on refugees coming to Germany may be the only real solution. The problem is that Germany doesn't have a real directive saying what Germany is truly capable of in terms of hosting refugees. Merkel's decision was thus completely subjective and has shown not to work. Closed borders are a good solution (especially for Merkel if she wants to remain chancellor) according to the author.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rejecting of newly incoming refugees because Germany's capacity has run out.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation	N/A

refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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40: This way Germany can benefit from refugees

Article Characteristics	
Article number	40
Date	26.01.2015
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Friedrich Schneider
Affiliation of Author	He is a professor for economics in Austria
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article151493410/So-kann-Deutschland-von-Fluechtlingen-profitieren.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: This way Germany can benefit from refugees</p> <p>The author states that for the refugee influx to have the desired positive effects a few measures have to be taken: Germany needs an integration law, which states that a selection of refugees happens on the basis of who is (professionally) interesting and useful for Germany. Language courses have to offered as quickly as possible. Employers need to be more actively involved in trying to socially integrate refugees. More critical is the question of housing as there are geographical limits: this is where Germany really need to invest.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (especially into the job market)

Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (or better: selecting – author demands a careful selection of skilled refugees while not accepting those who are of no economic/professional benefit to the country)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Language acquisition is the most important, then follows integration into the work force then employers should make an effort to also integrate their employees socially.

February 2016

41: Suddenly you feel much closer to the ‘Turks’

Article Characteristics	
Article number	41
Date	03.02.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Gülistan Gürbey
Affiliation of Author	Adjunct Professor of Political Science at Freie Universitaet Berlin
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-tatsaechlich-sind-sehr-sehr-viele-frauen-und-kinder-unterwegs-1.2848454
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Suddenly you feel much closer to the ‘Turks’ This article is an interview with Gülistan Gürbey, a political scientist with a specialization in Turkey. She explains that in light of the influx

	<p>of Syrian refugees the second and third generation Turkish immigrants are now considered a more organic part of German society while refugees are more alienated. She explains this with the large number of refugees that arrived to Germany in a very short time span. The religious and cultural background of Islam is perceived as threatening and incidents like the sexual harassment on NYE further enforce this scepticism. The older generations of immigrants are often sympathetic towards the new-coming refugees because of shared experience. At the same time the heavy right-wing movement that the influx of refugees sparked is also feared and condemned by 'older' immigrants. Gürbey says politics have to set a strong agenda against these movements and clarify publicly that refugees are a huge opportunity – for both the sake of refugees as well as second-generation immigrants.</p>
<p>Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)</p>	<p>integration</p>
<p>Accepting vs. Rejecting</p>	<p>accepting</p>
<p>Securitization of Refugees</p>	<p>Güley gives importance to the political discourse as well the media in order to rectify the image of refugees, which will result in less violence against them and more widespread acceptance, she hopes.</p>
<p>Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)</p>	<p>The author stresses the role that second-generation immigrants might have in the integration process and that this is an opportunity that has to be more effectively deployed.</p>

42: In the Country of Yearning

Article Characteristics	
Article number	42
Date	04.02.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Constanze von Bullion
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – SZ, mostly political
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/umfragen-im-sehnsuchtsland-1.2848929
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: In the Country of Yearning</p> <p>This is a commentary on a recent survey in Germany that showed that Germany become increasingly more critical of the refugee policies, Merkel’s welcoming of high numbers of refugees and the popularity of far-right wing parties increases. The author criticizes the high horse many white, wealthy Germans are complaining from. They want their old Germany back – a Germany without ethnic, religious diversity and therefore former marginalized parties gain in momentum. The author argues what Germany needs rather than more limitations and stricter refugee policies are politicians who can clearly communicate that there is no simple solution and that the Germany that once was will never be again.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	Again, public opinion is emphasized: as long as politicians do not make clear that living side by side with refugees is and will be a reality, which will not change the German people will continue to complain and give their vote to right-wing parties. This could have severe consequences for refugees as it also encourages hate and violence against refugees.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system -	N/A

primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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43: Greece kicked out of Schengen? What a stupid idea

Article Characteristics	
Article number	43
Date	07.02.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Christiane Schlötzer
Affiliation of Author	Deputy Head of Department for Page Three(?) - SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-griechenland-raus-aus-schengen-was-fuer-eine-dumme-idee-1.2850656
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Greece kicked out of Schengen? What a stupid idea</p> <p>The article discusses the increasingly popular discourse in Germany to exclude Greece from the Schengen zone in order to reduce the number of incoming refugees. The author makes very clear that she is against this: it would destabilize Greece's economy and political situation, which would lead to a political vacuum. Greece as a political vacuum in turn would lead to failure in terms of logistics, organization and limitations in dealing with refugees. The author shows great sympathy for Greece's situation and sees no viable solution for the 'refugee crisis' in excluding Greece from the Schengen area.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting

Securitization of Refugees	The author emphasizes the importance of supporting Greece politically and economically in order to manage the large numbers of refugee in a well-organized manner.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

44: Planning

Article Characteristics	
Article number	44
Date	19.02.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Carolin Emcke
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/author
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/kolumne-planen-1.2868685
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Planning</p> <p>This is a commentary on the general need and desire ‘to plan’ amongst Europeans – especially in face of the immense influx of refugees. The author criticizes that the general discourse has become one of dehumanization and numbers in the wish to put an end to the streams of refugees coming to Germany. Much rather than making illusive plans, the author sees a need to face the real problem, which is the war in Syria. She does not deny the challenges that this presents Europe</p>

	with but finds that education, housing and the job market are core issues in national politics anyways: whether Germany hosts refugees or not. The real enemy, she says, is the war as well as all the actors in it who oftentimes are merely after geopolitical status. In order to find a real solution Germany must therefore face lengthy, uncomfortable but necessary diplomatic discussions rather than making national, exclusionary plans.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – this is really the emphasis the author sets here: rather than being so overly concerned with planning, with making national policies that dictate how to deal with refugees. Germany must focus on combating the real, much larger issue of ending the Syrian civil war.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Refugees must be included in all layers of society – education, housing and the professional world. The work related to this should furthermore not be dramatized since these are issues the government has to deal with regardless of refugees.

45: How the worried citizens can be integrated

Article Characteristics	
Article number	45
Date	19.02.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal

Author	Bernd Kastner
Affiliation of Author	Commentator at SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/demokratie-vom-wert-des-debattierens-1.2866761
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: How the worried citizens can be integrated</p> <p>The article is an opinion piece on the ‘reintegration’ of supporters of AfD and Pegida (the far right party/movement that have been gaining momentum in Germany over the past 2 years) into the democratic German society. While many ‘good democrats’ reject the right-wing ideology altogether, the author recommends that much rather one should enter into conversation and thereby hear the concerns and fears and possibly convert them into a more inclusive ideology. Rather than only focusing on communicating ‘German values’ to migrants, one should also focus on bringing them closer to these right-wing ideologists.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (of refugees) through communicating German values and democracy clearly.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	A serious threat to refugees is the right-wing movements, who often encourage violence, hatred and rejection of refugees. By entering into dialogue with this group of society, rather than simply condemning it for its cruelty and backwardness, a real change in mind-set may be possible.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany,	N/A

employment in general)	
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46: Migration imports an archaic image of women

Article Characteristics	
Article number	46
Date	01.02.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ralph Ghadban
Affiliation of Author	He is a professor for Islam Studies and teaches at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton as well as the evangelic college Berlin.
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article151741148/Migration-importiert-ein-archaisches-Frauenbild.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Migration imports an archaic image of women</p> <p>This article ‘educates’ the reader about the image of the woman in Muslim countries by describing the Sharia family law. The author states that the woman is always considered the possession of a man and that even if she plays this role voluntarily (voluntarily wearing the Hijab) she fuels in a system of discrimination and oppression. Many Islamic centres spread the use of Sharia law over state law, which creates parallel societies in which women are reduced to being sexual objects that need to be hidden from the men. If Germans do not recognize this, they must not be surprised about cases of sexual harassment.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Not clear (he speaks against parallel societies so one can assume: either assimilation or integration).
Accepting vs. Rejecting	rejecting
Securitization of Refugees	Germany should forbid Sharia Law and enforce national law for more gender equality.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation of refugees into education)	N/A

system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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47: The resentments of the old men

Article Characteristics	
Article number	47
Date	08.02.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Armin Nassehi
Affiliation of Author	Professor for sociology in Munich
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article151943057/Die-Ressentiments-der-alten-Maenner.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The resentments of the old men</p> <p>In this article the author looks at the male dominance in public discourse especially after the incidents of new years eve. He states that the incidence itself and the public and intellectual reaction have been very similar: groups of men seizing an opportunity and finally obtaining a voice when they have been feeling unheard for too long. This goes for the immigrants and refugees in Cologne as well as the old men who have reacted with very radical, xenophobic essays. The fact that at the core of this criticism is a woman is even more telling. Germany, according to the author, should take a critical look at its own dynamics before blaming others.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A

Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (in the sense that he is criticizing those who come to radical conclusions on refugees after the NYE incident)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

48: There is a fundamental fallacy in the debate on asylum

Article Characteristics	
Article number	48
Date	16.02.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulrich Clauß
Affiliation of Author	Weekly editor of Welt/ conservative/right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article152311226/Es-gibt-einen-grundlegenden-Irrtum-in-der-Asyldebatte.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: There is a fundamental fallacy in the debate on asylum</p> <p>This article states that Germany is only welcoming this large number of refugees because of a historically-given feeling of guilt. Being the country that started two world wars and committed the Holocaust, Germany feels obliged to grant asylum to those in need and on top of that integrate them. The fact that this will change Germany forever and</p>

	will change the national identity isn't being addressed. Only right wing politicians dare to address this topic but the author believes that one should be able to discuss these big issues in the mainstream discourse, too. He calls it an integration-inflation.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	He states several times that asylum does not equal integration and that therefore people should stop talking about integration because this isn't actually the obligation of Germany. Thus: isolation?
Accepting vs. Rejecting	rejecting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

49: Germany has everything it needs for integration

Article Characteristics	
Article number	49
Date	23.02.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Thomas Straubhaar
Affiliation of Author	economist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article152549641/Deutschland-hat-

	alles-was-es-zur-Integration-braucht.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Germany has everything it needs for integration</p> <p>This article says that Germany should start looking at integration in a more pragmatic way and that the hysteria is not helping. Germany will neither fail as a country nor will it be helpful to just continue doing things the way they have been done until now. Germany has a stable economy, a strong constitution and experience with integrating immigrants and refugees. His recommendations are: make refugees German from the first day, give them work from the first day and give them a perspective to stay in Germany long-term so that there is an incentive to learn the language and understand the culture. Furthermore, children should attend the same schools as German children from day one. This is a challenge but will also be far more effective than creating special schools for refugee children. On an international level everything should be done to end the Syria conflict and on a European level all E.U. countries should learn to cooperate.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	As abovementioned the author emphasizes work and education as the best paths to successful integration. The inclusion into both spheres should happen from the first day.

