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**Representation of labor migration in print
media: The experience of Russia and
Germany**

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Introduction

In recent years, labor migration has changed significantly. Historically, moderate recruitment provided the basis for important changes in the population of host countries, primarily in terms of their ethnicity, culture, and religion. In this regard, the examples of Russia and Germany are some of the most indicative in Europe. According to the International Migration Report (United Nations, 2013), the Russian Federation accepted the second largest number of migrants worldwide – 11 million people, followed by Germany with 10 million people.

Multiple efforts have been taken in Europe to manage the cultural diversity caused by intensified migration, the ideals of multiculturalism in particular dominating debate and political spheres in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, in recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the approach to building a multicultural society has not been successful, with German Chancellor Angela Merkel being one of the first to admit this. Mass labor migration to Russia also has its elements of conflicts, with for example clashes between the local population and immigrants.

In order to understand the nature of controversial issues associated with migration, an insight into their social mechanisms should be provided. In this case, the analysis of how migration is covered in mass media, which is well-known as one of the principal agents in shaping public perceptions and opinions, can help to gain a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural realities of Germany and Russia. The fact that the media consists of more than one type of output (TV, press, Internet) is of particular importance for my study, as I assume that each type of media should be analyzed separately in order to get a better understanding of how it shapes and channels images of migration and migrants. In my research, I focus on the analysis of the Russian and German press in order to discover general trends in debates on labor migration.

Not without reason, the media has been called the 'fourth estate': as they do indeed supplement such powers such as that of the executive or judiciary branches of government. However, the power of the media is often faces the threat of being misused through the spreading unfounded or dubious information, or even triggering intolerance towards vulnerable social groups, one of these being migrants. My research is thus concentrated on the representations of labor migration in print media in Russia and Germany. In addition to this, my research project concentrates on the cultural dimensions of such representation. The topicality of my research is highlighted by the great importance of migration processes and their outcomes in contemporary societies. As argued by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin (Путин, 2012): "The realm of today is the growth of interethnic and interconfessional tension." Since human mobility is rising both in terms of numbers and territory, a new level of complexity in migration patterns and the models of migrant integration in host societies has emerged. What makes the subsequent debates on migration so heated is that the local population of host

societies often expresses discontent with the increasing influx of migrants. This discontent is noted through opinion polls, where for example in Russia 76% of respondents insist on the implementation of rigid administrative policies in order to reduce the flow of migrants (Левада-центр, 2014). In the case of Germany, the notorious example of the PEGIDA movement is highly illustrative of the negative response to increasing immigration. A wide variety of factors can shape negative attitudes towards minorities in native populations; however, the role of the media as the ‘fourth estate’ in this process should not be underestimated. Even though we live in a time of constant changes, which also affect traditional mass media, the level of their credibility and their value for the audience remain high. Therefore, following the ongoing debate on the reasons for and outcomes of labor migration, it is crucial to examine the contribution of migration discourses in the media and the tools used by different claim-makers to promote their opinions on migration in/through media channels.

The key research question raised in my work is:

“How and with which implications do Russian and German print media represent labor migration?”

The aim of the research is to deconstruct the ways in which print media outlets in the two different countries represent labor migration. In order to answer the research question, the following points of inquiry will guide this study:

- To trace what kind of evolution the image of labor migration undergoes in German and Russian press;
- To analyze how different actors are represented in the publications on labor migration in the two countries;
- To reveal what categories are used in the articles about labor migration in the two countries under study;
- To explore what rhetorical means are implemented in the representation of labor migration in the two countries;
- To examine in which way the cultural characteristics of each of the countries influence the representations of migration.

The research object

The object of the research is the print media sector in Russia and Germany.

Theoretical framework

In order to analyze the textual representations of labor migration in print media, I am going to use critical discourse analysis, which relies on the assumption that images of social reality are reproduced through discursive and social practices (Fairclough, 2007). The idea of Teun van Dijk about the media as owners of discursive power rationally reproducing it through certain discourses will also be central to my research. This will be underpinned by the theories of media influence, such as agenda-setting theory framing. Also, considering the comparative nature of my research, the approach of Cultural critical discourse analysis by Dalia Gavriely-Nuri will be applied. Within this approach, the notion of reproducing power in the media is assessed through distinguishing “cultural codes” (Dalia Gavriely-Nuri, 2012) which are shared values, norms, ethos and social beliefs that can facilitate the underlying ideologies of power holders. Application of the theories mentioned above will provide me with insights into the production and manifestation of ideas about labor migration in Germany and Russia.

Research methods

Following the idea of migrants as a minority group, or a set of minority groups, and taking into consideration the fact that critical discourse analysis encompasses not only theories but also methods for conducting research, I have decided to adopt the method of discourse analysis in order to answer the questions introduced in the study. For the purposes of data collection, I have chosen print media, namely newspapers and magazines. The empirical basis of my research consists of leading publications in Russian and German print media: “Ogonyok”, “Der Spiegel”, “Komsomolskaya Pravda” and “Bild”. The reasons for selecting each of these newspapers will be discussed further in the methodology chapter. In total, 80 articles from print media in outlets Russia and Germany issued in 2000 and 2014 were analyzed.

Glossary

It is necessary to develop the working definitions of the key terms used in my research; those are given in a small glossary below:

Discourse is “a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 61).

Labor migration will be defined here as population movements across national borders for the purpose of employment. This can be either a short-term stay or economically motivated settlement in a host country.

Labor migrant refers to “all international migrants who are currently employed or are unemployed and seeking employment in their present country of residence” (International Labour Organization [ILO], n.d.).

Print media in this research refers to the “means of mass communication in the form of printed publications, such as newspapers and magazines” (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.)

Imagined immigration – a term, invented by British scholar Scott Blinder – means the generalized image of migration with a negative connotation (Blinder, 2013).

Finally, rhetorical strategies refer to “particular uses of concepts and structures of argument – in order to make apparent the presuppositions and assumptions underlying the text’s claims” (Culler, 1997: 70).

The structure of the MA thesis paper

This thesis paper has the following structure: introduction, three chapters, conclusion, a list of sources and appendices. In the introduction, the overview of the research outline is given. The first chapter addresses the theoretical approaches comprising labor migration and the media’s contributions to public discourses. An overview of empirical studies conducted internationally and relevant to the topic of the study has also been made.

The second chapter consists of a description of the main characteristics of the Russian and German press. Here, the ethical regulations of press coverage are also discussed. Finally, the selection process used when looking for texts to analyze, along with the methods of analysis, is introduced here.

The third chapter describes the empirical analysis of the chosen sources. The conclusion gives a summary of the thesis with a focus on the results of the research. Finally, the list of sources and the appendices provide the specific data used in the research.

Background of the research

In order to create a comprehensive picture of the representation of labor migration in the Russian and German press, I shall employ the historical approach and use it to produce an overview of the major features of labor migration processes in the two countries under study.

Initially both countries were not traditional migration destinations such as the United States of America, yet this has now changed. In Germany, the history of labor immigration dates back to the 1950s and 1960s, when guest worker programs were introduced. In Russia, expansive low-skilled labor migration began in the 2000s. What these countries have in common is that both countries’ histories witnessed periods of human hatred, deportations and the genocide of peoples, as well as the rise of a policy of internationalism. The fact that Germany and the Russian Federation currently accept the second and third

largest numbers of migrants worldwide (United Nations, 2013), and that both of them need migrant labor force for further development is also something that links the two countries.

Labor migration to Germany

After the Second World War, European countries began to rebuild their economies. One of the necessary conditions for economic development at that time was labor migration. Following the demand for labor, German authorities launched programs aimed at the recruitment of foreign workers. The first agreement relating to this was signed with Italy in 1955, and other countries such as Greece, Spain, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia were later included in the process (Schimany et al., 2005: 13). Hiring foreign workers for specific low-skilled positions was seen as mutually beneficial for donor and recipient countries, because Germany could fill in the existing gaps in the labor market (particularly in agriculture and construction), whilst workers from developing countries could send remittances to their home regions. Labor migration to West Germany lasted until 1973, when the oil crisis made the country end the recruitment of foreigners from countries outside of Europe. The “*Gastarbeiter*” program was intended to attract workers only for a temporary period, but in reality some of them made the decision to stay in Germany and later started to bring their families to the country.

In general, within the timeframe in which guest work programs were active, , the number of people hired reached almost 14 million (Aksakal & Schmidt-Verkerk, 2014). By the 1990s, even after many workers returned home, there remained about 4 million immigrants in the country. This group primarily consisted of workers from Turkey, the Former Yugoslavia and Italy along with their families (Aksakal & Schmidt-Verkerk, 2014).

The temporary recruitment of foreign workers also took place in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) during the same era as well. Apart from filling the gaps in the shrinking labor market, the goal of recruiting labor migrants was for “organizing industrial production in a more effective way” (Aksakal & Schmidt-Verkerk, 2014: 9). The origin of labor migrants in GDR was different from those in FRG. Labor migration to the GDR that started in 1960s was comprised of workers from European member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance such as Poland or Czechoslovakia, but also from Algeria, Cuba, Mozambique, Vietnam, Mongolia, China and Angola (Schimany et al., 2005). With workers from Vietnam and Mozambique being the primary countries of origin for migrants to the GDR, the general number of foreign employees reached 190,400 by the year 1989 (Schimany et al., 2005).

Tracing back the history of temporary migration, it is important to mention that until recently the official position of the German government was that Germany was not a country of immigration. “The very term “guest worker,” which has become the most widely accepted name for the labor migrants in the Federal

Republic of Germany, carries with it the notion of a temporary sojourn (...) The official political and legal concepts underlying the migration of workers from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, and other countries to West Germany have implied that this labor migration was temporary” (Klopp, 2002: 2). This position was also to be found in the legal system, so that due to legal constraints the number of naturalizations of foreigners remained low, while the number of foreign nationals was rather impressive. The major change came in the year 2000, when the reform of the Nationality Act was implemented, and the “changing process of German migration and integration policy [was] set off” (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2005: 16).

The current situation with labor migration to Germany can be characterized by referring to data from the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, stating Turkey as the leading country of origin, followed by Poland: 13 and 11 percent of all migrants come from those two countries respectively (Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, n.d.). Another important piece of evidence is that the immigration of non-EU citizens has increased by 13 percent in 2014 compared to that of previous years (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2014). The share of migrants in the high-skilled job sector is lower than in those that require a low level of skills. Furthermore, since 1997 migrant labor is highly represented within service industries as opposing to manufacturing (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2005).

Labor migration to Russia

Unlike in Germany, the history of labor migration to Russia is relatively new. The defining events connected with migration to Russia started in the 1990s. After the fall of the Soviet Union, new independent and sovereign states were created, and this led to diverse transformations on social, political and economic levels. One of the first steps towards the formation of labor migration flows to Russia was the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Among other things, the level of cooperation established within the CIS embraced the management of migration flows between member countries. This resulted in several multilateral agreements such as the “Agreement on Visa-Free Movement of Citizens of CIS Countries” and others, contributing to the regulation of human mobility in the territory of the new independent states. It is important to mention that legislation regulating CIS membership still exerts influence on the current decision-making efforts considering migration.

