

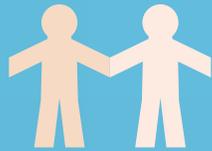
In collaboration with  
UN Academic Impact



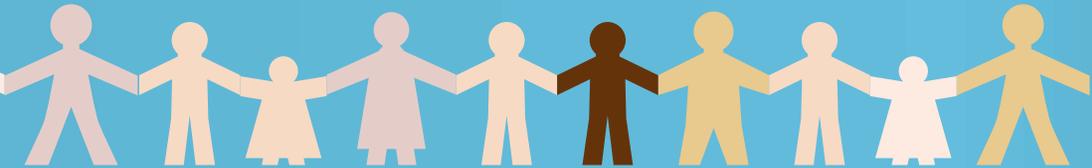
# Integration

Preface by  
**Ramu Damodaran**  
UN Academic Impact

# Index



Editors  
Ramu Damodaran  
Christian Kolmer  
Roland Schatz



With contributions of  
Michele Battisti  
Gabriel Felbermayr  
Alexander Fink  
Marcel Fratzscher  
Katrin Göring-Eckardt  
Simon Junker  
Kalle Kappner  
Prince Michael of Liechtenstein  
Michael Møller  
Joachim Möller  
Thomas Petersen  
Panu Poutvaara

# 2016

# Integration Index 2016

Edited by:  
Christian Kolmer, Roland Schatz  
and Ramu Damodaran

In collaboration with  
UN Academic Impact

1985

InnoVatio  
data driven solutions

2015

Copyright © 2016 INNOVATIO Ltd.

ISBN: 978-3-906501-18-5

**Foreword:**

*Ramu Damodaran, Chief, Academic Impact Sec.,  
Outreach Division, UN Department of Public Information*

A family was forced into a flight every fifteen minutes last year, one in every 122 human beings today is either a refugee, internally displaced or seeking asylum. These figures from the 2015 message by United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon on World Refugee Day highlight how far we have fallen short in the United Nations seventieth anniversary year, of universal assurance of the principle of the dignity and worth of the human person, ennobled in the Organization's Charter. Equally, they suggest how far removed from "integration" so many of our fellow human beings are, forced into a situation where they are strangers where they seek refuge as much as strangers where they were once at home.

For the United Nations Academic Impact (UNAI), the idea of integration is vital to the ideal of global citizenship, a sense of universal sharing, participation and identity that does not abridge, but indeed enhances the sense of belonging to one's nation. Member States of the United Nations have implicitly endorsed this ideal in their articulation of the global sustainable development goals this year, goals they have described as "integrated and indivisible (which) balance the three dimensions of sustainable development; the economic, social and environmental." Each of these dimensions can be, and must be, pursued within national borders, but each is susceptible to what happens, or does not happen, beyond those borders. If we accept that premise, the logic of integration becomes instinctive, not as an arid reduction into anonymity but as the aggregation of collective individual strengths summoned to common cause.

Over the last several months, the “Unlearning Intolerance” seminar series launched at the United Nations in 2004 has sharpened its focus in a format of conversation and dialogue most recently in a “Master Class” led by Roland Schatz, the CEO of Media Tenor. We had distinguished representatives from the academic community, the entertainment industry, media entities and non-governmental organizations, all as ready to challenge and educate as to be challenged and learn. Witnessing that afternoon’s wisdom, compassion and energy offered yet another sense of what “integration” can mean---a community of diverse paths and journeys that share a common destiny and an awareness of the destination where it rests.

To the International Organization of Migration and to Media Tenor our gratitude for their support to the United Nations Academic Impact which this publication yet again represents.

## Contents

Introduction: Changing perceptions of migration by Laura Thompson	1
--	---

### Part I: The role of the media

1. Who is in charge changing the perception of migrants?	17
2. Anxiety and compassion: The role of the media by Christian Kolmer	33

### Part II: Political perspectives

3. What happened to international solidarity? by Michael Møller	51
4. Migrations of the Third Millennium: an opportunity for Europe by Prince Michael of Liechtenstein	57
5. Germany's future in a united Europe by Katrin Göring-Eckardt	65
6. Germany - a land of immigrants by Thomas Petersen	71

## Part III: Economic perspectives

7.	Integrating refugees: A long-term, worthwhile investment by Marcel Fratzscher and Simon Junker	91
8.	Immigration: What are the benefits for the local population? by Michele Battisti, Gabriel Felbermayr and Panu Poutvaara	103
9.	How to reap economic benefits from humanitarian migration: The case of Germany by Holger Bonin	125
10.	Integration success differs markedly - Comparing the employment rates of immigrants between countries by Joachim Möller	147
11.	Asylum migration and barriers to labor market entry by Alexander Fink and Kalle Kappner	161
12.	The editors	207
13.	The authors	209

**Introduction: Changing perceptions of migration**

*by Laura Thompson*

Boeing, Steinway, Levi-Strauss and Heinz are all household names in the United States and beyond. Less well known is the fact that German-American migrants founded these successful companies. Today 46 million Americans claim German ancestry, making German-Americans, the largest single ethnic group in the USA. This figure reminds us that not so long ago, millions of migrants left Europe in search of a better life. Today, it is Europe's turn to welcome migrants. Germany, the strongest economy in Europe, now attracts the highest number of migrants in the region.

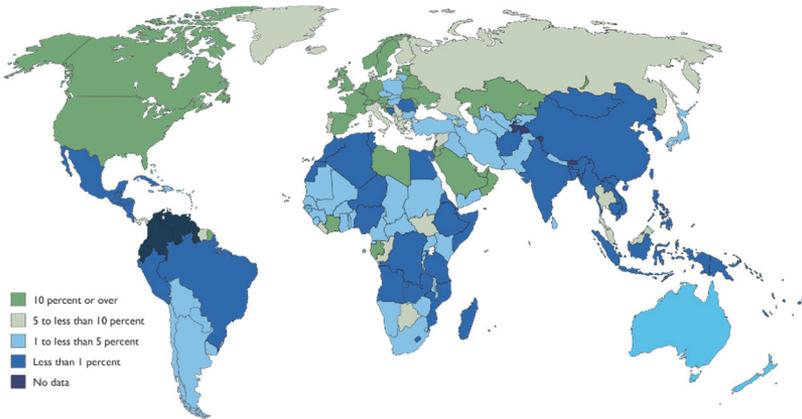
However, far from celebrating the fact that people want to come to Europe, and other developed countries, we are witnessing a troubling rise in anti-migrant sentiment. Migration is too often viewed as a problem. There is a risk that immigration policies in many countries will be shaped by fears and misconceptions rather than facts. The media have a key role to play in influencing attitudes to migration, given that migration issues receive extensive and increasing media coverage across the world.

Hardly a day goes by without migration hitting the headlines somewhere in the world. However, too often the media tends to focus on the negative aspects of migration. One recent study of 58,000 migration news stories, conducted by researchers at the University of Oxford, found that the most common word used to describe immigrants was "illegal", even though by far the majority of migrants enter and reside legally. It was also found that the most common modifier of asylum seekers was the word "failed". It was also typical for journalists to use words such as "terrorist" when reporting on migration stories, stoking fears that migration could be linked to terrorism<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> "Migration in the News: Portrayals of Immigrants, Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees in National British Newspapers, 2010-2012". Migration Observatory, University of Oxford.

**Figure 1: International immigrants as percentage of total population, 2013**



Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2013). Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013).

*Note: The boundaries on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.*

In a previous World Migration Report<sup>2</sup>, IOM reviewed the evidence regarding the media's portrayal of migrants. Several studies show that the media tends to focus on illegality, crisis, controversy and government failure, and on stories that are more sensational. When you read a newspaper or watch TV today you are likely to get the impression that there are too many migrants who steal the jobs of locals, depress wages, and place an unfair burden on the welfare system.

Media coverage has an important impact on public perceptions of migration and the way in which policy debates are framed. The media can select which topics to present and what issues to highlight. Poor public perceptions of migrants restrict the ability of politicians to develop realistic and evidence-based policies to manage migration and integration.

---

<sup>2</sup> World Migration Report (2011) "Communicating Effectively about Migration", IOM, Geneva

How can we correct this negative portrayal of migration? What can be done to change the way in which we communicate about migration?

First, we need to understand better how the world views migration. For the first time ever, IOM has commissioned Gallup to conduct a global survey of public attitudes towards migration. The full results of our analysis will be released in April, but I would like to present to you some of the initial findings from this new IOM report.

### **How the world views migration - new evidence**

Most polls about what people think about migration have been conducted in Europe and North America, and the results often suggest that the public, especially in Europe, has a negative opinion of migration.

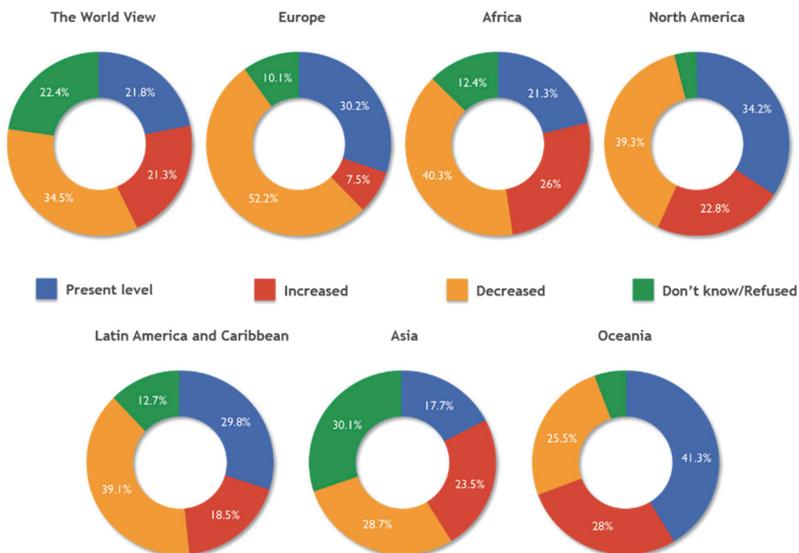
However, when we consider public attitudes to migration across the globe, public opinion is more varied than one might think. IOM's forthcoming report - *How the World Views Migration* - provides a rare insight into public attitudes toward migration around the world. Drawing on data from the Gallup World Poll, the report provides figures from surveys conducted in more than 140 countries between 2012 and 2014. The report presents for the first time a global overview of what people worldwide think about migration based on interviews with 183,772 adults.

The study finds that more of the world is in favour of migration than against it. Worldwide, people are generally more likely to want immigration levels in their countries to either stay at their present levels (21.8 per cent) or to be increased (21.3 per cent), rather than to see immigration levels decrease (34.5 per cent).

People in Europe are the most negative toward immigration, although even there barely the majority (52.1%), say immigration levels should be decreased. In North America - another large receiving region - only 39% express this view.

**Figure 2: Attitudes towards migration, 2012-2014**

**Should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?**



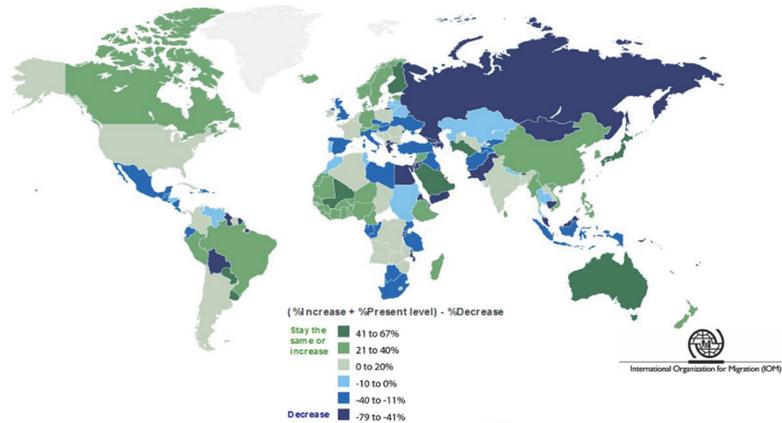
Opinions in Europe vary, however. The majority of adults in nearly all Northern European countries (such as Sweden, Denmark, and Finland) would like to see levels of immigration remain the same or increase. The United Kingdom is the sole exception in this sub-region, with a high proportion of people wishing to see a decrease in immigration. By contrast, residents in much of the Mediterranean region, which is an entry point to Europe for many irregular migrants, would like to see immigration levels decrease. In fact, adults in Greece are the most likely in the world to want immigration levels decreased, with 84% saying this. This sentiment is shared by 56% in Spain, 67% in Italy, and 76% in Malta.

