

The Flood of Refugees in our Heads: Metaphorical Framing of Refugees in German  
Newspaper Discourse

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Carolin Fischer

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by  
CAROLIN FISCHER

has been approved for  
  
the E.W. Scripps School of Journalism,  
the Scripps College of Communication,  
and the Institute for Communication and Media Studies by

Bernhard Debatin  
Professor of E.W. Scripps School of Journalism

Scott Titsworth  
Dean, Scripps College of Communication, Ohio University

Christian Pieter Hoffman  
Director, Institute for Communication and Media Studies, Leipzig University

## **Abstract**

FISCHER, CAROLIN, M.S., Journalism; M.A., Global Mass Communication,

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### The Flood of Refugees in our Heads: Metaphorical Framing of Refugees in German Newspaper Discourse

Director of Thesis: Bernhard Debatin

Committee Members: Veronika Karnowski, Uwe Krüger

The number of people fleeing to Europe increased dramatically in 2015. Each day, countless reports on the refugee issue were published prominently on every channel. The media played a crucial role not only in providing information to the insecure public and to policy makers, but also in framing the arrivals.

Previous studies have examined the way refugees are depicted in the media discourse of host countries, indicating that media systematically discriminate these minority groups and deem them as a threat to the majority group. Decisive for this study, was the assumption that metaphors – as it often is the case in reporting – must have been part of the media discourse on refugees in 2015. Figurative language types such as metaphor are powerful devices in framing societal issues and shaping public discourse. Based upon Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as well as against the background of framing theory, the metaphors used in the refugee issue could potentially

have the power to establish prejudiced opinions of the readership towards refugees, depending on their meanings and implications.

To analyze how refugees were being represented through metaphors in the German newspaper discourse during the peak of the events in 2015, a qualitative content analysis of five German national daily mainstream newspapers is carried out.

The survey finds that besides the omnipresent water metaphor, seven other conceptual metaphor themes are repeatedly used. Interpreted based on CMT, these metaphor themes are discriminating, portraying refugees as a common threat, creating a strong differentiation between an ingroup and an outgroup, or are even stripping the refugees off their humanity.

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## **1 Introduction**

“There are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives.” (Fowler, 1991, p. 4)

One million. This number has been quoted particularly often in the German media discourse in summer and fall of 2015. It refers to the more than one million people seeking asylum in Europe that year after fleeing their home countries (Almstadt, 2017, p. 187). People fleeing to Europe is not a new phenomenon at all. However, the number of refugees and migrants dramatically increased in 2015, with a significant proportion fleeing war-torn Syria, the so-called Islamic State, or a lack of prospects after years of violence in countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan. This led to a historical high of a total of about 890,000 people seeking asylum in Germany during that year. This number posed an immense challenge for politics, society and the media – the topic of refugees had quickly captured the attention of Germany (Hemmelmann & Wegner, 2017, p. 4).

Due to scale and speed of the events as well as the lack of familiarity with the topic, public and policy makers largely depended on the media to make sense of the developments and to take action. The media played a crucial role not only in providing information, but also in framing the arrivals: The events were soon to be referred to widely as “Europe’s refugee crisis” (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017, p. 4).

It is the politicians who decide under which circumstances people fleeing to Europe will be allowed to stay and live their lives. But it is the media, and especially still the print media, that decide which images of refugees prevail in public (Almstadt, 2017, p. 185). Previous studies have shown that portrayals of immigrants and refugees in many Western countries have become increasingly negative and systematically discriminating over the past few years (Esses, Medianu, & Lawson, 2013, p. 530).



Journalists are predominantly depicting them as security, economic, and hygiene threats to the majority group of the host countries (Abid, Manan, & Rahman, 2017, p. 121). The results of various studies also not only indicate that the mass media coverage can have considerable impact on how native citizens think about integration and immigrants. Furthermore, findings show that the negative coverage of ethnic minorities can lead to less willingness to support collective action (Bos, Lecheler, Mewafi, & Vliegenthart, 2016, p. 106).

The perspectives used by journalists to describe a topic impact attitudes towards immigrants, but most importantly, it is these attitudes, that then impact political behavior such as voting (Scheufele, 2000). And it has been quite clear in Germany, after the latest election in 2017, that populist anti-immigration parties are gaining in popularity (Der Bundeswahlleiter, 2017). The mood in Germany concerning refugees throughout 2015 shifted from careful tolerance to ecstatic humanitarianism, to fear and securitization (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017, p. 8). Thus, the need to analyze the media coverage on the refugee crisis is for one thing critical to understanding immigration attitudes and the political shift in Germany.

One way to analyze media coverage is through looking at metaphors. Language is never completely neutral and value-free. Figurative language types such as metaphor, hyperbole and irony are powerful devices in framing societal issues and shaping public discourse. The persuasive power of metaphor has been acknowledged since antiquity (Burgers, Konijn, & Steen, 2016, 410). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) recognized metaphors as a central device in human thought, stating that metaphors can be employed as rhetorical tools to transport persuasive messages and create attitudes toward certain topics. In their seminal work *At War With Metaphor*, Steuter and Wills (2009) state that metaphors used by journalists can lead to the

dehumanization of an entire group or race of people through an unconscious transformation in our minds that can eventually even lead to justifying war and genocide. Consequently, we need to pay close attention to the patterns of metaphor at work in our public discourse.

The preceding events in Europe motivated the overarching research interest for this thesis:

*How are refugees being represented through metaphors in the German newspaper discourse during the peak of the events in 2015?*

Answering this question will help to understand what prevailing image of refugees was created by the media. The results may allow an interpretation with regard on how metaphorical framing of refugees can influence the audience through priming and how it may have influenced the political development as well as support for and attitudes towards refugees in Germany. The underlying motivation is to reveal hegemonic power structures and values in the coverage about refugees. Ideally, the results would also offer guidance for journalists striving to produce more neutral content using objective language.

In order to explore how refugees are constructed in news discourse, a qualitative content analysis of five German national daily print newspapers is conducted. Given the timeliness of the topic there are no studies investigating this specific question. There have been various studies about the representation of refugees in the media and in newspapers in particular. However, they have either been conducted before the events in 2015 or they did not focus on metaphors as linguistic framing devices or they did not refer to Germany. The following study will bring together all of these factors.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Media Theoretical Background

The theoretical framework of this thesis is structured in three parts. First, the media theoretical part focuses on how concepts are constructed through framing and can impact the audiences' attitudes through priming. Second, a socio scientific background is given, explaining concepts of fear, national identity, exclusion, racism, construction of the enemy, dehumanization and the role of the media in promoting them. The linguistic framework then evaluates how the connection between language and thought becomes evident through the concept of metaphor, based on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT. Steuter and Wills' (2009) work *At War with Metaphor* will be introduced to emphasize how journalists make use of this powerful framing device.

Why is it important to examine what metaphors were being used to represent refugees in the news discourse? The answer lies in mass communication theories. Metaphors are framing devices (Burgers et al., 2016). And framing theory argues that the public does not only adapt the issue salience presented by the media, but also the attribute salience. By the way some topics are framed, individuals will be influenced in their attitudes also about other topics. This process is referred to as priming. The from framing resulting priming of the audience will not be researched in this study, but it will be theoretically introduced, because it backs up the relevance of looking at the metaphorical framing of the refugee crisis in the first place and can be the subject of future research based on this study (DeFleur, 2010, p. 168).

Agenda setting, framing, priming: Agenda setting, framing, and priming are three concepts that are closely related to each other. The basic idea is that the media have a responsibility to accurately report what is going on in the real world. The problem with accurately reporting the reality is that due to space and time limitations,

it is impossible for journalists to report everything. Thus, they have to select a limited number of stories and will always create a distorted construction of reality. Journalists and other people working in news organizations are the ones making these decisions. They are referred to as gatekeepers. These gatekeepers are controlling the “window to the world.” (DeFleur, 2010, p. 148 f.). According to the Gatekeeping theory, there are certain criteria for selecting the news, so called *news factors*. Over the years, journalists determined what features would usually make a story newsworthy. Impact, proximity, timeliness, prominence, and conflict are such criteria, just to name a few. The greater the number of those features, the more likely the story would be to get through the gate. Countless different catalogues of news factors have been developed in studies until now (DeFleur, 2010, p. 155).

In addition to gatekeeping decisions, journalists must make decisions on how prominently to position a topic. These decisions result in a daily news agenda that the media present to the public. Now, the agenda setting theory says that the news agenda will be adapted by the public agenda. The audience will attribute a certain level of importance to a topic related to the prominence it got in the media. These basic ideas of the agenda setting theory stem from the Chapel Hill Study about the 1968 presidential election (DeFleur, 2010, p. 161). McCombs (2005, p. 543) states that ever since, the research has encompassed five stages of theoretical attention: Basic agenda setting effects, attribute agenda setting, psychology of agenda-setting effects, sources of media agenda, and consequences of agenda setting effects.

Framing is often associated with agenda setting research. Framing is the process of attributing the topics that have been selected in the gatekeeping process and have been structured in the agenda setting process (DeFleur, 2010, p. 162).

Whenever journalists decide to cover a topic, and how prominently to position it, they

also have to decide on how to cover it. Goffman (1986) first put forth the concept of framing in analyzing the human organization of experience. He states that people interpret new experiences around them through their primary framework that is taken for granted by each individual. Goffman assumes that individuals are using natural and social frameworks constantly, whether they are aware of them or not. This theory was soon adapted to the media, where it can be defined as follows:

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

These two psychological and media theoretical approaches already indicate that frames have to be considered both schemes for presenting and comprehending. They can be distinguished into media frames and individual frames. Entman (1993, p. 53) describes individual frames as mentally stored clusters of ideas for information processing and media frames as attributes of the news. Similarly, other researchers distinguish between framing as a macro construct, referring to the modes of presentation that communicators use to present information and framing as a micro construct, referring to individuals’ usage of presentation features regarding issues as they form impressions (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007a, p. 11). Generally, despite terminological differences, media researchers decomposed framing into these media and audience frames and linkages between them. Additionally, Entman (1993, p. 52) suggests that frames have at least four locations in the communication process, namely communicator, text, receiver, and culture. Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgements, texts contain frames, receiver’s thinking may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator

and the culture provides a set of common frames. It should be noted that at the same time as frames select and highlight certain aspects of reality or subjects, they take attention from other aspects. Thus, frames are not only defined by what they include but also by what they exclude.

According to Entman (1993, p. 53), selection and salience are crucial factors in framing. Frames highlight some aspects of a communicated subject, thus increasing their salience, meaning that one piece of information is made more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. Certain aspects of information can be made more salient through certain tools such as placement, repetition, or association with culturally familiar symbols. However, salience is also a complex product of interaction between medium and receiver. Consequently, the presence of frames does not guarantee their influence on audience thinking. Framing implies that the frame has a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience, though it is not likely to have a universal effect on all. Framing effects are not uniform, direct effects, due to moderating factors such as audience characteristics, message features and situational contexts. Audience characteristics, such as predispositions and motivations can regulate the impact of media frames. Strong political orientations and preexisting opinions, for example, make individuals more resistant to the influence of media frames. Furthermore, framing effects depend on message features and their resonance with existing attitudes, such as an individuals' core features. Situational factors as the presence of counterframes or interpersonal discussions involving opposing viewpoints have also been shown to weaken framing effects (Shah et al., 2009, p. 90).

Framing argues that the public does not only adapt the issue salience presented by the media, but also the attribute salience. Individuals will be influenced in the way they think about other topics by the way some topics are framed. This process is

referred to as priming. It refers to the affective influence of topics in the media agenda, which means that judgements and attitudes are based on most salient, recently activated concepts.

However, many researchers challenge the idea that agenda setting and priming are based on the same theoretical premises as framing (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007a, p. 14). Obviously, primary difference on a psychological level is that agenda setting and priming influence whether we think about an issue and framing defines how we think about it (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007a, p. 14). Ultimately, the conceptual differences come down to the distinction between accessibility and applicability effects. Agenda setting and priming are accessibility effects. Framing on the contrary is applicability-based (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007b, 11). Shah et al. (2009, p. 86) summarize: "Whereas framing effects may tend to apply to immediate responses shaped by a message, priming effects may refer more generally to when messages render certain schemas more accessible for activation and use in subsequent tasks." Concludingly, framing effects are expressed directly following message exposure, priming effects are a product of recency and chronicity of exposure to stimuli. However, it must be noted that accessibility and applicability are not completely isolated from another. An applicable construct for example is more likely to be activated when it is accessible.

Certain scholars provide a rather critical view on framing, as framing plays a major role in the exertion of political power (Entman, 1993, p. 55). Media frames are the result of a complex interplay among powerful groups of people such as political elites and news organizations. Individual journalists are likely to be bound to professional norms and practices on one hand as well as cultural norms and ideology on the other hand (Shah et al., 2009, p. 86). Noam Chomsky criticized the mainstream

media for serving the interests of dominant, elite groups in the society and Michael Parenti claims that the most effective propaganda relies on framing rather than on falsehood, because the media maintains the appearance of objectivity while framing information in a certain way, this being especially problematic because journalists provide the window through which the majority of people view a conflict (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 159). A more positive view on framing is provided by Kinder and Nelson (2010, p. 103), who argue that frames enable citizens to involve themselves in political discussions, because otherwise confusing and overwhelming political issues receive context and meaning through frames. Anyhow, the public opinion depends significantly on how and whether issues are framed in a democratic debate.

Entman (1993, p. 55) points out that the power of a frame can be as great as language itself. Once a term is steadily used as a frame and becomes widely accepted, communicators might be perceived by the audience as lacking credibility when using another term. Besides single terms, there are various techniques to increase the salience of certain aspects of a message, such as the story's tone, headlines, the time of the coverage or accompanying visuals, to name a few (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 159). With the cognitive turn in the late 1970s and 1980s, researchers began to see figurative language as a framing device as well. Figurative language types such as metaphor, hyperbole and irony are powerful tools in shaping public discourse, as they contain both linguistic and conceptual content and these two dimensions interact in framing (Burgers et al., 2016, p. 412). The power of metaphor and figurative framing will be discussed in more detail in the following, after some concepts of exclusion and discrimination have been introduced.



## **2.2 Socio-Scientific Framework**

From a socio-scientific perspective, it is important to examine what the metaphors used to represent refugees imply, whether they have a negative or positive valence, whether they are inclusive or exclusive. The concepts of fear, national identity, exclusion, racism and dehumanization are closely linked to each other and constructed through discourse. They will be examined to build a theoretical basis for interpreting the metaphors that will later on be found in the analysis and to be able to understand their implications and the motivation behind their usage.

Globalization and a culture of fear: To understand how and why concepts of inclusion, exclusion and discrimination can be constructed through discourse, we first have to take a look at fear and anxiety that seem to characterize our society recently. Hier and Greenberg (2002) state that this omnipresent anxiety arises from collective insecurity about national identity that in turn stems from globalization, neoliberalism and restructured values.

Fear is not necessarily a bad thing. As human beings, we need fear to survive. There are many situations that we should rightly fear, as they may pose a danger and fear helps us concentrate when we are confronted with unexpected or unknown circumstances. Each individuals' personal experiences over time shape their personal fears. However, Furedi (2003, vii) states that there seems to be a trend towards fear no longer being based on personal experiences. The author holds that people living in Western societies have less direct experiences with pain, suffering, disease and death than ever before in human history. Paradoxically, despite this unprecedented level of security and prosperity, fear has become an expanding part of our lives, leading to Western societies being increasingly dominated by a culture of fear. This culture of

fear is defined by the belief that relatively abstract powerful destructive forces such as terrorism are threatening our everyday existence.

In fact, it is the omnipresent sense of fear itself that impacts our everyday existence (Steuter & Wills, 2009, 194 f.). This culture of fear has allowed authorities to suspend many democratic rights already with fearful citizens supporting the construction of a security state. In such cultures of fear, individuals often end up accepting infringed personal freedom and democratic rights in exchange for an increased sense of security. The authors claim that these intensified security requirements cultivate a constant sense of danger, because in contrast to the abstract enemy, they are reassuringly concrete and part of the everyday life. Furthermore, the additional security measures in the name of national security can open the way to institutionalized discrimination through racial profiling, thus alienating many citizens domestically as many civilians can be offended through race-based suspicions.