At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, labor migration has become the dominant form of migration to Russia. In 2000, a general concern was expressed in Russia about the demographic crisis in the country and the need for foreign workers to compensate for the resulting deficiency in the labor force. Statistics indicate that in the very beginning of the 21st century the population of the Russian Federation decreased by 3.4 million people (Зайончковская, 2013: 20). There were also significant economic problems in the countries from which people were migrating. Thus, the main factors

determining migration patterns in the 2000s were the growing demand for labor in Russia, as the demographic loss resulted in a decrease of the working population and a significant supply of labor from the former Soviet Republics caused by high unemployment rates and the general economic backwardness of these countries (Зайончковская, 2013).

Among the leading donor countries were Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. Evidence shows that the “percentage of total immigrant flows [from these Central Asian countries] rose from 24.4% (2000-2004) to 33.5% (2005-2009) and skyrocketed to 40.4% in 2010-2013” (Ryazantsev & Korneev, 2014: 3). Other donor countries primarily included members of the Commonwealth of Independent States: Armenia, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine.

Over the course of time, the composition of labor migration flows has changed with different challenges, such as the economic crisis of 2008-2009 when the demand for foreign workforce decreased. Migration to Russia is still huge however and thus requires some sort of legislative control. The introduction of a less complicated registration system and issuing work permits for CIS member countries in January 2007 which increased the overall number of foreign workers in the country should be listed among the main accomplishments in this area.

In addition to this, in 2012 a new Migration Policy Concept, highlighting that the Russian Federation has demand for foreign workers and their system of participation has to be improved, was introduced by Russian President Vladimir Putin, with the introduction of patents instead of quotas for migrants designed for juridical entities and entrepreneurs being implemented. This facilitated mobility and also led to the increase in the market share of migrant labor. Currently foreign workers in Russia come from over 120 different countries, but most still come from CIS member states, with Central Asia (especially Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in particular) as the main region of origin.

In general, two basic groups of workers coming to Russia can be derived: seasonal workers and migrants that work in Russia for a longer period. Seasonal workers make up the majority of labor migrants: whereas some of them are legally employed, there are those who work without official permission. As for the industries in which the migrants are employed there are some distinctions depending on their countries of origin, but in general they include agriculture, construction, transportation and cleaning.

As scholars note, labor migration is equally important both for donor and recipient countries: in the former case, it is because of economic factors, and in the latter case – because it largely determines “the level of settlement of the country’s territory, security, economic development and “face” of the people” (Зайончковская, 2013: 20).

Chapter 1. Theoretical foundations of the study

When searching for a relevant theoretical framework for the research, it is important to make an overview of core directions in migration and media studies. First of all, I shall pay attention to the theories that explain international labor migration. I shall also attempt to illuminate the findings on the coverage of migration issues in the media. Theories analyzing media influence will also be accounted for, since they are central to my research question.

1.1 Labor migration in social theory

Various types of theories were introduced in social science to explain migratory processes. A significant input in theorizing migration was made by American sociologist Everett Lee in 1966. In his article “A theory of migration”, Lee draws attention to “push” and “pull” factors of human mobility. He states that the two groups of factors – positive and negative – are associated with the receiving and sending communities correspondingly. He also highlights the influence of the “intervening obstacles” and possible restrictions limiting mobility between two communities (Lee, 1966). Among such barriers are distance, travel costs, low earnings, and high expenses in the new place of living. Such obstacles are estimated differently for each migrant depending of his/her educational background, occupation, economic income, etc. Thus, in his theory, Lee considers a variety of factors (economic, political, social, cultural and environmental) that can influence migration and which eventually result in people’s moving to destination countries.

In one of the chapters of their book “The age of migration”, S. Castles and M.J. Miller bring together migration theories and theories on ethnic minorities. They stress that migration has a wide area of influence, therefore studying migration requires not only contributions from sociology but also from such disciplines as political science, history, psychology and others. Castles and Miller describe three main approaches to theorizing migration: the economic approach, the historical-structural approach, and migration systems theory. The economic approach, also called neo-classical, is characterized by a variety of push-pull theories, because it looks at the equilibrium of costs and benefits that the people who migrate would look for. The focal idea of the economic approach is the notion of “human capital”. To put it simply, people see migration as an investment of their human capital and expect it to increase their chances for greater gains in future. Thus, when the wages in the receiving country outweigh the costs of migration, the decision to move is more likely to be made. However, Castles and Miller emphasize that the economic approach has been criticized for its discrepancies with empirical evidence and little opportunities for forecasting future mobility patterns. Contrary to the neo-classic approach, Castles and Miller suggest broadening the range of factors influencing migration and introducing “such factors as the chance of secure employment, availability

of investment capital, and the need to manage risk over long periods” (Castles & Miller, 2003: 24) to account for the social and historical reality of migration processes in the framework of global economy and politics.

Within another perspective known as the historical-structural approach, the focus is on the uneven distribution of economic and political power around the world. Historical factors determine the rise of migration, whereas structural factors influence the destination of migration in terms of labor demand. In the historical-structural approach, immigration is seen as the exploitation of cheap labor by capital holders. As opposed to the neo-classical understanding of migration, this approach has been criticized for excessive attention to capital and neglecting individual motives for migration.

The third theory that Castles and Miller discuss is migration systems theory. They evaluate this approach as beneficial in terms of its interdisciplinarity and applicability to various dimensions of migration. Migration systems consist of a number of countries that exchange migrants. Migration flows are based on the initial ties between donor and recipient countries. An example of such connections can be “colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties” (Castles & Miller, 2003: 27). For instance, the large number of Turkish migrants in Germany can be explained by the recruitment of labor migrants from Turkey in the 1960s. Another focal point of the theory is the structure of migration composed of macro- and micro-structures; namely, these are institutional factors that regulate the formal part of the migration process, and migrants’ practices in shaping their informal networks. In order to connect these two levels, these mesostructures should be added to the analysis. In mesostructures the term ‘actors’ refers to those who operate as intermediaries in the migration process. These include employment agencies, lawyers and other stakeholders that can facilitate migration. In conclusion, migratory process should be explained through the combination of all three structures.

Minority approach

Following the problematics of my research, it is necessary to address the approach by helping to understand the marginal status of many immigrants. One of the classic definitions of minorities was given by representative of the Chicago school of sociology Louis Wirth, who describes a minority as “any group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination” (Вирт, 1941 / 2005: 152-153).

The notion of minority can be applied to various categories of population, including ethnic groups. In the context of my study, the category of ethnic minority emphasizes religious, language and other cultural characteristics of immigrants that are so different from those of the native population of receiving societies, that the latter does not welcome the inclusion of immigrants.

As a term, ethnic minorities are seen as a contrast to ethnic communities, because the latter indicate the acceptance of the cultural diversity in society, and all the positive outcomes connected with it, whereas ethnic minorities have a negative connotation within society. Two basic definitions of ethnic minorities are widespread in social sciences. The first of them refers to ethnic minorities as groups that “have been assigned a subordinate position in society by dominant groups on the basis of socially-constructed markers of phenotypes, origins or culture” (Castles & Miller, 2003: 33). This definition reflects the marginal position of minorities as ascribed by dominant groups. The second definition has a positive connotation and is based on the approval of certain cultural and social traits of the minority population. In this case, ethnic minorities are understood as groups that “have some degree of collective consciousness based on a belief in a shared language, traditions, religion, history and experiences” (Castles & Miller, 2003: 33). In contrast to the first definition which is strongly associated with intolerance and social exclusion, the second definition is willingly shared by the members of these minorities themselves. However, the first definition is sensitive to conflicts and discrimination and thus more critical, is more often used in migration studies and therefore will also be applied in my research. Finally, having introduced numerous tendencies to define civic participation, I can elaborate my own definition of the term which will be used in the frame of this research. Although there is a clear political component in the title of the paper, I shall not perceive civic participation solely as a set of actions within the political domain. As mentioned above, community activities might have a significant impact on the decision-making process, and therefore I believe that this issue will be an integral part of my research. However, I shall not consider such private actions as helping neighbors or attending church as civic participation, since they do not significantly change the state of affairs in the distribution of power at a community level.

I shall therefore regard civic participation as a set of individual or collective actions requiring (re)distribution of power at a community level aimed at improving or preserving the quality of community life through influencing governmental decisions. Within this research, I shall deal with both institutionalized and sporadic shapes of participation and compare their typical features, methods and outcomes.

1.1.1 Labor migration and society

Later in this paper I shall proceed with a review of literature analyzing the effects of labor migration for both the sending and the receiving society. The amount of such literature on labor migration is steadily growing, which is understandable considering the scope of this type of migration worldwide. Some authors focus on the transformations of labor migration patterns at a global level (Bonifazi et al., 2008; Castles & Miller, 2003), others consider the impacts of labor migration in the fields of economics, culture and politics (Bommes, 2010;

Hugo, 2012; Van Hear, 2010). There are also scholars (e.g. Cross, 2013; Wickramasekara, 2008; Симонян, 2007) who focus on the problems that labor migration brings with it.

Based on the example of labor migration to Moscow, Elena Tyuryukanova (Тюрюканова, 2009) describes a persistent problem of socio-cultural distance between immigrants and the native population. She argues that, although the structure of labor migration in Moscow is different from other regions of the country, there are still some common changes in all labor migration to Russia. In particular, there is an increasingly strong link between the development of transport and information systems on the one hand, and the formation of migrant networks on the other. The development of transportation and communication infrastructure enables those who could not migrate before, either because of the lack of information or because of financial constraints, to migrate. Consequently, there is growing cultural distance between migrants and the Russian population, which is exacerbated by the fact that the countries of origin of some migrants are rather different from Russia in terms of both culture and religion. This makes it more challenging for migrants to adapt to the receiving society, particularly those coming from rural areas.