Residents in Latin America and the Caribbean generally want immigration levels to stay the same or increase, with some exceptions such as Costa Rica and Ecuador. Opinions vary widely in Asia. Some countries favour decreasing immigration, such as Malaysia (82%), Israel (76%), and Pakistan (76%). Alternatively, the majority in countries like the Philippines, Japan, and South Korea favour increasing or maintaining immigration levels. People in North African countries tend to be more likely to want

immigration levels to decrease (Egypt 72%, Libya 54%). South Africa also shows over 50% wanting decreased levels. Whereas in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, with the highest percentage of temporary migrant workers in their populations, a relatively small percentages of people want to see immigration levels decrease, and a high percentage want to see levels increase or stay the same.

**Figure 3: How the world views migration, 2012-2014**

**Should immigration in this country be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?**



People’s economic perceptions may be the strongest predictor of their attitudes about immigration. Adults who believe economic conditions in their country are “fair” or “poor” are almost twice as likely to say immigration levels should decrease as those who say conditions are “excellent” or “good.” Similarly, those who say conditions are getting worse, are nearly twice as likely to favour decreased immigration as those who say economic conditions are getting better (48.0% vs. 25.3%). In nearly all global regions, people who see economic conditions as “excellent or good” are more likely to have a positive outlook on migration than those who see it as “fair or poor.”

The importance of economic factors may explain why attitudes to migration in the North of Europe, with the exception of the UK, seem to be much more favourable than in the South of Europe. The significant rise in the number of people trying to enter Europe in irregular ways over the last two years through the

southern Mediterranean countries may also explain why attitudes in the South are more negative.

Second, we need to better understand the impact that migrants and migration have in the economic, social and labour conditions of the countries of destination and countries of origin in order to communicate better and inform the discussions about migration with real facts and data. Several studies suggest that there are many misperceptions about the impact of migration which fuel fears about migration.

### **Myths of migration**

I am not going to pretend that migration does not have its downsides and that States do not need to develop policies and legislations that address them and limit the negative effects of migration. What I would like to do today is to outline some of the key benefits of migration. Too often, the media and public debate about migration focuses only on the negative aspects of migration.

The reality is that migration brings huge benefits, fuelling growth, innovation and entrepreneurship in both the countries people come from, and in those, they move to. When governed humanely to promote safety, order and dignity, migration has endless advantages. It provides opportunities, raises incomes and living standards. These benefits are important to keep in mind because in Europe more, not less, migration will probably be needed in the future. Europe's population is ageing and the EU is predicting a massive shortage of workers of 45 million in the next 50 years as the working age population will fall. With no further migration to the EU, the population of the EU27 will be 58 million less than it was in 2010 according to Eurostat data. Contrary to public perceptions that European countries do not need migrants, the reality is that migrants mitigate the effects of an ageing and shrinking population.

A common misperception is that there are too many immigrants. Misconceptions so distort reality that in some European countries ordinary citizens estimate the number of immigrants at three times more than there really are. The 2014 Transatlantic Trends survey conducted by the German Marshall Fund showed that misinformation about basic migration facts is a key factor responsible for anti-immigrant sentiment. In countries

like the U.S., the UK, Greece, Italy and others, the proportion of people who agreed that there are, too many immigrants in their countries fell sharply when people were told how many foreigners actually reside there.

Another misperception is that the majority of migrants are desperate people who come from the poorest parts of the world. People are generally unaware of the fact that South-South migration, i.e. migration between developing countries, is just as great as migration between the global South and the global North. About a fifth of all migrants move from one developed country to another. The majority of migrants arriving in Germany in recent years, for example, have been coming from other EU countries.

We need to change our mind-set and the way we think about migration. Migration is now a global phenomenon affecting nearly all countries of the world. A growing number of people are moving from the North to the South in search of work. You are all familiar with examples of Portuguese moving to Angola or Spanish moving to Argentina and other South American countries, for instance.

Too often migration is perceived as solely an immigration issue. How many Europeans are aware that the British diaspora, some 5 million people, is the eighth largest in the world? Nobody seems to question the desire of British people to move abroad and become emigrants. However, the arrival of immigrants in the UK is another matter. The migration policy debate in Europe is almost entirely focused on immigration policy questions rather than the implications of emigration.

Another common misperception is that developed countries do not need low-skilled migrants<sup>3</sup>. In fact, migrants in low-skilled jobs contribute to the functioning of the European economy by taking up jobs undesirable to natives, which in turns allows natives to take up higher-skilled and more remunerative employment. OECD<sup>4</sup> forecasts show that for some countries like Italy, sectors requiring a low-skilled workforce like home care as well

---

<sup>3</sup> Migration Policy Centre (2014), "Is What We Hear About Migration Really True?" Questioning Eight Stereotypes", European University Institute, Florence.

<sup>4</sup> International Migration Outlook 2008.

as food preparation and services will continue to grow. In other words, low-skilled workers will be needed just as much as highly skilled workers. There is little evidence to suggest that migrants depress the wages of low-skilled workers - if anything, wages of earlier immigrants might be negatively affected. One study found that between 1990 and 2000, all European countries “experienced a decrease in their average wages and a worsening of their wage inequality because of emigration,” while immigration led to a positive effect on the “average wages” of native workers and a corresponding reduction in wage-inequality in the countries of destination<sup>5</sup>.

Another common stereotype is that migrants take jobs away from local people. The evidence suggests that countries with high unemployment rates usually have lower, not higher immigration rates: this could be partly because migrants move where they are more likely to find jobs. Migrants usually take the “3 D jobs”, dirty, dangerous and difficult work, that natives are unwilling or unable to do. Migrants fill the gaps in the job market. They complement the local labour force rather than competing with it by providing skills at all levels that are needed in most developed countries. An analysis of 30 countries by Hays revealed that many countries, including the US, Mexico, Canada, Chile, Brazil, China, Spain, the UK, France, and Sweden, are facing a “talent mismatch”, which means that the available labour force does not have the skills employers are looking for<sup>6</sup>. Research from the Boston Consulting Group suggests that Germany could experience a labour shortage of up to 2.4 million by 2020, and Australia of 2.3 million<sup>7</sup>. This is not only true for developed countries. A recent report by the McKinsey Global Institute estimated that by 2020, there will be a 38-40 million potential shortage of workers with higher education globally, and a 45 million shortage of workers with secondary education in developing countries<sup>8</sup>.

Too often, there is a perception that migrants are a drain on the welfare system of the receiving country. Research shows

---

<sup>5</sup> Docquier, et.al. (2010).

<sup>6</sup> Hays Global Skills Index 2014.

<sup>7</sup> “The Global Workforce Crisis: \$10 Trillion at Risk” (2014).

<sup>8</sup> “The World at Work: Jobs, Pay, and Skills for 3.5 Billion People” (2012).

that migrants are net positive contributors to the welfare systems of almost every European country. Migrants contribute to public finances more than they take out in public benefits and services<sup>9</sup>. Migrant households contribute an average €5,000 per year to host countries' public purses. A study by the Bertelsmann Foundation shows that each migrant in Germany contributed €3,300 in 2012 on average<sup>10</sup>. In other words, if anything, immigrants make receiving countries slightly richer, rather than poorer. Migrants often contribute more, on average, to countries of destination than natives do, because the country of destination has not had to bear the costs of training and educating migrants who arrive to work. This is particularly true for highly skilled migrants<sup>11</sup>.

Another key benefit of migration is that it enhances innovation. Patent applications in Europe are higher in countries with policies to attract highly skilled migrants. The presence of high-skilled migrants and foreign students in higher education contributes to the creation of knowledge as well, and evidence shows that immigrants increase patenting activity of natives too. Networks of diaspora members contribute to the diffusion of knowledge and the presence of a more diverse workforce makes innovation more likely. Migrants file the majority of patents by leading science firms - 65% at Merck, 64% at General Electric and 60% at Cisco, just to give a few examples. First-generation immigrants or their children had founder roles in more than 40% of the Fortune 500. Immigrants are more than twice as likely as native born to found a company: they started 28% of all new U.S. businesses in 2011, despite accounting for just 12.9% of the population”<sup>12</sup>.

Companies such as Google, Intel, PayPal, eBay and Yahoo! have all been co-founded by migrants. Migrants have started 25% of US venture-capital-backed public companies and 40% of ven-

---

<sup>9</sup> OECD (2013), *International Migration Outlook 2013*.

<sup>10</sup> Centre for European Economic Research (ZEW (2014), see <http://www.zew.de/en/news/2817/the-fiscal-effects-of-foreigners-and-immigration-in-germany>.

<sup>11</sup> IOM (2011) World Migration Report.

<sup>12</sup> Wadha, v. et al (2009) “America’s Loss is the World’s Gain: America’s New Immigration Entrepreneurs”, Part IV, 2 March 2009.

ture-capital-backed technology firms. In 2 out of 4 of all engineering and technology companies established in the US between 1995 and 2005, there was at least one immigrant key founder. These companies were responsible for generating more than 52 billion dollars' worth of sales and creating almost half a million jobs as of 2005. Such contributions have only increased in the past decade<sup>13</sup>.

Highly skilled migrants and diversity in the workplace positively affect work productivity in recipient countries. Diversity, not only of the highly skilled, but also of the low skilled, makes countries more productive and richer in the long run. Gains in productivity stemming from ethnic diversity in firms are demonstrated by various studies<sup>14</sup>.

Migrants, and especially skilled migrants contribute to increased trade and investment flows between countries of origin and destination, in a way that is beneficial to both; research finds that discrimination might be a constraint to these effects entering into full action, and the fight against discrimination starts, again, with knowledge and understanding of how migrants contribute to societies in destination countries.

Last but not least: emigrants abroad vastly contribute to the development of countries of origin. The money sent by migrants from developing countries back home - 404 billion dollars in 2013 - dwarfs development aid figures, and (excluding China) is greater than financial flows from foreign direct investment and other financial transfers. Households back home benefit greatly from these money flows in terms of greater expenditure on health, housing and education, easier access to formal financial services and information technologies, insurance in the event of environmental or economic shocks". Furthermore, remittances are incredibly resilient during economic hardship in origin countries and during times of crisis. For instance, during the intense flooding in Pakistan in 2010, remittances increased by about 20%. Following Typhoon Haiyan, the Philippines saw

---

<sup>13</sup> Wadhwa et al (2007) "America's Loss is the World's Gain: America's New Immigration Entrepreneurs», Part I.

<sup>14</sup> Parrotta (2014), Trax et al (2012).

an 8.5% increase in remittances, helped by money transfer companies agreeing to zero fees for making remittances.

I have presented to you just a selection of some of the evidence that dispels some of the myths about migration and I hope to have convinced you that it is worth looking further at the positive contributions of migrants and migration and incorporate this approach into your future communications. Since the challenge of course is to ensure that, this evidence and these messages reach the public via the media.

### **Time for a new global strategy**

At the 2013 High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, held in New York, senior officials from governments all over the world gathered to discuss how to enhance the benefits of migration for development. One of the key conclusions from this meeting was a recommendation to improve the way in which we communicate about migration to address negative stereotypes and misperceptions. Although there was widespread agreement among governments of the need to do more in this area, no action plan was developed to guide policy makers around the world. Below, I suggest some of the concrete steps that could be taken to develop a global action plan to ensure that we communicate more effectively about migration.