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50: Not us but the refugees have to adapt

Article Characteristics	
Article number	50
Date	26.02.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	w
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/author/TV personality – outspoken member of German Jewish community
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/henryk-m-broder/article152685126/Nicht-wir-die-Fluechtlinge-muessen-sich-anpassen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Not us but the refugees have to adapt</p> <p>This article describes how the public discourse has on a European level been a very positive one towards Merkel's decisions. That many say this will be a historical heroic act and that Germans need to now rethink their society and way of living together. The author finds it outrageous that Germans should have to reconsider values that to him are not up for discussion like equality of sexes, sexualities, abilities, etc. Germans should not have to adapt their values and language to those of the incoming refugees but the other way around. He says that Germany is hardly acting as a democratic country these days and that this historical episode may change Germany and Europe forever: to the worse.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	assimilation
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rather rejecting but seeing as not all refugees can be deported now, he claims those who are here can stay but have to adapt to German society, values and language 100%.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system -	N/A

primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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March 2016

51: Vienna's Logic

Article Characteristics	
Article number	51
Date	03.03.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Cathrin Kahlweit
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/Publicist – editor at SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-wiener-logik-1.2890198
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Vienna's Logic</p> <p>This is a discussion on whether or not Austria had a long-term plan in closing the Balkan route or not. The author suggests two options: either Austria's national political situation became too tense to tolerate the incoming stream of refugees or the long term plan was to make Europe a less attractive destination for refugees. In the best case, this would leave traffickers jobless and would prevent more people from attempting the dangerous journey across the Mediterranean in small plastic boats. Lastly, it would also put worried Europeans at rest. The author criticizes the main goal of the political status quo: whatever it takes, as long as it ends.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation,	N/A

integration, isolation)	
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – she criticizes the pragmatic, fairly inhumane policies, which Austria defends. She is also opposed to the Germany’s suggestion of making a deal with Turkey and thereby simply moving the problem outside of the European borders.
Securitization of Refugees	The only comment on this is that by making Europe an unattractive destination, less refugees will try to make their journey across the sea, which will result in less deaths.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

52: Merkel isn’t lost yet

Article Characteristics	
Article number	52
Date	07.03.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Heribert Prantl
Affiliation of Author	journalist/lawyer – head of domestic policy department of SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/leitartikel-angela-merkel-staatsfrau-1.2894210
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Merkel isn’t lost yet This is an opinion piece on Merkel’s refugee policies and how they

	changed her public image. While previously she had been a head of state everyone was happy with due to her non-opinion of things, the ‘refugee crisis’ was the first time she really showed opinion and determination. The author finds that her (publicly largely criticized) decisions were absolutely right – she advocates for a united Europe, that takes decisions together with shared responsibility and most importantly she advocates for human rights.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – very supportive of Merkel’s policies, which are and have been to accept refugees without limitations. The author emphasizes the importance of a united Europe, that the setting up of fences in and around Europe will be the end of Europe.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

53: Turkey demands a lot and is ready to give a lot

Article Characteristics	
Article number	53
Date	07.03.2015
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal

Author	Daniel Brössler
Affiliation of Author	Correspondent for SZ – EU and NATO
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-europas-loesung-1.2895596
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Turkey demands a lot and is ready to give a lot</p> <p>The article is a discussion on whether or not the deal with Turkey is a viable solution to the refugee crisis. While few European countries agree to this deal, there do not seem to be other solutions. The author emphasizes that a common European solution is crucial. He says celebrating the building of fences in Austria as a success is ridiculous and oblivious because it will not realistically put a halt to refugee influx. A deal with Turkey may be the only viable solution but certainly isn't a morally flawless one.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	This is quite ambiguous as the author is discussing different ways of keeping refugees <i>out</i> of the country. While it could be argued that it is natural and necessary to eventually put a halt to the influx of refugees, the article does not give an impression of being a voice of acceptance.
Securitization of Refugees	The well-being of refugees is strangely not at all discussed in the article although the article revolves around finding the best solution on where to move refugees to.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

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54: A deal with turkey is the best out of all bad options

Article Characteristics	
Article number	54
Date	17.03.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Stefan Kornelius
Affiliation of Author	Head of foreign policy department – SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlingspolitik-deal-mit-der-tuerkei-die-beste-unter-allen-schlechten-optionen-1.2912261
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: A deal with turkey is the best out of all bad options</p> <p>This article also discusses the EU-Turkey deal defending it against critics by saying that out of all the ‘bad options’ there are this is the most tolerable. The author emphasizes that the alternative option of opening up the borders along the Balkan route cannot be an alternative. Europe and particularly Germany cannot and does not want to welcome all the incoming refugees and also does not want to bear witness to the horrors of Idomeni and Lampedusa. In the end the author admits that it is merely a shift of who is responsible for the suffering.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Similar to article 53 – there seems to be a trend in finding it impossible to host more refugees and that keeping them in Turkey is a better/more comfortable solution for all (all governments).
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university,	N/A

educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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55: First language course, then punishment

Article Characteristics	
Article number	55
Date	28.03.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Christoph Hickmann
Affiliation of Author	Correspondent – SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-erst-sprachkurse-dann-strafen-1.2924225
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: First language course, then punishment</p> <p>This article discusses the proposition by the CDU that those refugees, who refuse integration courses, must be punished. In the case that refugees refuse integration courses and job offers, they will not be able to extend their stays in Germany. The criticism by the opposition is that first there would have to be sufficient language and integration courses in order to go through with the sanctions. Lastly, the CDU also wants to introduce a housing policy, which will disperse refugees geographically and prevent building ghettos.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration through language courses and integration courses. A criticism on the scarcity of these courses is voiced. There should be a correlation between the successful completion of language and integration courses and the permit of residence.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting
Securitization of Refugees	Preventing the building of ghettos and thereby supposedly creating a safer environment.
Sectoral	The article really depicts language and integration courses as the first

Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	step on the path of any sort of integration – before attempting to incorporate refugees into the general education system or work market.
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56: New apartments – we need to build like in 1900

Article Characteristics	
Article number	56
Date	01.03.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Rainer Haubrich
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/Architectural Critic
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article152736886/Neue-Wohnungen-wir-muessen-wieder-bauen-wie-um-1900.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: New apartments – we need to build like in 1900</p> <p>This article is a suggestions for how Germany should deal with the question of housing for refugees. The author absolutely rejects the idea of ‘refugee cities’ – newly created cities where only refugees should live because this would create ghettos and parallel societies. Instead Germany should invest in simple housing: building new houses in the traditional style, which both refugees and citizens will find appealing and liveable.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration,	Integration (from a geographical perspective: refugees and Germans living in the same types of houses door to door)

isolation)	
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

57: Humane asylum politics are only possible with controlled borders

Article Characteristics	
Article number	57
Date	05.03.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Dirk Schümer
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/Author/European Correspondent – Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article152952298/Humane-Asylpolitik-ist-nur-mit-kontrollierten-Grenzen-moeglich.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Humane asylum politics are only possible with controlled borders</p> <p>This article argues for border controls and closed borders for refugees. The author claims several reasons: if Europeans cannot cross borders freely in the Middle East, why should Syrians, Afghans, etc. be able to</p>

	cross borders freely in Europe? Open borders attract migrants from Morocco, Pakistan etc. who will take the 'spots' of Syrian refugees, according to the author this could only happen because of open borders. Rather than opening borders and thereby inviting refugees to come to Europe with their own money and their life at stake, Europe should have paid for more organized migration from war zones to Europe (organizing flights etc.). Lastly, he believes that those who have fled from Syria – the wealthier layers of society, the intellectuals and the young – should have stayed because they are the only ones that could save Syria or rebuild it.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A – it doesn't seem like he wants them in Europe at all
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rejecting
Securitization of Refugees	His logic: by opening the borders refugees will continue their journey to come to Europe. On this journey they may die and once arrived they will not live a good life. Closing the borders is therefore in his mind the answer.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

58: 'Too much niceness amongst volunteers'