The rise of the so-called security state seems to coincide with times of economic crises, cuts in social spending, attacks on multiculturalism and anti-Muslim racism. As mentioned before, the uncertainty surrounding immigration is especially likely to be viewed as a threat when people feel they do not have the resources to deal with it. The security state can be defined as one whose government subordinates citizens to ad hoc surveillance, search or detention, and represses criticism of its power by justifying such measures through protecting the people and maintaining security. The security state does have an internal and an external aspect. Externally, the state has to define itself in relation to an outside, unpredictable enemy challenging the values of the West. Internally, the state has to watch the roots the enemy may have inside the state. This process transforms the unknown into the enemy, thus increasing fear (Williamson & Khiabany, 2011).

To summarize, uncertainty and fear provoked by globalization and the loss of traditional values makes individuals look to the group to which they belong for uncertainty reduction (Hier & Greenberg, 2002). Globalization seems to provoke insecurities that in turn foster the rediscovery of the past, a pre-modern sense of community and emotional patriotic feelings towards one's nation and the stronger need for national identity (Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999, p. 170).

Construction of nation and national identity: What is a nation and how is national identity constructed? According to Anderson (1983, p. 15), nations are *imagined communities*, like all other communities that are larger than face-to-face groups. The community is insofar imagined, as that members of even the smallest nation will never get to know the majority of the other citizens and yet the members are convinced to belong to a unique national community. Nations are represented in the minds and memories of the nationalized subjects and are perceived as a community of congenial similarities and as sovereign and limited political units. Nations are furthermore perceived as limited by boundaries and thereby cut off from the surrounding nations, because no nation identifies with humanity in its entirety.

Collective memory, culture and narratives are essential in the construction of nations and national identities (Cillia et al., 1999, 154 f.). The construction of a national identity builds on the emphasis on a common history. Collective memory is the selective collection of historical events, thought to be important for the members of a community. Thus, nationality is also always a narrative – a story which people repeatedly tell about themselves in order to lend meaning to their social world. Of course, nations are not only political constructs, but also a system of cultural representations, as people are not only citizens by law, but are also forming the idea

of the nation as it is represented in their national culture. Hall (1994, p. 201) defines a *nation* as a symbolic community constructed discursively as follows:

“A national culture is a discourse, a way to construct meanings which influence and organize both our actions and our perceptions of ourselves. National cultures construct identities by creating meanings of the nation, with which we can identify; these are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in memories which link its present to its past and in the perceptions of it that are constructed.”

Culture and state can become identical when membership within the political nation state and identification with national culture are linked. National narratives and culture do not appear from nowhere or operate in vacuum, instead they are produced, reproduced and spread by actors. Language and discourse are key instruments in the social construction of imagined communities. Nations and national identities are essentially socially constructed (Cillia et al., 1999, p. 155).

Thus, national identities are discursively produced, reproduced, transformed, and destructed. In other words, national identities are conceived in language, rather than in blood. The idea of a specific national community becomes reality in the realm of convictions and beliefs through reifying, figurative discourses continually disseminated through our systems of education, mass communication and politics (Cillia et al., 1999, p. 153). Cillia et al. (1999, p. 156) refer to Bourdieu, who attributes political actors and representatives a central role in the creation of national identities. He argues that the state contributes to the construction of what is commonly designated as national identity through classification systems, through bureaucratic procedures, educational structures and social rituals.

Based on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus, national identity can be regarded as a sort of habitus. In this view, national habitus can be understood both as

structured result (*opus operandum*) and as forming force (*modus operandi*). *National identity* can be regarded as a complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes of related emotional attitudes intersubjectively shared within a specific group of persons, as well as of similar behavioral dispositions all of which are internalized through national socialization (Cillia et al., 1999, p. 153). In a nutshell, media representations are integral to the social construction of national identities because media images are powerful in contributing to our sense of who we are and how we relate to our environment.

Consequently, there are certain relations between the images of national identity offered by media, politics or everyday discourses. Nevertheless, there is never the one and only national identity per nation. National identities are rather inconsistent and mutable, discursively constructed according to context, social field, situational setting of the discursive act (Cillia et al., 1999, p. 154). Discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it. Generally, a dialectical relationship is assumed between particular discursive events and situations, institutions, and social structures in which they are embedded (Cillia et al., 1999, p. 157). It should be mentioned at this point that this is an assumption that will underlie this whole thesis.

Furthermore, since every search for identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, the discursive construction of nations and national identity goes hand in hand with the construction of sameness and difference, leading to the homogenization of ingroups and outgroups as well as a group-centrism that results in intolerance of otherness (Cillia et al., 1999, p. 153). This process of inclusion and exclusion supports the ego formation as it enables us to project anxiety onto this

other. Only in relation to the excluded other, man can gain total identity based on stability and purity (Hirvonen, 2017, p. 254).

Exclusion, orientalism, and racism: Racism has been understood differently in different eras and areas, but there are certain commonalities such as the reliance on stereotypes in definitions of race, the construction of racial difference, and the process of othering (Löwstedt & Mboti, 2017, p. 112).

The process of othering through the discursive construction of groups and the exclusion of certain groups does not only, but to a large extent take place in media discourse. In mass media communication, one of the most effective methods for persuading and appealing to an audience is based on the need of affirming an identity and distinguishing between an ingroup and an outgroup (Pinelli, 2016, p. 138). Promoting exclusion and otherness is often more marketable for the media as conflict is generally considered more newsworthy (Sulaiman-Hill et al., 2011).

Steuter and Wills (2009, p. 24 f.) argue that throughout history, humans have always tended to characterize those we see as different from ourselves as our opposite and our other. One reason for why modern democracies are still constructing such an outside enemy, is the aim to redefine and strengthen the own nation and national identity from within.

An extreme, overarching and enduring form of this process of exclusion and othering took place in what Said (1979) refers to as Orientalism. He argues that the origins of these narratives of our divided world lie in a history of imperial conquest, the centuries-long period during which Europe dominated the Middle and Near East. From this position of power, the West defined the East as different, as other than the occident, as their opposite. Said emphasizes that these narratives did not only emerge from history but also supported, enabled and justified it. This view continues to

dominate in western minds. Over time, these characterizations are so often repeated that it comes to seem like objective knowledge. Through repetition, the stereotype has become an archetype.

This process is creating a distorted framework through which the West, especially Europe and North America, examines and understands what it perceives as alien. Because through this framework, the East is always considered the West's opposite. In these characterizations, the Oriental Other is inevitable seen as less than the West, whether alluring or threatening. Steuer and Wills (2009, p. 24) explain:

“[...] if the West considers itself rational, progressive, and civilized, then the East is its inverse, superstitious, backwards, and barbaric. This characterization of the East is sometimes overtly hostile, as in the stereotype of the Eastern man as a violent primitive; sometimes it is not hostile but infatuated, as in recurrent images of the Eastern woman as exotically sexual, sultry, pliable and tempting, or of the East as a sensuous place of mystery and marvels.”

These consistent distorted narratives that are being told about the primitive East generate the impression that the East can never really change or evolve. It makes the West think of the Orient as its subject of study that it knows all about through the reductive and deceptive focus of Orientalism, not allowing the East to represent itself and thus preventing true understanding (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 25).

There are several reasons for why modern democracies stick to and strive for such strong constructions of others. One of them is, as mentioned, reassurance of the own identity. However, the construction of the other does not always have to be synonymous with the generation of a concept of the enemy. Otherness does not need to take the form of hostile, aggressive enmity – others can also be constructed as allies, respected rivals, or even something tempting. In many cases however,

otherness is easily evolved into a perception of threats and a concept of the enemy. Especially in times of war for example, there has to be an enemy that sometimes must be imaginatively constructed through propaganda (Geis, 2009, p. 175).

Strong concepts of others as our opposite, such as Orientalism, allow to fabricate an alien enemy effectively and dangerously easy. As mentioned before, Orientalism constructs its Other based on a series of opposites, resulting people to think in an either/or framework. People think that if they are one thing, then the others must be the opposite. Through this exclusion and construction of an ingroup and outgroup, the other becomes both representative and indistinguishable. And seeing the enemy Other as an indistinguishable mass is an essential strategy in the process of fabricating an enemy. In the study of metaphor this device of a figure standing for the whole, is called metonymy (Steuter & Wills, 2009, 227). The western media seems to especially focus on a certain aspect when considering the East as enemy: The Islam as hostile and alien, the Arab as fanatical, extremist, and violent. Journalists constantly re-circulate images and language that reinforce the characterization of Arabs and the Muslim as extremists, fanatics, or terrorists (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 28).

This generalization of all variety of individual humanity into homogenic masses is the same principle that underlies racism at large. Racist practices, behaviors and relationships are so complex that racism is hard to define. A distinction can be made between modern and so called postmodern racism, according to Löwstedt and Mboti (2017, p. 117): “modern racism is or was concrete and material: slavery, genocide, apartheid and colonialism. It is or was physical, bodily, brutal or mute kind of racism. Postmodern racism, on the other hand, is more unpredictable, implied, in the mind in the imagination, in the market, de-centralized, symbolic, and in the media. It is, supposedly, an abstract and mental kind of racism.” It can be argued that this



postmodern form of racism is worse, insofar, as it is often invisible, making people perceive racism as something normal or inevitable, thinking that it is less serious racism or not racism at all, while actually, it is as segregationist as modern racism. Supporters of modern racism would argue that mixing blood and genes is bad, while postmodern racism more subtle argues that mixing cultures is bad (Löwstedt & Mboti, 2017, p. 117).

When it comes to promoting, containing or ending racism, the media is an influential institution. The mainstream media is in many cases an instrument in the hands of economically strong and powerful classes. Whether it is through ownership, sponsorship or advertising – as with other political and economic elite, to a large extent, the media is globally controlled and influenced by rich, male whites (Löwstedt & Mboti, 2017, p. 114). Discourse analysts have found several rhetorical practices that are commonly used to legitimize racial inequalities in media and public forums. These include the denial of racist intent, invoking liberal-egalitarian principles, appealing to common sense, and locating injustice in the historical past, as well as criticizing minorities for violating traditional mainstream values and deploying the values and wellbeing of the majority to defend against threats from outsiders (Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008, p. 669). What is seen by some as an attempt of elite majorities to maintain power by negatively representing minority groups, is often characteristic of more conservative media (Sulaiman-Hill et al., 2011). Anyhow, with only limited interaction in real life, the construction of others as a common threat through media discourse may subtly encourage stereotypes and racism. The ultimate form of intolerance of otherness, which may result from this process, is dehumanization.

Dehumanization: Dehumanization is the denial of full humanness to others, and their exclusion from the human species (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 40). Previous studies found that metaphors in news discourse have been used not only to discriminate against but also to dehumanize minority groups such as immigrants and refugees.

This process may provide some benefit in form of a coping strategy to members of the host population – serving to justify the status quo, strengthening ingroup-outgroup boundaries, and defending against threats to the ingroup – but can be severe for those targeted (Esses et al., 2013, p. 519). Especially for individuals with little direct contact to this group, dehumanization may help to reduce uncertainty as how to view and treat immigrants and refugees. By perceiving them as not completely part of the human ingroup, one can more easily believe that they deserve negative outcomes and justify their exclusion and mistreatment to reduce the threat and maintain the status quo (Esses et al., 2013, p. 531).

By removing individuals from the human species, they are also removed from considerations that usually surround our treatment of other humans. The most obvious way of dehumanizing outgroups is in an animalistic sense, where they are seen as less than human, as not having risen above their animal origins. Thus, they are seen to be lacking characteristics as refinement, civility, morality, self-control, and cognitive sophistication. Another way of dehumanizing outgroups is to deny them the ability to experience secondary emotions. They may experience primary emotions such as pleasure and fear, just as animals do, but not secondary emotions attributed to humans such as hope or remorse. Another way of dehumanizing certain groups is to attribute them a lack in prosocial values and moral sensibilities. In addition to this value attribution, the image of an outgroup as criminal or

barbarian makes them be perceived as immoral and thus lacking humanity (Leyens, Demoulin, Vaes, Gaunt, & Paladino, 2007).

Steuter and Wills (2009, p. 40 f.) focus on dehumanization in times of war and define dehumanization as a form of propaganda that consistently portrays the other as less by using metaphoric links to the bestial, verminous, and the microscopic. They claim that tropes of animal, insect, germ and disease are central in the construction of an enemy in times of war. Dehumanization thus has the power to create an enemy other that does not only allow for but demands for cruel treatment. They argue that if the other is perceived to not be able to feel pain, people start to believe that inflicting pain or killing is no longer cruel. In addition, the trope of the nation as a body often is part of the dehumanization process. In this case, the nation is portrayed as a body that must be purified of the infection of the enemy as a parasite or disease (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 52). In such discourse, cultural invasion by the other and bodily infection or national infestation become one and the same thing that demands the elimination of the enemy other.

When talking about the use of race and dehumanization in war, the Second World War comes to mind. By constantly describing Jews as disease-bearing vermin, germs, or pigs, the Nazis were successful in convincing the German public that it was necessary to eradicate the constructed enemy. The Nazi propaganda is the best documented proof that in the worst case, systematical dehumanization can facilitate mass killings and genocide (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 51). Classification, symbolization, and dehumanization are the first three stages that lead to genocide. Classification and symbolization are widespread human practices and are part of our national identity (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 41). However, once they are joined

by dehumanization, as thoughtful citizens, we should ask ourselves what these dominant narratives that shape our attitudes and behavior, serve.

Metaphors are a tool able to identify, mark, classify, symbolize and devalue the other while having a powerful effect on the audience (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 40). Against the background of previous studies finding journalists to use metaphors to portray immigrants and refugees, the role of metaphors as figurative framing devices will be discussed in more detail.

### **2.3 Linguistic Framework**

Lexicalization of semantic content is never neutral. Words convey connoted as well as denoted meanings. The words used to communicate the message of a text frame the story in direct and unavoidable ways (Hansen, 1998, p. 113).

This is particularly the case in the way that people are named in news discourse. Of course, journalists must provide names for the people – whether individuals or a group of people – in the events they report. The naming always involves choice and the choice can have significant impact on the way in which people are viewed. We all possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics at the same time. They could all be used to describe us accurately but not with the same meaning. By choosing one social category over another, one is automatically excluded from the other equally accurate alternatives. Consequently, the manner in which social actors are named, identifies not only the groups or the social category they are associated with, but also that the speaker or writer wants them to be associated with. Thus, it may also signal the relationship between the namer and the named. Foregrounding one social category over other equally accurate alternatives to describe an individual or a group can serve many different psychological, social or political purposes on the side of the author. For example, through these naming

options, a social actor may be individualized or collectivized under a broad range of groupings (Richardson, 2007, pp. 48–50).

Now, if metaphors are being used as a text's referential strategies, it becomes even more important to look at the different explicit and implicit meanings of these naming options, as the power of figurative language devices has been acknowledged since the days of antiquity (Burgers et al., 2016, p. 411). Using metaphors to report on an event necessarily implies a process of simplification. In order to deal with complex issues, journalists select metaphors with a strong cultural impact and a wide interpretation for the readers. In this process, some aspects are highlighted, usually the ones most convenient for the communicator, while others are neglected. This may simplify and condense complex and controversial events, but at the same time, metaphors tend to present the events by focusing on the emotional side while playing down logical reasoning (Pinelli, 2016, p. 136). The following will further justify why metaphors are in the center of this study when looking at newspaper articles and the coverage of refugees.

**2.3.1 A definition of metaphor.** Many scholars have highlighted the central role metaphors play in favoring a particular interpretation of events in news reporting (Pinelli, 2016, p. 134). Generally speaking, metaphor is a figure of speech in which one thing is compared with another by saying that one is the other – a figure of speech that implies comparison between or an identification of two unlike entities (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, ix).