### **Monitoring public opinion**

In order to develop a campaign to address public attitudes to migration we need to continually monitor public opinion. Although polls are conducted in different countries of the world, there is no regular global poll of public attitudes towards migration. IOM would like to see the Gallup survey of public opinion and migration become an annual global survey. This would make it possible, for the first time, to monitor globally what people think about migration each year. It would also be possible to add new questions to the current Gallup World Poll on migration to explore in more detail how the world really views migration. Such information could be used to help better address the public's fears and concerns about migration.

## **Gather and use the evidence**

Given the widespread fears and misperceptions, surrounding migration it is essential that we invest in gathering the data on migration. However, it is not enough simply to gather the evidence. We need to react quickly when migration issues arise to ensure that the best available evidence reaches policymakers and the public. Better awareness of the facts surrounding migration and the positive contributions migrants bring is likely to make migrant integration easier to implement, and reduce the likelihood of extremism and xenophobia.

## **Information campaigns - target the destination countries**

Public information behaviour-change campaigns have been used successfully all over the world to encourage people to drink less alcohol, stop smoking or wear seat belts. Such campaigns are usually a very cost-effective way of reaching large numbers of people. There is a long history of using information campaigns in the migration field. However, in most cases such campaigns operate in countries of origin and target would-be migrants warning them about the risks of irregular migration. What is needed today is a new type of information campaign, which targets the public in destination countries. Such campaigns should also use new sources of communication such as social media to reach target audiences. IOM is working with Facebook, the world's largest social media platform to engage in two-way communication with potential irregular migrants in the "upstream" countries of origin and to provide guidance on safe migration practices. Data collected from potential migrants on their skills and intentions will help match needs in countries industrial policies.

## **Build a partnership with the media**

The media lacks resources for good public service journalism. We need to work with the media in partnership to encourage more thoughtful and more balanced media coverage of migration by supporting the information needs of journalists. We want to be sure that we have a clear understanding of the type of information media needs and the format in which it is required to facilitate their work. IOM is developing a one-stop-shop for journalists called the Migration Newsdesk with the aim

of providing a steady flow of unbiased information for the media to use.

### **Ensure that the migrant's voice is heard - via Oral History**

IOM is engaging in an ambitious oral history project called The Migrant's Path, which aims to capture the authentic voices of global migration for posterity. In partnership with TEDx and Storycorps, IOM will record, preserve and share the stories of migrants with the world in a unique, timeless cultural archive. The recordings will be deposited in the archives of both the United Nations and IOM. An associated illustrated book (with cd) will be published to highlight the most compelling examples of migrant stories.

These are steps that we have identified in IOM to improve the way in which we communicate about migration, but I am sure that you can also bring many new ideas based on your experience.

### **International organizations need the media**

We live in an era of unprecedented mobility. More people are on the move today in absolute terms than ever before in human history. Roughly, one out of every seven people on the planet today is a migrant, including some 232 million international migrants and 740 million internal migrants, and billions more are impacted by the fact that those migrants are on the move. We also know that this trend is expected to continue with an estimated 400 million international migrants by 2040.

That is one billion people whose basic human rights must be respected; one billion people who deserve access to basic public goods like health and education; one billion people who contribute to the economic and social development of their home and host societies. Can we all continue to ignore the contributions of this one billion people when we talk about migration? Can we continue to communicate about migration without including them, their aspirations, their needs and their stories?

An important part of our role today is to dispel the many and all too common myths and misconceptions about migration if we are to maximise its benefits for all actors involved. It is only then, that politicians will be able to develop fact-based policies

and legislative frameworks that respond to the real needs while promoting the protection and integration of migrants in host societies.

International Organizations and non-governmental organizations cannot make this perception change alone. The media has a fundamental role in this endeavour. We need all journalists to be part of this effort.

This text is based on Laura Thompson's keynote speech on the 15<sup>th</sup> International Agenda-Setting Conference in Vienna on February 16, 2015.

## **Part I: The role of the media**

## 1. Who is in charge changing the perception of migrants?

*by Roland Schatz*

2015 has clearly been a landmark in regards to refugees and migrants and the (un)willingness to provide them with the standards and rights the world community promised to act upon years ago. As IOM already has alerted the world community, not since the end of World War II have there been more people forced to give up their homes and most of their loved ones while looking for a future somewhere else. While this phenomenon isn't new it reached the so-called first world with an unanticipated intensity. This caused tremendous effects. The number of burning refugee and migrant homes tripled within 12 months. Complimenting this, the willingness of people to help those in need on a private level is probably also at an unseen record level - even stronger than after the Iron Curtain fell 25 years ago.

Most shocking to those who were close to finally getting the Berlin wall down was the Machiavellian approach by most of the politicians based in this part of the Europe who took advantage of the free spirit driven west since 1989. Within and outside of the E.U. one had to learn that not only the Eastern European heads of states acted as if they had no problem taking billions from Brussels but now won't share one cent with those who are today in a similar need as we had few decades ago."

Nobody would have expected that Europe would act in the way the world community witnessed again in 2015 after they had already seen this particular nasty face of the worst egotism since the first refugee crisis hit Malta in 2006. Their Prime Minister then, Lawrence Gonzi, described his dreadful experience a few weeks ahead of the E.U.-African summit on migrants in plain words. The intensity in which he had to work the phones in order to convince his colleagues among the presidents and prime ministers of Europe was already alarming back then. Elected heads of states turned his call for help down by stating an interest in only helping whites or Christians in a time when he was begging them to take at least 50 or 100 or even up to

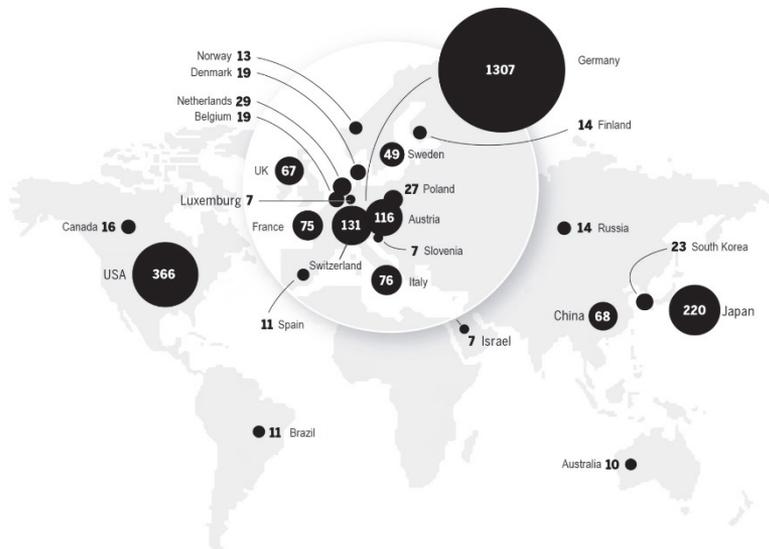
500 in the case of the U.S. Most of his calls remained unanswered. 10 years later one can say thank God as this was the start of the surprising economic success story Malta has experienced since then. Under the leadership of Gonzi, these thousands of mostly Syrian refugees were integrated and are now in 2015 the reason for another year with a steady economic growth of 3% - a success other European states envy Malta now. But this envy is without being willing to understand and accept the underlining message that Malta didn't compromise the country's culture nor its core. Deeply catholic principles remain rooted tradition. Who went back and read the papers back then when Gonzi and his team took the courageous decision to act 100% in contrast with what 10 years later seems to be the new European interpretation of its own DNA. The media narrative and the political agenda was "threat, threat, threat":

- Language problems
- Questioning of same ethical principles
- Focusing on negative examples by ignoring progress

Back in 2012, in the heat of the euro crisis, Mario Draghi called for a European media platform. As president of the ECB, he was sick of being confronted with 28 nationalistic approaches and so few voices willing to see the continent as what it has always been - rich in values, rich in culture, and most importantly the richest of all continents in regard to finding solutions to problems and turning them into economic success.

The following illustration underlines this fact only by looking at the entrepreneurial strength of Europe:

### Hidden Champions - Europe outperforms all other regions



Source: Simon-Kucher & Partners: World market leaders

Europe is outperforming all other continents by a factor of twenty when it comes to the amount of companies rooted in Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and Austria (and other regional nations) which are within their industry the world market leaders. This characteristic energy exemplifies why, in contrast to most of headlines, Europe is still robust enough to finance its way through the crisis, why the world is willing to pay more for the euro than for the U.S. dollar, and why the unemployment figures are in contrast to the media narrative.

The Malta experience is only a surprise to those to whom the resilient economic success of Germany seems to be a given, similar to Gary Lineker's joke about the soccer world championship in which he described soccer as "when 22 guys hit the ball and at the end Germany wins the cup."

The example of Made in Germany illustrates how a change in reputation is possible - and how important it is to maintain it sustainably instead of resting on one's laurels after obtaining

the first fruits of success. The Made in Germany label is known to people on all continents and helps companies from the Federal Republic to not only sell their products, but also to obtain a higher price for them. The reason for this is that the quality is right and that the products manufactured between Garmisch-Partenkirchen and Flensburg last longer than those produced by the competition. The promise of quality radiates beyond the products to the service. Customers can rely on the advice being correct and on time.

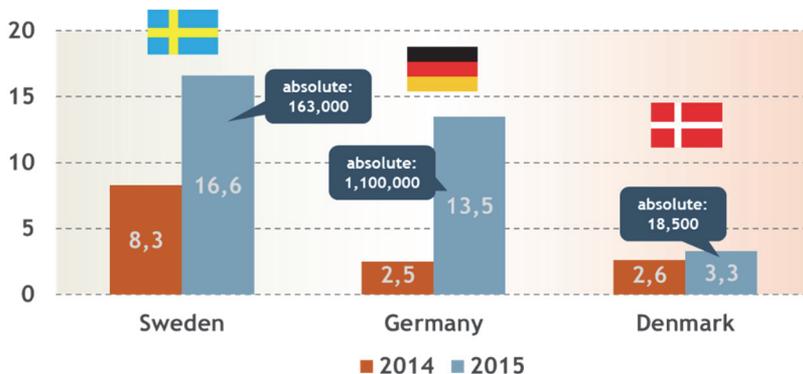
For a long time now not just companies have benefited from this reputation, but also scientists and sportspeople - even politicians. But who knows the history behind Made in Germany? The label was invented by the British in 1887. They wanted to prohibit the sale of German products in the world they still controlled then, but achieved the opposite. Customers were rarely scared off. Even more importantly, German entrepreneurs (there were no managers yet at that time) felt they were honour-bound to really do their best. The rest is history.

Although this does not explain the full story of why Germany was able to reset its energy and quality soon after its devastating experience with both the Nazi terror regime as well as with the devastating defeat experienced in World War II. Looking back into the history books, most people only refer to the support Germany was offered by the Marshall Fund, similar to the other European countries. This comparison is important to understanding the debate of 2016, as back then not all countries agreed to take financial support from the U.S. Only the Benelux, Austria, and Germany said yes to this unusual offering. But why didn't Benelux and Austria boom in a similar way as Germany did? Because Germany - and here we talk about only West Germany - was already once the preferred country for those who had lost all perspective. But after 1945, the total amount of refugees trying to find a home and work between Flensburg and Lake Bodensee were 15 million, not just one million as in 2015. The combination of both financial support plus the energizing add on, helped restart the engine, later known as the German Wirtschaftswunder.

Compared to those years after the end of World War II, just looking at the numbers leaves one puzzled. Why are people so scared to take not even 10% of what they managed to absorb 70

years ago? The most recent statistics published in FAS give a solid overview. It can't be the numbers causing the problem. In 2015 only 16 refugees came for each 1000 German citizens. In Sweden that number was 13 per 1000 Swedes. In other words, far away from 0.5%:

**Number of refugees per 1,000 residents**



Sources: Ministry for Foreigners and Integration Denmark, Migration Agency Sweden, Federal Ministry of the Interior Germany

Both countries are almost the sole ones welcoming the refugees and trying to turn this into a similar success story as what we have seen out of Malta recently and what the world already witnessed 70 years ago in Germany. No one can seriously argue that less than 1% can cause real problems. This is not true of the the human body, which easily deals with less than 1% of bacteria. Nor is it a problem when a teacher who hears less than 1% of their pupils complain complain about not understanding the subject. Nor is it an issue when a businessman loses less than 1% of his profits or even revenues.