Article Characteristics	
Article	58

number	
Date	11.03.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Eva Quistorp
Affiliation of Author	Volunteer
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article153207250/Zu-viel-Nettigkeit-bei-den-Ehrenamtlichen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: 'Too much niceness amongst volunteers'</p> <p>This article describes the experience of a woman who regularly volunteers in a refugee shelter in Berlin. She believes that if refugees do not stop arriving to Germany soon the task of integration will be too gigantic to handle. The lives in refugee shelters are too sad and monotonous and the education and perspective for work provided isn't sufficient because the priority is to meet the basic needs of those who just arrived. She sees a problem in many of the volunteers who instead of explaining the importance of language courses to the refugees, find that after such traumas learning German would be too much to ask. This, the author believes, will take a lot of the motivation to integrate away. She says that many of the volunteers help because of selfish motives of 'doing something important' and not to really help refugees to integrate. Lastly, she sees language and culture closely related and criticizes the lack of communicating cultural values and the possibility to talk about Syria, emotions and hopes.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university,	According to her language comes first. But not just learning how to order in a restaurant or ask for direction but teaching words of emotions, hopes, wishes, needs, thankfulness, etc. She believes that teaching these words will automatically place a few or many German values into the heads of refugees. Education and work comes after that.

educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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59: Why big cities are the peace makers

Article Characteristics	
Article number	59
Date	18.03.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Marko Martin
Affiliation of Author	He is a writer and journalist, most recent book on Tel Aviv
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article153443426/Warum-Grossstaedte-die-grossen-Friedensstifter-sind.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Why big cities are the peace makers</p> <p>This article claims that the reason violence against refugees happens mainly in rural provinces is because big cities are largely inhabited by people who know what it feels like to move and start anew in a place: moving from the countryside to the city, moving from country to country, or being the offspring of parents who have known Germany before the reunification. Cities are home to many different people who have learned to live happily next to and with each other. The only thing Germans must be very careful about is the creation of parallel societies because these do not favour change in mindset towards a peace together but the contrary. Generally he says that the public discourse should not only be focused on the fear of parallel societies but also the very successful multicultural everyday of cities.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration and assimilation (from Germans to Syrians to Turks to Jews etc. – not just one-way assimilation)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting

Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

60: Incredible act of international solidarity

Article Characteristics	
Article number	60
Date	24.03.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Paul Nehf
Affiliation of Author	Freelance journalist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article153644890/Erstaunlicher-Akt-internationaler-Solidaritaet.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Incredible act of international solidarity</p> <p>This is an article about the numerous volunteers from all over Europe and beyond who arrive to Greece everyday to volunteer in any way they can. Praising their work and commitment, he says that without these volunteers it would have been impossible for Greece to handle the large numbers of refugees arriving daily. From saving boats to cleaning the floor, their work is incredible, he finds.</p>
Modes of	N/A

Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	The big welcoming of refugees, he says, and more or less safe arrival of them is only possible due to volunteers, the author claims.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

April 2016

61: Out of sight is not our of mind

Article Characteristics	
Article number	61
Date	02.04.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Mike Szymanski
Affiliation of Author	Istanbul Correspondent for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-in-griechenland-aus-den-auge-ist-nicht-aus-dem-sinn-1.2931614
Article Analysis	

Article Overview	<p>Article: Out of sight is not out of mind</p> <p>This is an opinion piece on the EU-Turkey Deal, warning the German government of its lasting responsibility vis-à-vis those refugees that are being sent back to Turkey. As one of the proponents of this deal, Germany must remain aware of its role and duty to should assure humane living conditions in Turkey as well as no incidents of deportation from Turkey to Syria.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (in its criticism of the EU-Turkey deal, the underlying tone here is one of acceptance)
Securitization of Refugees	Emphasizes the importance of a sense of responsibility towards all refugees, even those that are not in Germany. How this can happen in practice is not described.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

62: Contra: a refused handshake isn't necessary disrespectful

Article Characteristics	
Article number	62
Date	07.04.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung

Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Julia Ley
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/contra-haendeschuetteln-ein-verweigerter-haendedruck-muss-nicht-respektlos-sein-1.2936912
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Contra: a refused handshake isn't necessary disrespectful</p> <p>This article is a very interesting discussion about the implications of denying a handshake. The author describes the public discourse in Germany being very judgmental and narrow-minded on the topic: assuming that denying a handshake automatically means disrespect and rejection of 'Western' values. The author suggests that if one truly wants to stand for western values she/he must accept the plurality in behaviour. Also before condemning behaviour one should investigate the true reasons for this behaviour. And while some values and especially laws do need to be accepted without questioning, Germans should learn to be more open-minded and inquisitive about other customs.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration – or rather convergence. The learning process should not be a one-sided one but rather goes two ways. The incoming refugees are a huge chance, says the author, for Germans to rethink their ways and reinterpret democratic values into ones of flexibility and plurality and not 'values that need to be adhered to'.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment)	Not forcing students to shake their teachers hands or university students to shake their deans' hands for graduation will not make for a decay of German values. To the contrary it will encourage refugees to attend schools and universities feeling like their customs are not condemned.

in general)	
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63: An integration law that doesn't deserve its name

Article Characteristics	
Article number	63
Date	14.04.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Heribert Prantl
Affiliation of Author	journalist/lawyer – head of domestic policy department of SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/integrationsgesetz-an-jeder-eckenickeleien-1.2949298?reduced=true
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: An integration law that doesn't deserve its name</p> <p>This article is a review of the new integration law, which Germany passed. The author has a very negative opinion on this law for several reasons: integration now happens through more bureaucracy, the law focuses on the job market and ignores the issue of education, it does not provide enough integration courses and refugees are limited in their choice of residence (can only live where the government places them). The few good things the author points out are that young refugees can stay at least for the length of their education. For those, however, not ready for their education (in need of some pre-training) are left without job or education. Furthermore, the jobs that have been created are mostly so called '1-euro jobs'. Lastly, what the author finds missing is an article on how to deal with old asylum applications. Without such an article Germany will simply be unable to catch up with the immense amount of asylum applications – old ones and incoming new ones.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration. The author says that at first sight the new integration law seems promising – the mentioning of the word 'integration' is frequent. When realizing what kind of integration is meant, the author says, one gets highly disappointed. Integration through bureaucratic processes, in which the refugee has to prove time and again that she/he doesn't mean evil.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – vis-à-vis the integration law, the author actually demands more acceptance, more trust.
Securitization of Refugees	Through more bureaucracy it seems that the German government hopes for more clarity in terms of who has been entering the country.

	The author thinks that the lack of education for those refugees not immediately fit for education presents a potential danger for both the refugees as well as the state.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	While the incorporation into the education system is not mentioned in the integration law, the author demands that it must be. Particularly he demands for a higher number of integration courses with small amounts of students. This will create courses that provide the right information according to nationality, age, level, etc. In terms of job opportunity, the jobs offered to refugees are largely low-level low-pay jobs (cleaning, etc.). The author condemns this.

64: The coalition lives from hand to mouth

Article Characteristics	
Article number	64
Date	14.04.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Nico Fried
Affiliation of Author	Correspondent – SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/koalition-die-kraft-der-verhaeltnisse-1.2949294?reduced=true
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The coalition lives from hand to mouth</p> <p>This article gives a critical outline of the current political landscape in Germany: one of instability and conflict. In this context, the new integration law has been placed into a narrative of a ‘historical achievement’, which the author says is nonsense. Germany has long fought against the integration of refugees and migrants for many years until now, the large influx of refugees, has forced the government to take action.</p>

Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (however the author criticizes the integration law, which he describes as insufficient – not suggesting alternative solutions)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

65: Europe dies when the ‘Brenner’ closes

Article Characteristics	
Article number	65
Date	29.04.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Oliver Meiler
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/italien-und-oesterreich-wenn-der-brenner-wieder-trennt-1.2971344?reduced=true
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Europe dies when the ‘Brenner’ closes

	This article is concerned with the building of a fence along the 'Brenner' in southern Austria along the border of Greece. Expecting the refugees streams to come through Italy and then Austria, now that the Balkan route is closed, this is the action the Austrian government chose to take. The author describes this as a fatality, as the end of a united Europe. While central and northern Europe looked away when migrant streams began to be an issue in southern Europe and merely referred back to the Dublin convention, these countries now deliberately cut themselves off of the problem.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (more importantly: acceptance! Acceptance to central and northern European countries)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A – he mentions that Italy closing an eye or two and just letting unregistered refugees pass, is o.k. in light of the severity overwhelming character of the situation.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

66: Erdogan demonstrates weakness - like Honecker once upon a time

Article Characteristics	
Article number	66
Date	04.04.2016

Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Torsten Krauel
Affiliation of Author	Chief Commentator at Die Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article153998019/Erdogan-demonstriert-Schwaeche-wie-einst-Honecker.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Erdogan demonstrates weakness - like Honecker once upon a time</p> <p>This article is a commentary on the EU-Turkey Deal and a comparison to a deal that Erich Honecker made with former West-Germany. He believes that the EU-Turkey deal was absolutely right and that Germany should admit that Erdogan is coming from a place of weakness and not strength: therefore his demands are acceptable. Of course Germans should continue criticizing his behaviour in terms of humanity however should not condemn the EU-Turkey deal as such.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	In line with the EU-Turkey deal: accepting those with a successful visa application and sending those without back to Turkey.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

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67: Building fences and negotiating: the refugee formula

Article Characteristics	
Article number	67
Date	08.04.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Jacques Schuster
Affiliation of Author	Chief commentator –Die Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article154156239/Zaeune-bauen-und-verhandeln-die-Fluechtlingsformel.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Building fences and negotiating: the refugee formula</p> <p>This article attempts to analyze why the number of incoming refugee is decreasing. The author points out the following: the EU-Turkey deal, Spain through its negotiations with Morocco and Hungary and the Balkan states by closing the borders. To continue this (to him) positive development of less incoming refugees, the author demands a refugee policy for Europe, which is strictly only accepting towards those truly in need.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration for those who are rightfully granted asylum in Germany.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting to those ‘in need’. Rejecting of all others.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees)	N/A

applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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68: The integration law should mainly integrate voters