Another dimension of this problem is discussed by Russian scholars Galina Karpova and Maria Vorona. In their article “Labor migration in Russia: issues and policies” (2014) Karpova and Vorona point out the growing scale of labor migration and the increasing discrepancy in the opinions of local populations considering the changes caused by migration. The authors highlight that, due to the combination of such factors as flaws in migration legislation and lack of experience in employing the foreign workforce and its further control, the problem of the inclusion of labor migrants emerges, which in turn is expressed in the form of hostility towards this group. Immigrants are typically seen as a marginal group, engaged in the secondary labor market where their rights are very restricted. Furthermore, the underprivileged position of migrants is exacerbated by the disapproval towards them from the majority of members of the host society. Karpova and Vorona find it an alarming fact that the stereotyping of labor migration is encouraged not only by ordinary Russian citizens but also by the formal structures and social services of the country. To give an example, they mention the 2012 case in Saint Petersburg, where a brochure on social integration named “Reference book for a labor migrant” drew public attention. The organization “*Vzglyad v budushee*” produced a leaflet containing useful information for migrants regarding medical, legal and cultural issues. However, the illustrations in this leaflet were subject to multiple criticisms as the migrants were portrayed as tools such as a brush or a screwdriver, while local citizens were depicted as human beings. Furthermore, some of the recommendations given in the brochure were extremely intolerant and ethnocentric, including advice not to wear ethnic clothes or to observe the way other people behave and to adopt these behaviors as the best examples of how to socially integrate. Ironically, the goals of the program in the framework of which the brochure was published included the harmonization of intercultural,

interethnic and interconfessional relations in the city, whereas in reality such a publication could trigger the symbolic marginalization and discrimination of migrant groups.

In his work, Scott Blinder makes an attempt at the “demythization” of migration. He points out that depictions of migrants, the reduced inflow of whom members of receiving societies tend to want, are very different from how migrants are themselves. To explain this, Blinder refers to the concept of public opinion introduced by Lippmann by arguing that people “often lack direct experience with crucial political events or actors” (Blinder, 2013: 81). He states that public opinion towards migration is always generalized and thus abstract. People often do not draw any distinction between various types of migrants, and their attitudes are directed towards generalized and anonymous cognitive images of migrants which he labels with the term “imagined immigration” (Blinder, 2013). This further influences public opinion about such issues as immigration policy and the interaction of natives with minorities. This view intersects with the heated debate on multiculturalism, the normative approach suggesting peaceful cohabitation of different cultures in one society. The notion of multiculturalism has recently been subjected to severe criticism both in the scholarly community and beyond. It has been highlighted that authoritative politicians in countries such as France, Great Britain, and Germany expressed the dissatisfaction with the way multiculturalism is functioning in their individual countries (Пайн, 2013: 79). On the other hand, Antony Giddens critically assesses this negative response to the ideals of multiculturalism: “Much of the debate about multiculturalism in this, however, is crass, ignorant and misconceived (...) Multiculturalism simply does not mean what most of its critics think” (as cited in Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2011: 22).

An attempt to deconstruct existing stereotypes about migrants as exemplified by immigrants to Europe has been made in a recent report by the Migration Policy Center. It was stated in this report that migrants are frequently seen as “competitors in labor markets beset by unemployment, burdens on endangered welfare systems, and a factor of social disruption” (Fargues, 2014: 2). Overall eight leading critiques addressing widespread stereotypes about migrants and migration were examined. The findings resulted in an alternative picture of migration inputs. The implication made by the authors of the report regarding labor migration suggests that without migration there would be a significant loss in the share of working-age persons (around 11%) over the next twenty years; moreover, the number of elderly people in the labor market will increase, whereas the share of young people aged from 20 to 30 years old will decrease by 25%. Finally, the ratio of the working-age people will become less than that of the older/retired population (Fargues, 2014: 2).

Despite evidence of the positive contribution of migration to the economic development of European countries, the persistence of socio-cultural distance between migrants and members of the receiving society requires extensive research into interethnic issues and multiculturalism as a policy ideal for

managing interethnic relations. For instance, a productive discussion on multiculturalism is initiated by E. Pain in his article “Complicated way from multiculturalism to interculturalism”. Pain implies that, from the political point of view, multiculturalism is too vague and subjective a term. Those in favor of multiculturalism see it as a “a principle referring purely to culture” (Пайн, 2011: 78), meaning that, despite differences in religious beliefs or ethnic cultures, people still live in one society and can balance between authenticity and integration. At the same time, those who are against multiculturalism are guided by political principles which target the “closed character” of cultural groups. Pain distinguishes between two types of criticism towards multiculturalism. One of them is “chauvinistic”, claiming the domination of one culture over minority cultures and requiring full assimilation of cultural minorities. However, this requirement is seen by many as unrealistic in the contemporary world of intensified cultural diversity. Another type of criticism is “liberal criticism”, actively used in the rhetorics of politicians and policy-makers and implying that multiculturalism “does not provide integration, which is an important part of people’s life in one state” (Ibid: 80). The response to both types of criticism could be the modification of multiculturalism into so-called “interculturalism”. Using the definition developed by the Center for European Policy Studies, Pain associates interculturalism not only with the preservation of diverse cultural backgrounds of citizens but also with the interests shared by the population in spite of all cultural differences, such as civic responsibility or participation.

The approaches described above aims to conceptualize the efforts to harmonize migration. However, there is also a bulk of literature that offers insights into how such harmonization can be reached organizationally. For instance, in her study of international migration as a source of economic development, I. Ivakhnuk (Ивахнюк, 2011) stresses the importance of international labor migration at the global level and brings examples of how international organizations address human mobility. She traces how in the mid-2000s the debates have increasingly become the core element of agenda for the United Nations. In the frame of the 61th session of the General Assembly, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon made a report “International migration and development”, where he stated that international migration provided an ideal way to promote cooperation between countries and facilitate their balanced, mutually enriching development. UN member states later launched the Global Forum on Migration and Development – an annual meeting of UN members and observers aimed at the promotion of the values of mobility and critical analysis of migration as a factor of economic and social change nationally and internationally. Thus, the potential of migration was underscored at a global level. Ivakhnuk however argues that, for Russia to benefit from migration, the “social integration of society” should be reached through a set of measures, including more efficient communication of the state with different actors, e.g. NGOs and mass media (Ивахнюк, 2011: 78).

1.2 Media and society: A literature review

In this paragraph, I shall review the media analysis literature relevant for my research. The variety of approaches to media studies relates to the complicated nature of the media: “On the one hand, they are institutionalized bodies (presuppose activity organized within particular structures, regulated by different norms). On the other hand, mass media produces products, i.e. content, which reflects reality in a particular way and contributes to its transformation, because the way people perceive content also affects, to a certain degree, their consciousness and behavior” (Фомичева, 2011: 7). Based on the idea of printed media as an important intermediary between people and social reality, this review addresses some key issues including the influence of the media on public opinion and its structuring components.

1.2.1 The influence of media on society

The role of the media as an influential party in social life cannot be denied. Therefore, although my study focuses on the content of print media, rather than its direct and indirect effects, I still find it necessary to proceed with some reflection on how the media defines important topics and maintains its circulation in society.

One of the topical questions in media studies is the extent to which media can influence their audience and in which way. Elizabeth Perse states that “one of the first and most important assumptions of the study of mass communication has been the presumption that the media and their content have significant and substantial effects” (Perse, 2001: 3). Nowadays, there is a variety of research projects on the effects that the media exerts on society (see e.g. Bandura, 2009; Entman, 2007; Guerrero-Solé & López-González, 2016). With the development of this field of research, there have been numerous changes in the understanding of media effects. One of the earliest (1922) and probably the most important transformations was Walter Lippmann’s assumption that “mass communication could become the basis for people’s view of the world” (as cited in Perse, 2001: 3). Bryant and Zillmann distinguish between five most common types of media effects: attitudinal, cognitive, emotional, behavioral and physiological (Bryant & Zillmann, 2009: 13-14). Within the framework of my research, the first three effects are of particular importance. Under attitudinal effects the authors understand cases of media influence resulting in the shaping of the audience’s opinions, beliefs and values. Cognitive effects occur when media sources change the way consumers think. Finally, emotional effects are expressed through transmitting various feelings, such as joy or fear, to the audience.

Agenda setting and framing

The theoretical explanation of these effects has been laconically formulated by Bernard Cohen, who is often cited in media studies. Cohen argues that “even if the media are not successful in telling people what to think, they are stunningly successful in telling people what to think about” (Cohen, as cited in Bryant & Zillmann, 2009: 117) This quotation refers to the basic concepts in media research – those of framing and agenda-setting. The agenda-setting theory was developed by Max McCombs and Donald Shaw in their study of the 1968 American presidential election. Basing on empirical evidence, McCombs and Shaw hypothesize that the degree of press attention given to certain issues during elections affects the voters’ comprehension. First presented in the context of political communication, the concept of agenda-setting soon went beyond this field in terms of its applicability. The agenda-setting theory sees mass media not as merely translating information on social reality, but rather creating social reality. It highlights the capability of the media in positioning certain topics as central to the news agenda.

Another perspective related to agenda-setting and sometimes considered an extension of this theory is framing theory. In social science, framing is understood “through the process of message construction, with the focus on journalists, their construction of news texts, and the related implications for audience understanding” (Shah et al., 2009: 6). If agenda-setting theory argues that media can bring people into thinking about certain issues, framing theory insists that media can also influence the ways the audience interprets and evaluates these issues. On the one hand, framing can have positive effects, for example when particular issues get necessary attention after being framed as social problems (Sharma, 2012). On the other hand, framing is frequently used to make a media statement more newsworthy, which leads to the transformation of the media into a source of stereotype formation.

Overall, agenda-setting and framing theories provide us with an understanding of the power of the media in influencing the audience through a conscious selection of issues to report on and the extent of attention that individual components of these issues should get.

News values

To trace how some messages or plots receive prominence through the efforts of media, many researchers use the concept of news values. The term news values has received various definitions in media studies. Below is a brief overview of such definitions (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 40):

- “the criteria or rules that news workers apply to determine what is ‘news’”;
- “the (imagined) preferences of the expected audience about what is newsworthy”;

- “the values by which events or facts are judged as more newsworthy than others shared both by producers and audiences of news discourse”;
- “the qualities/elements that are necessary to make a story newsworthy “.

In general, these definitions refer to the requirements for the media materials to be meaningful for the audience. In the context of my study, a useful example of news values would be the classification of “culture-free” and “culture-bound” news values introduced by Galtung and Ruge (as cited in Caple & Bednarek, 2013: 4). Culture-free news values include frequency, threshold (universal value), meaningfulness, consonance (the correspondence of the readership stereotypes with the events/actors reported in media), unexpectedness, continuity (keeping the news publications on track), and composition (variety in publications within a source). Meanwhile, culture-bound news values embrace references to nations/people, references to persons, and references to something negative (issues presented in negative light normally draw more attention).

News values that seek to attract attention of the representatives of a certain culture should refer to people, be (preferably) sensational, but nevertheless, “if possible, provide the reader with some kind of identification – it should refer to him or his nation, or group of nations” (Galtung & Ruge, 1965: 84). The logic behind such values provides insights into the reasons why some issues, with little regard to their real value, receive more media and public attention than others.

So far, this chapter has focused on agenda-setting and framing theories and on what makes media content newsworthy. The following section will discuss an important part of media content, that of how stereotypes are shaped and transmitted by media.