The problem is obviously that this number is the classical bird perspective. Reality looks different at the same time to different people including those who have to manage the process and make sure in the end it is a fair 16:1000 ratio and not, as it remains today a 0:1000 ratio for 80 percent of the population and a guessed at 300:1000 ratio in those cities which are the preferred target address. But solving this problem takes leadership and basic management skills, it is not a fundamental question.

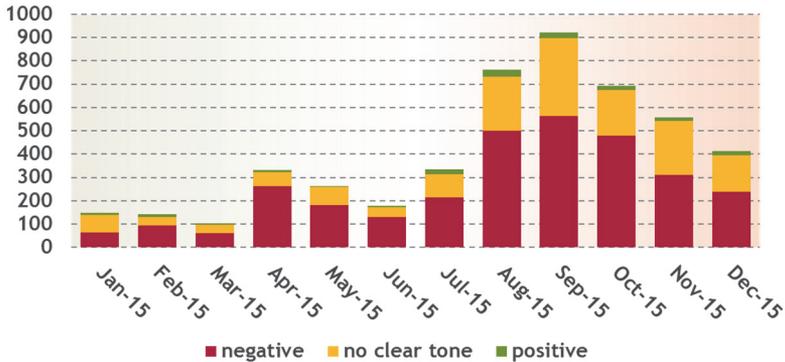
To put it into a different perspective, in 2015 with around 1.2 million newcomers entering Europe with Germany by far the most country taking the most, we should look how it is structured. The public is aware of 16 states defining the federalist country. But basically these 16 states are organized in 15,000 communities. Welcoming 1.2 million newcomers in these 15,000 communities means nothing else than that each community has had to find a home, education, health support, and work for at most an additional 80 individuals in a time when this country - and almost all others in Europe - is aware of its alarming future of losing almost 10 million within the coming 15 years due to demographics. But this is not only losing almost the entire workforce of Bavaria, but at the same time running into the dilemma the baby boomers created. 50 years ago so many children were born in Germany that they caused remarkable extra costs as additional kindergartens and schools had to be built and the infrastructure needed several adjustments. It was the same period where the country no longer had money in the bank, but started to operate on deficits and take credit on. 50 years later these baby boomers are the reason for the fiscal success of Germany, which is not related to Helmut Kohl, Gerhard Schröder, or Angela Merkel, but solely triggered by the fact that this generation is now 50 and contributes a special amount to Wolfgang Schäuble's tax income. But as nice as these actual years are for any Minister of Finance in Berlin, as scary as it will turn in about 2024 as all the baby boomers will no longer pay into the state pocket as honest tax citizens, but will expect the money to flow the other direction, into their private accounts as senior citizens who have worked hard and deserve their pension.

This is the overall scenario in which we become witness to a society torn in two directions and where only a clear perception change will support the unchanged flow of newcomers and not lead to a new disaster.

Before 2015, a great variety of people contributed to the success of Made in Germany, not just those with a German passport. This plurality of creating more visibility guarantees not only more exclusive stories but offers the media an opportunity to address many readers who must surely feel excluded due to the stereotypical choice of news from their home countries. In order for this opportunity to become a reality for our new fellow citizens from Turkey, Russia or elsewhere, the overall

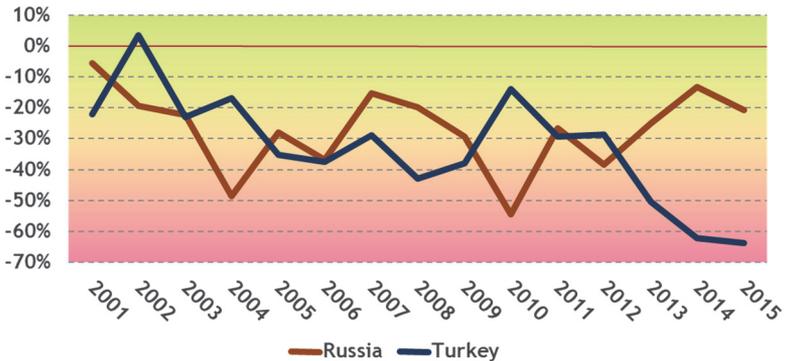
frame with which their countries are represented in the German media must change as the overall trend line is rather scary. Between the January 1 and December 31 of 2015, negative examples continued to dominate German TV news shown by ARD and ZDF.

**Volume and tone of coverage of migrants and foreigners, German TV news 2015**



Basis: 135,606 reports about protagonists in German ARD and ZDF main evening news, 4,844 about migrants and foreigners

**Evaluation of Russia and Turkey in German TV news, 2000 - 2015**



Basis: 523,209 news stories in German ARD and ZDF news, 7,001 about Russia, 4,048 about Turkey

This one-sided news selection is not supportive in convincing skeptics regarding Germany's skills to integrate those who they had asked decades ago to come and help. The emotional bridge

building is extremely difficult. In order to overcome a further feeling of exclusion in one's own country, an additional area of reporting should be considered. The following chapter by Christian Kolmer provides further data and some first suggestions how to tackle these challenges.

Before thinking about what ingredients are needed to implement a perception change, it is worthwhile to take a look into those books which help to understand the role and the impact of the media. When Walter Lippmann thought about the task and role of journalism a good 100 years ago, he described the following scene in the middle of nowhere: Shortly after World War I started, several British, French and Germans lived harmoniously together on a small island in the Pacific. Every six weeks they received shipments of groceries - including newspapers.

There were no telegraphs, let alone radios, on the island. The ship took a break in the summer and the inhabitants of the island only received their next shipments at the end of September, including newspapers for August and September. The friends then read that not only had their countries over the ocean become embroiled in war but that enmity should determine their everyday lives instead of friendship.

The award-winning American journalist, and later Harvard Professor, Lippmann uses this example deliberately as an introduction to his volume "Public Opinion", that would appear eight years after the start of the first World War. He was less interested in the unique challenge facing the island inhabitants who now had to structure their everyday life according to the newspaper, in the truest sense of the word. In contrast to their countrymen back home, they were unable to retreat behind their countries' borders. They were also not able shoot at one another with imaginary tanks or do anything else that they might think of when, from one second to another, they had been informed (via a piece of paper) that their next-door neighbor, who had up until then assisted their daughter with her reading and writing whilst he himself shared his plentiful potato harvest with his neighbor, now could not be what he had always been - a friend. Lippmann in the first instance, of course, was interested in the people in England, France and Germany who, as a

rule, had absolutely no contact with the “others” who had become the official enemy with the declaration of war on the August 3 and 4, 1914.

In decades gone by, this enmity had mainly been a matter for the few who held leadership positions in their country and thought that they could command their subjects as to what their commercial, religious, or other purpose was. With the rise of democracy in England and the first attempts at it on the continent it was precisely this that changed: Without a form of consent, it was no longer as easy to motivate people to risk their lives without receiving something real in return. How could this consent or rejection be arranged?

As a journalist, Lippmann was fascinated by the various forces that played a role in the minds of people during the opinion-forming process. Together with two friends he founded the magazine “The New Republic” in the year that World War I started and a few years later became adviser to U.S. President Wilson and assisted in the drafting of the 14-point peace plan. With content analyses on the New York Times, he tried to find out the extent to which its readership had a chance of verifying both sides of a contentious matter solely by reading the newspaper. His thoughts on the role of journalists as “gatekeepers” made him famous and he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize.

His main observation from his book “Public Opinion” could be of interest to the Integration Index in general and the role of the media in the representation and perception of foreigners, migrants, and countries outside of the Federal Republic of Germany in particular. “The world that we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind. It has to be explored, reported, and imagined. Man is no Aristotelian god contemplating all existence at one glance. He is a creature of an evolution that can just about span a sufficient portion of reality to manage his survival, and snatch what on the scale of time are but a few moments of insight and happiness. Yet this same creature has invented ways of seeing what no naked eye could see, of hearing what no ear could hear, of weighing immense masses and infinitesimal ones, of counting and separating more items than he can individually remember. He is learning to see with his mind vast portions of the world that he could never see, touch, smell, hear, or remember. Gradually he

makes for himself a trustworthy picture inside his head of the world beyond his reach.”

What key scene would Lippmann have chosen today to explain to scientists, politicians, journalists and businessmen why Europe again struggled so extensively with the migrants coming in 2015? He would have informed his peers about the NSU court case and the long lasting blind eye of German authorities in recognizing the growth of right-wing extremists who were left without perspective and now turned this frustration into crime and a polluted public appearance fueled by the Pegida movement and the newly formed AFD party - a clear reaction to almost 30 years of dishonest leadership from all stakeholders towards those who had been asked to come to Germany in order to keep the economic miracle running after the 15 million refugees had been absorbed.

He might have asked the Slovaks and Czechs why, so soon after the fall of the Berlin wall, they only had one thing in mind - dissolving Czechoslovakia again and finding a way to Europe separately. We would have made a stop in Switzerland that did not appear to have been involved in the First or Second World War. When looking at the election posters of the Swiss People's Party (Schweizerische Volkspartei) in recent years, the parallels to the motives of the NSDAP would have been painstakingly clear. In the reading of the recent decision by the national parliament, where the right granted in 2011 to the Supreme Court of Lausanne to amend unconstitutional laws was again withdrawn, he would have become aware that an emotional abyss was becoming visible behind the national that could not be solved with well-meaning integration laws alone. But why, of all places, is it Switzerland, whose citizens have for 170 years exemplified that conflicts cannot be solved with war? Why in Switzerland, whose people have created enough wealth to allow the country to retain its lifestyle habits for four years if the worst possible event were to occur: everything to suddenly come to an end without any prospect of further income? If even in this country more than one third of the population not only feels that they are being directly addressed with cheap xenophobic slogans, but time and again openly give their party representatives recognition by voting for them, then the challenges of successful integration, or interculture, are greater

than presumed to date. Lippmann would have cautiously remembered the mood 100 years ago reading the latest court ruling from Lausanne in 2014 giving a neo-Nazi the backing of the Swiss Supreme Court that he would not be charged because of using the Hitler greeting - as long as this would not be done for promotion reasons. This ruling by the highest judges came 3 months into place after the voters supported the Anti-Foreigner referendum by the SVP. In 2015 almost all Swiss Media used the SVP jargon in speaking about “foreign judges” when they have to mention the European courts, who still have the final word for what is happening in a country in the midst of Europe and which economic, cultural and scientific existence would be close to zero without its neighbours in Italy, France, Germany, Austria and Liechtenstein.

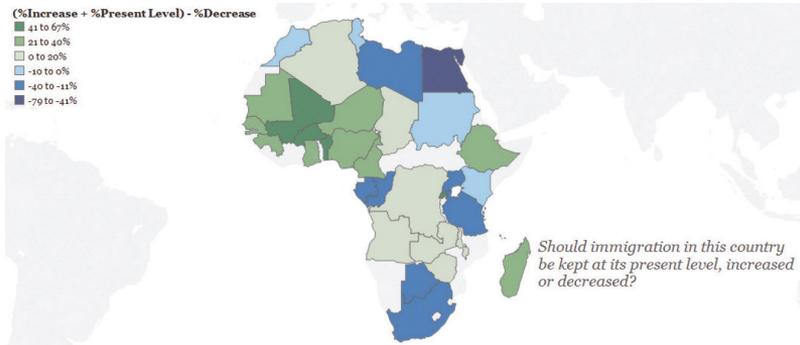
Headlines from South Africa would alert the Harvard scholar about the most recent short comings in spring 2015. Xenophobia is not only a phenomenon to be observed in the so-called “rich” countries of the Northern hemisphere. As a large part of the migrants stay in the region of their origin, many poor countries are challenged by the inflow of migrants. And the reaction is very often as hostile as in developed countries. It started initially in January in a series of attacks against foreign owned shops in Soweto. Police were deployed rapidly to the area and contained the situation. However, tensions towards foreigners re emerged again in April when the violence exploded in parts of Durban and then spread again to parts of Soweto in Johannesburg. The violence became so severe that the army was deployed.