Article Characteristics	
Article number	68
Date	14.04.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulrich Clauß
Affiliation of Author	Weekly editor of Welt/ conservative/right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article154365621/Das-Integrationsgesetz-soll-vor-allem-Wachler-integrieren.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: The integration law should mainly integrate voters The author claims that the integration law is much more about stabilizing the political landscape of Germany than actually trying to tackle the immigration issue. This, he thinks, isn't necessarily a bad thing since the German citizens have lately been neglected very often.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	He doesn't seem to care: saying that the integration law doesn't actually deal with integration does not seem to a problem to him at all.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rejecting tone although not explicitly mentioned.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary,	N/A

secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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69: The South tries to blackmail Europe's North

Article Characteristics	
Article number	69
Date	20.04.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulrich Clauß
Affiliation of Author	Weekly editor of Welt/ conservative/right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article154577490/Der-Sueden-versucht-Europas-Norden-zu-erpressen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The South tries to blackmail Europe's North</p> <p>This article comments on the perceived blackmailing of Greece and Italy towards Germany. The author claims both states request more money from Merkel in order to keep peace and stability in their countries. Especially Greece and the receiving country for thousands of refugees should at all costs remain stable. The author thinks that Italy and Greece aren't to be held responsible, it is the refugee streams themselves, which slowly destroy the European Union and cost it a lot of money.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	rejecting
Securitization	N/A

of Refugees	
Sectoral Issues (incorporation of refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

70: We should offer a hand to Muslim fellow citizens

Article Characteristics	
Article number	70
Date	26.04.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Susanne Schröter
Affiliation of Author	She is a researcher at a German university for 'Global Islam'
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article154761543/Wir-sollten-muslimischen-Mitbuergern-die-Hand-reichen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: We should offer a hand to Muslim fellow citizens</p> <p>The author explains the findings of her research on Islam and Muslims and Germany. She says that indeed extremism is more common in Islam than it is in Christianity or amongst non-religious people, that it is a reality that there are young Muslims who believe they should be in touch with non-Muslims as little as possible. On the other hand, she says, Islam in Germany is also a very open, curious belief that has brought forward many excellent students, writers, artists, etc. These Muslims should be supported and taken seriously by Germany and their faith should be respected. In this sense she argues that Germany</p>

	should absolutely accept Islam but should ask itself which kind of Islam it wants to see.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration and a religious acceptance (but no laissez-faire)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	acceptance
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Accepting the kind of Islam she describes as open and curious is a first step to integration, which will motivate young girls and boys to perform well in school, to dream and to as far as working as German intellectuals.

May 2016

71: No fear of visa-free travel for Turkey

Article Characteristics	
Article number	71
Date	04.05.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Thorsten Denkler
Affiliation of Author	Left – political U.S. correspondent for SZ

Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/tuerkei-keine-angst-vor-der-visafreiheit-fuer-die-tuerkei-1.2980182
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: No fear of visa-free travel for Turkey</p> <p>This article is a commentary on whether the EU-Turkey deal has been a good decision. The author is of the opinion that it has, regardless of the potential illegal immigration of Turks into the EU, been an effective decision. Effective here means effective in the sense that it keeps more refugees from entering the EU, which apparently is the goal.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	ambiguous
Securitization of Refugees	By shifting the responsibility to Turkey and keeping most refugees in Turkey, the likelihood of them attempting to cross the sea to Greece is smaller. According to the author, this will keep refugees safer.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

72: Why those from Hamburg sue refugee shelters more frequently than those from Munich

Article Characteristics

Article number	72
Date	05.05.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Hannah Beitzer
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlingspolitik-warum-hamburger-cher-gegen-fluechtlingsheime-klagen-als-muenchner-1.2973338
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Why those from Hamburg sue refugee shelters more frequently than those from Munich</p> <p>This is an interview with a researcher, who studied the social responses to the opening of refugee shelters in different regions and cities of Germany. He explains the following: in Hamburg there is a general trend of young well-earning professionals, who tend to reject the opening of refugee shelters in their neighbourhoods but like the idea of welcoming refugees to Germany. In the eastern parts of Germany, many inhabitants have low income and a weak social ties in their community. This results in the rejection of refugees because many citizens see themselves in rivalry for jobs and apartments with refugees. Finally, in Munich and the south of Germany, people are often very welcoming as they earn well and have strong ties within their communities and thus do not feel threatened by the influx of refugees. The author recommends more possibilities for citizens to design their neighbourhoods and forms of integration in order to achieve greater acceptance.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – (the author is looking for answers to find more and better ways to integrate refugees into local neighbourhoods)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system -	N/A

primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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73: With real papers

Article Characteristics	
Article number	73
Date	19.05.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Jan Bielicki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlingszahlen-mit-echten-papieren-1.2999061
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: With real papers</p> <p>This article puts the ways the German administration has been dealing with asylum applications into a very positive light. The author states that applications by Syrians, Iraqis, Iranians and Eritreans have been accepted almost 70 % of the time while merely Moroccans, Tunisians and Algerians have been sent back almost with certainty. Furthermore, German authorities have very rarely demanded verification of papers. The author also quotes a survey by Amnesty International, which states that 97% of all Germans are pro welcoming refugees to Germany.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (although this is an almost unrealistically positive account of refugees in Germany and the Germans' opinion thereof)

Securitization of Refugees	none
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

74: Dead in the Mediterranean, violence in Calais

Article Characteristics	
Article number	74
Date	27.05.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Not mentioned
Affiliation of Author	
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlingskrise-tote-im-mittelmeer-gewalt-in-calais-1.3008367
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Dead in the Mediterranean, violence in Calais</p> <p>This article is an account of the recent deaths in the Mediterranean as well as injured refugees in Calais. Within three days 3 boats sank, which led to more than 300 dead in the sea. In Calais, violent conflicts broke out between the Afghan and the Sudanese population of the ‘jungle’. The author does not make any recommendations.</p>
Modes of Incorporation	N/A

(assimilation, integration, isolation)	
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Not explicitly mentioned but article seems to aim at showing the misery that follows from the closing of borders throughout Europe.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

75: Throwing a cake is also violence

Article Characteristics	
Article number	75
Date	29.05.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Thorsten Denkler
Affiliation of Author	Left – political U.S. correspondent for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/linke-parteitag-in-magdeburg-auch-ein-tortenwurf-ist-gewalt-1.3010378?reduced=true
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Throwing a cake is also violence In a political conference a woman of the far-left party ‘die Linke’ was hit in the face with a cake. This was due to her recent comments on

	considering a maximum capacity for refugees in Germany and warning refugees not to take advantage of their 'guest status'. A man of a self-proclaimed anti-fascist initiative threw the cake. The author condemns the act as an act of serious violence, merely on the bottom of a scale of political terrorism. He furthermore believes that her opinion must be respected very much regardless of its content.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Ambiguous (it is not quite clear whether he supports her opinion or whether he is simply very much against this and any form of 'violence')
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

76: Turks suffer from German barriers to education

Article Characteristics	
Article number	76
Date	03.05.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Deniz Yücel
Affiliation of	Journalist – Welt

Author	
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article155017198/Tuerken-leiden-unter-deutschen-Bildungsschranken.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Turks suffer from German barriers to education</p> <p>The author, a German-Turk' himself, takes a critical look at the German education system, in which for decades German Turks have shown worse results than Bio-Germans. On one hand, this is because of a sort of self-victimization on the side of the Turks, on the other hand it is a structural problem. The German education system is much easier to go through if at least one of the parents has also obtained higher education. This often is not the case for immigrants. Lastly, someone with a Turkish name will have worse chances getting a job interview than someone with a German name. This needs to be changedA in order to integrate successfully the millions of refugees.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	The educational system the way it is structured today is not in favour of integrating and encouraging refugees to enter the job market successfully. This needs a structural change.

77: Faymann's resignation has to confuse Merkel, too

Article Characteristics	
Article number	77
Date	09.05.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Michael Stürmer
Affiliation of Author	Historian/ right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article155189859/Faymanns-Ruecktritt-muss-auch-Merkel-irritieren.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Faymann's resignation has to confuse Merkel, too</p> <p>This article comments on the resignation of Austria's president Faymann and analyzes what this means for Europe. The author claims that Faymann's ambiguous opinion on the refugee crisis made him 'fall'. Furthermore, if this can happen in Germany's smaller sister state it may as well happen in Germany. Refugee policy is therefore more important and powerful than ever.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Not really mentioning his own opinion, rather: whatever will be decided will be very important.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany,	N/A

employment in general)	
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78: How we have to handle the threat of terror better

Article Characteristics	
Article number	78
Date	16.05.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Michael Stürmer
Affiliation of Author	Historian/ right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article155392723/Wie-wir-mit-der-Terrorbedrohung-umgehen-muessen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: How we have to handle the threat of terror better</p> <p>This article discusses the question of terrorism in Germany that has since ISIS and the incoming refugees been a bigger question than ever. Terrorism is a means to ruin the stability of a system that a weaker opponent condemns. This is also what happens today with extremist Muslim groups. The author claims that Germany has to adapt a new approach: Germans should stop pretending like the country was still in status quo – it is an emergency situation we are facing. Instead one must employ modern technology to always be one step ahead.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rejecting but since not much can be changed now: acceptance with harsher control
Securitization of Refugees	Harsher controls against refugees, not clear in what form
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary,	N/A

secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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79: Where is Merkel's master plan for the refugee crisis?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	79
Date	19.05.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulrich Clauß
Affiliation of Author	Weekly editor of Welt/ conservative/right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article155476973/Wo-bleibt-Merkels-Masterplan-zur-Fluechtlingskrise.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Where is Merkel's master plan for the refugee crisis?</p> <p>This article is asking for a concrete plan as to how to deal with the large numbers of refugees who have arrived. Now that the numbers of daily incoming refugees has far decreased, the author's question is: what are the solutions? He criticizes the high amount of money that it will cost Germany, he false assumption that many refugees will want to leave Germany again and the unanswered question of what to do with all the unaccompanied minors that arrived.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (seeing as not much can be changed now)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A