Outside of scholarship and university, metaphor in a broad sense still is most widely thought of as a way to make ideas more artful or attractive and to enhance our language. This widely shared view, however, is not complex enough. There is more to the function of metaphor than simply embellishment or decoration (Steuter & Wills,

2009, p. 5). The literal meaning of the word metaphor is *to carry over*. In this sense, metaphor symbolically transfers aspects of one object to another, even if the objects are originally in no way connected (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 3).

The history of scholarly thinking about metaphor can be traced back at least as far as to Aristotle (Debatin, 1995, p. 15). An attempt to summarize the range of views that have been taken so far, would go beyond the scope of this paper <sup>1</sup>. However, there are two fundamental opposing approaches to metaphor. A traditional, decorative approach and a more modern, cognitive approach.

In the traditional approach, which has its origins in the antiquity, metaphor is seen as ornamental language. Largely influenced by Aristotle, the traditional approach views metaphor as a device of poetic imagination and rhetorical flourish. Metaphor was seen as distinct from ordinary, non-figurative language. Metaphor was assigned a peripheral role in language, as an ornament unique to poetry and literary language, in contrast to non-figurative language which was seen as the home of clarity and real meaning. It is important to note that in the traditional approach, metaphor is assigned no role at all in thought. Instead, the idea or connection is seen as existing first and the metaphor is there to serve this pre-existing idea through language to make it more appealing (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 5). In this perspective, metaphor is seen as a stylistic device that does not involve conceptual content. This would mean that a

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<sup>1</sup> A comprising outline of metaphor theories and studies can be found in Debatin's *Die Rationalität der Metapher* (1995). The author structures the field of metaphor theory into traditional, linguistic analytical, semantic and pragmatic, as well as integrative approaches and analyzes the aspect of rationality of metaphor.

figurative message, makes the message style more appealing, but has the same message content as a non-figurative message (Burgers et al., 2016, p. 412).

Kövecses and Benczes (2010) summarize the traditional approach by pointing out five of its most commonly accepted features: First, metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon, a property of words. Second, metaphor is used for artistic and rhetorical purpose. Third, metaphor is based on a resemblance between two entities that are compared and identified. Fourth, metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words and one must have a special talent to be able to use it, such as great poets or eloquent speakers. Fifth, metaphor is seen as an evitable part of everyday human communication, as a figure of speech that we can do without. Although this approach is largely rejected by metaphor scholars by now, it is historically important, and it still poses a widely accepted view of metaphor outside of the university (Deignan, 2005, p. 2).

**2.3.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory.** Metaphor had long been regarded as unique to poetry and literary language. It had been dismissed as largely decorative. However, a shift in thinking about figurative language started in the late 1970s and 1980s. This shift has been labeled the *cognitive turn* (Burgers et al., 2016, p. 412).

The cognitive turn opened up the possibility to see metaphor as being more than only linguistic, but as playing an important role in forming thought itself. Scholars began to understand metaphor as an essential aspect of cognition. They found that far from only being decorative or elaborating an idea, metaphor enters and influences all our lives (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 5).

A groundbreaking new view of metaphor that challenged all the aspects of the traditional theory was developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their seminal work *Metaphors we live by*. In their so-called Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the authors

made a compelling argument for the centrality of metaphor to our everyday thought and showed that metaphor is ubiquitous in language use. This, they claim, is because people make use of some concepts to understand, talk and reason about others. They argue that our experience of the world is structured, not just described, by these conceptual systems of ours. They further claim that most of our conceptual systems are essentially metaphorical. Consequently, metaphor in language reflects conventional thought structures in our minds. At the same time, metaphor can actively influence the thought it articulates.

CMT can be summarized through five central claims Lakoff and Johnson made in contrast to the traditional theory: First, metaphor is a property of concepts, not of words. Second, the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts and not some artistic or esthetic purpose. Third, metaphor is often not based on similarity. Fourth, metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people. Fifth, metaphor is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, p. x).

The theory holds that metaphor is central to thought, and therefore to language. How might this work? Lakoff and Johnson argue that our experience of the world is not only described but structured by our conceptual systems and that this conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. These concepts govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. The conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience and do every day, is very much a matter of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3).



Our conceptual system is not something we are usually aware of. On the contrary, we simply think and act along certain lines – just what these lines are is by no means always obvious. One way to find out what these underlying concepts are is by looking at language. Since not only the way we think and act, but also the way we communicate emerges from the same conceptual systems, an examination of our language enables us to analyze that system and to uncover individual and collective patterns of thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). Thus, the relationship between metaphor and thought generally is largely invisible. However, on the basis of linguistic evidence, Lakoff and Johnson found that most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. That is, human thought processes are largely metaphorical. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible, because they already exist in a person's conceptual system. Therefore in CMT, conceptual metaphor is distinguished from metaphorical linguistic expressions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4).

Conceptual versus linguistic metaphor: In the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor primarily means conceptual metaphor, as opposed to linguistic metaphor. A conceptual metaphor with the form *A is B* is always realized through a linguistic expression (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, p. 33).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980, pp. 7–9) give us the following example to get an idea of how metaphorical linguistic expressions can give us insight into the metaphorical nature of our conceptual system structuring our everyday thoughts and actions:

- *You're wasting my time.*
- *How do you spend your time these days?*
- *This will cost me an hour.*

- *I've invested a lot of time in her.*
- *You're running out of time.*
- *I don't have time to spare for that.*
- *Is that worth your while?*
- *This gadget will save you hours.*

These sentences all describe the abstract topic of *time* through the more concrete topic of *money*. They are linguistic metaphors expressing a cross-domain mapping in thought – usually from a more concrete source domain to a more abstract target domain. The thought patterns underlying these linguistic expressions are called conceptual metaphors. In this example, all the metaphorical expressions are realizations of the conceptual metaphor *time is money*. The relationship between metaphorical thinking and speaking is often described saying that linguistic metaphors realize conceptual metaphors.

A conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another. A shorthand way of capturing this view of metaphor is: *conceptual domain A is conceptual domain B*. These two domains a conceptual metaphor consists of, are differentiated into a source domain and a target domain. In the example above, the source domain is money – the more concrete and physical conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another more abstract conceptual domain. The target domain in the given example is time – the conceptual domain that is understood through the source domain. In other words, the conceptual domain that we try to understand is called the target domain, and the conceptual domain that we use for this purpose is the source domain. Target domains typically include abstract concepts as in life, arguments, love, theory, ideas, while source domains typically include more concrete concepts as

in journey, war, building, food, plants. Some other conventional conceptual metaphors underlying our conceptual system would thus for example be that we think of life in term of journeys, arguments in terms of war, theories in terms of buildings, and ideas in terms of food, just to name a few (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, p. 4).

However, conceptual metaphors do not only consist of a source domain and a target domain. They also need a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target for A to be understood as B. These correspondences are often referred to as mappings. Basically, ideas and knowledge from the source domain are mapped onto the target domain. To know a conceptual metaphor is to know the set of mappings that applies to a given source-target pairing. It is these mappings that provide much of the meaning of the metaphorical linguistic expressions that make a particular conceptual metaphor manifest (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, p. 14).

Conceptual metaphors can be classified according to the cognitive functions that they perform. On this basis, they can be of three kinds: structural, orientational, and ontological:

“Structural metaphors map the structure of the source domain onto the structure of the target and in this way allow speakers to understand one domain in terms of another. Orientational metaphors have primarily an evaluative function. They make large groups of metaphors coherent with each other. Ontological metaphors provide extremely fundamental but very crude understanding for target concepts. These fundamental but crude understandings often serve as the bases of structural metaphors.” (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, p. 46)

In addition to their cognitive function, conceptional metaphors can also be classified according to their conventionality and level of generality. Lakoff and Johnson see great significance in conventional metaphors, which they find to be

ubiquitous in language. Conventional metaphors are especially powerful, as they do not attract readers' attention as being metaphorical. (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, p. 46).

Obviously, many of the ideas of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor existed before 1980. However, what is new about Lakoff and Johnsons CMT, is that it is a comprehensive, generalized, and empirically tested theory. Various experiments have shown that the cognitive view of metaphor is a psychologically viable one (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, p. xii). Lakoff and Johnson argue that conceptual metaphors are elements of cognition, which may be triggered by language, yet are also independent of language. A series of experiments in social psychology has accumulated empirical evidence for this claim. Scholars have successfully tried to activate conceptual metaphors in the brain without using language, through manipulations involving visual, olfactory and sensory cues. For example, the conceptual metaphor *affection is warmth*, which conceptualizes interpersonal affection as physical heat, was tested. The experiments showed that participants feeling physically warm, generally judged others to have a more generous or warmer personality than participants feeling physically cold (Burgers et al., 2016, p. 413). Today, an increasing number of cognitive scientists, including cognitive linguists, engage in research on metaphor. Beyond the role that metaphor plays in human thought, they are interested in the role it plays in the creation of our social, cultural, and psychological reality. "Trying to understand metaphor, then, means attempting to understand a vital part of who we are and what kind of world we live in" (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010, p. xii).

Even though we may not be aware that we are using metaphors all the time, they provide a framework for understanding abstract topics. Metaphor is central to

thought and therefore to language. From this starting point of CMT, a number of tenets are derived: Metaphor structures thinking, metaphor structures knowledge and metaphor is central to abstract language. Furthermore, CMT holds that metaphor is ideological. Many, if not all conceptual metaphors are reductions of a complex and abstract topic and thus inevitably distortions, as simplification is a feature of all metaphors. In addition, a metaphor suggests an equation between the metaphorical and literal meanings that do not always actually exist. These equations and simplifications can easily be exploited for ideological purpose. Metaphors can be used to present a particular interpretation or a biased view of a situation. Metaphors have a normative and reinforcing effect, limiting our understanding as well as developing it (Deignan, 2005, p. 23). Others go as far as saying that “metaphors and ideologies are interrelated because both are the products and the tools of the mind that are utilized to influence the public” (Abid et al., 2017, p. 124). Plato even argued that an eloquent metaphor would simply help people to lie more effectively (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 4).

In addition to simplification and hiding, metaphor in its nature has another feature that makes ideas more powerful and persuasive as if they were expressed in non-figurative language. Metaphor was historically seen as appealing directly to the senses because of its visual appeal. Metaphor illuminates, enlivens and animates ideas, it sets the scene before our eyes (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 4). Neuroscience reveals that the human brain is wired to a much greater degree for visual than for verbal processing, stemming from the time of *Homo sapiens*, related to the long human history of making sense to the world through visuals when verbal language did not exist. Visual information adds another dimension, it evokes emotions. Because

visuals are processed through the emotional pathways in the brain, they are a major source of influence (Grabe & Bucy, 2009, p. 7).

Because of its connection to our thoughts and knowledge, its simplification and emotional aspect, metaphor is a powerful linguistic tool. Especially, because when a metaphor is emphasizing some aspects while hiding others, they are doing this implicit and the consequences are not immediately accessible to the reader. And yet, the way a metaphor is used to frame events can be motivated by political dispositions and ideology (Pinelli, 2016, 136 f.). Therefore, Lakoff and Johnson emphasize the significance of conventional metaphors that are no longer even recognized as such but begin to seem natural instead.

If metaphor is as crucial to our thinking and as pervasive and persuasive as CMT suggests, we need to pay close attention to the patterns of metaphor at work in our public discourse.

**2.3.3 The power of metaphor in public discourse.** The patterns of metaphor that are at work in our public discourse can tell a lot about a society. These patterns can be motivated by political dispositions and ideology. This is why it can be problematic if journalists repeatedly turn to the same patterns of metaphor.

On the one hand, building on CMT, we know that metaphors have the power to substantially structure our perceptions and understanding. On the other hand, much of the knowledge we have about the world comes from the news. Simplification, hiding and emotional processing of ideas that comes with metaphors is what makes them so powerful if used in reporting the news. Together, they can highlight some elements of reality while at the same time hiding others. Thus, ever since metaphors were recognized as a central device in human thought, news has become a welcome source for investigating their use. Especially newspapers have been researched

extensively, because they are easily accessible in most of the world and still play a powerful role in shaping public opinion. A large part of metaphor studies in news aims at revealing ideologies and persuasive messages (Krennmayr, 2014, p. 531).

Steuter and Wills (2009, p. 207) emphasize that metaphors are especially powerful when they are surreptitious. By this, they mean that when journalists repeatedly return to similar patterns of image and language, these patterns begin to appear both familiar and natural. The repeated use of metaphors can establish prejudiced opinions of the readership towards the subject or issue in question. Furthermore, they criticize that even highly charged or emotional language can be absorbed by the dispassionate tone of supposedly neutral media (Steuter & Wills, 2009, xvi). The authors summarize why metaphor matters:

“Metaphor operates in the realm of thought, but its workings reverberate in concrete, active, tangible ways. Metaphor operates through the interplay of language’s denotative value, what it says clearly and obviously, and its connotative value, what it evocatively and often subjectively calls up, its overtones, allusions, and associations. Public discourse, which relies on metaphors both obvious and tacit, can harness its power to shape opinion, set of justify policy, and direct action. Perhaps this is why as the philosopher Ortega observes, metaphor is the most fertile power we know.” (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 3)

In their work *At War with Metaphor*, Steuter and Wills focus on the use of metaphors in creating enemies, making them into the other, in propaganda and justifying war – especially the so-called war on terror. As discussed, an extreme form of discrimination of minority groups is to strip them of their humanity. Steuter and Wills (2009) give numerous examples of how metaphoric language in media discourse has called openly or subtly, for indiscriminate violence and extermination

through dehumanization: “Since 9/11, mainstream media have consistently used metaphor to present terrorists, those suspected of terrorism, and even civilians linked through religion, culture, or ethnicity to countries associated with terrorism, as inhuman, non-human, or sub-human” (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. 155). However, 9/11 and the war on terror is just one example.

Conceptual metaphors enable us to understand complex areas of experience in terms of more familiar and more easily imaginable ones. Thus, the ubiquity of metaphorical language in discourses about the *other* is in no way surprising. The imagining of a national identity and the distinction between self and other is a very abstract topic, as El Refaie (2001, p. 353) explains: “Indeed, a very similar basic symbolism seems to underlie the anti-immigration discourses in several countries: it usually involves spatial opposites such as internal versus external, up versus down, as well as the concepts of materiality and body. This collective symbol of cultural and ethnic disparity is then elaborated on to include such diverse images as natural catastrophes, water, fire, plants, disease, water, goods and commodities, vehicles, ships and houses.”

In addition to these repeated themes, animal metaphors, as well as insects, germ or disease have persisted as a central component in representing the fabricated other or enemy (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. xv).

To summarize, metaphors have the power to structure our perceptions and understanding, and their repeated use in media discourse can establish prejudiced opinions of the readership towards the subject in question. If the metaphors referring to a subject are discriminating or even stripping the subject in question of its humanity, this is problematic. Especially, because language expands in its application from encompassing individual agents to encompassing entire nations, entire peoples,



encouraging an unconscious transformation in our minds and imaginations. Thus, metaphors in the news do not only have the potential to lead to racism and violence, but also to war and genocide in extreme cases: “Through selecting and reporting only certain facts, through overlooking or distorting others of equal relevance, through the associations we conjure to describe our opponents, we neglect or invalidate genuine discussion and debate, and promote instead public hysteria, panic and witch hunts [...] In this sense, we really do, through the metaphors we choose and reiterate, *make* enemies” (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. xv).

This is why metaphors matter. And why it is necessary to analyze the metaphors that systematically reduce others, fabricate enemies and move us dangerously closer to solutions of violence. Obviously, the above included extreme examples such as dehumanization, war and genocide to show where seemingly harmless metaphors can lead. However, the role of metaphors in the media discourse about refugees should not be underestimated. It has been shown already, that the media coverage can largely influence personal attitudes, political mood and developments, through metaphors.

Consequently, metaphors should not be accepted uncritically, their inferences should be made explicit and challenged. Not only for the sake of the other, but for our own. When we systematically reduce others, we are ourselves reduced. Through critical awareness of metaphor’s functioning and power, one can choose to challenge the process and explore alternatives (Steuter & Wills, 2009, p. xviii).