Stereotyping and the media

As it has been argued before, media have an expressed capability to (re)produce stereotypes. Even though media are normally expected to be socially responsible and thus required to contribute to the integration of minority groups rather than their marginalization, in reality media effects are often the reverse. This is convincingly illustrated by the work of Dana E. Mastro who revises a massive bulk of studies on media-based stereotyping, in order to see how the construction and maintenance of racial/ethnic stereotypes is performed in the media.

Mastro understands stereotypes as “beliefs, expectations, and theories one holds about groups in society (irrespective of accuracy or valence) that influence information processing and guide judgments about and behaviors

toward groups and their members” (Mastro, 2009: 378). She stresses that the primary source of stereotypes is socialization, and mediated contexts, such as press messages in my case, contribute to socialization.

Importantly, the media’s potential to spread stereotypes about minority groups is especially high, because interaction among them and the rest of the population is rather limited. Van Dijk sticks to the position when stating that people tend to take over media views on ethnic issues because they have limited knowledge about ethnic minorities, but also because these plots have traditionally been the domain of media debate rather than ordinary talk, i.e. everyday conversations (van Dijk, 2006a).

Similarly, Mastro highlights that not only ethnic heterostereotypes tend to be negative but the media is not in favor of creating positive associations with certain ethnic groups. To ground her argument, Mastro combines framing theory (which we are already familiar with) with the necessary cultivation theory in order to provide the analysis with a macro level perspective. In cultivation theory, media are considered an agent of socialization, since it is assumed that the consumption of media production leads to changes in the opinions and behavior of the consumers (Mastro, 2009: 379). What follows from both theories is that the media convinces the audience that there are features typical for different ethnic groups including “normative behaviors, traits, values, attitudes, demographic compositions, and the like” (Ibid.). What’s more, these representations create a hierarchical division of those groups as far as they are linked to certain (positive or negative) features. For example, some ethnic minorities are depicted as regularly involved in crime and posing danger to the others, whereas others are portrayed as harmless and loyal.

1.2.2 Empirical findings on the representation of migration in media

To conclude this chapter, I would like to pay some attention to the evidence from recent empirical studies on the topics related to my research questions. In general, a considerable amount of literature has been published on the construction and diffusion of negative images of immigrant population by the press (see, e.g. Geschke et al., 2010; Krishnamurti, 2013; Moneri, 2013). The studies in this field reveal the following trends in media portrayal of migration: “neglect or ignorance; focus on stereotypical and negative issues such as spectacular events, crime, coups, cultural difference or deviance, problems, or poverty” (van Dijk, 1988a, p. 138).

The trend is that minority groups are continuously treated as minorities not only in real life but also in the media, where stereotypical and exclusionary evaluations of these groups are created and reproduced. Related to this, it was observed long ago that the representation of ethnic groups and migrants in the press has the same structure. For instance, in their research of British media in 1974 Hartmann and Husband show that the press “represented the immigration of black citizens as an invasion and their presence as a problem for the

autochthonous population” (as cited in van Dijk, 1988b, p. 12). Trebbe and Schoenhagen argue that “the perception of representation in the mass media” has a significant influence on the overall perception of their own social and cultural group and other groups by the audience (Trebbe & Schoenhagen, 2011: 411). They analyze the marginalization of ethnic minorities in the media and distinguish between a variety of media techniques contributing to this process. Stereotyping, when general characteristics are ascribed to all members of an ethnic minority, is one of these techniques. Apart from the lack of recognition of minority members as individuals, they are simply labeled as “good” and “bad” regarding their “usefulness” in society (Ibid.: 413). Framing techniques are also widely used in media coverage of minority issues. Consequently, negative content on ethnic minorities and migrant populations prevails, which becomes particularly evident when such content is compared to materials with no reference to the ethnic background of individuals involved.

The findings mentioned above are underpinned by the results of the study conducted by Jessika ter Wal, who conducts quantitative analysis of the content of daily press and TV in 15 EU member states. Having monitored the representation of minority groups and multicultural society in the main newspapers and television news broadcasts in Europe, she concludes that news stories where ethnic groups are mentioned are not neutral, but rather scandalous and controversial. Moreover, ter Wal states that ethnic minorities are underrepresented in media coverage, which is expressed in the rare citing of what the members of such groups say in comparison to the dominant groups. Meanwhile, if such opinions are quoted, they are presented as having rather low credibility. Commenting on her findings, ter Wal concludes that the representation of ethnic minorities is stereotypical and aimed at the reinforcement of their outsider position in society, although ideally the media should rather emphasize the similarities between the minority population and other members of society and their value to society (ter Wal, 2004).

Another study looking at how migrants are treated in media focuses on TV broadcasts; however, I still see these findings as relevant for my research because they show how the coverage of migration issues unfolds. Danny Hayes discusses the frames used in the debates on immigration reform in television newscasts in the USA during the period of 2005 to 2007. He reveals two general types of framework used by journalists and other actors: (1) arguing for restrictive immigration policies, and (2) calls for tolerant and welcoming policies (Hayes, 2008). Interestingly, the aforementioned frames are promoted by two different kinds of actors: the officials who are frequently in favor of restrictive policies, (whereas a tolerant approach to immigration policies is suggested by immigrants themselves) or representatives of social movements taking part in rallies. Putting emphasis on the content of media frameworks and the reputation of the producers of these frameworks in news-making, Hayes concludes that in the contemporary debate on immigration preference is given to restrictive rhetorics and plans, because of the higher credibility of the framework source.

Taking into account the comparative perspective of my research, I also find it necessary to consider studies on media coverage conducted in Germany and Russia. In Russia, Maria Kovalskaya focuses on how the labor activities of Chinese migrants are represented in the press of the city of Irkutsk. Drawing on a range of popular press outlets in the region, Kovalskaya reports the generally negative description of Chinese labor, with competition on the market being a decisive factor for it. To reinforce negative estimations of migrant labor, the journalists resort to the opinions of experts and officials. The dichotomy of “us vs. them” is widely used in media, with migrants certainly falling under the latter category and thus endowed with negative attributes. The discourse of a struggle for space is also used: Chinese labor migrants are portrayed as invaders, seeking to expand in terms of “labor, territory, state and even food” (Ковальская, 2010: 269). Another tactic of the journalists highlighted by Kovalskaya is selective and biased references to statistics regarding the presence of Chinese migrants in Irkutsk. The official estimations made by Chinese experts or even the staff of the Federal Migration Service are questioned by the journalists as ostensibly underestimating the proportion of Chinese population in the region. The author concludes that the division of “us” versus “them” that the audience learns from the media also shapes the daily communication of migrants with the host society itself.

An illustrative example of research on the German press was a study conducted by Marina Schwedler (Schwedler, 2007) and focusing on the integration of Turkish migrants in Berlin. The author asks whether a popular city newspaper, “Berliner Zeitung”, facilitates communication between the receiving German society and Turkish migrants. To answer this question, she conducts content analysis of articles from the newspaper covering principal events associated with the Turkish minority. Schwedler assumes that the tone of publications about the Turkish minority is determined by their newsworthiness. In many cases, minority problems are peripheral in the articles and are mentioned only in connection with some core political events. If minority groups are discussed however, it is mostly in negative contexts. Schwedler reports that despite direct evidence of the discrimination of Turkish minority, journalists still create a negative image of this group by associating them with danger. She concludes that the newspaper mostly depicts Turkish migrants as a problematic category for German society instead of providing a balanced picture of this minority for readers.

Drawing on the results of the studies described above, I can conclude that media performance rarely contributes to progress in intercultural communication between the host society and immigrants. Instead, the techniques that can lead to the reinforcement of stereotypes and discrimination are exploited by journalists.

Conclusion

The overview of theories explaining labor migration and media coverage has been helpful in understanding the logic of how labor migrants are depicted in media and, consequently, perceived by majority groups. The minority approach demonstrates how migrants become an outsider group in society, experiencing extensive socio-cultural tensions with members of host societies. Meanwhile, the theories of agenda-setting and framing shed light on the contribution of media outlets to the symbolic exclusion of migrants and the (re)production of their position as a stereotyped outsider. The concept of newsworthiness shows how, following the demand of society, information about the migrant population is transmitted to audiences in a selective and biased way, i.e. through promoting certain plots or using particular rhetorical methods or devices. Below, the analytical frame created in the first chapter will be applied in the empirical research of how labor migration is represented in the media of two countries, Russia and Germany, with a focus on print media.

Chapter 2. Representation of labor migration in print media in Russia and Germany

2.1. Context of study: Russian and German national press

Before I proceed with the empirical analysis, I would like to make a general overview of the German and Russian press, to reveal the key features of periodicals in the two countries under study and describe the regulations behind their performance.

According to the Federation of German Newspaper Publishers (BDZV), Germany has the largest newspaper market in Europe and the fifth largest in the world after China, India, Japan and the USA. 17.54 million weekly and Sunday newspapers are sold on the day of issue. Three out of five Germans over 14 years old regularly read printed newspapers, making a total of 42.3 million readers (Pasquay, 2016). The German press is divided into three types of In the German press, there is a division into three types of print media outlet: “quality press”, “yellow press” (which I shall further refer to as “tabloids”), and “mixed press”.

The statistical data for Germany indicates that the number of daily newspapers published in the country reaches 329 and the number of non-daily periodicals amounts to 27, with a total circulation of 16.08 million and 4.4 million respectively (Germany Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers – television ... (n.d.)). Among the most popular national newspapers are “Bild”, “Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung” and “Die Welt”. Magazines comprise yet another segment of the media market. There are around 780 general interest magazines and 3,400 specialized magazines published in Germany (Ibid).

Turning now to the data on the Russian press, I would like to emphasize that print media is currently not the most widespread type of media in Russia. As is stated by the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Communication, the audience of print media is less than that of television because of the technical benefits of the latter (Федеральное агентство по печати и массовым коммуникациям, 2014). Nevertheless, print media comes second in terms of audience size ahead of the Internet. As for the credibility of the press for the readership, according to opinion polls (ВЦИОМ, 2015) the level of trust in such media remains high: every second Russian citizen, or 54% in total, trusts central press (Ibid).

Currently, there are 25,781 newspapers, 31,714 magazines and 4,473 other print media publications officially registered in Russia (Мониторинг состояния рынка печатных сми и полиграфии, 2015). The total circulation of Russian newspapers is 7.8 billion copies. From this amount, 2.7 billion copies are national newspapers, 2.6 billion are regional newspapers and 2.5 billion are local paper (Russian Federation Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers –

television, circulation, stations, papers, number, print, freedom, 2016). According to the All-Russia Fund for Public Opinion, 64% of the Russian population reads print media (ФОМ, 2014). Among the most popular Russian newspapers are “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, “Kommersant”, “Izvestia” and “Argumenty i fakty”.

2.1.1 Professional ethics of Russian and German journalistic

When analyzing media from different countries, it is important to note that every nation has its rules and regulations designed to control media coverage. In particular, different principles of professional ethics are documented in Russia and Germany in the form of the codes of professional journalistic ethics.