Similar to the situation in Europe and Asia, a large part of the population has only limited contact to migrants at large - and refugees in particular, but this violence against people that have lost everything on their journey shows that many people in host countries feel threatened by the newcomers. This is not the only possible reaction, so the question is: Why are in some regions of the world the reactions hostile, while in others citizens are more aware of the value coming with every newcomer as a worker and as a member of the society with additional experience and knowledge?

Just take a look at the forthcoming IOM report “How the World Views Migration.” Gallup has run the polls on a global level, as

well in African countries again in 2014, after having asked the people already 2012. The results speak a clear language:

### How African countries view migration, 2012-2014



Source: IOM

Does it mean that those countries in deep blue are Xenophobic? Surely not. Just take the example in the south. South Africa has become the rainbow nation for several reasons, but one was its fundamental understanding of the vast majority of how precious every member of its society was and is, no matter which color, religion, or passport they have. So if the public opinion results show severe concerns it is less a question of the same people who used to have an open heart when based on the DNA now turning the opposite, but how they have been supported with facts during the latest developments in their own country and abroad?

### Learning from Singapore and Israel

At the same time, Lippmann would have shared the great experience provided by Singapore's government, which almost doubled the number of inhabitants in few years based on the clear understanding that this state, which just celebrated its 50th anniversary needed to reinvent itself in order to not lose momentum. It was clear to the establishment that this would not come only by empowering people's own communities. Leaders in Singapore didn't just open the borders, but invested heavily in a fitting infrastructure, new attractive homes, education, and workspaces to implement a truly welcoming culture. There is still room for improvement, but to all those in Europe it is a worthwhile trip.

Perhaps a stopover in Israel is also recommended, as this other young state is currently integrating thousands and thousands from all parts of world with all different cultures and traditions. It is too simple to look down on what is achieved in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, or Eilat by saying they are all Jews and therefore share a root in the same faith. First of all, within Judaism there are as many different directions as there are amongst Protestants, Muslims or Hindus, etc. But furthermore, it makes a massive difference if somebody was raised in Morocco, Sudan, Russia, Norway or the U.S. All arriving at the Ben Gurion airport carry these traditions and habits with them while they unpack their suitcases, assuming they even have one. What attracted the world's attention in September 2015, seeing Germans standing and singing with welcome signs at the train stations in Bavaria has been a daily routine in Israel for years. Local authorities are trained to make sure this sentiment becomes reality once the songs come to an end.

Officials all over Europe would likely respond that in total those arriving in Israel are less than what Italy, Greece, Hungary, Austria, Germany, and others have been experiencing since Summer 2015. "We were caught by surprise and therefore couldn't prepare," is the most read sentence since last August. How does such a sentence sound in the ears of someone in Israel?

This brings us to the key theme of this chapter: What needs to be done to implement a perception change?

First of all, journalists need to grow up to their own standards. Why were these European officials not confronted directly with the question of how they could be surprised when it was mostly European countries that had not paid the agreed amount to UNHCR at the donor conference in Kuwait back in 2014? Journalists could and should have gone regularly to the websites of UNHCR and the World Food Program and all the other entities involved in trying to help in the refugee and migrant challenge in order to find out which countries had paid and which had not. As UNHCR has stated, this unseen amount of people in need was caused not just by the war in Syria. The level of need was at least \$5 Billion and (only) by request would UNHCR confirm the percentage of received funds. In October it was an appalling 42% of this \$5 billion. Not October 2014, but October 2015. In other words: it was obvious to everyone, most importantly to

the journalists, that UNHCR would no longer be able to serve those in need with the same standards, such as 3 times food a day once winter came to an end in early 2015. Families being cut to one dish per day cannot be expected to stay in those tents in Jordan, Turkey, or Lebanon. So as a logical and clearly not surprising consequence, some decided to go back and risk their lives within the exploding bombs in Syria. Others decided to risk their lives by putting themselves in the hands of the trafficking mafia. And I stand by ingredient Number 1 in order to make a perception change possible. The media was alerted that this problem was again caused by European states. Back in 2001 they signed a declaration moving the responsibility from the state to airlines by making them in charge of checking, if somebody has a valid visa or not. Countless editorial teams have been alerted about this problem. Easy to understand videos exist produced by Hans Rosling, but only few published these facts and confronted the leading politicians with this nonsense. The prime reason for uproar is that growing extremism is always the same. Uncertainty caused by a lack of information which leads to a fundamental trust meltdown in all involved: Journalists, politicians, academia, and NGOs. Media usually argue that they have no space, that there is too much going on, and that they couldn't cover the topic. But in regards to reporting on migrants and refugees there was no other issue receiving more airtime than this. Yet there were no front page stories confronting the heads of state regarding why they had not paid UNHCR the amount they had promised a few months prior.

Which leads to the second ingredient necessary to making perception change possible. The ongoing unprofessionalism within politics on both the country and international level has to come to an end. While most local authorities have to grow into better standards as their pointing fingers at others is rarely accepted by voters, on a national and international level leaders still think that this irresponsible behavior is still acceptable. The fact that almost all governments in Europe have been voted out of office recently should serve as the writing on the wall. People are simply no longer willing to accept the same answers for longer than six months.

The third ingredient speaks to the UNHCR and IOM themselves. In today's world it is no longer enough to hold a press conference and distribute press releases. Any media relations department is accountable for solely one thing: Making sure the message makes it into the evening news, is printed on all channels, tabloids, regional, as well as national newspapers, radio, and, social media. To many, the serving entities still have a positive image but only because the cause of their work is "good," and it is believed that the rest will fall into place without accepting standard principles. If someone dislikes working the phones to call journalists, if they aren't interested in reading their texts in order to find out which journalists fits our data and expertise the best, if they hate reducing complexity in both words, photos, and graphs - nothing is wrong with that. This type of work needs to be loved. But those who feel uncomfortable with an accountable and transparent way of "selling stories" should work anywhere but a media relations department. This is true not only for the NGO world.

Laura Thompson has made it clear in her preface that we are not only a planet of migrants, but that this planet has achieved so much most thanks to the fact that people are on the move and have been for centuries. Because this is part of human DNA, the world is improving, people now look clearly better than 20, 50 or 100 years ago. Understanding these facts and embracing the value of change doesn't mean one has to turn a blind eye to all shortcomings. Rather the contrary. Ongoing reporting on mistakes (as well as success) can trigger the debate which leads to improvement.



## 2. Anxiety and compassion: The role of the media *by Christian Kolmer*

### Long-term trends: Getting familiar with the new citizens

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in October 2015, more refugees came to Europe than in all of 2014.<sup>1</sup> A great majority of them wants to apply for political asylum in Germany. This challenge has been compared to the integration of the Germans that had been displaced from Germany's Eastern provinces after World War II because of its epic dimensions.

The number of refugees from the Maghreb and from war-torn Syria has been on the rise for some time and media coverage has alerted the public to this looming humanitarian catastrophe already in 2013. The long-term analysis in figure 1 shows that migration issues had disappeared from German news in the late 1990s when the number of war refugees and asylum seekers subsided after the end of the Balkan wars.

Germany had experienced notable problems with the admission and integration of war refugees in the early 1990s with a wave of rioting near homes for asylum seekers and arson attacks on immigrant families. However, with the decrease of the number of asylum seekers in the first decade of the new millennium media interest decreased significantly.

In fact, the demographic challenge in Germany, which is marked by a rapidly aging society, has led many experts to the conclusion that a well-managed immigration policy might be the key to ensure Germany's prosperity in the future.<sup>2</sup> The event-driven criteria of news selection have impeded in-depth

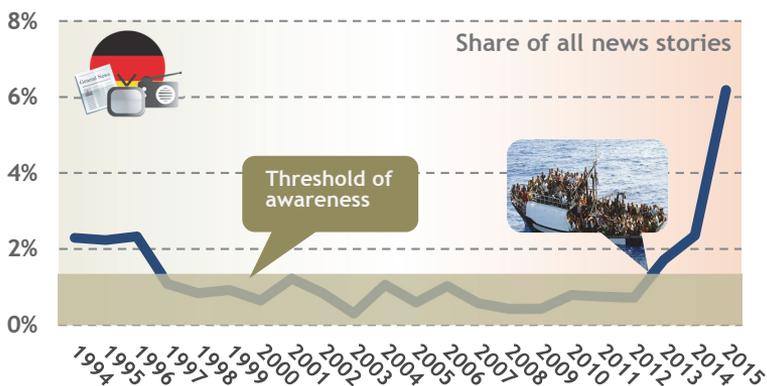
---

<sup>1</sup> UNHCR spokesperson Adrian Edwards on Twitter, November 2, 2015, <https://twitter.com/AdrianEdwrds/status/661139625554128896>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. The ifo research project on "Optimal Immigration Policies in Europe: From Conflicting Interests to Mutual Gains", [https://www.ifo-group.de/ifoHome/research/Projects/Archive/Projects\\_IV/2015/proj-iv-optimale-immigrationspolitik.html](https://www.ifo-group.de/ifoHome/research/Projects/Archive/Projects_IV/2015/proj-iv-optimale-immigrationspolitik.html)

reporting about the challenges and opportunities for most of the years between 1997 and 2013. As the overall share of coverage of migration issues stayed below the threshold of awareness, which is located at a share of 1.5% of coverage on the level of the news story, public awareness of this issue complex remained limited.

**Figure 1: Coverage of migration, refugee and asylum issues in German TV and print media, 1994-2015**



Basis: 10,185 news stories about migration issues and refugees out of a total of 950,956 news stories in Bild, Focus, Spiegel, ARD Tagesschau und Tagesthemen, ZDF heute and heute journal, 6.8.1994-15.8.2015 (Tagesschau/heute from 5/1996, Bild from 1/1999)

The attacks on the United States in November 2001 shifted the public debate to the overall relationship with Islam and - on the domestic level - to the integration of Muslims in Western countries. In fact, the attacks of 9/11 did not register strongly with German media and the German public at all. In December 2001 about 8% of Germans mentioned immigration among the most important problems facing the country.<sup>3</sup>

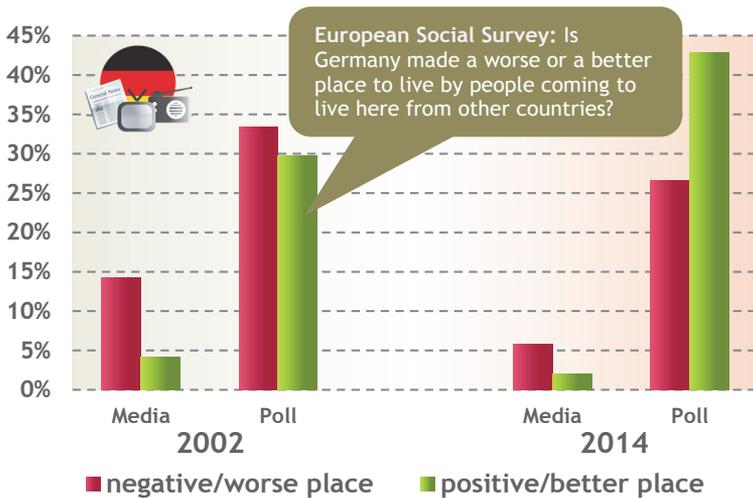
One key event changed not only the media perspective but public awareness as well. The boat catastrophe of Lampedusa, when about 400 refugees drowned on October 2013. Since then

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Langzeitentwicklung\\_-\\_Themen\\_im\\_Ueberblick/Politik\\_II/#Probl2](http://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Langzeitentwicklung_-_Themen_im_Ueberblick/Politik_II/#Probl2)

the migration has stayed above the awareness threshold in Germany. The share of Germans mentioning migration as a top issue has stayed above 10% from that time on, reaching a peak in 88% in October 2015. As media coverage was more sustained, reporting about the plight of the refugees helped to raise compassion and helpfulness over the years.