Overall, studies about the media representation of refugees has long been a relatively blank space in scientific discourse (Almstadt, 2017, p. 187). What previous studies have shown, however, is that metaphors matter and frames matter – among other things in the immigration debate. In the following, three types of relevant prior

studies will be introduced: Media effect studies that examine the impact of media frames on the immigration debate, content analyses investigating the common frames and patterns that are used in the coverage on immigrants and refugees, and metaphor or linguistic studies focusing particularly on metaphor as a framing device in the media.

## **2.4 Media Effects on Immigration Attitudes**

Overall, studies about the media representation of refugees have long been a relatively blank space in scientific discourse (Almstadt, 2017, p. 187). What previous studies have shown, however, is that metaphors matter and frames matter – among other things in the immigration debate. Below, three types of relevant prior studies will be introduced: Media effect studies that examine the impact of media frames on the immigration debate, content analyses investigating the common frames and patterns that are used in the coverage on immigrants and refugees, and metaphor or linguistic studies focusing particularly on metaphor as a framing device in the media.

Generally, research confirms media effects on political attitudes. Numerous studies provide evidence that the media content that is received can change cognition or attitudes (e.g. Kinder 1998; Iyengar & Simon 2001). Consequently, news coverage on refugees can promote certain attitudes about immigration. These media effects on attitudes then also have substantial political consequences. Studies have shown that anti-immigration attitudes are strong predictors of support for extreme right-parties (Van der Brug et al. 2000; Lubbers et al. 2002, Walgrave & De Swert 2004). Besides the support for anti-immigration parties, media coverage can trigger violent acts against immigrants. Koopmans (1996) finds that already a higher visibility of the asylum debate in German media has had a significant effect on the level of extreme-right violence against ethnic groups in Germany.

An experiment conducted on immigrant integration and media framing effects in the Netherlands (Bos et al., 2016) shows that the mass media coverage has considerable impact on how native citizens think about integration and immigration. The results show that attitudes towards immigrants and intercultural behavior intentions are affected by the frame of a story. This influences the Dutch natives' intention to improving interethnic relations through seeking information, participating in discussions and contributing to integration. The willingness to support collective action is specifically affected by the valence of a story. Bos et al. (2016, p. 98) add that all media frames contain a certain valence or evaluation. They claim that this valence has been shown to provide such media frames with the power to influence general attitudes and specific opinions and to be particularly effective in promoting support for collective action and behavioral intentions. Other media effect studies point into the same direction. The cases of Denmark and the Netherlands were analyzed for the period of 2003 to 2010, using a multilevel design (van Klinger, Boomgaarden, Vliegenthart, & Vreese, 2015). The results show that the tone of coverage does have an effect on people's immigration attitudes: A negative tone increases negativity towards immigration, while a positive tone does not have positive impact.

Drawing on German monthly time-series data from 1993 to 2005, the content analysis by Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) indicates that both the frequency and the tone of coverage on immigrant actors in the news significantly influence dynamics in anti-immigration attitudes. What they stress is that the strength of the effect of the news depends on contextual variation in immigration levels and the number of asylum seekers. This finding is especially important in looking at summer 2015 in Germany with its unusual high numbers of arrivals, as the study states that

high levels of immigration and high numbers of asylum applications caused an increase in immigration problem perceptions (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009, p. 536).

Prior studies support the finding that news effects may be moderated by the context in which they are received (Shah, McLeod, & Yoon, 2016; Sibley, Liu, & Kirkwood, 2006; Sniderman, 2002). Especially during great external shocks, as in this case, a period of high number arrivals of refugees, people are more susceptible to news effects. Consequently, news about refugees are perceived as more personally relevant and result in stronger effects than they would during times of low immigration levels.

Furthermore – and this finding is relevant in regard to the concept of dehumanization that will be introduced later on – the visibility of immigrant actors in the news does positively affect immigration attitudes. The more often immigrant actors are featured in the news, the less people perceived immigration as problematic (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009, p. 535).

Esses et al. (2013) examine the effects of common media portrayals of immigrants and refugees on dehumanization and its consequences. Their measures of dehumanization included explicit and implicit denial of the humanity of these groups and the consequences examined are support for immigration and refugee levels and policies (Esses et al., 2013, p. 519). Their findings show that the perception of refugees as not part of the human ingroup makes recipients believe more easily that refugees deserve negative outcomes and that there is no need to work towards their inclusion (Esses et al., 2013, p. 531). Research goes further and provides explanations for why the media chooses to portray refugees in such a dehumanizing manner and as part of a crisis. There are two main reasons:

On the one hand, positive stories are less newsworthy than negative stories. Thus, manufacturing a crisis around immigration and refugee policy sells news. Existing uncertainty can be used by journalists to grab the public's attention (Shoemaker & Vos 2009; Soroka & McAdams 2010). On the other hand, by manufacturing a crisis, anxiety can be reduced because a problem is defined that purports to be decisively solved. Hier and Greenberg (2002) state that this anxiety in the first place arises from collective insecurity about national identity that in turn stems from globalization, neoliberalism and restructured values. Uncertainty surrounding immigration is especially likely to be viewed as a threat when it seems overwhelming as if one does not have the resources to deal with it (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1996). Even though the systematic problematization of immigration may be helpful for insecure members of the host population, it bears severe consequences for the ones targeted.

The transformation of uncertainty into crisis and threat, paired with the media's focus on negative news stories can lead to the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees. Dehumanization may be considered the ultimate form of intolerance of otherness through removal from the human race. Esses et al. (2013, p. 531) find that this may release extreme behaviors toward members of these groups and serve to justify inhumane treatment that is seen as required because of the threats that the refugees are seen to pose.

Another study (Haynes, Devereux & Breen, 2004) supports these findings, emphasizing that portraying ethnic minorities as threats and framing interaction between minority and majority groups as conflicted can perpetuate social distance. This is problematic, because interaction between host societies and refugee groups is generally limited. Through fear of a common threat, even less interaction is sought

and due to a lack of first-hand experiences, stereotypes become familiar and may encourage racism. In addition, an Australian study about the refugee crisis and fear (Gale, 2016, p. 321) explores the intersection between populist politics and media discourse through analysis of media representations of refugees and asylum seekers. What can be concluded from the analysis is that liberal democratic nation states such as Australia will continue to be receptive to a politics of fear.

To summarize, media effects studies show that negative frames may negatively impact attitudes towards refugees, and therefore encourage racism, dehumanization and support of anti-immigration political attitudes and actions. The majority of studies looking at the effects of framing the refugee discourse on immigration attitudes already indicate that the media depict minority groups in a negative manner and give insight into a recurring narrative in media discourse: The creation of refugees as a common threat.

## **2.5 Media Coverage of Immigration**

Against the background of negative coverage being able to impact attitudes towards immigration negatively, one should have a closer look at the frames and patterns that are being used in the media coverage on the refugee debate. Coverage of refugees and immigrants should touch upon all aspects that might be of relevance to form attitudes about immigration. However, many of the media portrayals have in common the tendency to dehumanize the minority group and to depict them as a threat to the majority group (Esses et al., 2013).

Previous studies reveal a variety of issue-specific frames used in immigration and integration debates. Nevertheless, these frames can eventually be divided into two main groups: Refugees are most often presented as either threats or as innocent victims (Bos et al., 2016, p. 99). Through a frame analysis approach, a study on Irish

print media from 2002 found eight key frames concerning immigration which they argue are prevalent within media content. Five frames were negative, used to other the group of refugees. These themes represented them as lacking in legitimacy, as a threat to the national and local identity, as a moral and physical contaminant, as a criminal threat and as an economic threat. Further, three positive frames were identified. A frame depicting refugees as contributors to society, a frame that challenged racism and social closure, and a human interest frame wherein refugees were represented not as a mass, but as individuals with stories.

Several other studies support the findings that the majority of frames in the immigration discourse has negative connotations. A report on immigrants in Norwegian media in 2009 (Islam in Europe, 2010) found a majority of 71 percent of stories on immigration or integration to be problem-focused. A comparative study on federal government media releases and newspaper articles in Australia (Klocker & Dunn, 2003) found that even in federal government publications, 90 percent of the descriptive terms and 76 percent in print media were negative, describing refugees as illegitimate, illegal, and threatening.

In fact, over the past decades, portrayals of immigrants and refugees have become increasingly negative. Chavez (2001) for example analyzed American magazine covers from publications between 1965 and 1999. He found that the perceived negative impact of immigration has risen clearly, with a particular focus on immigrants as invaders. A comparative analysis of Australian and New Zealand print media from 1998 to 2008 (Sulaiman-Hill, Thompson, Afsar, & Hodliffe, 2011) has furthermore shown that reporting changed after the events of 9/11 insofar as that reporting on Muslims is more likely to frame stories in ways that are less sympathetic to their circumstances than for other refugees.

There are several studies referring to the recent media coverage on the refugee issue during the peak of the arrivals in 2015, either focusing on European press (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017) or focusing on German press in particular (Hemmelmann, Wegner, 2017; Herrmann, 2016a; Herrmann, 2016b).

Looking at the coverage of the refugee crisis on a cross-European perspective a report commissioned by the Council of Europe (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017) finds that the coverage of the refugee crisis of the European press in 2015 was generally diverse. However, the arriving refugees were overall seen as different to Europeans – as again either vulnerable or dangerous outsiders. The report criticizes that journalists hardly ever paid attention to the context of the arrivals. Stories about individuals, their lives and cultures, the war they fled from, were absent or marginal. Voices of refugees and migrants were hardly ever heard. Instead of giving them the opportunity to speak about their experiences and suffering, they were represented as silent actors and victims. This is particularly the case for female refugees and migrants, who in some countries were never given the opportunity to speak (for example in Hungary). Furthermore, the report reveals regional, temporal and media trends. Media coverage differed across European regions, especially between West and East and between receiving and non-receiving countries. In some parts of Eastern Europe, but also in the right-leaning press in the East and West Europe alike, press coverage that promoted hate speech and hostility towards refugees was systematic and persistent. However, the coverage generally changed across Europe during 2015. Sympathy and empathy were replaced by suspicion or even hostility towards refugees and migrants (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017, p. 3). Focusing on specific countries, the report found that German press had the main focus on action, highest across the European sample, probably due to the high number of refugees Germany took in



compared to some other European countries. Over 76 percent of the articles included information about defensive measures such as closing the borders or police presence. Over 85 percent of the articles mentioned humanitarian measures. At the same time, German press had the lowest emphasis on reasons behind migration and the lowest presence of female refugees. After Hungary and Czech Republic, Germany had the third lowest frequency of giving personal information such as age, profession or names of refugees (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017, p. 12).

In a media analysis, Hemmelmann and Wegner (2017) examined the patterns of coverage on the refugee crisis in German media more closely. They identified five waves of reporting. The first period from January to April 2015 was characterized by stereotypes. The second wave was characterized by growing empathy for asylum-seekers coming to Germany, more portrayals of refugees and volunteers were shown. In mid-August, this developed into a third wave of welcoming euphoria. During this time, the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees suspended the Dublin procedure for refugees, on 31 August, Chancellor Merkel made her by now famous statement: “Wir schaffen das.” (*We can do it*) (Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung, 2015). At the end of September, the fourth wave brought a reversal to the other extreme. The media focused on the political conflict of the topic of refugees and speculations about expected numbers of refugees. The study shows that this development was not limited to tabloid media but could also be seen in liberal weekly newspapers. In August, for example, *Die Zeit*’s title page read *Welcome* above a picture of a refugee family, whereas in September, the title page read *Merkel and the refugees. Does she know what she’s doing?* At the beginning of 2016, the fifth wave started, with the media justifying why they reported in which ways and now interviewing integrated migrants, but with overall few indications of improvement in

the coverage. Concludingly, the study criticizes that German coverage of refugees in 2015 and 2016 was not satisfactory, including a lack of differentiation, a lack of objectivity and a herd mentality of the different media.

Herrmann (2016b) also analyzes these different waves of reporting through content analyses of German print newspapers and news broadcasts. This study confirms the shift from an unusual positive to an overly negative presentation of the refugee topic in the German media from summer to fall 2015. The author claims that alone the extent of coverage on the refugee issue generated feelings of excessive demands and helplessness in the audience. She finds that the day-to-day listing of articles about refugees provokes the idea that Germany is flooded by a phenomenon it cannot handle. Taking a closer look at these narratives in the media coverage on the refugee crisis, Herrmann (2016a) finds that the coverage was personalized. A narrative prevailed that assigns all responsibility for the catastrophe and thus all the power to solve the problem to the chancellor Angela Merkel. At the same time, global connections were marginalized, reasons for the happenings were barely mentioned. The perspective of the refugees was mostly excluded from the coverage, making them appear as a technical problem, as a flood that had to be stopped (Herrmann, 2016a, p. 6).

## **2.6 Metaphors in Media Discourse**

Several studies have examined the manner in which minority groups, including refugees, are depicted in the media discourse on immigration generally and in the coverage of the refugee crisis in Germany in 2015 particularly.

One powerful – because subliminal – way to discriminate against minority groups, is using metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT indicates that metaphor is crucial to our thinking. Based on this, Steuter and Wills (Steuter & Wills,

2009, p. 4) examine how metaphors are at work in our public discourse, through repetition making patterns of image and language appear to be both familiar and natural. Consequently, we need to pay attention to the way metaphors are used to represent refugees:

A study about the representation of Syrian refugees in the online media discourse of host countries and non-host countries throughout September 2013 finds that both corpora primarily use water metaphors to describe Syrian refugees (Abid et al., 2017). The authors interpret this category of metaphors as representing refugees as an unwelcome disaster that detaches any human aspect from them. Furthermore, the results indicate that host countries use significantly more metaphors than non-host countries, especially when describing the entry of refugees and the burden they are inflicting on the host country.

A study about the discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers in UK press articles published between 1996 and 2005 (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008) found that emotionally charged metaphors are accompanied by an emphasis on the economic and social burden that is being inflicted on the host countries by refugees. A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN website texts and British newspaper texts published in 2003 (Baker & McEnery, 2005) found that common frames used to represent refugees were water, pests, packages or invaders in both corpora. The existence of such negative frames in UN texts shows how difficult it is even for official bodies to disregard dominant discourses.

El Refaie (2001) conducted a study on naturalized themes in Austrian newspaper articles about Kurdish asylum seekers in Italy in 1998. The analysis of all of the seven nationally distributed newspapers in Austria showed that the dominant metaphors portray the asylum seekers with water metaphors, as criminals, or an

invading army. The authors also argue that the naturalization of particular metaphors can lead to blurred boundaries between the literal and non-literal. The prevalence of such metaphors is not a new phenomenon, as analyses from German media texts from the Weimar Republic (Gerhard, 1997) and after the second World War (Jung, Wengler, & Böke, 1997) indicate.

In their entirety, previous studies have shown that journalists make use of metaphors as frames to represent refugees, in many cases to discriminate against refugees in general and that particularly the coverage across Europe during the events in 2015 was insufficient.

### 3 Research Questions

Derived from the theoretical framework and previous studies, three sub-questions are posed to help answer the overarching research question *How are refugees being represented through metaphors in the German newspaper discourse during the peak of the events in summer 2015?*

The literature review showed the central claim of CMT that metaphorical linguistic expressions reveal underlying conceptual metaphors in our thought. As illustrated in the example about the conceptual metaphor time is money, there are a variety of linguistic expressions for each conceptual metaphor. Thus, when looking at a news text, we need to determine the underlying conceptual metaphors of the linguistic expressions by structuring them into the main underlying themes. Consequently, the first research question is:

RQ1: What linguistic metaphor expressions were used to refer to the refugee issue and what are the main underlying conceptual metaphor themes?

This question aims at listing all the metaphorical expressions used in the given investigation period to portray individual refugees, the group of refugees or the refugee issue. To answer this question while making the process transparent and reproducible, a reduction is conducted based on Mayring's approach to qualitative content analysis (see below, chapter 4.1 Instrument Description). To do so, a structuring of the previously extracted expressions will be conducted. However, following the principle of openness, the rephrasing of categories or the inductive formation of so far unknown further categories is also possible (Mayring, 2014, p. 97).