The discussion paper “Ethical journalism and human rights”, supervised and published by the Commissioner for Human Rights, says “Most codes of conduct for journalists are aspirational and a statement of commitment from journalists to be responsible and accountable” (CommDH, 2011). In general such codes require journalists to be fair in composing their materials, to pay respect to other citizens, and to be aware of the constraints that their profession holds. I have included some codes from both countries which are of interest to my research.

According to Paragraph 5 of the Code of Professional Ethics of Russian Journalist, “in fulfilling his/her professional duties, the journalist counteracts extremism and restriction of civil rights on any basis including sex, race, language, religion, political or other views as well as social or ethnic origin” (Code of Professional Ethics of Russian Journalist | ethicnet, n.d.).

In section 12 of the German Press Ethics Code the implications concerning the representation of ethnic minorities are articulated even more clearly:

“There must be no discrimination against a person because of his/her sex, a disability or his/her membership of an ethnic, religious, social or national group. When reporting crimes, it is not permissible to refer to the subject’s religious, ethnic or another minority membership unless this information can be justified as being relevant to the readers’ understanding of the incident. In particular, it must be borne in mind that such references could stir up prejudices against minorities” (German Press Code | ethicnet, n.d.).

As we can see, German codes of ethic for journalists are more substantial in comparison to Russian ones. Besides a general implication of the avoidance of discrimination practices, German codes cover reporting on crime, which can have a significant influence on readers’ perceptions of a particular group. Comparing the development of the codes of ethics in the two countries, I can assume that German publications contain less explicit criticism of labor migration and labor migrants as actors. An important note here is that while law violations are sanctioned in both countries under study, such prescriptions as ethical codes have advisory power only, meaning that these codes can be

neglected in some publications. However, the notion of journalistic credibility implies a certain responsibility for the production of the materials. In the analysis, I plan to observe whether ethic codes have any power over the journalistic representation of labor migration in Germany and Russia.

2.2 Methodology and methods of the research

Analytical framework

Before moving to the main findings of my study, I would like to introduce the analytical framework that is used in the project. In order to examine the representations of labor migration in media, I am going to use a critical discourse analysis approach.

As has been stated above, when studying migration a notion that is often used is that of minorities. The dominant group of society ascribes marginal characteristics to the minority group, such as labor migrants, and thus underlines its own privileged position. The primary goal of critical discourse analysis is to reveal what components of text or talk can contribute to the production and reproduction of such dominance that further results in social inequality.

Previously, I have discussed the codes of ethics for journalists, which disapprove of and discourage prejudice and discrimination in any form. Moreover, the legislation of each country under study includes laws against various forms of (ethnic) hostility. We can suppose this can serve as a restriction tool for journalists, leading to indirectness in their judgment of minority groups such as migrant laborers. Using the critical approach, I hope to uncover what the actual print media opinion on the process of labor migration and its actors is.

In my analysis, I shall consider the idea that the discourses to be critically assessed “may feature meanings of cultural hierarchy, ethnocentrism or racism. They may consist of stereotypical, prejudicial or otherwise demeaning ways of speaking about cultural others. They may exclude culturally different subjectivities, identities or experiences or they may present culturally particular, in-group worldviews, understandings or norms as absolute, general or universal” (Researching Multicultural Discourses, 2006: 2). Thus, from the perspective of critical discourse analysis, journalism is seen as a kind of symbolic power with restricted access. Being in control of production and reproduction of certain ideologies, the media gains discursive power over society. In the case of print media representing migration, this power can be reproduced through rationally built discriminative discourses processed further as “objective” social information. Ideologies later become shared through the interpretation and acceptance of such discourses by press readerships.

The questions central to the creation of public opinions and popular ideologies often refer to group identities. Such questions can be divided into several categories and summed up as follows (van Dijk, 2001: 17): “Membership: Who are we? Who belongs to us? Who can be admitted?; Activities: What are we doing, planning? What is expected of us?; Aims: Why are we doing this? What do we want to achieve?; Norms: What is good or bad, allowed or not allowed in what we do?; Relations: Who are our friends or enemies? Where do we stand in society?; Resources: What do we have that others don't? What don't we have what others do have?”

Through these questions, and by contrasting themselves with others, people can enhance understanding of the group they belong to in society. Following the approach suggested by van Dijk, in my analysis it will be important to see how these notions of a group can be employed by those who possess the power (in my research, the media) in order to maintain this power through publications assigning positive or negative traits to certain groups in society.

Method

As it implied by Thomas Lindlof (2009: 53), “during the past three decades, qualitative methods have gained a central place in the toolkit of communication research”. To date, various methods have been developed and introduced to study the representations of migration in the media. Following the understanding of migrants as a minority group, and accounting for the fact that critical discourse analysis encompasses not only theories but also a research method, I have decided to use the method of discourse analysis as the key research instrument.

To enrich the comparative perspective of the research, in addition to traditional critical discourse analysis itself, I also address a new branch of critical discourse analysis: cultural critical discourse analysis (further referred to as CCDA), as developed by Dalia Gavriely-Nuri. In this approach, the reproduction of power is supposed to be uncovered through distinguishing “cultural codes” within discourses (Gavriely-Nuri, 2012) that are facilitating underlying ideologies of such symbolic elites as politicians or the media.

Here it must be clarified what these “cultural codes” are. Comprising one of the key terms in the CCDA, a “cultural code” implies a notion of a “network of shared values, norms and beliefs that, due to their constant repetition in set combinations, constructs a cultural community’s ‘credo’” (Gavriely-Nuri, 2010: 568). Cultural codes are important because they serve as a basis for the whole structure of culture. Members of cultural communities guide their actions and decisions with constant references to shared cultural codes. The latter are mirrored in different aspects of community life, including “its common experiences and constitutive texts (e.g. the Bible)” (Gavriely-Nuri, 2010: 568).

In order to use CCDA, it is important to get an understanding of what the process of decoding cultural codes is. As long as decoding requires the researcher to be familiar with the community's cultural features (e.g. history, language), the opening up a cross-cultural perspective through such an approach can be of use to my project and can enable me to draw a distinction between the elements typical of certain cultural codes.

A particular trait of CCDA that makes it valuable to my study is that it comprises both focus on certain cultures (Russian and German cultures in my case) and employs culture as a discursive tool. Other general principles of CCDA are specified by Gavriely-Nuri as follows (Gavriely-Nuri, 2012):

- Firstly, it is important to keep in mind that all texts are affected by cultural contexts.
- Secondly, CCDA implies that when we consider the articulation of power, it is the same both for large and small cultural communities
- Thirdly, in the course of CCDA the so-called “global dictionary of power and manipulation” (Gavriely-Nuri, 2010) is one of the discourse tools to pay attention to. Gavriely-Nuri brings an example of one such tool by referring the metaphor of the “axis of evil” (coming from “axis powers”- the coalition that fought against Allied forces in the Second World War) used by George W. Bush to comment on countries that contribute to world terrorism.

The principles listed above are helpful in analyzing the ways in which discourse reproduces power relations that can lead to the development of social or political inequality in various national contexts.

It is also important to mention here the three analytic stages of CCDA. Below is the brief outline of these (Gavriely-Nuri, 2012: 79-80):

- CCDA focuses on several discursive strategies. Whereas a strategy generally includes two components, namely “goals” and “means” (Fairclough, 2009/2001: 174), CCDA is more interested in the “means” of discourse (for example, metaphors) that aim to achieve certain “goals” (e.g. promoting certain ideologies).
- CCDA finds and decodes the cultural codes that are employed in/through these discursive strategies. It is important to uncover which values, norms, and beliefs shared by the members of the analyzed community are guiding the message. A cultural code can appear in the form of mentioning historical events, elements of folklore or other cultural elements significant to the members of a community, or, in other words, holding “special added value”. Cultural codes are characterized as dynamic; they appear as a result of social construction by individuals and groups. Later these codes serve as a tool that can influence the community through defining which issues are significant to the community, and through their further interpretation.

- Another analytical stage of CCDA is showing how the composition of discursive strategies and cultural codes facilitates the reproduction of power.

Having defined the analytical stages, I would like to address the structure of discourse as stated by Gavriely-Nuri. The general framework suggests having supportive and oppressive discourses that are further divided into particular components. Whereas supportive discourse has such attributes as “positivity”, “concreteness” and “bilateralism”, oppressive discourse can be recognized based on the opposites of these traits at its core (Gavriely-Nuri, 2010: 570). Next, I shall try to extrapolate these characteristics onto discourses on labor migration using all three kinds of polarization:

a) Positivity – negativity

Supportive migration discourses will be guided by positive implications of migration, whereas in oppressive discourses the negative traits of migrants and migration will be the focus.

b) Concreteness – abstractness

In supportive discourses, it is typical to address concrete aspects regarding migration, e.g. individual biographies of migrants or the local challenges they face. On the contrary, oppressive discourses will employ abstract ideas in their implications regarding migratory processes.

c) Bilateralism – unilateralism

Supportive discourses will present both parties involved in the problem, e.g. both the local population and migrants. In contrast, oppressive discourses will be supported by a unilateral view of the problem, putting forward efforts and perceptions of the issue shared by the cultural majority.

Application of the guidelines described above will be a valuable asset to my analysis, since the results of CCDA will allow me to understand the issue of the representation of labor migration as embedded in culture.

2.2.1 Samples and sources

As mentioned before, the purpose of my research is to deconstruct the mechanisms through which labor migration is represented in Russian and German media. Several theoretical and methodological lenses (CDA, CCDA) are used to view and analyze the different components that together make up the representation of labor migration in the press. The analyzed period is restricted to the years 2000 and 2014. This choice is based on the scale of labor migration flows and the level of the problematization of migration within the selected timeframes.

According to the regional migration report on Russia and Central Asia (Ryazantsev & Korneev, 2014: 28), “in the 2000s, the share of foreign migrant workers among persons employed in the Russian labor market was relatively small – from 3% to 5% of employed population”. As for Germany, the year 2000 indicated a decline in immigration, which “has led to the first net migration loss in more than 50 years in the history of the Federal Republic” (Hossmann & Karsch, 2011: 1). By contrast, in 2014 around 3.7 million of foreign workers were employed in Russia as opposed to 213,000 in the year of 2000 (Мукомель, 2015). In Germany, migration in 2014 can be still characterized by the dominance of inflows over outflows (Beyer, 2016: 7). Together with the rise of migration, the problem of the expression of xenophobia by members of Russian and German society arose. In Russia, the number of “Russian marches” against foreigners that were organized were followed by attacks on the representatives of ethnic minorities, whereas in Germany the movement “Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West” (PEGIDA) suddenly gained popularity. The overall importance of the factors mentioned above was a reason for me choosing publications printed in 2000 and 2014 as a basis for critical analysis.