Public awareness is only a precondition for a favorable perception of migration and migrants. While the media have emphasized the problems of migration, the evaluation of migrants has become friendlier. A look at the explicit tone on migrants - with words like “hard-working” or “well-educated” as against “criminal” or “parasite” - shows a marked shift in German media in figure 2.

**Figure 2: Explicit media tone on migrants and public opinion towards migrants in Germany, 2002 vs. 2014**



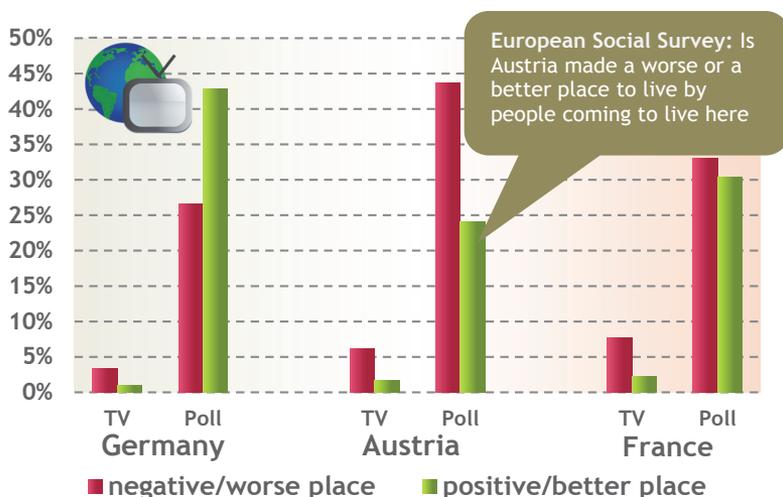
Basis: 6.268 stories about migrants as main protagonists in Bild, Focus, Spiegel, ARD Tagesschau and Tagesthemen, ZDF heute and heute journal; ESS Round 7: European Social Survey Round 7 Data (2014). Data file edition 1.0. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway - Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC; ESS Round 1: European Social Survey Round 1 Data (2002). Data file edition 6.4. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway - Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.

While in 2002, negative characterizations amounted to almost 15%, the share of explicitly critical stories dropped by 2/3 until 2014. A comparison with the European Social Survey shows that

people in Germany have started to see the benefits of migration. In 2014, more than 40% thought that Germany becomes a better place by the people coming to live here from other countries. 25% feared that Germany becomes a worse place - down from 33% in 2002. In the same, time the share of Germans thinking that there are already too many foreigners in Germany more than halved from 38% in 2003 to 18% in 2014.<sup>4</sup>

A comparison of Germany with its Austria and France underlines the impact of critical reporting. In both countries, TV coverage is more negative - and the public sees more risks than opportunities.

**Figure 3: Explicit media tone on migrants and public opinion towards migrants, Germany, Austria, France, 2014**



Basis: 3,044 reports about migrants as main protagonists in ARD Tagesschau and Tagesthemen, ZDF heute and heute journal, ORF ZIB 1 and TF1 Le Journal; ESS Round 7: European Social Survey Round 7 Data (2014). Data file edition 1.0. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway - Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.

When the numbers of people fleeing to Syria started to rise in 2014, the German public was therefore already aware of the humanitarian dimension of the development. However, a focus on the immediate challenges to German society, authorities and

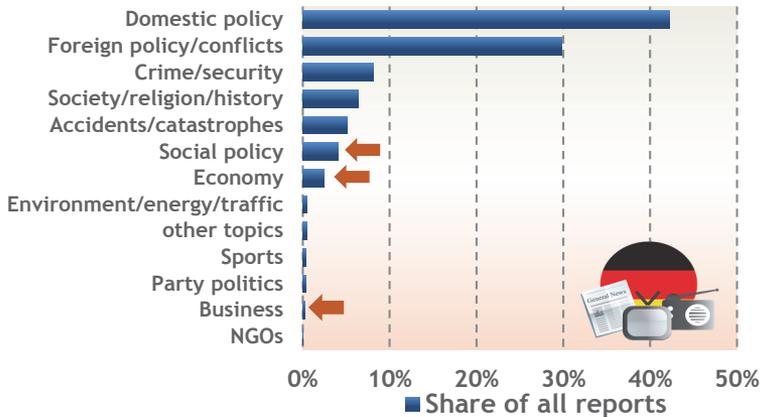
<sup>4</sup> Tagesspiegel 06.09.2015

political leaders and the suffering of the migrants has contributed to a one-sided perception of migration as an unmitigated calamity.

**Deficits of reporting: Migrants as a problem**

German media have studiously avoided painting migrants as negative in themselves, but a topic focus on asylum policy, the international background and security issues has framed the newcomers as objects of political and social treatment - not as protagonists.

**Figure 4: Coverage of migrants in German media, 2014:  
Topic structure**

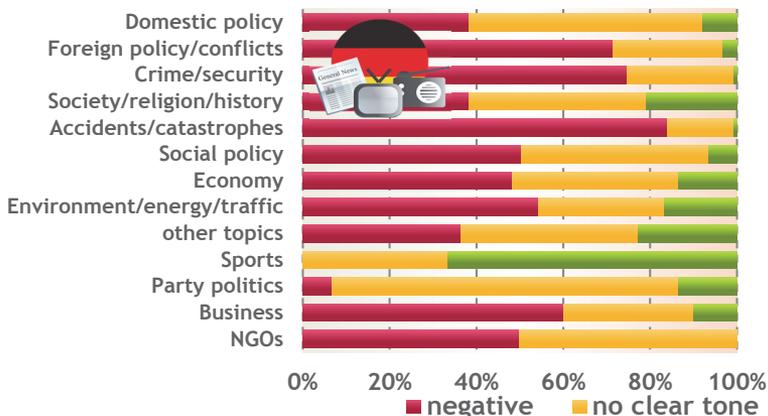


Basis: 4,849 reports about migrants in 19 opinion-leading German TV, radio and print media

Migrants and refugees barely turn up as active contributors to German economic and social development. Actually, economy, business and social policy - including health and old-age provision - accounted for less than 7% of all reports about migrants in 2014.

German media have consistently highlighted the problems when reporting about migrants. While the heartrending reports about the situation in the refugee camps and the perilous flight over the sea have contributed to the compassionate welcome of migrants in Germany in the summer of 2015, the overall perception of migration has been mostly unfavorable.

**Figure 5: Tone coverage of migrants in German media, 2014: Topic structure**



Basis: 4,849 reports about migrants in 19 opinion-leading German TV, radio and print media

For most aspects of reporting, the downside shapes the perception by the media. There are only two interesting exceptions to this observation: When it comes to sports, German media have highlighted successful examples of integration and the contribution of migrants to German success on the field. Especially soccer stars with a Polish or Turkish migration background have been prominent in this background. Another exception is the field of party politics, as the media have reported in a widely balanced of neutral way about the few leading German politicians that have migrated to Germany themselves or stem from migrant families.

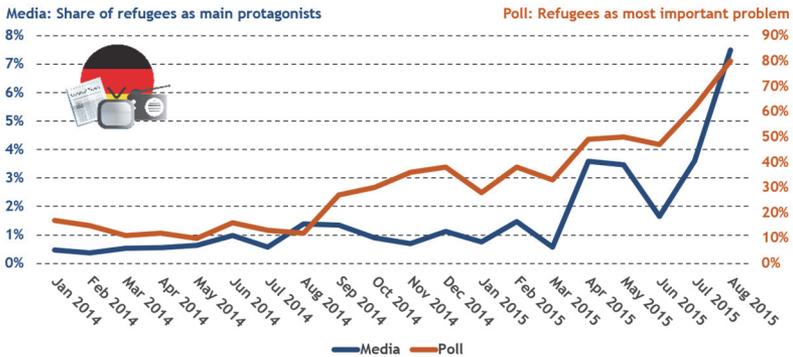
In the context of social policy, economy and business, negative aspects tend to dominate reporting, from the problems of integrating the newcomers into the labor market to the still existing differences in cultural and social life. The millions of immigrants that have adapted very well to the German style of living and their contribution to prosperity have been mentioned only infrequently in 2014. Without political, religious and business leaders emphasizing what has already been accomplished, the upside of migration remains to be neglected in public debate. In the long-term view, overall coverage of migrants was positive only in October 2011, when Germany officially remembered the

start of Turkish guest workers coming to the country 30 years ago.

### Coping with a growing numbers of refugees

Migration to Europe at large and to Germany in particular accelerated dramatically in 2015. German media followed the events only intermittently until July 2015. Reporting had been distracted by the Paris attacks on the Charlie Hebdo magazine and a Jewish hypermarket in January, the crash of Germanwings flight 4U9525 in March 2015 - an event that received relatively more reporting than any other incident in the 22 years of Media Tenor’s ongoing analysis of opinion-leading media in Germany.

**Figure 6: Media coverage of refugees and the polls, January 1, 2014-August 19, 2015**



Basis: 71,457 news stories in 19 opinion-leading German TV, radio and print media; FG Wahlen Politbarometer among 1,700 adults in Germany, [http://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Langzeitentwicklung\\_-\\_Themen\\_im\\_Ueberblick/](http://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Langzeitentwicklung_-_Themen_im_Ueberblick/)

While media the focus on migration decreased again after May 2015, when the news focused on the negotiations about the third rescue package for Greece, public awareness of migration continued to stay on the already comparatively high level of 30%. Migration issues have been consistently prominent in the Politbarometer poll of Forschungsgruppe Wahlen since 2013. Intermittent reporting about the ongoing exodus of refugees from Syria and their interim camps in Turkey kept the public aware of the persisting nature of the migration pressure on Europe’s borders. Debates about political consequences, like, e.g., the

patrolling of Mediterranean waters by European navies or the extraordinary visit of Pope Francis to the refugee camp on the Italian island of Lampedusa have supported the perception of urgency. Activities to welcome and support war refugees in Germany have therefore already increased even on the local level in many places in Germany - while at the same time the scope of philanthropic measures was still rather limited in comparison with events in the summer of 2015.

Another indicator of the impact of media coverage on public perception was the evolvement of the xenophobic PEGIDA movement in Dresden in the second half of 2014.<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that support for the anti-immigrant rallies was significant in Eastern Germany, where the share of migrants from the overall population is rather limited, while on the other hand PEGIDA did not gain sufficient support in West German cities like Cologne or Düsseldorf.

The migration debate escalated in late summer of 2015, probably triggered by the approaching closure of the Hungarian border to Serbia with a massive fence by the right-wing Orban government. When German politicians returned from their summer holiday in late July, the landscape had changed.

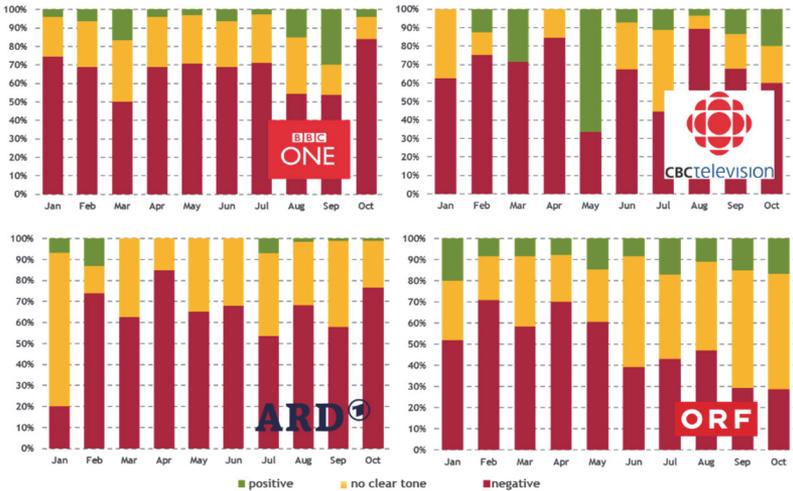
First reactions to the images of large numbers of desperate refugees trying to reach safety in the EU were very compassionate. The spectacular of Germans welcoming the war refugees to their countries, led to a lower negative media coverage of the refugees, not only in Germany, but as well in neighboring countries, and even beyond the Atlantic Ocean in Canada.