<p>Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)</p>	<p>He predicts that if Merkel does not come up with a plan, soon Germany will face a housing, education, job and safety crisis.</p>
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80: Islam belongs to us if it follows our rules

Article Characteristics	
Article number	80
Date	31.05.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Thomas Straubhaar
Affiliation of Author	Journalist (columnist)
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article155840302/Der-Islam-gehört-zu-uns-wenn-er-unseren-Regeln-folgt.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Islam belongs to us if it follows our rules</p> <p>This article talks about the decrease of religious Germans: especially Protestantism and Catholicism seem to become less and less popular amongst the German population. The author points out that other religions become increasingly more practiced and so Germany is becoming a religiously multicultural state. This is difficult at times and will bring about challenges but as long as all religions still adhere to the national law and assimilate to German cultural values, it can be a very successful multi-religious endeavour. Especially refugees must understand the tolerance towards other religions also to avoid the (previously frequent) violence in refugee shelters in the basis of</p>

	religion.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	assimilation
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	Communicating tolerance towards other religions will help to create less conflict and less violence among refugees as well as encourage a smoother integration into German society, according to the author.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

June 2016

81: Perfidious Plan

Article Characteristics	
Article number	81
Date	03.06.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Ronen Steinke
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/Lawyer – editor in Foreign policy department

Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-perfider-plan-1.3018366
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Perfidious Plan</p> <p>This article is a commentary on how the German government should deal with the danger of letting IS terrorists (hidden amongst the streams of refugees) into the country. The author states that on one hand the audience must remember that the biggest opponents to violent extremists would be those who suffered from it most: refugees. On the other hand, he warns of ‘undercover’ terrorists who came to Germany with a hidden agenda, not as refugees. This in turn may worsen the image of all refugees and worsen their living conditions, which would please IS and in the worst case even make for easier recruitment. The government must therefore provide stricter controls in refugee shelters.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (to ‘real’ refugees)
Securitization of Refugees	How exactly these stronger controls should look, the author doesn’t describe. He is however, very clear in his logic: stricter controls -> less terrorism -> better image of refugees in Germany -> better living conditions and more acceptance towards refugees
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Refugees should also be included in the hunt for terrorists by encouraging them to speak up against suspicious individuals. (This hopefully isn’t means as a profession but he describes it as good collaboration between government and refugees.)

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82: Austria suggests internment of refugees on islands

Article Characteristics	
Article number	82
Date	05.06.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	?
Affiliation of Author	
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-oesterreich-schlaegt-internierung-von-fluechtlingen-auf-inseln-vor-1.3021556
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Austria suggests internment of refugees on islands</p> <p>This article is an account of Austrian politician ‘Kurz’'s suggestion to follow the Australian model of rejecting refugee boats in order to decrease the number of people drowning in the Mediterranean. Kurz recommends that those boats that make it to the European mainland anyways should be registered and refugees will then be sent to camps on European islands or sent directly back home – this should avoid illegal immigration and make immigration to Europe less attractive altogether. The author takes a very critical stance to this, quoting human rights organizations’ concerns with the inhumanity of this suggestion.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	<p>Kurz: clearly isolation</p> <p>Author: we can assume integration, although not clearly stated</p>
Accepting vs. Rejecting	<p>Kurz: rejecting</p> <p>Author: accepting</p>
Securitization of Refugees	<p>Kurz: sending refugees back to countries of origin or internment on Greek island</p> <p>Author: preference for accepting refugees (status quo)</p>
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary,	N/A

secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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83: Promoting refugees as entrepreneurs

Article Characteristics	
Article number	83
Date	08.06.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Michael Bauchmüller
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – SZ; Correspondent in Parliamentary office
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/pilotprojekt-fluechtlinge-als-unternehmer-1.3024683
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Promoting refugees as entrepreneurs</p> <p>This article praises a new initiative by the German economic association to support refugees in building their own businesses. By partnering them up with established companies, they will receive tutoring and thus obtain the skills of starting their own businesses. This should benefit the German economy but furthermore are thought to be skills that can be applied to rebuild Syria upon return.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral	By facilitating the contact between established entrepreneurs

Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	(Germans with and without migration background) and refugees who have permits to remain in Germany long term, new enterprises shall be created. Refugees will hence not only be integrated into the job market but empowered to start their own businesses acquiring useful skills for a future in Germany and/or Syria likewise.
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84: Where there is no will there is a way

Article Characteristics	
Article number	84
Date	17.06.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Cerstin Gammelin
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – deputy editorial director for economic policy at Süddeutsche Zeitung
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlingskosten-kein-wille-einweg-1.3038957
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Where there is no will there is a way</p> <p>This article is a critical assessment of the question of financing the integration of refugees: at the moment there seems to be pushing away of responsibilities from the national government to the county governments and vice versa. However, since Germany is a federal country, providing integration and language courses is the task of the country governments, as are the respective education systems. The author criticizes this debate: she believes Germany has enough money to tackle the integration of refugees and sees it as a lack of political will to collaborate.</p>
Modes of Incorporation	integration

(assimilation, integration, isolation)	
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	While the national government was the one to decide for open borders for refugees, the countries are now responsible to organize the integration of these refugees. This seems to be an unfair concept to the county governments but is a logical one, the author believes. Counties have to create integration and languages courses and well as job opportunities.

85: Pain of loss

Article Characteristics	
Article number	85
Date	26.06.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Alex Rühle
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/gelungene-integration-verlustschmerz-1.3047997
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Pain of loss This article is a review of a book that gathered different biographies of

	refugees. The author points out the strengths of the book: making clear the hardships many refugees face in school or in the work place but also the beauty of a successfully multicultural society. He deems the book important for our time and age to know and really understand the fates of many people arriving to Germany. He sees the book as a means to understand what it means to leave a home and restart elsewhere – a book to create empathy towards refugees.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (through Germany understanding and humanizing the fates of refugees: thereby making an effort to make them part of society)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Many biographies treat the discrimination immigrants have faced throughout their childhood in school, then university and finally in the work place. Making these experiences accessible may contribute to eradicating this discrimination.

86: Darmstadt shows that we have learned from Cologne

Article Characteristics	
Article number	86
Date	01.06.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Rainer Haubrich

Affiliation of Author	Journalist/architectural critic
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article155884181/Darmstadt-zeigt-dass-wir-aus-Koeln-gelernt-haben.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Darmstadt shows that we have learned from Cologne</p> <p>After the incidents of sexual harassment in Cologne there have been very similar incidents in the city of Darmstadt – again committed partially by refugees (in case from Pakistan). The author writes that compared to the way this issue was handled in Cologne, authorities seem to have learned from their past mistakes. The victims reported the incidents immediately and three of the culprits were arrested. What the author condemns is the unwillingness of the press to talk about the origin of the culprits. According to him it is very important to say that they were refugees and Muslims because it makes people understand how different their image of women is.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	assimilation
Accepting vs. Rejecting	rejecting
Securitization of Refugees	‘Culprits have to be punished regardless of their heritage’. Harsher consequences for acts of crime unrelated to the country of origin of the culprit is what the author demands.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

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87: Even the Huguenots were rejected at first

Article Characteristics	
Article number	87
Date	07.06.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Michael Stürmer
Affiliation of Author	Historian/ right wing
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kolumnen/Weltlage/article156027049/Auch-die-Hugenotten-stiessen-erstmal-auf-Ablehnung.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Even the Huguenots were rejected at first</p> <p>The author draws parallels between the Huguenots (a French minority that fled Ludwig XIV to several European countries) and Syrian refugees. Although the Huguenots shared the same religion as most European countries at the time and most came with great crafting skills, the ‘locals’ still rejected these new-comers. The author therefore claims that it has little to do with who is coming to the country and rather with the fact that someone/anyone is entering a community that seemed complete to the locals.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated)	N/A

refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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88: No, dear green party, migration is not a human right

Article Characteristics	
Article number	88
Date	15.06.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Dirk Schümer
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/Author/European Correspondent – Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article156184843/Nein-liebe-Gruene-Migration-ist-kein-Menschenrecht.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: No, dear green party, migration is not a human right</p> <p>This article is about the declaration that the Maghreb countries are safe (and therefore refugees from these countries may not stay in Germany) and the negating of this declaration by the green party. The author believes that pragmatically it was the right decision: that Germany cannot welcome every individual who is hoping for a brighter future in Germany. Furthermore, the problem lies far deeper than migration, it is the social inequality in many of the fairly rich Maghreb states. Looking at the Netherlands struggling with Moroccan immigrants involved in crime, the author says, Germany has to perform better.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (of Syrians, Afghans, etc.)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rejecting of migrants from Maghreb countries
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral	N/A

Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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89: It has to be possible to wiretap children too

Article Characteristics	
Article number	89
Date	22.06.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Torsten Krauel
Affiliation of Author	Chief commentator at Die Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article156466458/Auch-Kinder-muessen-abgehoeert-werden-duerfen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: It has to be possible to wiretap children too</p> <p>Germany has lowered the minimum age for wiretapping children when suspected to have plans for acts of terrorism. The author defends this decision by saying that many of the terrorists are only 15/16 and already made concrete plans with the aim of killing. He claims that it is sad and absurd that children will be invaded in their privacy but that it is necessary to keep Germany safe.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A

Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting but warning the audience that there is a real threat (from extremist youth, not refugees specifically)
Securitization of Refugees	Wiretapping of children should help to identify suspects (also among refugees)
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

90: Armed citizens in uniform increase safety

Article Characteristics	
Article number	90
Date	25.06.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Eckhard Fuhr
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article156523463/Bewaffnete-Buerger-in-Uniform-erhoehen-die-Sicherheit.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Armed citizens in uniform increase safety</p> <p>Germany has recently introduced support staff for security matter: citizens in uniforms with arms often employed to safeguard buildings etc. (they are not however trained policemen). This has caused a lot of criticism but the author claims that it is quite necessary and that it will make citizens feel safer in their surroundings when safety has become</p>

	an increasingly important topic to many Germans.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	More security in local communities
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

July 2016

91: 'Peace! Congratulations, Germany!'