Some of the metaphor categories in which the classification will be made, can already be deducted from previous research. At the same time, it is to be expected that not all the conceptual metaphor themes found in previous studies will be encountered

in this analysis, as it focuses on mainstream media. The categories for main underlying conceptual metaphor themes which can be formed deductively at this point are: WATER, NATURAL DISASTER, MILITARY, DISEASE, ANIMAL.

Previous studies have shown that the citizens' and politicians' mood as well as the media coverage concerning refugees shifted during the events of 2015. Furthermore, it has been shown that metaphors can be ideologically and politically motivated and can be used to subtly transport a certain ideology or create a certain image of the subject in question. In addition, previous studies found that metaphors about refugees are used more often in a negative context than a positive one. To be able to analyze the underlying motivations of journalists in using metaphors in the coverage on refugees, and to possibly reveal hegemonic power structures and values in the coverage about refugees, the circumstances under which metaphors were being used, shall be analyzed. This leads to the second research question:

RQ2: What are the contextual circumstances under which metaphors were used?

For this purpose, the tenor of the article is registered in another reduction. A simple estimate of the articles as positive, negative or neutral would be too subjective. Thus, the tenor will be coded through the thematic context of the articles. To do so, the articles will be classified into three categories according to their focus: humanitarian stories, domestic stories and EU policy. In these categories, each article will be evaluated as positive, negative or neutral towards the refugee issue. Articles in the category EU policy for example are coded as positive, if they focus on the good cooperation of EU members during the refugee issue. They are coded as negative for example, if they picture the EU refugee policy as failing or focus on difficult negotiations between the EU members. Articles will be coded as neutral, if they focus on objective facts only.

Additionally, to be able to fully evaluate the contextual circumstances the metaphors are used under, the source of each metaphorical linguistic expression found in the text will be coded. It will be differentiated between four different types of sources. The first category is quotes: The newspaper is quoting a metaphorical expression from another actor, such as a politician. The second category is a personal opinion: The metaphorical expression is clearly recognizable as a personal opinion of an author or a recipient. The third category is reflection: The metaphorical expression is cited in an article to reflect upon its linguistic usage. If none of the above applies, and the metaphorical expression is simply used in an article without citation, specification, or personal opinion, the newspaper itself is coded as the source.

Furthermore, CMT holds that metaphor is central to thought, and therefore to language. So, what do the linguistic metaphorical expressions that were found and the circumstances under which they were found, tell us about the underlying thought patterns?

Simple descriptive statistics will be applied to evaluate the first two questions to afterwards interpret the results gained from these two questions qualitatively within the scope of the third research question:

RQ3: What implications do the main metaphor themes have?

Focus of the qualitative interpretation will lie on the last question, which will build on the results of all the preceding questions to finally answer the overarching research question.

## **4 Method**

To answer the research questions posed, an appropriate research design has to be chosen. In the following it will be explained how the sample gets together to subsequently discuss the methodical instrument of qualitative content analysis which promises to capture the data material from the sample the most skillfully.

### **4.1 Instrument Description**

This study focuses on understanding if and how refugees were portrayed through metaphors in the coverage of German print newspapers during the peak of the arrivals of refugees in summer 2015. To answer this question, the metaphors used in the news texts referring to refugees as a person or group or the refugee issue as a whole have to be identified, extracted and structured into underlying main metaphor themes. These main metaphor themes that are deducted from the news texts will then be interpreted concerning their implications.

Because the refugee issue with its extremely high number of arrivals in 2015 is a new phenomenon and there have been no studies investigating metaphors in the coverage on refugees in German print media concerning this refugee issue in particular, a certain openness towards the research subject is fundamental. Openness towards the research subject is a central principle of qualitative research (Mayring, 2008, 27 f.). To put it simply, while quantitative analysis deals with numbers, qualitative analysis deals with meanings (Dey, 1998, p. 10). As this study aims at understanding the meaning of the metaphors used to portray refugees, a qualitative approach is more adequate than a quantitative one. Qualitative analysis is described as the process of “resolving data into its constituent components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure” (Dey, 1998, p. 30). The process of qualitative



analysis can further be structured into description of the phenomena, classification, and interconnecting – a structure that will be applied throughout this analysis.

From the techniques of qualitative analysis, a qualitative content analysis is best suitable, as the research material consists of still textual elements from print newspapers. Furthermore, since the very early days of content analysis, considerable interest has focused on the vocabulary or lexical choice in the texts studied (Hansen, 1998, p. 113). One of the main advantages of content analysis is that it is unobtrusive. However, great caution must be exercised when interpreting the data, as content analysis itself provides no direct data about the nature of the communicator, audience or effects.

Mayring (2014, p. 63) differentiates three main analysis techniques in qualitative content analysis: Summarizing, explication, and structuring. Summarizing has the objective of reducing the material up to its main content. The objective of explication is to collect further data to improve understanding of the material. Structuring focuses on filtering the material for certain aspects, according to previously determined criteria. Mayring (2014, p. 95) refers to structuring as “the content-analytical method which is probably most central. It has the goal of extracting a certain structure from the material”. Within structuring, again there are three different approaches, depending on the goal of the analysis: Formal structuring, content-based structuring, and standardizing structuring. For the present study, the material will first be searched for metaphors and those metaphors will then be categorized. Thus, the technique of formal structuring is applied, as in formal structuring the compiled structure is aligned with linguistic characteristics of the material.

In structuring, the fundamental structuring dimensions must be determined. The procedure is mostly deductive. The categories are derived from the issue concerned and are theoretically based on previous research. The derived dimensions are then further subdivided into individual features and are eventually brought together to form a category system. However, in the sense of the principle of openness, the rephrasing of categories or the inductive formation of so far unknown further categories is possible (Mayring, 2014, p. 97)

This approach is well suited for the present study, as there have been similar previous studies about metaphors in the discourse about refugees, immigrants or minority groups concerning other occasions. Thus, the majority of categories is formed deductively, while the encountering of new, inductively formed categories during the analysis is not precluded.

#### **4.2 Data Collection**

Lakoff and Johnson's CMT provides a basis for uncovering cognitive structures through the analysis of linguistic models. However, they do not provide an approach for determining conceptual metaphors in discourse (Schmitt, 2005, p. 358).

Most researchers interested in metaphor use in news discourse focus on very specific conceptual metaphors and search corpora for lexical items that have been pre-identified as interesting. Another approach that attempts to cover a wider range of observations is a small corpus – big corpus approach. In that approach, first all metaphors in a small sample are identified and then a larger corpus is searched for further evidence. However, since there are likely metaphors in the big corpus that have not been identified in the small corpus, some metaphors would be missed (Krennmayr, 2014, p. 534).

Instead, this study strives to capture all metaphorical language that there is in the corpora. This poses certain difficulties, since automatic metaphor identification by means of computer programs still lacks precision, metaphors must be identified by hand. This, however, is a laborious process. On the one hand, it places a limit on the amount of data that can be coded. On the other hand, it allows for the necessary precision (Krennmayr, 2014, p. 534).

There are a number of approaches proposed by different researchers to determine conceptual metaphors in discourse (Abid et al., 2017, p. 124). This research will use a refined version of the metaphor identification procedure (MIP), which was originally developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The refined version, called MIPVU was established at the VU University Amsterdam by Steen, Dorst, & Herrmann (2011). The group of metaphor scholars created an explicit and reliable method for identifying metaphorically used words in spoken and written language. For each lexical unit in a corpus, the procedure wants to establish whether its use in the particular context can be defined as metaphorical. Thus, it requires a word by word manual approach. MIPVU assumes that metaphorically used words in discourse disrupt semantic coherence through the introduction of an alien conceptual domain. The corpora will be scanned for lexical units causing such disruptions. For each of those lexical units, it must be determined, if it has a more basic meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. If it does, and its contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it, the lexical unit is marked as metaphorical (Steen et al., 2011, 25 f.). The procedure of MIPVU only focuses on determining whether words in contexts convey metaphorical meaning. It does not make claims as to whether the author intended the words to express metaphorical meanings.

### 4.3 Media Sample

For the purpose of this research, data are collected from five popular national daily German print newspapers: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)*, *die Welt*, *die tageszeitung (taz)*, and *die BILD*.

Apart from *die BILD*, the chosen print newspapers are quality newspapers. However, *die BILD*, a tabloid newspaper, is included in the sample as well, as it has long been the most widely read newspaper in Germany. In fact, looking at paid circulation for national daily newspapers in Germany in the first quarter of 2018 shows that *die BILD* has the largest circulation by far: *die BILD* (circulation: 1.7 million; readers: 9.3 million), *SZ* (circulation: 352,573; readers: 1.3 million), *FAZ* (circulation: 239,946; readers: 760,000), *die Welt* (circulation: 164,415; readers: 660,000), *taz* (circulation: 50,519; readers: 207,000) (Statista, 2018).

The chosen newspapers stand for a broad spectrum of political perspectives in Germany. According to Kepplinger (1998), the five newspapers can be positioned along a liberal-conservative-continuum as follows: *taz*, *SZ*, *die Welt*, *FAZ*, *die BILD*. *Taz* is considered as far left. *SZ* can be considered as left-liberal, while *die Welt* and *FAZ* are considered further right along the spectrum, as right-liberal. *Die BILD* is located at the conservative end of the continuum. Thus, an influence of the editorial lines of the chosen newspapers on the metaphors used in the coverage can be examined as well. The newspaper articles are collected from a press archive at the University of Leipzig.

The unit of analysis is each news article. The criteria for selecting a news article is that the article must contain the German word for *refugee* (*Flüchtling/Geflüchtete/ Flihende*) including modifications, synonyms and plural, in their title, subtitle or are otherwise treating the refugee issue as the main topic of the

article, to be coded. Visual additions and picture captions will not be included into the analysis.

#### **4.4 Investigation Period**

The topic of refugees has never again been covered as prominently as from August to November 2015. Each of the selected national daily print newspapers published at least three, generally more articles, each day concerning the refugee issue.

Due to the laborious manual approach of metaphor identification and to allow for the research economical limitations of a Master's thesis, not each day of the whole period of those four months can be analyzed continuously. To have a manageable sample, the sample is based on content considerations. A cluster sample is created around the most relevant key events defining the refugee issue in summer and fall 2015. As usually there is a time span of six to 24 hours between the actual event and media coverage, the coverage one and two days after said events are analyzed. In case of an issue of a newspaper not being published on one of these days due to Sundays or holidays, the next issue published after that day will be chosen instead. The key events were taken from a timeline provided by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (Adenauer Campus, 2016). This leads to the following seven events and fourteen days the sample is built around:

Key events:

- August 26<sup>th</sup>: Dublin agreement is suspended for Syrian refugees
- August 31<sup>st</sup>: Merkel gives her speech *Wir schaffen das* (*We can do this*)
- September 6<sup>th</sup>: Refugees are allowed to enter Germany without border controls
- September 13<sup>th</sup>: Germany closes borders
- October 15<sup>th</sup>: Stricter asylum laws are passed

- November 5<sup>th</sup>: Agreement on reception facilities for faster asylum processes
- November 29<sup>th</sup>: Cooperation plan between EU and Turkey is determined

Resulting dates of investigation:

- August 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>
- September 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>
- September 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>
- September 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>
- October 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>
- November 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>
- November 30<sup>th</sup> and December 1<sup>st</sup>

## 5 Presentation of the Data

As usual for qualitative research, not inferential statistics but descriptive statistics will be the focus of the presentation of the data. The collected data for all media will be presented according to the research questions as well as the data broken down according to each newspaper. Following the description, the results will be analyzed regarding the individual research questions to answer the overarching question of how refugees were represented through metaphors in the German newspaper discourse during the peak of the events in summer 2015.

### 5.1 General Description

A cluster sample was created around the seven most relevant key events defining the refugee issue in summer and fall 2015. This led to 14 dates between August 27<sup>th</sup> and December 1<sup>st</sup> on which the issues of each the five newspapers were to be analyzed. From the resulting 70 newspaper issues analyzed in total, 429 articles are identified to cover the refugee issue, thus contain criteria to be selected for the sample.

Most articles about the refugee issue during the investigation period in absolute numbers are found in the *SZ* (111 articles), followed by *die Welt* (104 articles), *FAZ* (96 articles), *taz* (91 articles), and *BILD* (27 articles), as shown in table 1.

Table 1

#### Composition of the sample

	Media					
	BILD	FAZ	Welt	SZ	taz	
Articles analyzed	27	96	104	111	91	n = 429

In the 429 articles analyzed, 226 metaphorical expressions concerning the refugee issue are found in total, as shown in table 2. The metaphor density was calculated to illustrate how often the different newspapers were using metaphors about the refugee issue in relation to their articles published about the refugee issue.

The metaphor density is highest in *FAZ*, with 84 percent, with 82 metaphors found in 96 articles. It is second highest in *die Welt* (69%), followed by *BILD* (51%), *SZ* (34%) and *taz* (23%). For the sample, this results in a metaphor density of 53 percent.

Table 2

*Number of metaphorical expressions found in the sample*

	<b>Media</b>					
	<b>BILD</b>	<b>FAZ</b>	<b>Welt</b>	<b>SZ</b>	<b>taz</b>	
<b>Articles analyzed</b>	27	96	104	111	91	429
<b>Linguistic metaphors found</b>	14	82	72	38	21	226
<b>Metaphor density</b>	51%	84%	69%	34%	23%	53%

The 226 linguistic metaphor expressions found in the sample were structured into their underlying conceptual metaphors. During this process, eight different metaphor fields were identified. Five categories had already been formed deductively before the analysis, namely WATER, NATURAL DISASTER, MILITARY, DISEASE, ANIMAL. In addition to those five – which were all confirmed in the sample – the three categories GOODS, CRIME and CATASTROPHE were built inductively.

The vast majority of 168 metaphorical expressions (73%) fall into the conceptual metaphor field WATER. Far less, but second most metaphors are found in the metaphor field MILITARY (10%) with 23 mentions. Metaphors with the underlying conceptual metaphor ANIMALS (6%) are published 13 times and expressions from the field GOODS (5%) are published 12 times. Expressions that fall into the metaphor field



of NATURAL DISASTERS make up three percent of the metaphorical expressions found. Metaphorical expressions from the conceptual metaphors CRIME, DISEASE and CATASTROPHE make up such a small amount that taken together they make up for three percent. Table 3 shows the number and percentage of metaphors categorized into each of their underlying conceptual metaphors.

Table 3

*Number of metaphors categorized into their conceptual metaphor fields*

	Conceptual Metaphors					
	WATER	MILITARY	ANIMALS	GOODS	NATURAL DISASTER	CRIME, DISEASE CATASTROPHE
<b>Metaphors found</b>	166	23	13	12	7	6
<b>Proportion</b>	73%	10%	6%	5%	3%	3%

A closer look at the composition of the conceptual metaphor WATER, as pictured in table 4, shows that the most commonly used expression with regard to the refugee issue in this field but also in general is the metaphor of a stream or flow with 120 mentions (e.g. *Flüchtlingsstrom* 10\_16sz2, *Massenzustrom* 8\_27welt4, *Strom reißt nicht ab* 11\_6 welt6, *Versiegen der Flüchtlingsströme* 11\_16faz4, *Migrantenströme* 10\_16faz2, *Flüchtlinge strömen* 11\_16welt6). The metaphorical expression of a wave is second highest with 29 mentions (e.g. *Flüchtlingswelle* 9\_8faz5, *Fluchtwelle* 9\_7faz6, *Menschenwelle* 12\_1welt3, *Immigrationswelle* 9\_15sz8, *Wucht der Flutwelle* 9\_1welt5, *zweite Welle* 9\_15welt10). Another image that is repeatedly found within the conceptual metaphor WATER is that of a dam or channel with 8 mentions (e.g. *Flüchtlingsströme eindämmen* 9\_15welt2, *Flüchtlingsströme kanalisieren* 9\_1sz5, *Dammbruch* 9\_7faz6, *Migrationskanäle*

10\_16sz2). The metaphor of tides is mentioned 3 times (*Flüchtlingsstrom abebben lassen, ebbt nicht ab*). In addition to those repeated expressions, several other, more unusual, metaphors are found within the conceptual metaphor of WATER (e.g. *Stöpsel auf die Flasche kriegen* 9\_14welt6, *Rohrbruch* 9\_2faz3, *Sogwirkung* 9\_7taz4).