To offer a versatile coverage of the news, I have picked 2 printed news outlets from each country. In order to make the analysis comparative, I have chosen two categories of mass media with a high level of circulation based on their periodicity – dailies and weeklies, – and their genres – tabloids and quality press, and the language of the article was either Russian or German. I shall now describe the characteristics of the chosen media publication in more detail:

“Ogonyok”

“Ogonyok” magazine is the oldest Russian weekly magazine, being issued since 1899. The reader of this magazine is presented as a person that: “is successful, they are at the beginning of their ‘middle age’, they are middle class and they have no interest in politics because it is boring. Nevertheless, their family, consumption habits and own personality are important to them and they are definitely a reading and reflecting person” (РИА Новости, 2005).

The magazine’s circulation is 69,000 copies. In terms of periodicity it is issued every week on Mondays. “Ogonyok” has a volume of 64-80 pages and largely covers topics described as “modern life”. The readership of the magazine amounts to 436,200 people.

“Komsomolskaya Pravda”

According to the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, “Komsomolskaya Pravda” is named as one of the top ten daily newspapers in Russia (Newspaper Publishers Industry. Profile from First Research. n.d.). The

newspaper is issued in 44 cities in Russia, six days a week, and has a circulation of 655,000 copies. Among the topics massively covered in the newspaper are political news, culture, economics, sports, leisure and more.

“Der Spiegel”

This magazine was selected for analysis because of its wide distribution, and strong reputation in Germany among quality press outlets. The first issue of “Der Spiegel” was published in 1946. It has a circulation of 1.4 million copies and a volume of around 178 pages. “Der Spiegel” is famous for its critical analysis of political life. Importantly, “Der Spiegel” is distributed in over 165 countries worldwide.

“Bild”

“Bild” is the most popular newspaper in Germany. It is a daily tabloid newspaper with a circulation of 4,390,000. Because of its focus on sensational news, the journalistic standards of “Bild” frequently become the subject of criticism from media observers.

Selection of articles

For this study, I first conducted a keyword search of the selected sources for articles containing materials about labor migration. In the case of “Bild”, I had to use the website of the newspaper and private collections, as unfortunately full articles are not available online. Moreover, the articles published in 2000 had to be excluded from our sample, due to a lack of free access to them. As stated in the letter that I received from the representative of the publisher “Axel Springer”: “We do not give access to our database outside the German language speaking European community”. As for other newspapers and magazines used in my analysis, only the “Spiegel” website had a systematic search engine, allowing for searches by certain dates and keywords. For the Russian sources, it was decided to use the database “Public.ru” in order to find the relevant articles. “Public.ru” database covers more than 15,000 mass media sources and was chosen for the search because of its system of digital copies of central newspapers and magazines.

The unit of analysis in my research is an article which includes a mention of immigrants that moved to another country with the purpose of getting a job. As has been mentioned before, popular periodicals with different characteristics were chosen for empirical study and within this category those publications made in 2000 and 2014 were searched. First, I decided on creating a list of possible keywords to use for searching. For example, the keywords in German were: “Gastarbeiter”, “Fremdarbeiter”, “Arbeitsmigration”, “Migrant”,

“Auslaendische Arbeitnehmer”, “Billiges Arbeitskraft” and “Ausländer”. Using this list, I searched through every keyword and the names of the sources on the “Public.ru” database and the archives of the German print media sources.

The final number of articles chosen for analysis differs from the initial number obtained after the rough search in the database. Sometimes the mentions of “labor migration” did not refer to the subject itself. For example, the articles about football players moving to other teams were initially included in the sample, which artificially increased the number of items. There were also cases of reviews of the same articles being included in the search results, or readers’ letters outlining their opinions on the articles which had been published earlier. Meanwhile, I decided to only analyze articles produced by the staff of the chosen media sources, and that is why such entries as reviews or letters from the readers were eliminated from the final sample.

In the process of choosing articles, I tried to evaluate the general tone of the articles. The tones could be positive, negative or neutral with regards to migration issues. The positive tone of the articles was defined by the reported beneficial character of migration, whereas in the negative articles criticism towards labor migration and migrants prevailed. Finally, the neutral articles were defined as articles that only had an informative purpose and thus did not include any explicit evaluation from journalists.

As a result, 80 news stories that reported on labor migration made the final sample. Prior to analyzing the data, the content of articles was coded in order to define the topics and categories that correspond to the posed research question and sub-questions.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I gave a brief description of German and Russian press, focusing on their main characteristics. The conclusion is that, despite the rise of the popularity of Internet sources, printed media outlets are still trusted and widely used as a source of news. The regulations dictating the ethical principles of news production in the two countries were also analyzed, where it was shown that Germany has better elaborated ethic codes for journalists, taking a bigger amount of aspects into account. The review provided might be useful for the explanation of the outcomes of the study. Finally, the methodology and methods that guide the research were discussed along with a detailed description of the research procedures. In the third chapter the results of the empirical study will be presented.

Chapter 3. Discourses of migration in two national contexts: The findings

As has been argued above, in creating materials the media are guided by the principles of newsworthiness and can rely on such techniques as agenda-setting or framing. I am interested in finding out which techniques are used in representing the issue of labor migration and what is put forward in such representations.

Some variations in contemporary labor migration discourses both in quality and tabloid press can be observed. The tone of the collected articles is mostly negative in “Komsomolskaya Pravda” and “Bild”. In the quality press represented by “Ogonyok” and “Spiegel”, characterized by the professional approach to writing, the balance of neutral or positive-toned articles was greater than negative-toned articles. In general, there are two kinds of approaches to representing migration issues to be distinguished: migration is depicted either as a positive asset for a country or as a threat to different aspects of state or urban life. However, it is also the case that even positive articles eventually present migration as problematic.

My analysis has shown that in 2000 17 articles were published that used words associated with migration (Information for “Bild” is missing). The topics covered in the articles that matched my selection criteria range from the legislation necessary for the management of labor migration to the likely consequences of such migration.

In 2014, the number of articles has grown significantly, and the same can be argued about the topics of the articles. Among the topics common to both Russia and Germany are crimes committed by migrants, integration measures and reports on the inflow of migrants. Furthermore the globally important topic of recruitment by the radical Islamic movement “ISIS” received prominence in both national contexts. In addition to these themes, some country-specific topics are revealed. For Germany, this is reporting on social welfare reform Hartz IV concerning labor migration from Eastern Europe. Also towards the end of the year the rise of the anti-Islamic movement PEGIDA took place, which initiated a discussion on various forms of migration to Germany, including labor migration. In the case of the Russian press, the issues that received attention relate to the changes in the registration law. This topic became prominent because of cases of the fictional registration of a large number of labor migrants by local citizens, which led to massive “grey” schemes of employment.

To sum up, it can be said that in Germany the focus has shifted from tolerance towards the migrant population and need for openness towards labor migration in 2000 to concerns about the welfare system and severe criticism of cheap labor in 2014. Meanwhile, in Russia labor migration in 2000 was presented as a

new issue, and a discussion on the possible outcomes of immigration was started, whereas in 2014 migration was generally presented as a source of problems in society.

As for the usage of cultural codes, the historical memory of the Second World War was commonly referred to in both Russian and German outlets. Next, I am going to address the collected empirical data in more detail. Among other things, it will enable us to understand the country-specific cultural codes central to the media discourses in two countries.

However, I shall start with a general analysis of Russian and German press to check whether their discourses towards labor migration are oppressive or supportive. I shall then show in what terms the participants of migratory processes are described. Furthermore, I shall attempt to trace what major frames guide discourses on labor migration in the press of the two countries, paying attention to the techniques and rhetorical means that are employed by journalists for that purpose. Yet another step in the research will be exploring how the cultural backgrounds of the two countries shape the examined discourses. Finally, I shall summarize the findings for all data.

3.1 Labor migration discourses: Supportive or oppressive?

In this section, I attempt to evaluate the media discourses using the framework of supportive versus oppressive polarization as offered by Gavriely-Nuri. The evaluation will be made separately for the discourses of Russian and German press.

Components of discourse in Russian press

Positivity / negativity

As it has been previously mentioned, it is typical for supportive discourses to focus on the positive implications of some process or event in contrast to the adverse connotations of the oppressive discourse. The discourse of “Ogonyok” rather falls under the logic of positivity. Labor migrants as presented in this outlet are responsible and hardworking people or, as one of the articles states, “*fair in work and conscientious*” (Ogonyok, 2014/16). In contrast, the discourse of “Komsomolskaya Pravda” presents a predominantly negative picture of migration. Sometimes, the accounts of migrants journalists come up with are not just condescending or depreciatory but downright hostile: “*Literally saying, workers who are not really educated do not have many things to do besides working [other than drinking and fighting]*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, June 11, 2014).

Concreteness / abstractness

The next characteristic I shall approach in defining whether the discourses of labor migration are suppressive or oppressive is how clear they are in their evaluations of an argument about migration. “Ogonyok” provides rather abstract judgments about the issue, not going into details about concrete forms or contexts of migration, requiring society “(...) *to understand that [labor migration] is inevitable and to find rules for establishing relations with each other*” (Ogonyok, August 11, 2014). In “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, the comments on migration are also instantiated by extreme abstractness. This can be observed, in the extensive use of vague normative statements addressed to migrants such as “*It is necessary that they [the migrants] invest in the country’s GDP, feed their families and behave themselves*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, April 30, 2014).

Bilateral / unilateral debate

Referring the third dimension of discourse analysis as proposed by Gavriely-Nuri, I evaluate whether media discourses on labor migration have a single focus perspective (in other words, if they are self-focused), or account for the positions of other actors as well. The analysis shows that in “Ogonyok” multiple positions are presented. The evaluations of migration on the part of the host society are complemented here with articles entirely dedicated to the testimonies of the migrants themselves, describing their way of life in Russia. Meanwhile, publications in “Komsomolskaya Pravda” are guided by notions of labor migration as seen by the majority group only, with the clear message that migrants create problems for society.

Thus, having discussed the three components, I can evaluate the discourse of “Komsomolskaya Pravda” as openly oppressive towards labor migrants, presenting them within a framework of danger but at the same time lacking specificity and providing a one-sided view of migratory processes. As for “Ogonyok”, here two components of supportive discourse have been discovered; however, the vague position of the outlet on migration makes me doubt whether its discourse is genuinely supportive. I hope to get a better understanding of this issue in the course of further analysis.

Components of discourse in German press

Positivity / negativity

At first sight, “Spiegel” publications are positive about labor migration; however, after closer examination it can be seen that these positive accounts are selective and only refer to highly qualified labor migrants. As for low-skilled employees, they receive more negative comments and make a matter for questions such as “*How many people are allowed to come into the Federal Republic and by what standards are they selected?*” (Spiegel, 2000/43). In

“Bild”, this negative stance is also not explicit, which corresponds to my earlier assumption based on the analysis of ethic codes. Still implicit criticism addressing the negative consequences of migration is also present in the articles of this outlet.