Article Characteristics	
Article number	91
Date	04.07.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Martin Anetzberger
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fussball-em-friede-glueckwunsch-

	deutschland-1.3063657
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: 'Peace! Congratulations, Germany!'</p> <p>This article describes the atmosphere in a refugee shelter at a Euro-Cup football match. As Germany advances into the quarterfinals, everyone cheers and congratulates Germany. The author takes this as a clear sign for the willingness and excitement to integrate and belong to this country.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration – the author voices his excitement about the large group of refugees taking on some sort of patriotic feeling for Germany.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation of refugees into the education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

92: The refugee crisis is on a break

Article Characteristics	
Article number	92
Date	12.07.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung

Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Stefan Braun
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-die-fluechtlingskrise-macht-pause-1.3074871
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The refugee crisis is on a break</p> <p>This article talks about the creation of a new German institution to analyze world politics in such a way that crises such as the war in Syria can be detected early on. This way, is the hope, future crises can be prevented before they turn into refugee crises. The author thinks that this institution is a good initiative to finally tackle the problem in its core. Finally the Syrian war is being recognized as a global issue that the international community needs to deal with.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	<p>By making clear what refugees have to expect in Europe, the author hopes less immigration will happen from northern Africa.</p> <p>Furthermore, by portraying refugees on a more humane, relatable way in the media, violence against refugees may be stopped.</p>
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Education is mentioned as particularly important to empower refugees and take them out of a narrative of neediness and burden.

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93: Merkel meets refugee girl Reem in the chancellery

Article Characteristics	
Article number	93
Date	14.06.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	?
Affiliation of Author	
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/wiedersehen-nach-tv-auftritt-merkel-traf-fluechtlingsmaedchen-reem-im-kanzleramt-1.3078011
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Merkel meets refugee girl Reem in the chancellery</p> <p>Merkel has invited the refugee girl Reem that she brought to tears earlier in the year to the chancellery. The visa situation of Reem and her family has since changed for the better. Reem apparently is very grateful for the encounter and sees the difficulties that Merkel is facing in regards to the acceptance and integration of refugees. Reem is being described as ‘a positive face of integration’.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (with ‘realistic’ outlook on what is possible for Germany)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for	Reem is taken as a positive example for willpower and motivation to commit to integration. Her German is good and she goes to school hence it is convenient to use her as a positive face of integration.

professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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94: Why isn't there a machine to measure my level of integration?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	94
Date	14.07.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Yahya Alaous
Affiliation of Author	The author is a Syrian correspondent who used to work for one of the biggest newspapers in Syria. Due to his critical views on the regime, he was imprisoned for two years, and then released with a ban to work - he continued working for underground opposition newspapers. When the political situation became more severe he fled to Germany with his wife and two daughters. He now lives in Berlin and writes a weekly commentary for the Süddeutsche Zeitung.
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/syrischer-fluechtling-in-deutschland-warum-gibt-es-kein-geraet-das-mein-integrationslevel-misst-1.3078020
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Why isn't there a machine to measure my level of integration?</p> <p>This article is a satirical opinion piece on the experience of integrating into German society by a Syrian journalist who now lives in Berlin with his family. He describes his life, his language skills but finds it impossible to know to which 'level' he is integrated yet. Germans are supposed to be inventors and mechanics so why isn't there a machine to measure the extent of integration a refugee has achieved? After all, he says, integration is the key to be able to stay in Germany.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (critical view on integration as a requirement: at all costs, all the time)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (also wishing for more acceptance on a policy level)

Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	His experience is that integration is crucial – integration as fast as possible also putting aside all rituals and behaviour that are ‘Syrian’ and in that different to Germans. In order to be integrated into schools and workplaces the linguistic and cultural integration are almost a prerequisite.

95: War in the Heads of Refugees

Article Characteristics	
Article number	95
Date	27.07.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Paul-Anton Krüger
Affiliation of Author	SZ – Middle East Correspondent
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-krieg-im-kopf-1.3095393
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: War in the Heads of Refugees</p> <p>This article tries to put into perspective the fates that many refugees have had to face. Especially in light of the three violent attacks executed by refugees in Ansbach, Würzburg and Reutlingen. The author explains that many if not all refugees have been exposed to unthinkable violence. This however does not automatically make them violent or more prone to commit acts of violence in Germany. The author demands of his readers to remain supportive and positive towards the question of hosting and integrating refugees. More helpers</p>

	must be mobilized who can provide professional support to deal with the psychological repercussions of fleeing one's home country.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (against all media and publicity that has recently commented negatively and sarcastically towards the potential success of integration)
Securitization of Refugees	He admits that in order to avoid attacks like the ones Germany has previously seen, the state needs to come up with more meaningful ways to control refugees in cases of suspicion. And that, in his opinion, should rather be done too often than too rarely.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Other than the question of integration (to education and job markets) the question of psychological support needs to be asked. A successful integration is only possible if Germany gives an opportunity to refugees to process their experience.

96: The consequences of migration are overestimated by all

Article Characteristics	
Article number	96
Date	04.07.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Thomas Straubhaar
Affiliation of Author	Swiss economic and migration researcher
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article156792481/Folgen-der-

	Zuwanderung-werden-von-allen-ueberschaetzt.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The consequences of migration are overestimated by all</p> <p>The article talks about a European paranoia towards migration with Brexit being the best example of this. His opinion is that rather than seeing migration as destabilizing, robbing cultural identity and economic prosperity migration must be seen as a potential opportunity. Migration is not going to destroy Europe neither will it save Europe. It is, according to the author, an extension of globalisation. And it is a part of globalization to care about the global community and trying to prevent atrocities like the Syrian war thereby killing issues like a 'refugee crisis' in its core.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Refugees can be a very fruitful contribution to the economy of a country. It is for the country to create the structures that facilitate this contribution.

97: How Germany stays attractive and integration becomes successful

Article Characteristics

Article number	97
Date	08.07.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulf Porschardt
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/Book Author
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article156918503/Wie-Deutschland-attractiv-bleibt-und-Integration-gelingt.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: How Germany stays attractive and integration becomes successful</p> <p>This article claims that the reason German has been able to afford its welcoming stance is because Germany is doing well economically and citizens are not suffering. Germany has the money to take care the 1 million refugees that came into the country. In order to keep it this way the author demands for actual employment of refugees (not just the willingness to), the deportation of migrants from Maghreb states as well as collective support by all citizens.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (for non-Maghrebi immigrants)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany,	An inclusion in the work force as soon as possible will be necessary for successful integration as well as the prosperity of the country.

employment in general)	
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98: Why 'Kraft' is happy about closed borders

Article Characteristics	
Article number	98
Date	18.07.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Torsten Krauel
Affiliation of Author	Chief commentator at Die Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article157135237/Warum-sich-Kraft-ueber-geschlossene-Grenzen-freut.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Why 'Kraft' is happy about closed borders</p> <p>This article is about Hannelore Kraft's (state minister of Düsseldorf) contentment with the decision to close the borders. The author claims that currently the political landscape is shifting and that a few months ago a (central-left) politician would have not been able to make such a statement.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting but he detects a general trend in public discourse to find more and more radical measures to prevent more refugees from entering the country.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated)	N/A

refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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99: Quiet and restraint are the first civic duties

Article Characteristics	
Article number	99
Date	23.07.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Ulf Poschard
Affiliation of Author	Journalist/author – editor in chief of Die Welt, used to be editor in chief of SZ (1996-2000)
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/politik/article157238950/Es-gilt-Ruhe-und-Zurueckhaltung-als-erste-Buergerpflicht.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Quiet and restraint are the first civic duties</p> <p>This article is about the impulsive and radical assumption many made after the Munich attacks. Others offered their homes, restaurants, mosques, etc as places of refuge in the hours after the attacks when the culprit was unknown and his motives were unclear. This the author says is what we need, it is a beautiful counter reaction to something that could have ripped the country apart again.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (pleading for more acceptance, more tolerance and no quick judgments)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to	N/A

education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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100: 'Islam' doesn't explain anything these days

Article Characteristics	
Article number	100
Date	28.07.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Sascha Lehnartz
Affiliation of Author	Journalist – Head of foreign desk
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article157370736/Islam-erklaert-in-diesen-Tagen-gar-nichts.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: 'Islam' doesn't explain anything these days</p> <p>This article reflects on the various acts of terror and violence that Europe has seen in the past months. The author claims that while many of these acts might have been motivated religiously, the frequency and sheer cruelty of these incidents cannot be explained with Islam alone. In his opinion, even banning the Islam or not allowing refugees into the country any longer would not make the terror go away. One should rather ask the question: what is it these (mostly) young men are so discontent with?</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (much better integration that previously attempted with other refugees and immigrants)
Accepting vs.	accepting