Table 4

Composition of the conceptual metaphor water

	Metaphorical expressions within the conceptual metaphor WATER				
	Current	Wave	Dam/Channel	Tides	Others
<b>Metaphors found</b>	120	29	8	3	6
	166				

The other conceptual metaphors consist of more individual, diverse expressions that are harder to categorize. However, the most common ones and some examples shall be given for a better insight. Appendices A to E can be consulted for a comprehensive listing of all the linguistic metaphor expressions found in the sample.

The conceptual metaphor of MILITARY, consists of metaphors such as fortress (*Festung Europa* 9\_15taz1), defense (*Flüchtlinge abwehren* 10\_17taz6, *Abwehr gegen Flüchtlinge* 8\_27sz4), weapons (*Migrationswaffen* 11\_6welt1), assault on (*Flüchtlinge stürmen den Zug* 9\_1sz2, *stürmen die Grenzen* 9\_1welt2) or fighting (*bekämpfen* 9\_1faz7, *Kämpfer* 8\_27faz1).

The conceptual metaphor of ANIMALS consists of metaphors such as jungle (*hausen im Dschungel* 9\_1welt8), hole up (*verkriechen sich* 9\_15welt12), coop up (*eingepfercht* 9\_1faz8), swarms (*Flüchtlingsschwärme* 9\_1welt4, *Menschenschwärme* 9\_1faz6), ticks (*Zecken* 9\_7faz8).

Under the conceptual metaphor of GOODS fall metaphors such as utilize (*Flüchtlinge verwerten* 9\_1taz10), deliver (*Verfrachtete* 8\_27welt3), haggling

(*Feilscherei um Flüchtlinge 9\_7sz4*) backlog (*Kette von Rückstaus 9\_15sz4*), or  
setscrew (*Stellschrauben 10\_16sz4*).

The conceptual metaphor of NATURAL DISASTER is verbalized through metaphors such as flood (*Wucht der Flutwelle 9\_1welt5, überflutet 9\_15faz3*), or high water (*Hochwasserdämme sollen uns schützen 9\_2taz3*). With the exception of a single fire metaphor (*Europa ist von einem Feuerring umgeben 9\_15faz3*), the category NATURAL DISASTER in this sample can also be seen as only a sub-category of the WATER category.

To be able to analyze the contextual circumstances under which metaphors were used, the tenor of the article was registered through the thematic main focus of the article. As shown in table 5, most metaphors are found in articles with a negative tenor towards the refugee issue (81%). Second most metaphors are found in articles with a neutral tenor (16%) and only three percent of the metaphors stem from articles with a positive tenor towards the refugee issue.

Table 5

Tenor of the articles that contained metaphorical expressions

		Metaphors found	Tenor (negative, neutral, positive)	Proportion
<b>Thematic context (EU, domestic, humanitarian)</b>	EU negative	108	183	81%
	Domestic negative	47		
	Humanitarian negative	28		
	EU neutral	15	36	16%
	Domestic neutral	14		
	Humanitarian neutral	7		
	EU positive	4	7	3%
	Domestic positive	3		
	Humanitarian positive	0		

Additionally, to be able to fully evaluate the contextual circumstances the metaphors are used under, the source of each metaphorical linguistic expression found in the text was coded. It was differentiated between four different types of sources, as shown in table 6.

Most of the metaphors (60%) were brought up by the newspapers themselves, without any further explanation, reflection, a citation, or being marked as a personal opinion. Eighteen percent of the metaphors found were published as a personal opinion. Categorized as a personal opinion were those metaphorical expressions that were either published in an editorial clearly expressing the opinion of one journalist, those that were published in an op-ed clearly related to the opinion of one author, or other forms of personal expressions. Another 17 percent of the metaphors found were quoted from politicians, other public figures or citizens. Lastly, five percent of the metaphors were integrated in the articles to reflect upon their linguistic use and impact.

Table 6

*Sources of metaphorical expressions in the articles*

	Source			
	Newspaper	Personal Opinion	Quote	Reflection
<b>Metaphors found</b>	136	40	39	11
<b>Proportion</b>	60%	18%	17%	5%

## 5.2 Description for Individual Media

Now that the sample as a whole has been presented, the data will be broken down according to the individual media to later on be able to emphasize differences and similarities in the data and to trace them back to the political spectra of the media.

Not all the eight conceptual metaphor fields found in the sample are represented in each newspaper, as shown in table 7. However, the conceptual metaphor WATER from which most of the linguistic metaphors in the sample stem, is also the only conceptual metaphor that is found in all media. Furthermore, it is the conceptual metaphor from which expressions were found most often in each newspaper in relation to the other conceptual metaphors.

In *BILD*, the highest proportion of WATER metaphors is found: Ninety-three percent of the metaphor expressions published can be categorized in the conceptual metaphor WATER. The percentage of metaphor expressions from the field of WATER is similar for *FAZ* (77%), *Welt* (76%) and *SZ* (74%). In the articles analyzed in *taz*, considerably less metaphors (43%) are assigned to the conceptual metaphor WATER.

However, the presence of the other conceptual metaphors is more diverse throughout the different media than the omnipresent conceptual metaphor of WATER. In *BILD* only two different metaphor fields were found: WATER and ANIMALS. In contrast, both *FAZ* and *die Welt* contained metaphorical expressions from seven different metaphor fields. *SZ* on the other hand only published metaphors from the three fields WATER, MILITARY and NATURAL DISASTERS. In *taz*, metaphors from five different fields were found: WATER, MILITARY, GOODS, NATURAL DISASTERS and CRIME. The conceptual metaphor of ANIMALS thus was only brought up by the three most conservative newspapers.

Table 7

*Percentage of expressions found for different conceptual metaphor fields in each media*

Conceptual Metaphors								
	WATER	MILITARY	ANIMALS	GOODS	NATURAL DISASTERS	CRIME	DISEASE	CATASTROPHE
BILD	93%	-	7%	-	-	-	-	-
FAZ	77%	9%	9%	1%	2%	-	1%	1%
Welt	76%	8%	6%	6%	3%	1%	-	1%
SZ	74%	16%	-	11%	-	-	-	-
taz	48%	19%	-	19%	5%	10%	-	-

Looking at the sources of the metaphor expressions for each media, one finds that most metaphors – more than half – in each newspaper were brought up by the newspaper itself, as shown in table 8. While *personal opinion* is the second leading source for metaphors in *BILD* (14%), *FAZ* (23%) and *Welt* (22%), quotes are more popular metaphor sources for *SZ* (26%) and *taz* (38%). Metaphors were scarcest brought up to consciously reflect language use in all media.

Table 8

*Sources of metaphorical expressions in the articles*

		Source			
Media		Newspaper	Personal Opinion	Quote	Reflection
Media	BILD	71%	14%	14%	-
	FAZ	57%	23%	15%	5%
	Welt	67%	22%	10%	4%
	SZ	61%	-	26%	8%
	taz	52%	5%	38%	5%

Looking at the tenor of the articles that contained metaphorical expressions, as shown in table 9, one finds that in all five newspapers by far most metaphors were

found in articles that communicated a negative tenor towards the refugee crisis, followed by articles with a neutral tenor. Metaphors were barely found in articles with a positive tenor – except for *taz* where 20 percent of the metaphors were found in articles with a positive tenor, which may be a consequence of the far-left newspaper generally publishing more articles with a positive tenor towards the refugee issue than the other media.

Table 9

*Tenor of the articles that contained metaphorical expressions*

		<b>Tenor</b>		
<b>Media</b>		Negative	Neutral	Positive
<b>Media</b>	BILD	71%	21%	7%
	FAZ	86%	12%	1%
	Welt	82%	18%	-
	SZ	84%	13%	3%
	taz	60%	25%	20%

To summarize, 429 articles during the investigation period in the five chosen national daily newspapers cover the refugee issue. In this cluster sample, 226 metaphors are found. These metaphors can be categorized into eight underlying conceptual metaphor themes: WATER, MILITARY, GOODS, ANIMALS, NATURAL DISASTER, CRIME, DISEASE and CATASTROPHE. The conceptual metaphor that is distributed by far the most throughout the media but also in each media itself, is WATER. Most metaphors in relation to the articles are published in the *FAZ*. What stands out is that the two newspapers considered further left along the spectrum, *SZ* and *taz*, had a lower metaphor saturation in their texts than the other three more conservative media. Generally, most metaphors were found in articles with a negative tenor towards the refugee issue. A look at the differently composed sources of the

metaphors can help to understand in what way or to what purpose the media was using the metaphors: Quotes and reflections – the two sources where the newspaper is not the original source of the metaphor – were found more often in the two liberal newspapers.



## 6 Interpretation

The findings presented above will be interpreted regarding the research questions to conclusively discuss how refugees were being represented through metaphors during the peak of the events in summer and fall 2015.

RQ1: What linguistic metaphor expressions were used to refer to the refugee issue and what are the main underlying conceptual metaphor themes?

The metaphors found can be categorized into eight underlying conceptual metaphor themes: WATER, MILITARY, GOODS, ANIMALS, NATURAL DISASTER, CRIME, DISEASE and CATASTROPHE. The conceptual metaphor that is distributed by far the most to describe refugees throughout the media but also in each newspaper itself, is the WATER metaphor. Looking at the individual media, one finds that the ANIMAL metaphor is only used in the three most conservative newspapers in the sample. At the same time, MILITARY and GOODS metaphors are used more often in the two more liberal newspapers.

ANIMAL metaphors portray refugees as subhuman (e.g. *Flüchtlingsschwärme* 9\_1welt4, *Zecken* 9\_7faz8, *verkriechen* 9\_15welt12, *eingepfercht* 9\_1faz8, im *Dschungel hausend* 9\_1welt8) while the other categories named render them *only* inhuman. Thus, the conceptual metaphor of ANIMALS must be seen as especially dangerous, as the worst category of metaphors to describe individuals, as Steuter and Wills (2009, 40 f.) explain, pointing out the role of ANIMAL metaphors in previous war propaganda. The fact that this worst kind of conceptual metaphor in the sample is only found in the three most conservative newspapers leads to the interpretation that the media professionals are aware of the seriousness of this conceptual metaphor and are willing to use those conceptual metaphor fields that comply with the political orientation of the newspaper.

Even though metaphors from the fields of MILITARY, ANIMALS, GOODS, NATURAL DISASTERS, CRIME, DISEASE and CATASTROPHE were not found in each newspaper and not in such a high occurrence as the water metaphor, one should keep in mind that all of those conceptual metaphors are found in supposedly moderate mainstream media.

The fact that the WATER metaphor is highly used throughout the different media, even the liberal ones, suggests that this metaphor has already become established in everyday language. This process of naturalization, of metaphors no longer even being recognized as such, is what Steuter and Wills (2009, p. 4) warn against. The repeated use and naturalization of metaphors can lead to blurred boundaries between the literal and non-literal and can thus establish prejudiced opinions of the readership towards the subject in question.

The completely natural usage of this conceptual metaphor in the survey is insofar alarming, as the category of WATER metaphors can be interpreted as representing refugees as an unwelcome disaster that detaches the human aspect from them.

RQ2: What are the (contextual) circumstances under which metaphors were used?

Generally, as already indicated above, there seems to be a connection between the political orientation of the newspapers and their usage of metaphors considering the density of metaphorical expressions and the severity of the chosen metaphor themes.

Newspapers located further right along the liberal-conservative continuum (*BILD*, *FAZ*, *Welt*) are found to have a higher metaphor density than the ones further

left (*SZ*, *taz*) and to publish the subhumanizing conceptual metaphor of animals in contrast to the ones further left.

Analyzing the tenor of the articles confirms the findings of previous studies that most metaphors were found in articles with a negative tenor. However, one must consider that the majority of the articles had a negative tenor towards the refugee issue anyway. Only *taz* published metaphors in articles with a positive tenor to a large extent as well. This allows the interpretation that different usage patterns and motivations for the usage of metaphors exist throughout the media. *Taz* is a far-left medium supporting refugees and their rights. A possible explanation could be that *taz* is using the metaphors in its articles to underline how unjustly negative refugees are viewed by politicians and society during the refugee issue. Just to give an example, in one article, *taz* is harshly criticizing the politics of isolation in Europe and is calling Europe *Festung* (9\_15taz5) to illustrate the difficulties that come up with Germany closing its borders in contrast to other media who are using this metaphor in a rather positive context.

Furthermore, a look at the sources of metaphors can help to understand what purpose journalists were using the metaphors for: Quotes and reflections – the two sources where the newspaper is not the original source of the metaphor – were found more often in the two liberal newspapers. These figures indicate that the two more liberal newspapers at least do not want to be seen as the originator or main source of the metaphor or want to avoid being held accountable for – however, they are still publishing them.

The fact that each media at least once published an article reflecting upon the usage and impact of metaphors in the refugee issue shows that journalists are generally aware of the possible dangers of metaphors. However, most reflections

upon metaphorical expressions is found in September – during this time, the third wave of welcoming euphoria was taking place. It seems that with the reversal of the public mood to the other extreme, the reporting became less critical and self-reflecting.

RQ3: What implications do the main metaphor themes have?

CMT holds that metaphor is central to thought and therefore to language. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.3) recognized metaphors as a central device in human thought, stating that metaphors can be employed as rhetorical tools to transport persuasive messages and create attitudes toward certain topics. So, what do the linguistic metaphorical expressions that were found and the circumstances under which they were found tell us about underlying thought patterns and power structures of media and society?

Feeling of excessive demands and helplessness: Herrmann (2016b) claims that alone the extent of coverage on the refugee issue generated feelings of excessive demands and helplessness in the audience. She finds that the day-to-day listing of articles about refugees provokes the idea that Germany is overwhelmed by a phenomenon it cannot handle. In fact, in the 70 newspaper issues analyzed in this survey, the immense number of 429 articles covering the refugee issue were found.

This feeling of excessive demands that is generated through the extent of coverage on the refugee issue is then reinforced by the Water metaphor. Instead of giving exact figures, journalists primarily describe the refugees coming to Europe as an unknown confusing quantity, referring to them as a wave, current, or flood.

Naturalization effect of the Water metaphor: According to CMT, the function of metaphor is to better understand certain abstract concepts. More precisely, linguistic metaphors are expressing a cross-domain mapping in thought – from a more

concrete source domain to a more abstract target domain. The conceptual domain that we try to understand is the target domain and the conceptual domain that we use for this purpose is the source domain.

With CMT in mind, one can analyze the most relevant conceptual metaphor found in the sample – the Water metaphor. The abstract target domain in this example is refugees. The more concrete source domain through which we try to understand this domain is water. Not the refugees themselves but the immense number of refugees coming to Europe in 2015 was such an unknown and new phenomenon so that a metaphor was used by journalists to make the complex issue more concrete and easily understandable for the recipients. Journalists chose to use water as a physical concept known to all readers to describe the high numbers of refugees fleeing in summer 2015. Interestingly, the Water metaphor is not a new invention – it has been used in connection with migration and refugees long before (see for example cover of *Der Spiegel* 37/1991). So, as the CMT claims, journalists used a metaphor – in this case one even already known to society – to simplify an issue.

One might argue that the positive aspect about such a simplification is that it makes a complex issue comprehensible to more individuals. Having said this, there are also disadvantages. Conceptual metaphors do not only consist of a source domain and a target domain. They also need a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target – the mappings. Basically, ideas and knowledge from the source domain are then mapped onto the target domain. Therefore, the repeated use of metaphors can establish prejudiced opinions of the readership towards the subject in question.

In case of the conceptual metaphor of WATER, two aspects are especially problematic against this background. According to the dictionary, water is something

still not completely controllable and measurable by humankind. A wave is a sudden natural force that cannot be stopped by humans. A stream is something big, powerful and endlessly moving, a flood is something big, unwelcome, and uncontrollable as well. The naturalization of particular metaphors can lead to blurred boundaries between the literal and non-literal. Thus, the WATER metaphor favors the perception of refugees as an unwelcome disaster or an uncontrollable, overwhelming, unstoppable mass. It renders refugees – human beings, individuals in need of help – into an anonymous mass without a face.