However, the media climate changed markedly in September as the flow of migrants continued to increase on the high level of the summer months and the media continued to track the ensuing problems on a day-by-day basis.

---

<sup>5</sup> The acronym PEGIDA stands for „Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident“.

**Figure 7: Tone of coverage of migrants in international TV news, 1-10/2015**



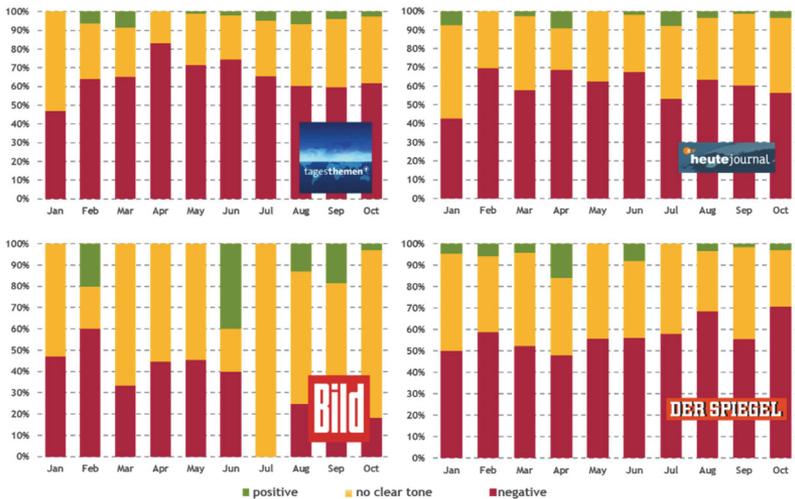
Basis: BBC - 23.259 / CBC - 11.279 / ARD - 26.133 / ORF - 30.814 reports about protagonists

The persistent negative tone on migrants in German ARD TV stands out against a more differentiated view in TV programs from other countries. At the same time, it is significant that negativity reached top levels in BBC One and ARD news in October 2015 - emphasizing the increasing strain on Germany.

The cross-country comparison of main evening TV news illustrates the wide-ranging co-orientation between international TV programs as they depend largely on the same sources of visual material. Reporting about the refugee crisis has been shaped widely by gripping visuals, like that of three-year-old Aylan Kurdi drowned on the coast of the Turkish beach resort of Bodrum on September 2, 2015.

Differences between German TV programs have likewise been limited as the comparison of ARD and ZDF news magazines shows in figure 9. Bild-Zeitung, Germany's leading tabloid has followed a very different course in its coverage of the migrants. The paper did not focus entirely on the downside already in the first half of the year, and in June and July, it highlighted the efforts to accommodate the refugees.

**Figure 8: Tone of coverage of migrants in German media, 1-10/2015**



Basis: Tagesthemen - 30.384 / heute journal - 30.040 / Bild - 12.745 / Spiegel - 27.909 reports about protagonists

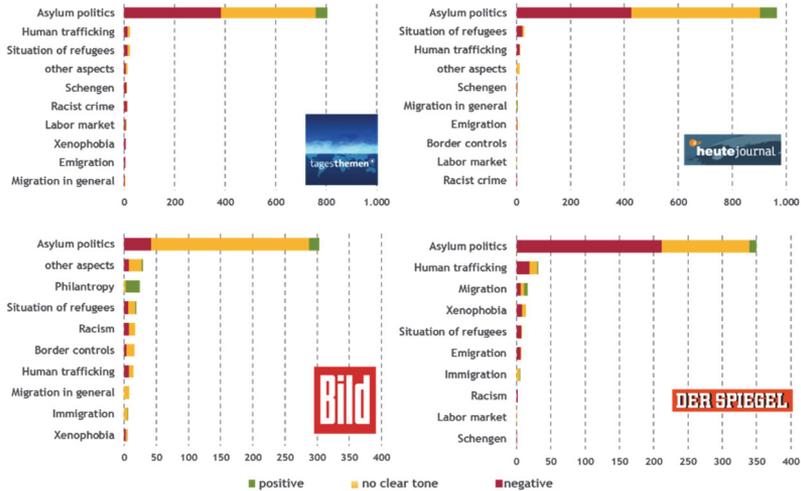
While Bild-Zeitung has shown how Germans might possibly come to grips with the growing number of refugees, the ongoing flow of problem-focused news on TV has had a chilling effect on the public mood in Germany. In September 57% of Germans were optimistic that Germans “can bear the many refugees”<sup>6</sup> - quite in line with the dictum by Chancellor Merkel “Yes, we can” from the beginning of September.

In October, the majority of Germans has turned skeptical, with 51% of the respondents doubting that Germany can deal with this challenge. In this context, the long-standing media coverage of the problems of integrating is resurfacing in the minds of the public. Reporting in Spiegel, Germany’s leading weekly political magazine, has followed this skeptical line for the whole time of the year of 2015, leading to a marked increase of the share of negative news on migrants in late summer and early autumn.

<sup>6</sup> Forschungsgruppe Wahlen: Politbarometer Oktober II 2015, KW 43/2015

The renewed negativity in German media in September and October was accompanied by some thematic shifts as well.

**Figure 9: Tone overage of migrants in German media, 9/2015: Topic structure**



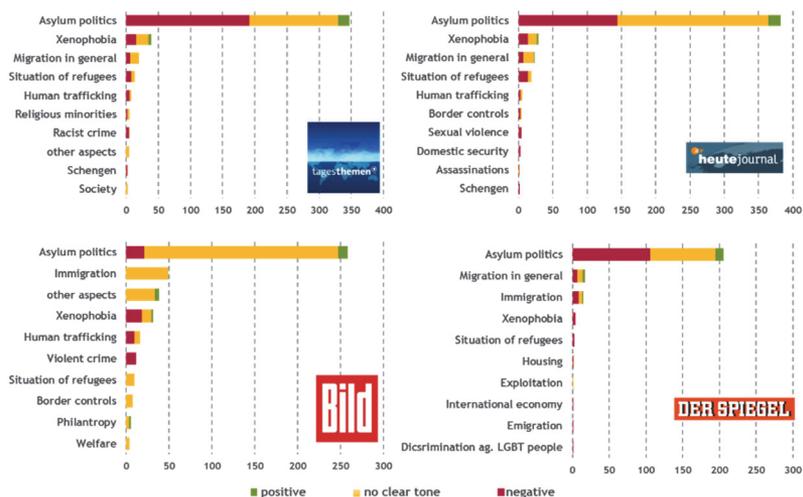
Basis: Tagesthemen - 3.206 / heute journal - 3.048 / Bild - 2.344 / Spiegel - 2.952 reports about protagonists

Throughout the migrant crisis, media coverage has focused on the asylum policies in Germany and other EU countries. The manifest negativity of reporting shown in figure 10 does not only refer to the migrants but to the other protagonists involved in these events, from top German politicians to German society and the neighboring countries. In September, especially Bild-Zeitung has shown to some extent the many contributions by ordinary Germans, NGOs and business to welcome the newcomers. The overall still positive public mood in that month is reflected in the restricted number of reports on xenophobia and racist crimes.

What remained manifestly absent from the top issues addressed in migration coverage are the economic and social implications for Germany, especially in view of the long-term relevance of immigration for Germany’s society. This underlines not only the persisting reticence by Germany’s politicians to address this deep-going challenge at all, but as well the inability of media to put current events into a long-term perspective.

October's reporting shows a marked intensification of reporting on xenophobia on TV. This poses an obvious problem for journalists, who feel bound to report correctly about the growing number of xenophobic attacks in Germany, at the same time showing xenophobic protesters and potential right-wing criminals that they represent a growing share of the population. More media coverage regularly encourages extremist movements that depend on public awareness to mobilize support. This has been clearly the case for the PEGIDA movement, which surfaced again in the autumn of 2015 - leading to a place among the top ten protagonists in the reports about migration issues for the whole of 2015. The tone of their xenophobic and anti-government rhetoric has become much more acerbic in the course of the migration crisis.

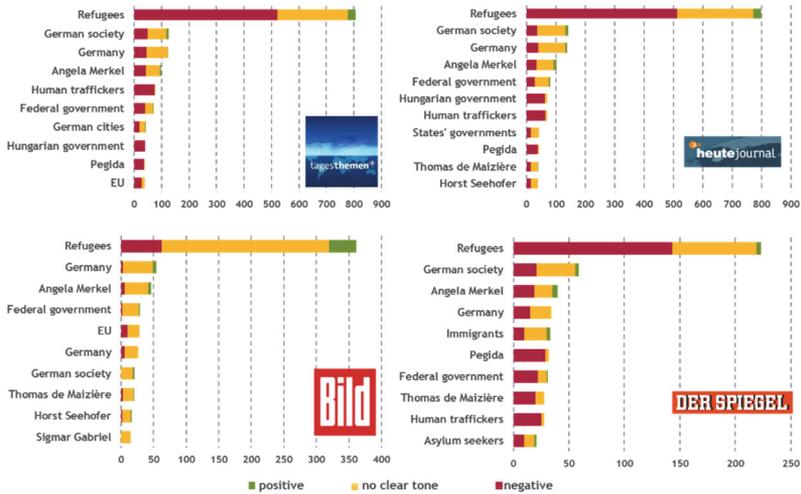
**Figure 10: Tone overage of migrants in German media, 10/2015: Topic structure**



Basis: Tagesthemen - 2.187 / heute journal - 2.156 / Bild - 1.686 / Spiegel - 1.671 reports about protagonists

German domestic coverage is to a wide extent shaped by a focus on the political parties and their leaders. Chancellor Merkel, Interior Minister de Maizière and the Bavarian Prime Minister Horst Seehofer, who is at the same time the leader of the third party in Germany's coalition government, turn up among the top ten protagonists in migration reporting in several opinion-leading media.

**Figure 11: Protagonists in migration reports in German media, 1-10/2015: Volume/tone**

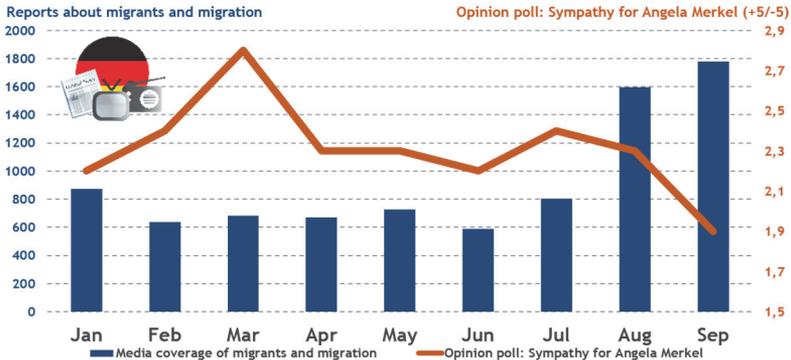


Basis: Tagesthemen - 30.384 / heute journal - 30.040 / Bild - 12.745 / Spiegel - 27.909 reports about protagonists

The political implications of migration policy have led to a deep-going re-framing of the issue in the media in late October. The focus has shifted from the policy measures in coping with the migration crisis to the impact of those events on the perception of political leaders and the public support for political parties.