Rejecting	
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

August 2016

101: Germany sends many refugees back

Article Characteristics	
Article number	101
Date	09.08.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Jan Bielicki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/migration-deutschland-schickt-viele-fluechtlinge-zurueck-1.3114094
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Germany sends many refugees back</p> <p>This article is an account of the number of refugees that have been sent back to their countries of origin within the last year. The author describes a rising trend of refugees from Iran and Afghanistan to more</p>

	of less ‘voluntarily’ travel back convinced by a free airplane ticket and a small sum of money given to them by the German government. This has been described by the political opposition as ‘inhumane practice of expulsing the masses’.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (criticizing the current practice of sending up to 21.000 refugees back yearly)
Securitization of Refugees	The recent proposed method has been expulsion. The author cites criticism that this method is absolutely inhumane.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

102: Do parallel societies exist in Germany?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	102
Date	10.08.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Markus C. Schulte von Drach
Affiliation of Author	Science journalist/author
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/muslime-und-migranten-gibt-es-

	parallelgesellschaften-in-deutschland-1.3012266
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Do parallel societies exist in Germany?</p> <p>The article discusses the existence of parallel societies: neighbourhoods in cities, in which the values and political structures of the general state of Germany do not apply. What is meant in this article: the parallel society is patriarchal, the main spoken language is Islam and the dominant religion is Islam. While the existence of these societies is ambiguous, the author is of the opinion that they definitely do exist. His recommendation of avoiding the separation of the mainstream national society and the parallel society is a stronger involvement in these neighbourhoods by the government. It is, according to him, a question of integration: structural integration in work and education, social integration between individuals of German and foreign descent, cultural integration (learning about each others rituals, values, etc. and finally emotional integration (making refugees feel at home in Germany).</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration, more specifically (again): structural integration, social integration, cultural integration, emotional integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	The state needs to be more involved and not scare away from involving itself in private matters as well to ensure for example the rights, health and integrity of women in the patriarchal structures of a parallel society.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment)	How exactly to do this isn't mentioned but the author emphasizes the importance of a true integration into the work and education sectors in order to create true integration. Even migrants who have been in Germany for generations have not become part of German mainstream society due to a lack of integration into the professional and education sectors.

in general)	
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103: Why we need short term integration

Article Characteristics	
Article number	103
Date	16.08.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Jürgen Wertheimer
Affiliation of Author	Academic - German lecturer in modern German literature and comparative studies at the University of Tübingen and author
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/aussenansicht-willkommens-und-abschiedskultur-1.3122652
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Why we need short term integration</p> <p>This article assumes that the mode of integration Germany seeks is assimilation. The author claims that this is unnecessary since many refugees have no desire to stay in Germany long term. Furthermore Germany's value of freedom of speech and expression, he says, are utterly unattractive to many refugees who have been growing up in patriarchal societies where rigidity is a sign of strength. Integration courses are not sufficient to change anything about these century-old traits. By demanding assimilation Germany denies the fundamental differentness of Syrians, Afghans, Iraqis etc. the author finds. He suggests an alternative path of 'short term integration' (instead of a) assuming a refugee wants to stay in Germany or b) sending them back to their country of origin): short term integration assumes that some refugees might only want to stay in Germany for 3 or 4 years in search of stability, safety and short term work. For this, new paths should be paved, in which Germany creatively uses the work force that these refugees offer while creating small short term settlements, which should not be government controlled but rather self-governing.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Isolation? (the word 'settlements' suggests isolation while the author claims to be searching for an alternative, more efficient understanding of integration)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Generally accepting and furthermore encouraging short term integration, which he assumes is necessary because many refugees

	only have a desire to remain in Germany for a few years.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Education isn't mentioned at all. Professional positions that can be filled for 3-4 years should be made available. These should offer a decent wage but seem to be separate to the professional positions typically filled by Germany.

104: Niqabs in the classroom

Article Characteristics	
Article number	104
Date	25.08.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Simon Pötschko
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/schulen-niqabs-im-klassenzimmer-1.3136226
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Niqabs in the classroom</p> <p>This article is an interview with a representative of the union of education and science who comments on a recent incident, in which a girl was rejected from a high school due to her wearing the niqab. The school and court argued that a student must encounter her teachers in a manner where at least his/her face is visible. The interviewee disagrees and argues the following: if wearing a niqab is a sign of radicalization rejecting this girl from school and making her feel unaccepted will</p>

	only contribute to this process. School is a place of encounter, confrontation and mutual exchange between youths hence school could be a chance to reflect on the reasons as to why is wears the niqab. The interviewee sees this incident as a weakness of a state, where it fails to provide laws and directives. She suggests that it is the teachers' role to develop a basis of trust, which will allow them to enter into dialogue with these young girls to inquire why they choose to wear the niqab or hijab and also communicate that it doesn't resonate with the school's value of gender equality.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	The interviewee argues for something I would call a hidden agenda for long-term assimilation. Her main demand is not that niqabs and hijabs should be accepted but that they should be accepted short-term and eventually when the student has gained trust in her teacher, this teacher should attempt to convince the student to get rid of the niqab/hijab because it ultimately doesn't fit with Germany's 'democratic society'.
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	The interviewee emphasized how important it is to include students with migration backgrounds in educational systems. This creates contact with German students and confronts both parties with 'otherness'. Especially for girls it is important to receive a good education to feel empowered and not fall victim to the potentially patriarchal societies they might grow up in.

105: Well integrated – or a guest on probation?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	105

Date	26.08.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Yahya Alaous
Affiliation of Author	The author is a Syrian correspondent who used to work for one of the biggest newspapers in Syria. Due to his critical views on the regime, he was imprisoned for two years, and then released with a ban to work - he continued working for underground opposition newspapers. When the political situation became more severe he fled to Germany with his wife and two daughters. He now lives in Berlin and writes a weekly commentary for the Süddeutsche Zeitung.
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/mein-leben-in-deutschland-gut-integriert-oder-zu-gast-auf-bewaehrung-1.3137007
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Well integrated – or a guest on probation?</p> <p>This article is a commentary about the fear of deportation many refugees in Germany live with every day. The media emphasizes the ‘failed cases of integration’, the sexual harassment or acts of terror and thereby fails to show the straight-A-students, the athletes, etc. He argues that people must begin to understand that there is no such thing as ‘the refugees’, that it is an utterly heterogeneous group. He says refugees suffer from the insecurity of not knowing whether or not they may stay, they suffer from the negative image and are afraid of potential terror attacks. Many are shocked about the inhumane living conditions they face and some even travel back to Syria and facing imprisonment rather than staying in Germany. The author sees that integration is considered the key to long-term asylum, that all refugees he knows invest in integrating themselves as much as possible. The fear that once Merkel leaves everyone will be deported remains.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (plea to the German people to not live with the illusion that the crisis is over, that their help will no longer be needed. Those who offered emergency aid upon arrival of the refugee streams should not stay home now, he asks.)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education)	He emphasizes the huge motivation to integrate amongst many refugees he knows. At the same time he describes the fear of losing one’s own identity by integrating too much. The problem he sees is the inability to work or receive an education or truly be integrated in everyday life in Germany as long as the bureaucratic procedure to

system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	obtain a work visa or proper housing is lengthy and inefficient.
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106: Turkey has more to lose than Germany

Article Characteristics	
Article number	106
Date	01.08.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Dorothea Siems
Affiliation of Author	economist and German journalist with a focus on economic policy/ journalist at Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article157440462/Die-Tuerkei-hat-mehr-zu-verlieren-als-die-EU.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Turkey has more to lose than Germany This article is about the threat and leverage that Turkey has on Europe and Germany specifically. The author states that although Turkey tries to put pressure on Europe, it does so in vein because today the number of incoming refugees is much less than previously. And this is not because of the EU-Turkey deal but because of the closed borders along the Balkan route. Turkey therefore has more to lose than Europe.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Less refugees = better. That is the clear mindset of the article, whether this can be assumed as rejecting is up for interpretation.

Securitization of Refugees	Ironically the author writes in terms of political power but by no means mentions that the European instrument of pressure is the money they pay to Turkey to provide for refugees and what it would mean to stop providing this money is actually a lot more than a political instrument. (personal opinion!)
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

107: Advocates for equality have never been this radical

Article Characteristics	
Article number	107
Date	08.08.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Dorothea Siems
Affiliation of Author	economist and German journalist with a focus on economic policy/ journalist at Welt
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article157543240/So-rigoros-waren-die-Verfechter-der-Gleichheit-nie.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: Advocates for equality have never been this radical This article explains the anti-discrimination law that has been in effect for 10 years in Germany. This law states that equality has to be sought in employment and housing questions and if one feels discriminated

	she/he is allowed to sue the company or person. After a statistic revealed that very few people actually exercise their right to legal action, the antidiscrimination association wants to make it possible for organizations to sue on behalf of individuals. The author thinks that the statistic was staged and that this will be too costly for Germany to really be worth it.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting but doesn't necessarily want for refugees to have equal opportunities.
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Refugees should be left to their struggle without receiving the help of organizations who could potentially support refugees in enjoying equal treatment.

108: Syrian kids lose their prospects for the future

Article Characteristics	
Article number	108
Date	08.08.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Kevin Watkins
Affiliation of	Chief executive of Save the Children UK – NGO

Author	
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article157551652/Syrische-Kinder-verlieren-ihre-Zukunftschancen.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Syrian kids lose their prospects for the future</p> <p>This article gives the example of Lebanon’s policy for educating refugees as an example for good practice. Lebanon took the decision to open up all public schools to refugees. By now they have reversed this decision and this, the author says, is fatal. Education is the most important factor for integration – in the Middle East as well as Germany.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration through education
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	By simply opening up schools to refugee children, there will be a social as well as structural integration. It will also prevent children from diverting from tracks of education and legal jobs.