As mentioned in chapter 2.1, uncertainty surrounding immigration is especially likely to be viewed as a threat when it seems overwhelming as if one does not have the resources to deal with it. Unfortunately, the extent of coverage on the refugee issue paired with the water metaphor creates exactly this impression.

Yet, the ubiquity of metaphorical language in discourses about the other is in no way surprising, as explained in chapter 3.3.4. Often, in the distinction between self and other in anti-immigration discourses, spatial or material opposites are involved. In the survey, these opposites were found in the form of refugees being represented as water and Europe or Germany as the land, boat or fortress surrounded by water. Or in the form of refugees being represented as criminal or military threats and Germany or Europe as the defending force. And as the refugees being represented as animals while westerners were represented as the humans controlling those animals.

Political motivations and the creation of national identity: Considering the gravity – against CMT, framing and priming theory – of the conceptual metaphor themes published in German mainstream media, one may ask if journalists were aware of the possible effects of the metaphors and why they were making use of them in the first place. Analyzing how they were making use of the metaphors may help to

answer this question and to understand what implications the published metaphor themes had.

As mentioned above, metaphors may simplify and condense complex and controversial events, but at the same time, metaphors tend to present the events by focusing on the emotional side while playing down logical reasoning. In this process of simplification, some aspects are highlighted, usually the ones most convenient for the communicator, while others are neglected. When a metaphor is emphasizing some aspects while hiding others, they are doing this implicit and the consequences are not immediately accessible to the reader. And yet, the way a metaphor is used to frame events can be motivated by political dispositions and ideology.

For the five newspapers analyzed, the findings indicate that the way metaphors were used to frame the events, were in fact motivated by political dispositions. Of course, journalists may have been overwhelmed by the events itself from time to time and furthermore may have wanted to simplify the events for the recipients. However, these are not the only reasons for the newspapers using metaphors in describing the refugee issue.

First of all, all of the media except *BILD* were reflecting upon metaphors in the refugee issue at least once. In one article for example, *SZ* complains that “Katastrophenjargon” such as *Flüchtlingsströme* (*stream of refugees*) is still used to refer to the refugee movements (9\_2sz8). In another article, *Welt* criticizes the metaphor *Flüchtlingsströme*, explaining that “Ein gemeinsames Feindbild lässt frei nach Ernesto Laclau eine einheitliche politische Masse entstehen, in der Rechts und Links aufgehen” (11\_6welt1) (*A common concept of an enemy, referring to Ernesto Laclau, creates a uniform political mass, in which both left and right merge into*). And *FAZ* explains: “Die Bundeskanzlerin gehört nicht zu jenen, die mit

Begrifflichkeiten von Flüchtlingswellen und -strömen den Eindruck vermitteln, auch vermitteln wollen, Deutschland werde überfordert oder – nach maritimen Duktus – überschwemmt“ (9\_1faz5) (*The German Chancellor does not belong to those persons who are using notions like the stream of refugees or the flood of refugees to create the impression that Germany is being overwhelmed –or as in maritime ductus – flooded*). These and further examples are proof that journalists must have been aware of the possible negative consequences of their metaphor usage but still decided to publish them.

In addition, the findings show differences in the metaphor saturation, the type of conceptual metaphor fields used and the metaphor sources according to the position of the newspaper along the liberal-conservative continuum. These findings indicate that journalists may have been aware of the possible negative consequences of metaphors and were using them to an extent and in a manner that would fit their political orientation. Thus, one can assume that the metaphors used were generally motivated by political dispositions and deliberately employed to create a feeling of *us* and *them*.

Perpetrators, victims, and instructions: Overall, what meanings and implications do the main metaphor themes have? All the metaphor themes found have in common, in addition to involving opposites, that they are portraying refugees as a common threat that is overstraining Europe. Secondly, they are rendering individuals into a homogeneous mass. Instead of giving them the opportunity to speak about their experiences, they were no longer perceived as actors at all. Thirdly, the metaphor themes are dehumanizing and subhumanizing the refugees and thus excluding them from the human ingroup.



This framing makes the refugees coming to Europe understandable as a threatening phenomenon. Images of crime, disease, natural disasters, and water masses suggest that refugees are not something in need of protection but something that Europe has to protect itself from. Military metaphors even transport the message that *we* are in a fight with refugees. What these figures of language tell us, is that refugees are not victims but a threat. Instead, Germany and Europe are the victims of the situation – in danger of being flooded and invaded. A clear distortion of the facts, since the refugees are the ones fleeing from war.

Being confronted by such a *threat*, Europe and Germany are invoked to defend and save themselves. The conceptual metaphors used in the coverage happen to even supply instructions on how to do so (*Flüchtlingsströme eindämmen* 9\_15welt2, *Massenzustrom kanalisieren* 9\_15faz9, *Stöpsel wieder auf die Flasche kriegen* 9\_15faz12, *Flüchtlinge abwehren* 10\_17taz6, *Grenzen wie Hochwasserdämme* 9\_2taz3, *Festung Europa schützen* 8\_28welt1, *Flüchtlingsströme umleiten* 9\_2welt2, *Zustrom drosseln* 9\_14welt3, *an der Front bekämpfen* 9\_1faz2). Transferred to politics, this means a politics of isolation and deportation. Consequently, a strong image of a national identity and the *other* is created.

The metaphor of putting the lid back on the bottle (*Stöpsel wieder auf die Flasche kriegen* 9\_15faz12) is especially complex and meaningful here. On the one hand, this metaphorical expression can be allocated to the Water metaphor field. On the other hand, this metaphor can be categorized into many more conceptual metaphor fields from cultural history. For example, this metaphor refers to Pandora's box, genie in the bottle or similar stories from the Arabian nights, as well as Goethe's Sorcerer's Apprentice, just to name a few. All the indications are that this metaphor was chosen to point to the high momentum of the refugee issue, which was difficult to control.

This example shows that one metaphorical expression can also be related to several conceptual metaphors. However, for this study, every metaphorical expression found was only categorized for the one most relevant category. No expression was counted twice.

It must be added that when researching a fundamentally problematic topics such as immigration and the refugee issue, it is to be expected that negative metaphors will be predominant. Thus, the negativity of conceptual metaphors depends on the context. If other topics would have been researched, another proportion of negative and positive conceptual metaphors probably would have been found.

Language impeding a solidary refugee policy: To summarize, negative metaphors referring to the refugee issue were found in all of the analyzed mainstream media, with a stronger representation in the more conservative newspapers. What stands out is that in contrast to the other conceptual metaphor themes, the water metaphor is used consistently by all of the media to such a high degree that it seems to have become established in everyday language.

The transformation of uncertainty into crisis and threat paired with the media's focus on negative news stories during summer 2015 led to the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees through metaphors. According to CMT as well as the framing and priming theory, this coverage and especially the naturalization of the omnipresent water metaphor must have favored a perception of refugees as not part of the human ingroup which makes recipients believe more easily that refugees deserve negative outcomes.

We must understand that such figures of speech do only exist on the right side of the political spectrum anymore. They have found their way into everyday language.

The debate during the events in 2015 was ruled by language that does not allow much empathy for refugees and a solidary refugee policy.

## 7 Discussion

The results may allow an interpretation with regard on how metaphorical framing of refugees can influence the audience through priming and how it may relate to the political development as well as support for and attitudes towards refugees in Germany.

The fact that the metaphors used in the coverage are overwhelmingly negative, presenting refugees as not part of the human ingroup, may release extreme behaviors towards members of these groups and serve to justify negative treatment that is seen as required because of the threats that the refugees are therefore seen to pose.

Hostility, attacks and political development in Germany: Steuter and Wills (2009, p. 51) state that metaphors used by the media can lead to the dehumanization of an entire group or race of people through an unconscious transformation in our minds that can eventually lead to justifying war and genocide. Now, the question is, what could the metaphors used the newspaper coverage in relation with the refugee issue 2015 lead to?

First of all, for the qualitative research conducted, no causality conclusions are possible. However, fact is that the coverage did not encourage empathy for and integration of the refugees arriving in Europe. The beginning empathy in Germany certainly reversed to another extreme in fall and especially after the night of New Year's Eve 2015. According to the *Tagesschau*, in 2016, there have been 3500 reported attacks on refugees. These included offences such as grievous bodily harm, property damage, libel, incitement of the people, trespass, serious arson, and explosives.

The metaphor themes used in the media reappear in context with some of those xenophobic statements and attacks. For example, during a violent right-wing

protest in Saxon Heidenau in August 2015 outside a refugee shelter, pictures showed protesters carrying banners, amongst others reading the slogan *stop the refugee flood*, employing the water metaphor. In December 2015, also in Saxony, another critical limit was overstepped when groups no longer only verbally, but actively physically attacked refugees who were arriving at a shelter by throwing stones and firecrackers, arguing that the refugees would deserve such treatment. On top of that, at the beginning of 2016, the vice faction leader of the right-wing party AfD demanded the use of firearms at Germany's borders against refugees – including children. She was calling refugees at the borders invaders, adding “Und gegen Angriffe müssen wir uns verteidigen” (*And we must defend ourselves against attacks*). On this occasion, she was using the same war and military metaphor that was repeatedly found in the media sample. What these examples show is that the conceptual metaphor themes used in the media can and did find their way into reality in a way that can then seriously harm the refugees.

As mentioned before, no causality conclusions can be deducted from this survey. Thus, it is likely that the media both reflect and exacerbate the tendency for the problematization of immigration as a response to uncertainty. However, what is proven through CMT is that the metaphors published by the media did have the power to encourage such aggressive attitudes and attacks by giving the recipients the impression that refugees are worth less than the human ingroup and would deserve such negative treatment.

Limitations and further research: The conceptual metaphors found can be interpreted regarding the possible motivations for their usage through framing theory, as well as their meanings through CMT and their possible consequences through priming theory. Generally, this thesis does not make a claim to provide significant

findings for the statistical population or the complete discourse about the refugee issue on a mass media level. Rather, it is intended to show initial tendencies to facilitate and inspire further research. Limitations of this survey will be discussed to subsequently introduce possible further research.

The biggest weakness that comes along with the method used, lies in the last step of the qualitative content analysis, when the conceptual metaphors found in the material are interpreted. This interpretation is clearly intuitive and subjective.

However, certain measures have been taken to overcome this weakness in a best possible way. Spencer (2011) advises on treating the corpora as if they were foreign-language. This treatment allows to validate intuitive interpretations of metaphors through the consultation of a dictionary, as dictionaries contain socially shared knowledge about phenomena. In addition, the interpretations were grounded on the findings of the previous studies that were introduced in the Literature Review. Consequently, it was aimed at transforming the subjective interpretation of metaphors into an intersubjective interpretation.

As this survey was conducted by one researcher only, and within the scope of a Master's thesis, intercoder reliability could not be tested for. Intracoder reliability, however, was tested through two repeated codings with temporal distance. A trial coding was conducted before the survey based on ten articles. This coding led to one change concerning the *source of the metaphorical expression*. After the trial coding, the third possibility *reflection* has been added to the two categories *newspaper* and *quote*, as it had originally not been expected that newspapers would introduce metaphors to reflect upon them.

Instead of a cluster sample – if the resources exist – it would be interesting to analyze the whole investigation period as well as conducting a long-term study that

analyzes the coverage from the beginning until now instead of only the coverage during the peak of the events. In addition, research should be conducted that involves more radical left and right media to be able to put the findings from the mainstream media into perspective. Furthermore, research could be done on how newspapers in other host countries used metaphors to report on the refugee issue. This would be interesting against the background that media in Eastern Europe for example were found to generally report more negative and less emotional on the refugee issue (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017).

Another limitation shall be mentioned that comes with the CMT. This theory renounces a metaphor historical view. Consequently, this thesis did not allow an interpretation of the metaphors found concerning their history.

This paper aimed, first of all, at proving that metaphors were used mostly unnoticed but extensively in the coverage of the refugee issue. Secondly, it aimed at providing an overview of the conceptual metaphors used. And thirdly, it aimed at interpreting their implications, the underlying motivations and possible consequences. Based on the findings that the metaphors used do have the potential to encourage negative attitudes and behavior towards refugees, most importantly, further research should aim at providing practical recommendations.

Practical recommendations: One motivation for this research was that the findings would draw attention to the strong but subtle power of figurative language in media discourse and to ideally also offer guidance for journalists striving to produce more neutral content by using objective language.

According to the findings of this study as well as previous studies conducted on the issue (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017; Hemmelmann & Wegner, 2017; Herrmann, 2016a; Herrmann, 2016b), the German media coverage on refugees in

2015 evinced serious deficits. In addition to repeatedly publishing negative metaphors, problems included a lack of differentiation and objectivity (Maurer et al., 2018). The global context of the issue was marginalized, as well as the causes for the origins of the refugee issue. Furthermore, the perspective of the refugees was lost, instead being portrayed as one giant, potentially dangerous mass that had to be stopped.

Journalistic practice in the coverage of the refugee issue has not been sensitive towards these subtle forms of discrimination. From a media ethical as well as a professional perspective, it would be desirable that journalists are able to recognize and deconstruct such narratives and figurative language, as the topic of refugees will continue to be with us. Most of the refugees registered in Germany until now will stay in the country in the future. The process of integration has just started and brings complex challenges. The media provide a platform for those complex issues to be discussed. It is their responsibility to provide a balanced and fair reporting – to respect freedom of expression as well as worries and fears of German citizens, of refugees, and of politics.

To support journalists in their continued coverage of the refugee issue, a strategy must be developed. Specifically, this means giving more context and background, portraying various perspectives and opinions, as well as critically questioning frames and language choice. In addition, governments need to support journalists in this regard. They need to communicate with them and provide information about immigration to reduce uncertainty about potential threats. This needs to include proactive information on positive immigrant outcomes. More precisely, the Council of Europe identifies five areas for developing a strategy for fairer and more inclusive coverage of refugees across Europe: Initiatives and



campaigns for more inclusiveness in the media, contextual reporting of the crisis, inclusion of diverse voices, support and dissemination of information on migrant and refugee media and communication practices, and share research on media coverage of the refugee issue (Georgiou & Zabarowski, 2017).

## 8 Conclusion

„The nature of society is measured in part by the kind of metaphors it induces or allows...by our metaphors you shall know us.” (Barnes, 1992, p. 12)

Metaphors have the power to structure our perceptions. Their repeated use in media discourse can establish prejudiced opinions. The water metaphor turns refugees into a faceless mass. The military metaphor renders refugees into a danger and animal and other metaphors render them inhuman, when in fact, those people fleeing to Europe are humans – men, women, children, mostly victims of a war that is not their war, in need of help and shelter. They are individuals with a story, with dreams, hopes, and wishes. In contrast to the conveyed metaphors, Europe is not a boat that sinks or a fortress that cannot take in any more human beings at a certain point.

The starting point of this research was the assumption that metaphors, as often in immigration debate, must have been part of the media discourse on refugees in 2015. And that those metaphors, depending on their meanings and implications, could potentially have the power to establish prejudiced opinions of the readership towards refugees. In order to verify this assumption, a qualitative content analysis of five national daily newspapers was carried out. And the metaphors were interpreted according to the CMT. The survey shows that besides the omnipresent water metaphor, seven other conceptual metaphors were repeatedly used. These metaphor themes were discriminating, creating an ingroup and outgroup or even stripping the refugees off their humanity.

It becomes clear now that especially the missing awareness of journalists and the public about the power of figurative language is problematic. Metaphors should not be accepted uncritically, instead, they are often not even recognized as

such and they find through naturalization their way into everyday language, our thought patterns, and through them into our attitudes, behavior and political mood.

Consequently, we need to pay close attention to the patterns of metaphor at work in our public discourse. Metaphors that systematically reduce others, only fabricate enemies and move us closer to solutions of violence. By reducing others, we ourselves are reduced. Through critical awareness of metaphor's functioning, one can choose to challenge this process. It is difficult to evade from the evaluations connected to language use, but at least – whether journalist, politician or citizen – one can reflect one's own language usage and question whether certain phrases or figures of speech are stigmatizing or discriminating against groups or individuals.