Concreteness / abstractness

The discourse of “Bild” sometimes becomes rather populist, operating with such provocative arguments as the idea that migrants can “*endanger public order and security*” (Bild, October 18, 2014) without any empirical evidence behind these statements. “Spiegel” also largely uses general judgments about labor migration, arguing, for instance, that “*massive regulatory intervention is needed*” (Spiegel, 2000/10).

Bilateral / unilateral debate

Relections on labor migration and related issues in “Bild” are self-focused. This is noticeable, for example, in the active use of first-person claims in the articles creating an impression that journalists speak for the whole population of the country: “*We cannot solve social problems in Bulgaria and Romania with Hartz IV, a program launched in Germany*” (Bild, January 3, 2014); “*We – Germans*” (Bild, January 5, 2014), “*What can we expect?*” (Bild, January 9, 2014). In contrast, “Spiegel” takes a bilateral perspective, not excluding labor migrants from the discourse and underscoring such issues as “*incalculable social consequences for people who leave their homes*” (Spiegel, 2014/37).

In summary, the discourses of German press are also closer to the oppressive end of the spectrum, although the characteristics of oppressiveness are less explicit and unambiguous here. Thus, the analysis within given categories points at the oppressiveness of the discourses of labor migration in two countries. Nevertheless, considering the preliminary character of the evaluation above, I will proceed with a more elaborated analysis of this issue below.

3.2 Categorization and actors

Firstly, I would like to specify which categories are used in the articles from the two countries to characterize labor migrants. In Germany, among reported labor migrants there are people of Turkish, Algerian and Afghan origin, or emigrants from Eastern Europe, especially Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. In the Russian press, the specific feature of discourse is that in 2000 the issue of labor migration was presented as very new. Consequently, back then proper terms to indicate labor migrants had to found, such as “*These workers even got a name – gastarbeiters*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, May 26, 2000). From the articles, it follows that labor migrants coming from other countries replace another category of labor migrants that was predominant in Russia before the collapse of the Soviet Union – “*limitchiki*”. Coming from the word “limit”, the word referred to the targeted attraction of a limited number of low-skilled

workers from the regions to work in industrial jobs as well as in construction and transportation, branches which were not popular among the local population. Thus, in 2000 the shift from internal migration that was specific to the USSR due to the restricted movement of the population to international labor migration was broadly discussed. In Russia, mentions of labor migrants in the media have been long connected either with people from Central Asian countries, such as Tajikistan or Uzbekistan, or those from Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and, far less frequently, Georgia. One of the interesting observations made throughout the analysis is how the image of migrants from Slavic countries, such as Ukraine, has been framed differently in the Russian press depending on the goals of the authors. When there was a need to highlight that labor migrants from Central Asia are undesirable, empathy to the migrants from Slavic countries was put forward by calling them “brothers” and focusing on their similarities with Russians. At the same time, in other articles these same migrants could be framed as poor and highly dependent on the Russian economy.

What is similar between the Russian and German press is that one category of migrants, those coming from Muslim countries, has been featured more often in publications than others. This can be explained by the fact that the cultural differences of these migrants are considered newsworthy by the journalists, and carry such news value as consonance, or rather, adherence to stereotypes about a given group.

Taking into account the terms use to describe labor migrants in the articles under study, it can be observed that in general the Russian press uses a greater variety. Besides the simple term “migrant”, terms referring to labor migrants such as “children of different nations”, “visitors” or “guests” (the latter labels probably implying that guests are only allowed to make temporary visits and are expected to eventually go back home) can be found in the articles of the Russian outlets, as well as “sloggers”, “gastarbeiters” and “foreigners”.

The labeling technique most actively used in the Russian press is the use of stereotypical names. It is common both in the headings and in the textual body of the articles to use such names as Dzhumshut, which comes from a famous comedy show where a stereotypical image of labor migrants was created. For women, it is Fatima or, as in one of the articles, “*some Zulfia or Farida*”. Stereotypical images of labor migrants are therefore supplemented with homogenizing and generalized depictions of them, where a migrant does not even have a right to a unique name but rather is nicknamed in a rather disparaging manner.

In the German press the labels used were simpler and more uniform: “foreigners”, “*Hartzler*” (this name containing more negative connotation describes those who receive support through Hartz IV), “workers”, “migrants”, or “immigrants”. Migrants can be also called citizens of their countries of origin, for example, Turkish citizens. The word “*Gastarbeiter*” has been found only in one article providing a historical overview on labor migration to Germany. This

corresponds to the observation from Jung and Niehr (2000) that nowadays “*Gastarbeiter*” is considered somewhat of a historicism that stands for foreign contract workers in the period from 1955 to 1973.

Having defined what labor migrants are called in the Russian and German press, I shall now focus on their general description in the media. It should be noted that in many Russian articles migrant groups are referred to as “masses”, which dehumanizes migrants, depriving them of any personal characteristics. Moreover, it goes with the use of military-based expressions such as “conquers” or “hordes”, which aim to represent labor migration in terms of a threat or a mass invasion. One article in particular in “Ogonyok” contrasts with the aforementioned trend and counterpoints the “imagined immigration” view arguing that “*there is no colonization*” (Ogonyok, July 7, 2014). In Germany, the quality press as represented by “Spiegel” uses more moderate language when describing labor migration in comparison to “Bild”. However, like in Russia, in the German press the description of migrants is embedded in a framework of homogenization. As such, labor migrants are referred to as Muslims or are labeled using ethnic markers such as “Turks”, “Romanians” or “Bulgarians” without any further differentiation. Moreover, migrants are often mentioned in the context of taking advantage of the social system of the welfare state.

Among the actors shaping the discourse of labor migration are lawyers, police forces, politicians, scientists and local citizens. In German articles, politicians are cited especially often, with an emphasis on their competence in migrational issues. In addition to this the testimonies of citizens and columnists are employed when a more defined point of view has to be voiced. In Russia, the staff of the Federal Migration Service are often present in comments on migration, but at the same time value is given to witness statements from people who live in migration-affected cities to underscore the reality of the situation. While the citizens’ perspectives are presented only in form of critiques targeted at different aspects of labor migration, the opinions of officials are delivered in different ways. It can be a neutral informative report, e.g. that migration rates are growing, but it can also be evaluative, which is usually the case for interviews. The common trait of such texts is an effort to underline the positive characteristics of the host society, such as high literacy rates or tolerance, and provide normative directions of how migrants must behave to fit into this society.

In the German press, the views of various actors are normally expressed in separate items: to be more concrete, there is no contestation of views observed within one article. In Russia, specifically in “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, the presentation of migrant perspectives can be seen throughout the sample, since these are usually followed by counterpoints from the local population. The most extreme case would be a publication where the input from such a reputable person as the head of the Tajik migrants’ movement Karomat Sharipov is overshadowed by a critical commentary from the Russian workers’ rights activist Vladimir Shaposhnikov (Komsomolskaya Pravda, December, 18, 2014).

All things considered, Russian and German discourses are can be described as similar in presenting labor migrants as a set of homogenized groups, often with the use of ethnic markers and with Muslims receiving the most attention out of any of these groups. German discourse has more political implications than the Russian one; however, the voices of columnists and the civil population are used for underpinning debatable points on labor migration. At the same time, Russian discourse can be seen as more negative, adhering to the stereotypical notions ascribed to migration.

3.3 Mechanisms of representing of labor migration in the press of Germany and Russia

In this chapter, guided by the previously articulated mechanisms of media influence and by the critical approach to media representations, I am going to deconstruct the representations of labor migration in the outlets under analysis. Furthermore, I shall demonstrate how the reinforcement of the discourses of labor migration is conveyed through rhetorical tools, embodying a more emotional view of the situations; also evidence on framing and agenda-setting for the stigmatization of the members of migrant groups will be given, along with an analysis of culture-specific tools used as a means of persuasion. Correspondingly, I have divided my report on the analysis conducted into several topics and subtopics ranging from the legal framework referred to in the publications to the normative ideals of social justice promoted by the authors.

Legal/formal dimension

Precarious labor and legalization of migrant labor

With regard to various aspects of representing labor migration in press, I would like to now turn to the topic of marginal jobs as one of the core terms used when describing labor migrants. In the print media of both countries I have found references to the involvement of migrants in the low-wage economic sectors, including informal employment. Germany's "Spiegel" presents the issue of migrant employment in the low-wage sectors as unfavorable and reproducing socio-economic disparity within society. The article "Exploitation is everyday" provides a critical view of the current system of employment of immigrants from Eastern European countries, who have to live in poor conditions on minimum wage. The typical saying, characterizing the overall situation, would be: *"Here, the lowest and low wages and illegal employment are not only an integral part of the German economy, they are even one of its pillars"* (Spiegel, 48/2014). The authors of such publications negatively evaluate the exploitation of workers and a variety of actors are introduced in the articles in order to provide a full picture of events. Unlike typical discrimination discourses, where the opinions of minority groups are not considered in the production of texts, in the articles provided there is evidence from weaker groups, e.g. a Polish worker who has

become a victim of exploitation. This man is described in a positive way with the focus on his diligence and the noble motives of employment: he went to work to Germany to pay for the education of his son. By addressing the cases of either employment on a formal contract but still with low wages, or through illegal schemes, the authors insist on the situation being unacceptable. Various metaphors are used to show the inhuman nature of such employment; for example, “the modern form of slavery” or “Wild West world of cheap labor”. To increase the effect, the authors refer to the evaluations made by the representatives of such an authoritative social institution as the Catholic Church, who describe low-wage employment as a “diabolic system of modern slavery”, calling the people in charge “swamp mafia contractors”. At the same time, despite the overall negative stance of journalists towards the low-wage employment of foreign workers, the articles contain arguments that can be critically assessed namely the fact that criticisms addressed to employers and indifferent German officials are followed by attempts to naturalize the disadvantaged positions of labor migrants: *“These are mostly people who do not speak German, who are not even familiar with their domestic legal system, let alone the German one”* (Spiegel, 48/2014). This is an illustration of how supposed care about labor migrants’ rights conceals attempts to place the blame for this situation on the migrants themselves. It is claimed that members of local communities are eager to help, but the immigrants themselves facilitate the conditions for the flourishing market of precarious labor, *“as long as people prefer to live in the mass lodging of poverty in their homeland and as long as their exploiters pay the promised wages”* (Spiegel, 48/2014). As we can see, here becoming part of the informal labor market is depicted as a free choice on the part of migrants. This idea is also reflected in the discourse on labor migration from Eastern European countries espoused by “Bild”. In particular, the reasons for the poor living conditions of the migrants are seen as to be found in the socio-economic circumstances of their countries of origin, or the migrants’ background over which the host society has no control: *“Unfortunately, they often have no professional qualifications and are illiterate. You have virtually no chance on the labor market”* (Bild, January 7, 2014).