109: The web is a global burka

Article Characteristics	
Article	109

number	
Date	19.08.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Eckhard Fuhr
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article157751639/Das-Netz-ist-eine-globale-Gesamtburka.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: The web is a global burka</p> <p>In this article the author claims that rather than being so concerned with whether or not wearing a burka should be allowed in public in Germany (and what it portrays), one should think about the internet and the ways in which it is undemocratic and promoting undemocratic values. Generally he thinks that it is problematic to try and force someone to get more undressed than they feel comfortable with.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (to an extent that makes sense: an anti burka law does not)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	Rather than blaming the burka for decreasing national security, one should think about the internet in such terms.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation of refugees into education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

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110: Differentiation is an imposition. But go ahead!

Article Characteristics	
Article number	110
Date	30.08.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Julia Klöckner
Affiliation of Author	CDU politician: conservative
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article157903849/Differenzierung-ist-eine-Zumutung-Aber-nur-Mut.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Differentiation is an imposition. But go ahead!</p> <p>This article is about the differentiation of the hijab, burka and burkini. The author claims that some of them have their rightful place in society, others don't and with even others it depends on the place. Very generally however, she finds that any sort of concealing of the female body is outrageous and does generally go along with gender equality in her eyes. All of these forms of concealment are a question of integration, she finds. And as long as women wear them they are not integrated.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (an integration that basically demands assimilation)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (on her terms)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees)	In order to be successfully integrated into schools, work places, sports associations refugees have to accept German values and a part of this is the physical assimilation.

applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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September 2016

111: Speechless in the classroom

Article Characteristics	
Article number	111
Date	06.09.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Jan Bielicki
Affiliation of Author	Journalist for SZ
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/lehrer-und-migranten-sprachlos-im-klassenzimmer-1.3150735
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Speechless in the classroom</p> <p>This article is a commentary on the lack of education of teachers in regards to handling multicultural classes with different levels of language. The government, says the author, is ignoring this question and leaves it up to schools and teachers to find ways of dealing with the situation. While multicultural classes are by no means a new phenomenon still there have been few attempts to offer additional training to teachers. Many researchers therefore demand an obligatory training in linguistics and intercultural competences for all teachers.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (especially in the classroom)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A

<p>Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)</p>	<p>In order to effectively integrate students with migration background into their schools it is necessary for the teachers to be able to facilitate this process. The necessary change thus lies with the teachers.</p>
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112: Study: Generation ‘Middle’ is scared regardless of material wealth

Article Characteristics	
Article number	112
Date	08.09.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	?
Affiliation of Author	
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/umfrage-studie-generation-mitte-hat-angst-trotz-materiellen-wohlstands-1.3153060
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Study: Generation ‘Middle’ is scared regardless of material wealth</p> <p>This is a summary of a survey that has been conducted on the perceived security and quality of life amongst the German population. Especially the ‘middle generation’ (30-59 yrs old) seems to be concerned about their standard of living and safety although statistics show a continuous growth in wealth. Many of them are scared to be victims of acts of violence and terror. This fear is closely related to scepticism towards integration of refugees. While in 2004 and 2014 many members of generation middle were still optimistic about the success of integration, today 67% believe in little to no chance of</p>

	success.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Rejecting (the opinion of those participating in the study)
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	Not mentioned in terms of content but mentioned in terms of perceives success: many seem not to believe in a chance of success in integrating refugees in the country or educational/professional system.

113: It all depends on the departments

Article Characteristics	
Article number	113
Date	18.09.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Bernd Kastner
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-auf-die-aemter-kommt-es-an-1.3167284
Article Analysis	
Article	Article: It all depends on the departments

Overview	This article is a commentary on the apparent failure of many state departments to provide the necessary control and care to check all asylum applications thoroughly. Recently officials found 19 false Syrian passports in Munich, which scares the general public in Germany and brings about a lot of hostility towards refugees. The author believes that in order to prevent attacks and thereby keeping intact the image of refugees such carelessness of the state departments is unacceptable.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting – though he demands for a more rigid control of papers, he describes this to be in favour of refugees in Germany.
Securitization of Refugees	State departments need to be stricter in controlling papers in order to prevent terror and violence. This will benefit the image of refugees in Germany and will prevent violence against refugees.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

114: Is it effective – and if yes, how many?

Article Characteristics	
Article number	114
Date	19.09.2016

Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Stefan Ulrich
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlinge-was-bringt-es-und-wenn-ja-wie-viele-1.3169313
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Is it effective – and if yes, how many?</p> <p>This article is an opinion piece on the frequency of international summits concerned with the topic of migrants and refugees. The author is questioning whether or not the quantity of these summits is productive. On the one hand, he finds it to be positive that finally the international community realizes that the crisis is one that needs to be solved together and that calls for action (more publicity = need to act). On the other hand, many governments are not ready to commit to action and the author fears that these summits may just turn out to be opportunity to impose more barriers for countries like Austria.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (in the sense that he condemns countries like Austria and many European countries who accepts much fewer refugees than their capacity would allow)
Securitization of Refugees	In the long run the author hopes that summits will be ways to come up with meaningful solutions on the securitization of refugees.
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

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115: Prudence in Vienna

Article Characteristics	
Article number	115
Date	25.09.2016
Newspaper	Süddeutsche Zeitung
Affiliation	Left/liberal
Author	Stefan Braun
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/fluechtlingsgipfel-vernuunft-in-wien-1.3177762
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: Prudence in Vienna</p> <p>This article is an opinion piece about the summit in Vienna. The author believes that there were good, bad aspects to it: Merkel told Hungarian president Orban that his decision to close the borders through the Balkan route was right, which he finds to be an ambiguous statement. What he sees as good and most of all as necessary is that the Vienna summit is a new attempt to communicate and then solve the problem together. He believes this isn't a milestone but a beginning, that has long been needed.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	N/A
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university,	N/A

educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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116: How conservative Islam is changing our language

Article Characteristics	
Article number	116
Date	01.09.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Thierry Chervel
Affiliation of Author	He is a media expert
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kolumnen/ueber-den-clouds/article157924761/Wie-der-konservative-Islam-unsere-Sprache-veraendert.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: How conservative Islam is changing our language This article criticizes the way we use the words ‘muslim’ and ‘muslima’ thereby defining individuals solely through their religion and putting a virtual headscarf on them, an identity they then can hardly get rid of. Since 9/11 these words are impossible to be read in a positive sense.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration rather than linguistic isolation
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation	N/A

refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	
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117: 9/11 has repercussions to the refugee crisis

Article Characteristics	
Article number	117
Date	09.09.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Jacques Schuster
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article158037315/9-11-hat-Auswirkungen-bis-zur-Fluechtlingskrise.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: 9/11 has repercussions to the refugee crisis</p> <p>This article states that with 9/11 came a new consciousness of war and terror, which had not been there before. It is a consciousness that the West are fighting against an unknown enemy, who does not fear death, the author says. Today's influx of refugees and all of its reactions to it could not be explained without 9/11.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	Accepting (but with a consciousness as to why one is accepting)

Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

118: When the bio-germans still had proofs of ancestry

Article Characteristics	
Article number	118
Date	15.09.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Uwe Schmitt
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kolumnen/made-in-germany/article158172998/Als-die-Biodeutschen-noch-Ahnenpasse-pflegten.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: When the bio-germans still had proofs of ancestry</p> <p>This article criticizes the use of the linguistic differentiation of a German with a migration background vs. a bio-German (a German that has German ancestors). The author tells his personal (to him scary) experience of finding a pass, which served as proof of ancestry during the Third Reich. In these passes every life event is marked and in a time of radical discrimination these passes were decided on life or death. This is the reason the author rejects the notion of bio-German.</p>

Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	N/A

119: We have to learn how to think boundless

Article Characteristics	
Article number	119
Date	26.09.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Thomas Schmid
Affiliation of Author	Journalist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article158356272/Wir-muessen-lernen-grenzenlos-zu-denken.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	Article: We have to learn how to think boundless

	The author of this article claims that we must move away from the word boundaries and rather think boundless. Borders and boundaries make it possible for people to reject refugees the way they do. Boundaries in the sense of maximum numbers of refugees are also useless, the author says. Germany has to deal with refugees on a case-to-case basis on not by putting up a number as a boundary. This is the only way migration and integration can work meaningfully.
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	integration
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	With a case-to-case evaluation could be meant that refugees should be regarded more in terms of what is useful to Germany and what is not.

120: This is why the refugee crisis looks bigger than it actually is

Article Characteristics	
Article number	120
Date	27.09.2016
Newspaper	Welt
Affiliation	conservative
Author	Thomas Straubhaar

Affiliation of Author	Expert – economist
Link to article	https://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article158391069/Darum-wirkt-die-Fluechtlingskrise-groesser-als-sie-ist.html
Article Analysis	
Article Overview	<p>Article: This is why the refugee crisis looks bigger than it actually is</p> <p>The author claims that people are generally scared of change, which is the reason that the refugee crisis has been blown up into such large proportions – unrightfully so according to him. Letting go of prejudices or fears of change are extremely difficult so for many it is easier to stick with old beliefs no matter what. What he thinks would be important is to start a public debate with the German population to know what they fear/hope for/desire. This is the only way politicians can know whether their people stand behind their decisions.</p>
Modes of Incorporation (assimilation, integration, isolation)	Integration (to an extent that the population is comfortable with)
Accepting vs. Rejecting	accepting
Securitization of Refugees	N/A
Sectoral Issues (incorporation refugees in to education system - primary, secondary and university, educated refugees applying for professional positions in Germany, employment in general)	In a way that benefits the population so that their fears do not become realities.