As the refugee issue is entering a new phase, media are facing a new challenge. And politics, organizations, and research need to support media in these efforts. What is needed for a successful integration of the refugees now, is a policy that is not founded on the fear of the other. Less dehumanization, discrimination and isolation could benefit not only the refugees. Host societies could start to open up to the idea that they have much to gain from the flood of refugees in their heads, that is coming to their shores to seek a new life.

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## Appendix A: Data from Die Bild

ID	Date	Linguistic metaphor	Conceptual metaphor	Tenor	Source
9_8 bild	08.09.	Flüchtlingszustrom	Wasser	Dom neg	Quote
9_7bild 4	07.09.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	Dom neu	Newspaper
8_27bild	27.08.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
8_27bild	27.08.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_7bild	07.09.	Zustrom der Flüchtlinge	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
9_14bild	14.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15bild 2	15.9.	gestrandet	Tiere	EU neg	Newspaper
10_16bild 3	16.10.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
10_16bild 4	16.10.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
10_17bild	17.10.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
11_7bild	7.11.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
8_28bild 4	28.08.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neu	Newspaper
9_7bild 3	07.09.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neu	Newspaper
8_28bild 2	28.08.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	HS pos	Opinion

## Appendix B: Data from Die Welt

8_27welt 1	27.8.	Front	Militär	EU neg	Newspaper
8_27welt 3	27.8.	Verfrachtete	Ware	Dom neg	Opinion
8_27welt 4	27.8.	Massenzustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Quote
8_27welt 5	27.8.	Naturereignis	Naturkatastrophe	dom neg	Opinion
9_1welt 1	1.9.	Welle	Wasser	dom neg	Opinion
9_1welt 5	1.9.	Wucht der Flutwelle	Naturkatastrophe	dom neg	Newspaper
9_1welt 5	1.9.	Fluchtwelle	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_1welt 5	1.9.	Völkerwanderung	Katastrophe	dom neg	Quote
9_7welt 5	7.9.	Sogwirkung	Wasser	dom neg	Opinion
9_14welt 3	14.9.	Zustrom drosseln	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_14welt 3	14.9.	Zustrom verlangsamten	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_14 welt 9	14.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
10_16 welt 7	16.10.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
10_16 welt 8	16.10.	Zustrom verstärken	Wasser	dom neg	Opinion
10_16 welt 8	16.10.	Flüchtlingsstrom abebben lassen	Wasser	dom neg	Opinion
10_17 welt 2	17.10.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
10_17 welt 3	17.10.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
11_30 welt 4	30.11.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
11_30 welt 4	30.11.	Zustrom begrenzen	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
12_1 welt 2	1.12.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_2welt 4	2.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom ebbt ab	Wasser	dom neu	Newspaper
9_8welt 4	8.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	dom neu	Opinion
12_1 welt 3	1.12.	Menschenwelle	Wasser	dom neu	Newspaper
12_1 welt 3	1.12.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neu	Newspaper
12_1 welt 3	1.12.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neu	Newspaper
8_27welt 1	27.8.	Zustrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
8_27welt 1	27.8.	Illegale	Kriminalität	EU neg	Newspaper
8_28welt 1	28.8.	Festung Europa schützen	Militär	EU neg	Quote
8_28welt 1	28.8.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
9_1welt 2	1.9.	Flüchtlinge stürmen	Militär	EU neg	Newspaper
9_1welt 4	1.9.	Migrationsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_1welt 4	1.9.	Flüchtlingsschwärme	Tiere	EU neg	Quote
9_1welt 8	1.9.	hausen im Dschungel	Tiere	EU neg	Newspaper
9_2welt 1	2.9.	Flüchtlingszustrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_2welt 2	2.9.	Flüchtlingsströme umleiten	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
9_7welt 2	7.9.	Fluchtwelle	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_7welt 8	7.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_7welt 9	7.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_7welt 9	7.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_8welt 4	8.9.	Flüchtlingsströme koordinieren	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_14welt 5	14.9.	über Europa ergießen	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
9_14welt 5	14.9.	Übernahme	Militär	EU neg	Opinion
9_14welt 5	14.9.	Zufluss an Flüchtlingen	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
9_14welt 7	14.9.	Regulierung der Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_14welt 7	14.9.	Drehkreuz der Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
9_14welt 7	14.9.	Problem der Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion

9_15 welt 2	15.9.	Flüchtlingssröme eindämmen	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 welt 2	15.9.	ungebremste Zustrom von Flüchtlingen	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 welt 2	15.9.	Zustrom hielt an	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 welt 3	15.9.	Probleme in Menschengestalt	Dinge	EU neg	Opinion
11_30 welt 1	30.11.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
11_30 welt 1	30.11.	immenser Zustrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
11_30 welt 2	30.11.	Zustrom eindämmen	Wasser	Eu neg	Newspaper
11_30 welt 3	30.11.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
9_15 welt 9	15.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neu	Newspaper
9_14welt 6	14.9.	Stöpsel wieder auf die Flasche kriegen	Wasser	hum neg	Quote
9_14welt 6	14.9.	Zustrom verlangsamen	Wasser	hum neg	Quote
10_16 welt 3	16.10.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	hum neg	Opinion
10_17 welt 4	17.10.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
11_6 welt 1	6.11.	Migrationswaffen	Militär	hum neg	Reflection
11_6 welt 1	6.11.	Migrationswaffen	Militär	hum neg	Reflection
11_6 welt 1	6.11.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	hum neg	Reflection
11_6 welt 6	6.11.	strömen Flüchtlinge	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
11_6 welt 6	6.11.	Transitstrom	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
11_6 welt 6	6.11.	Strom reißt nicht ab	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
9_8welt 6	8.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	hum neu	Newspaper
9_8welt 6	8.9.	Neukunden	Ware	hum neu	Newspaper
9_15 welt 6	15.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom bewältigen	Wasser	hum neu	Newspaper
9_15 welt 10	15.9.	zweite Welle	Wasser	hum neu	Newspaper
9_15 welt 12	15.9.	verkriechen	Tiere	hum neu	Newspaper
9_15 welt 12	15.9.	verkriechen	Tiere	hum neu	Newspaper
11_7 welt 1	7.11.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	hum neu	Newspaper

## Appendix C: Data from FAZ

8_27 faz 1	27.8.	Kämpfer	Militär	Eu neg	Quote
8_27 faz 8	27.8.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	Eu neg	Newspaper
8_27 faz 10	27.8.	Flüchtlingsstrom abbremsen	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
8_27 faz 10	27.8.	Migrationsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
8_28 faz 2	28.08.	Völkerwanderung	Katastrophe	Eu neg	Opinion
8_28 faz 3	28.08.	Strom verebben	Wasser	Eu neg	Opinion
8_28 faz 3	28.08.	Zustrom	Wasser	Eu neg	Opinion
8_28 faz 3	28.08.	Migrationsströme	Wasser	Eu neg	Opinion
8_28 faz 3	28.08.	strömen Flüchtlinge	Wasser	Eu neg	Opinion
8_28 faz 4	28.08.	chaotisch verlaufende Migrationswelle	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
8_28 faz 6	28.08.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neu	Newspaper
8_28 faz 6	28.08.	gestrandet	Tiere	EU neu	Newspaper
9_1 faz 1	1.9.	hohe Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_1 faz 1	1.9.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_1 faz 1	1.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_1 faz 2	1.9.	an der Front	Militär	EU neg	Opinion
9_1 faz 5	1.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	dom neu	Reflection
9_1 faz 5	1.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	dom neu	Reflection
9_1 faz 5	1.9.	überschwemmt	Wasser	dom neu	Reflection
9_1 faz 6	1.9.	Menschenschwärme	Wasser	EU neg	Reflection
9_1 faz 7	1.9.	Migrationsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_1 faz 7	1.9.	Dschungel	Tiere	EU neg	Quote
9_1 faz 7	1.9.	bekämpfen	Militär	EU neg	Newspaper
9_1 faz 8	1.9.	eingepfercht	Tiere	hum neg	Newspaper
9_1 faz 8	1.9.	Migrationsströme	Wasser	hum neg	Opinion
9_2 faz 2	2.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_2 faz 3	2.9.	Migrationsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_2 faz 3	2.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_2 faz 3	2.9.	Rohrbruch	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
9_2 faz 4	2.9.	Schläfer	Militär	EU neg	Quote
9_2 faz 4	2.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
9_2 faz 4	2.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
9_2 faz 7	2.9.	hineinperferchen	Tiere	EU neg	Newspaper
9_2 faz 7	2.9.	gestrandet	Tiere	EU neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 1	7.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 1	7.9.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 2	7.9.	Festung Europa	Militär	EU neg	Quote
9_7 faz 6	7.9.	Fluchtwelle	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 6	7.9.	treiben nach	Dinge	hum neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 6	7.9.	strandeten	Tiere	hum neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 6	7.9.	Strom	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 6	7.9.	Dammbruch	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 6	7.9.	Strom	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 6	7.9.	ebbt nicht ab	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 8	7.9.	Zecken	Tiere	EU neu	Quote
9_7 faz 9	7.9.	Zufluss	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_7 faz 9	7.9.	Zustrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper



9_7 faz 10	7.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_8 faz 2	8.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_8 faz 2	8.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_8 faz 3	8.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	dom neg	Opinion
9_8 faz 5	8.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	dom neu	Newspaper
9_8 faz 7	8.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_8 faz 9	8.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU pos	Newspaper
9_14 faz 2	14.9.	Zustrom	Wasser	Eu neg	Opinion
9_15 faz 2	15.9.	Festung Europa	Militär	Eu neg	Opinion
9_15 faz 2	15.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	Eu neg	Opinion
9_15 faz 3	15.9.	Strom eindämmen	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
9_15 faz 3	15.9.	Europa ist nicht immun	Krankheit	EU neg	Opinion
9_15 faz 3	15.9.	Feuerring	Naturkatastrophe	EU neg	Opinion
9_15 faz 3	15.9.	überflutet	Naturkatastrophe	EU neg	Opinion
9_15 faz 8	15.9.	Flut	Naturkatastrophe	hum neg	Newspaper
9_15 faz 9	15.9.	Massenzustrom kanalisieren	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 faz 12	15.9.	Stöpsel wieder auf die Flasche kriegen	Wasser	dom neg	Quote
9_15 faz 12	15.9.	Einwanderungswelle	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_15 faz 12	15.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
10_16 faz 2	16.10.	Migrantenströme	Wasser	dom neg	Opinion
10_16 faz 2	16.10.	Flüchtlingszustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Opinion
10_16 faz 3	16.10.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
10_16 faz 3	16.10.	Flüchtlingswellen	Wasser	Eu neg	Newspaper
10_19 faz 4	19.10.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
10_19 faz 4	19.10.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Quote
10_19 faz 4	19.10.	Zuwanderungsstrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
11_6 faz 2	6.11.	Eindämmung des Flüchtlingszustroms	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
11_6 faz 4	6.11.	Migrationsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
11_6 faz 4	6.11.	Versiegen der Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
11_6 faz	6.11.	im Anmarsch	Militär	EU neg	Opinion
11_6 faz	6.11.	Strom bricht nicht ab	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
11_6 faz	6.11.	Politiker schwimmen mit	Wasser	EU neg	Opinion
11_30 faz 2	30.11.	Zustrom	Wasser	EU neu	Quote
11_30 faz 2	30.11.	strömende Migranten	Wasser	EU neu	Newspaper
11_30 faz 4	30.11.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neu	Newspaper

## Appendix D: Data from TAZ

8_27 taz 5	27.8.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	Eu neg	Newspaper
9_2 taz 3	2.9.	Grenzen wie Hochwasserdämme	Naturkatastrophe	EU neu	Reflection
9_5 taz 3	5.9.	Zustrom	Wasser	EU pos	Quote
9_7 taz 1	7.9.	Festung Europa	Militär	EU pos	Quote
9_7 taz 2	7.9.	massenhafter Zustrom	Wasser	EU neu	Quote
9_7 taz 4	7.9.	Sogwirkung	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
9_7 taz 5	7.9.	Gnadenfrist	Kriminalität	EU neg	Quote
9_7 taz 5	7.9.	Eindringlinge	Kriminalität	EU neg	Quote
9_14 taz 2	14.9.	Zustrom begrenzen	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
9_14 taz 7	14.9.	Zustrom hält an	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_15 taz 1	15.9.	Festung Europa	Militär	EU neu	Quote
9_15 taz 2	15.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	dom neu	Newspaper
9_15 taz 4	15.9.	verfrachtet	Ware	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 taz 4	15.9.	verfrachtet	Ware	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 taz 5	15.9.	Festung Europa	Militär	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 taz 10	1.9.	Humanressourcen	Ware	dom pos	Newspaper
9_15 taz 10	1.9.	lassen sich verwerten	Ware	dom pos	Newspaper
10_17 taz 4	17.10.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	dom neu	Opinion
10_17 taz 6	17.10.	Flüchtlinge abwehren	Militär	EU neg	Newspaper
11_6 taz 6	6.11.	Ströme von Menschen	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
11_6 taz 6	6.11.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper

## Appendix E: Data from SZ

8_20 sz 2	20.8.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
8_20 sz 2	20.8.	Landung	Militär	hum neg	Newspaper
8_21 sz 5	21.8.	durchschleusen	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
8_27 sz 2	27.8.	Flüchtlingszustrom	Wasser	dom pos	Newspaper
8_27 sz 4	27.8.	Grenzjäger	Militär	EU neg	Quote
8_27 sz 4	27.8.	Abwehr gegen Flüchtlinge	Militär	EU neg	Newspaper
9_1 sz 2	1.9.	stürmen den Zug	Militär	EU neu	Newspaper
9_1 sz 3	1.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	dom neu	Newspaper
9_1 sz 5	1.9.	Flüchtlingsströme kanalisieren	Wasser	EU neu	Quote
9_2 sz 8	2.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	dom neg	Reflection
9_6 sz 1	6.9.	Zustrom	Wasser	Eu neg	Opinion
9_6 sz 4	6.9.	Festung Europa	Militär	EU neg	Reflection
9_6 sz 6	6.9.	Wellen	Wasser	hum neg	Newspaper
9_7 sz 4	7.9.	Feilscherei um Flüchtlinge	Ware	EU neg	Newspaper
9_14 sz 2	14.9.	Zustrom begrenzen	Wasser	dom neg	Quote
9_14 sz 3	14.9.	Zustrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_14 sz 3	14.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	Eu neg	Newspaper
9_14 sz 5	14.9.	Marsch	Militär	hum neg	Newspaper
9_14 sz 6	14.9.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
9_14 sz 6	14.9.	Stöpsel auf die Flasche kriegen	Wasser	dom neg	Reflection
9_14 sz 8	14.9.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Opinion
9_14 sz 10	14.9.	Strom	Wasser	hum neg	Quote
9_15 sz 3	15.9.	Flüchtlingsströme	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
9_15 sz 3	15.9.	Flüchtlingswellen	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 sz 4	15.9.	Rückstau	Dinge	EU neg	Quote
9_15 sz 4	15.9.	Kette	Dinge	Eu neg	Quote
9_15 sz 8	15.9.	Flüchtlingswelle	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 sz 8	15.9.	Immigrationswelle	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
9_15 sz 8	15.9.	Menschenschwärme	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
10_16 sz 2	16.10.	legale Migrationskanäle	Wasser	EU neg	Quote
10_16 sz 2	16.10.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
10_16 sz 3	16.10.	Zustrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
10_16 sz 4	16.10.	Flüchtlingsstrom	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
10_16 sz 4	16.10.	Stellschrauben zur Eindämmung	Wasser	dom neg	Newspaper
10_16 sz 5	16.10.	Flüchtlingsstrom Herr werden	Wasser	EU neu	Newspaper
10_17 sz 3	17.10.	Zustrom	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper
11_6 sz 1	6.11.	Strom von Asylsuchenden	Wasser	dom neu	Quote
11_30 sz 5	30.11.	kanalisieren	Wasser	EU neg	Newspaper



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