In fact, the growing concerns about the ability of German society of coping with migration crisis have led to a notable dip in the public support for Chancellor Angela Merkel. The Chancellor has been the most favorably perceived politician in Germany for a long time, but since July, her favorability ratings have decreased. Now Merkel ranks behind Finance Minister Schäuble, Foreign Minister Steinmeier and Wolfgang Bosbach, an experienced talk show host and member of Merkel’s Christian Democratic Union Party, who has opposed the party line already in July when the German Parliament decided about the third rescue package for Greece.

**Figure 12: Migration in German media and public support for Angela Merkel, 1-10/2015**



Basis: 187,938 reports about protagonists in 19 opinion-leading German TV, radio and print media, 8,368 about migrants and migration issues [http://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Langzeitentwicklung\\_-\\_Themen\\_im\\_Ueberblick/Politik\\_II/#Politiker](http://www.forschungsgruppe.de/Umfragen/Politbarometer/Langzeitentwicklung_-_Themen_im_Ueberblick/Politik_II/#Politiker)

The political framing of migration coverage contributes to the growing doubts about the way Germany can deal with the inflow of migrants. As the fate of migrants and the implications of German society are addressed from the perspective of the usual political infighting between the coalition partners, the role of the German population is faded out of the news more and more.

Charities, churches or NGOs have been rather inconspicuous in the news on migration - both on TV and in print. Media coverage thus has increasingly reinforced the impression that the State is responsible for the management of the crisis while at the same time undermining the perception that it is able to do so.

The media coverage of migrants and migration thus shows both the positive potential and the limits of the media in the creation of a public climate of opinion that is supportive of immigration.

More intensive and more diverse coverage of migration issues can help in reducing anxiety about immigration, create compassion and support the “welcoming culture” in target countries. At the same time, a pre-occupation with the flow of events and the political implications prevent an in-depth debate about the long-term challenges and benefits of immigration to aging European societies. Thus, the confident mood of

Germans in coping with the migration crisis may prove to be short-lived.

**The editors and authors**

## 11. The editors

**Ramu Damodaran** is the Deputy Director for Partnerships and Public Engagement in the United Nations Department of Public Information's Outreach Division. His responsibilities focus particularly on outreach to, and partnerships with, non-governmental, educational and private sector constituencies as well as outreach to the general public. The Division's programmes include briefings to NGOs, schools, universities and visiting groups, guided tours, exhibits, and responses to in-quiries about the Organization. It publishes both the UN Chronicle magazine and the Yearbook of the United Nations, commemorates special observances, and arranges special events, including the annual conference of non-governmental organizations and the "Unlearning Intolerance" seminar series. A new initiative under his direct charge is the United Nations Academic Impact, which aligns institutions of higher learning and research with the objectives of the United Nations and the States and peoples who constitute it.



**Christian Kolmer** is the Head of Political and Social Research at Media Tenor International. Born 1965 in Essen, he studied Medieval and Modern History, Journalism and Communication Science and Economics in Bochum and Mainz from 1985 to 1993. He conducted research on the media image of the German Treuhandanstalt, and completed his PhD in 1999, on theories of news selection.



Since 1994, he has worked as a research associate at Media Tenor in Bonn and Zurich, last responsible for political studies, knowledge transfer and social issues.

His work focuses on: Agenda setting, news selection, international comparative content analyses, media and war.

**Roland Schatz** is the Founder and CEO of Media Tenor International and InnoVatio Publishing. Schatz is a journalist in the 5th generation of his family and has devoted the past 30 years to implementing Perception Change by empowering media. In 2008, he launched, together with Prince Ghazi of Jordan, the C1 One World Dialogue foundation, to improve Inter-Faith-Dialogue. The InnoVatio network of academics, entrepreneurs and media leaders initiated the UN Global Sustainability Index. Schatz hosts masterclasses on ‘Unlearning Intolerance’ at the UN and teaches at the Institute for Future Management of the Sigmund Freud University in Vienna. In 2013 Schatz was appointed Senior Advisor to the General Director of the UN in Geneva.



## 12. The authors

**Michele Battisti** is currently an Economist (postdoctoral researcher) at the Ifo Institute - Leibniz Institute for Economic Research at the University of Munich. He has completed his master's degree at the University of York (U.K.) and holds a PhD in Economics from Simon Fraser University (Vancouver, Canada). His research interests lie in the areas of labor economics and the economics of international migration.



**Gabriel Felbermayr** is Director of the Ifo Center for International Economics at the Ifo Institute for Economic Research in Munich, Germany and professor of economics at the University of Munich. He holds a PhD in Economics from the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. He is associate editor of the *European Economic Review* and a board member of the European Trade Study Group. His scholarly research on international trade policy has been awarded the Reinhard Selten Prize by the German Economic Association (2007), and the Outstanding Publication Award of the *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* (2013). His work has been covered in media outlets such as *The Economist*, the *Financial Times*, or the *Wallstreet Journal*. Dr. Felbermayr regularly advises the German and Austrian governments, the European and German Parliaments, or the World Bank.



**Alexander Fink** is Assistant Professor at the Institute for Economic Policy of the University of Leipzig. He is a Senior Fellow with the Institute for Research in Economic and Fiscal issues (IREF).

06/11 - 10/11 Postdoc, Max-Planck-Institute of Economics, Evolutionary Economics Group, Jena, Germany

05/11 PhD in Economics, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, United States

03/07 M.A. in Economics, University of Hamburg Germany

Fall 2006 Visiting Fellow, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, United States

03/2001 B.A. in Business Administration, March 2001, University of Lüneburg, Germany



**Marcel Fratzscher** is President of DIW Berlin, one of the leading economic research institutes and think tanks in Europe, and Professor of Macroeconomics and Finance at Humboldt-University Berlin.

His prior professional experience includes work as Head of the International Policy Analysis at the European Central Bank (ECB), where he worked from 2001 to 2012; the Peterson Institute for International Economics in 2000-01; before and during the Asian financial crisis in 1996-98 at the Ministry of Finance of Indonesia for the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID); and shorter periods at the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank and in various parts of Asia and Africa.

He received a PhD in Economics from the European University Institute (EUI); a Master of Public Policy from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government; a B.A. in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics (PPE) from the University of Oxford, and a Vordiplom in Economics from Kiel University. He is a European citizen, having grown up and having obtained his primary and secondary education in Germany.



**Katrin Göring-Eckardt** is co-chair of the Parliamentary Group of Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen.

Born on May 3, 1966 in Friedrichroda (Thuringia); Evangelical Lutheran; Married, two sons.

No political affiliation in the GDR; participation in the "Solidarity Church". 1989 member of the "Demokratischer Aufbruch", 1990 "Demokratie Jetzt", Bündnis 90 and Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen. Member of the national speakers' council of Bündnis 90, member Thuringian executive committee of Bündnis 90 and Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen.

1991-1994, leader of the fraction in the county council, 1995 to 1998 and 2002-2007, national spokesperson in Thuringia, from 1996 to 1998, member of the Federal Executive Committee, since December 2007, committee member of State Executive of Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen in Thuringia.

Since 2007, board member of the Presidium of Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag (DEKT) and President of the 33rd DEKT in Dresden; 2009 to October 2013. President of the Synod of Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD).

Member of the Bundestag since 1998; October 1998 to 2002, Parliamentary Secretary, 2002, 1<sup>st</sup> Parliamentary secretary of the Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen, from October 2002 to September 2005, Chairman of Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen. October 2005 to October 2013, Vice-President of the German Bundestag, in October 2013, Co-Chair of Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen.



**Simon Junker** is the Deputy Head of the Department of Forecasting and Economic Policy at DIW Berlin.



**Kalle Kappner** is a participant in the Berlin Doctoral Program in Economics and Management Science (BDPEMS) at Humboldt University. He is a Research Fellow with the Institute for Research in Economic and Fiscal issues (IREF).



**Prince Michael of Liechtenstein** is Founder and Chairman of the Geopolitical Information Service AG and President of Finanzkontor in Vaduz, an international advisory and fiduciary trust company. He is also President of the think tank, ECAEF based in Vaduz. He studied Commerce at the Vienna University of Economics and Business, and consolidated his studies by assignments in the banking and industrial sector in Belgium, Canada and the U.S. From 1978 to 1987, he worked for Nestlé SA in the fields of controlling, management and marketing in various markets in Europe and Africa.



**Michael Møller** is the Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva. Mr. Møller has over 35 years of experience as an international civil servant in the United Nations.

He began his career in 1979 with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and worked with UNHCR in different capacities in New York, Iran, Mexico, Haiti and Geneva.

Between 1997 and 2001, he was the Head of the Office of the Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs at United Nations headquarters; between 2001 and 2006, he was the Director for Political, Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Affairs in the Office of the Secretary-General, while serving concurrently as Deputy Chief of Staff for the last two years of that period.

Mr. Møller also served as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cyprus from 2006 to 2008 and was the Executive Director of the Kofi Annan Foundation from 2008 to 2011.

Born in 1952 in Copenhagen, Mr. Møller completed a Master's course in International Relations at Johns Hopkins University and a Bachelor's degree in International Relations from the University of Sussex, United Kingdom.



**Joachim Möller** is Director of the Institute for Employment Research of the Federal Employment Agency (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung, IAB) and Professor for Economics at the University of Regensburg.

Studies Philosophy and Economics at the Universities of Tübingen, Strasbourg and Konstanz

2005-2007, Director of the Institute for East European Studies, Munich

1996- Full Professor of Economics, University of Regensburg

1994-1995, Deputy Professor of Economics (Macroeconomic Theory), Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University Greifswald



**Thomas Petersen** is project manager at the Insitut für Demoskopie Allensbach. Born in 1968 in Hamburg. Studied journalism, ancient history and prehistory, and early history, at the University of Mainz, 1987-1992. 1993 M.A., 2001 PhD. 2010 state doctorate. 1990-1992, journalist at the Südwestfunk in Mainz. Since 1993 research associate at the Allensbach Institute, since 1999, project manager. Since 1995/1996 lectureships at several universities, including the University of Mainz, TU Dresden, University of Technology and Economics in Berlin. 2007/2008, visiting Professor for methodological and historical foundations of political science at the University of Hamburg. Past President of the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR).



Research interests: Methods of polling, field experiments, visual communication, political communication, electoral research, market and social research, theory of public opinion.

**Panu Poutvaara** is Professor of Economics at the University of Munich and Director of the Ifo Center for International Institutional Comparisons and Migration Research. His main research interests are in public economics, political economics and labor economics, with special emphasis on migration. He is editor of the CESifo Economic Studies and associate editor of the Finnish Economic Papers. He has published more than 40 refereed articles, in journals like the European Economic Review, Journal of Public Economics, Journal of Health Economics, and Journal of Experimental Social Psychology. In 2008, him and his co-authors were awarded Peggy and Richard Musgrave Prize for the best paper by young economists at the International Institute of Public Finance annual conference. His work has been covered in different media outlets, including The Economist, the New York Times and der Spiegel.



**Ambassador Laura Thompson** was re-elected as Deputy Director General of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on 19 June 2014 by the Organization's Council of Member States for a second five-year term. Ambassador Thompson started her tenure as IOM Deputy Director General on 1 September 2009. With more than 20 years of experience in diplomacy, multilateral negotiation, development, and humanitarian affairs, she has provided leadership for multilateral initiatives and negotiations across the fields of migration, refugees, humanitarian assistance and human rights, and the environment.



Prior to joining IOM, she was the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Costa Rica to the United Nations Office and other International Organizations in Geneva (2007-2009). Previously, she served as Counsellor (1996-1998) and First Secretary (1994-1996) at the Permanent Mission of Costa Rica to the United Nations in Geneva, and as Cultural Attaché (1989) delegation of Costa Rica to UNESCO in Paris

In addition to her diplomatic experience, she has worked as a Legal Officer for international organizations in Geneva, including the Security Council's United Nations Compensation Commission (1998-2004) and the Secretariat of the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal (2004-2007), experiences that equipped her with in-depth understanding of the functioning of international organizations.

Ambassador Thompson holds a Master's degree in International Relations, specializing in international law, from the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva. She also holds a Law Degree from the University of Costa Rica and has completed Executive Education at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.