The same logic is observed in Russian discourse: here, the articles often show how the host society disapproves of irregular migratory employment that *“brings problems that no one needs and creates tension in intercommunity relations”* (Komsomolskaya Pravda, December 14, 2000). In Russia, the focus is on labor migrants from Central Asia occupying low-ranking positions in the labor market. Among the major problems experienced by migrants are blackmail by employers who take away migrants’ documents, and salary fraud, in the form of wages being too low or non-existent. Here attempts to express sympathy with the oppressed labor migrants can be observed again; however, if we take a critical point of view, they are overshadowed by blaming newcomers who initially hold illegal positions: they *“do not have documents (...) are not recorded anywhere, and do not pay taxes”* (Komsomolskaya Pravda, May 26, 2000).

Similar to the evidence from Germany, the lack of qualifications and poor knowledge of the language of the host country serve as an argument for dismissive attitudes to migrants in the labor market.

From the discussion on the representation of the insecure position of labor migrants in Russia and Germany, which is nevertheless used for the enhancement of the positive self-image of the majority population, I would like to switch to the related issue that is articulated exclusively in the Russian press – the problem of registration. It should first be explained that labor migrants have to officially register their place of residence in order to get permission to work in Russia. The issue of registration has been increasingly debated in the Russian press with regard to violations of the law. In 2000, migrants were depicted as “*not willing*” to register (Komsomolskaya Pravda, January 16, 2000); in 2014, however, the situation has changed after the five year entry ban for those who violate the terms of the right to stay policy that was introduced. As a result fake registrations have become the central topic of journalistic discourse. The most sensational article on the subject was published under the heading “*Migrants made a bloody battle because of registration*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, May 20, 2014). This heading itself reproduces and reinforces the stereotypical belief of migrants being aggressive and even violent. Meanwhile the text of the article describes conflicts between migrants and other actors and portrays them as rather natural. It is stated that most of the conflicts in the migration environment arise because of documents, when migrants are promised registration by intermediaries but have to wait for too long. At the same time, the tendency of positive self-representation is persistent, as the good will of the host society is repeatedly emphasized: “*We should help people to “get out of the shadows”, by making the preparation of documents clear and easy*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, April 17, 2014). This example shows how labor migrants are initially presented as being involved in illegal practices, whereas the members of majority groups are depicted as willing to help.

Crime

In the section that follows, I would like to discuss the representation of labor migration that associates migrants with high rates of crime. As has been previously pointed out when the ideas of van Dijk (2001) were introduced, ideologies and group thinking depend on the idea of group identities, including norms common to these groups. In the media sample analyzed migrants are depicted as violating the norms of the host society in an extreme fashion, that is to say, by committing crimes.

The notion of migrant crime generating negative associations with labor migrants received much attention in the tabloids of both countries. What’s more, a specific category of “*ethnocrime*” – a crime committed by foreign workers – was introduced into public discourse and intensively covered by journalists. In some cases, articles beginning with a neutral report on the subject of the

migrant labor work force finish with messages on the extreme danger presented by migrants. To underpin their statements the authors of the articles employ dramatic statistics; for instance, it has been argued that *“every sixth rape and every second kidnap is committed by migrants”* (Komsomolskaya Pravda, May 20, 2014). In addition to this, the technique of multiplying the threat by providing a list of other criminal cases involving migrants is broadly used in the frame of *“recalling the most resonant crimes”*. I would like to illustrate references to crime in media discourses with the case of a “Komsomolskaya Pravda” article reporting on a notorious crime under the heading *“Gastarbeiter took 9-year old girl hostage”* (December 24, 2014). In the article reporting on the crime, the nationality of the offender and his occupation have been indicated. Moreover, in the opening sentence of the article the offender is identified with the use of the ethnic marker “Uzbek”, which reveals the hostile perspective of the article. Whilst it would be easy for the author to avoid stressing the migrant background of the offender (there was no explicit relation between the committed crime and the national or ethnic origins of the criminal), it is still stated by the journalist. Moreover, a detailed description of the crime follows, which is also the case for other articles on “ethnocrime”. The terrifying descriptions presented in these articles include: *“threatened to kill everyone (...), he bound the girl’s hands to the radiator”*, *“while Safiannikov was dying, the migrant quickly bought a ticket to the closest flight to Tashkent”* (Komsomolskaya Pravda, December 23, 2014), *“Isa S. stabbed defenseless Jolin. He also killed her unborn baby”* (Bild, March 30, 2014).

At the same time, the role of such law-enforcing actors as police being able to resist “the delinquent migrants” is underlined. In all the articles it was underscored that the perpetrators were punished. In one case it was stressed that the perpetrator was punished in a very short period, *“already within 24 hours”* (Komsomolskaya Pravda, December 23, 2014). Interestingly, if the news stories included any expression of aggression from the local population, it was not given much prominence. For example, in the case reported by “Komsomolskaya Pravda” an act of hooliganism made in response to the crime committed by the migrant (in which friends of the victim attacked foreign workers in the local market) did not receive any evaluation from journalists.

As we can see, the articles actively employ techniques pointing out the delinquent behavior of the minor group. In case of “ethnocrimes” the perpetrator’s nationality receives special attention; moreover, their violence and the danger they present are objects of detailed description, with the use of rhetorical tools aimed at emphasizing the emotional message being reported. At the same time, the acts of aggression performed by members of the local community do not receive disapproval. The goal behind these discourses is to emphasize migrants as “outsiders” who tend to act in an aggressive way and thus pose a danger to the host community. Whereas a consequence of such a representation of labor migrants can be the growth of distance between minority and majority groups, we can find justification for the high level of attention given to the crimes committed by foreign workers. One of the explanations presented

in the press is that of caring about future generations, i.e. people who have families and children, and thus immigrants who commit crimes become a threat to the well-being of these people.

Migrants and the police

In connection with criminal behavior goes the category of interactions between migrants and the Police, which was elaborated on in both the Russian and German press through the prism of resistance and disrespect. As an institution aimed at the protection of the state and its citizens from danger and crime, the police play a crucial role, thus if someone threatens or generally goes against the police they can be deemed as threatening the security of others. In both the German and Russian press the issues of the disrespectful or even dangerous behavior of migrants towards police were presented. The German article in "Bild" outlined this problem in its headline "*Many migrants have ZERO RESPECT for women in uniform*" (April 5, 2014). By pushing the generally problematic nature of migration onto readers the authors say that this case brings us to a debate about migrants disrespect in general, not only towards police. For added effect, a letter from a policewoman discussed the case as characterized as being "*full of desperation and disappointment*". Moreover, the woman's surname was abbreviated was shortened, which was explained by her fear for the safety of members of her family. This way, through reference to the authoritative source and by the increased emotional tension of the situation, migrants were framed as posing an extreme level of danger to society

In the Russian press, the 'wildness' of the migrants was emphasized, one example being an article describing the case of a fight between labor migrants on a construction site. It was written in the article that "*Hundreds of Tajiks were throwing sticks and stones at the police officers. Occasionally shots were heard*" (Komsomolskaya Pravda, 2014). Not only was the notion of danger presented in this article, through the fact the migrants were neglecting the authority of the police, but migrants were also stigmatized through the description of them using primitive tools like sticks and stones, which is more common for animals than for people.

Having discussed the representation of labor migration in a frame of irregular or criminal activities, we can see this tendency bears a resemblance to van Dijk's idea of the "ideological characterization of Them as an out-group" (van Dijk, 2011: 12). In the next paragraph, we are going to consider how this issue is being developed through the focus on the use of social resources in the host country by labor migrants.

“Social justice”

The topic of the exploitation of resources by arriving labor migrants was a vivid example of agenda-setting in the Russian and German press. During our analysis the elements of discourse corresponding to the topic were united under in Vivo code “Social justice”. The polarization of “us” (local population) versus “them” (labor migrants) was clearly seen in this case. It was explicitly acknowledged that “they” are using all social benefits such as schools, kindergartens and hospitals which are paid for by “our” taxes and money. In the German case, this topic received prominence because of the Hartz IV reform, which we will briefly explain further.

In 2014, citizens of Bulgaria and Romania gained a right to work and reside in the EU without restrictions, which were a transitional measure for the aforementioned countries after they joined EU in 2007. However, the implementation of the freedom of movement granted citizens of Romania and Bulgaria a right to claim benefits in other EU member states. In Germany the current social welfare reform benefits payments for the unemployed are called Hartz IV, which was initially introduced in 2005 amid much controversy. Later on, with the accession of Bulgaria and Romania (two countries with weak economies) to the European Union, Hartz IV has once again become a target for mass criticism in the German press.

The extended coverage of the Hartz IV problem included pointing out an abuse of the social system by immigrants from the Eastern parts of the EU and was called a “*Top priority*” (Bild, January 4, 2014) and “*Problem for many cities*” (Bild, January 9, 2014). To increase the prominence of the problem, there was even an article printed describing fraud within the social welfare system. In the article, the tricks used in court to facilitate receiving payouts were described (Bild, June 21, 2014). The actor, chosen to provide evidence on the issue, was a credible person, a representative of the legal system in the form of a lawyer from Berlin. Another example that we would like to bring analyze is the article “What can we expect from immigration?”, where “Bild” journalists present the results of a questionnaire on the same topic answered by the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs in cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior. It is interesting how the structure of the article is laid out: besides the answers from the interviewees, there are supplementary commentaries from the authors of the article. The remarks are put under the heading “Im Klartext”, which can be translated as “In plain text”. Among these commentaries, there was one that gave a very dramatic character to immigration from Eastern European countries. As the journalists put it, “*The affected communities are overwhelmed completely!*” (Bild, January 9, 2014), thus giving a previously neutral answer from the labor minister an alarming character which embodies panic.

Curiously, contrary to journalistic statements, the EU press release provided information on the beneficial nature of mobile workers. It was said that such workers contribute to coping with labor shortages and take those positions where gaps are to be found. Moreover, such workers comprise a greater

proportion of people of working age, and thus through being employed in another country contribute to its welfare system (European Commission - Press release - End of restrictions on free movement of workers from Bulgaria and Romania - statement by László Andor, European Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, 2016).

Cultural dimension

Turning now to the cultural dimension of the presence of migrants in a host country, we would like to describe several trends that we have distinguished. Interestingly, little attention was given to expressions of culture such as the celebration of national holidays or the work and functions of diaspora cultural centers. One of the major trends that instead appeared during the analysis of the Russian press was the reduction of the cultural dimension to the issue of the changing moral settings of labor migrants. It was implied that in migrants viewed Russia as a country where it was possible to overstep the boundaries of decency, evidence of such discourse being found in both quality and tabloid press sources.

It was highlighted that that after moving to Russia labor migrants from Central Asia began to consume alcohol and eat pork, which are activities that are strictly forbidden in their religion. The tendency for female migrants to enter into extra-marital relationships followed by having children born out of wedlock was also described. The emphasis is put on the fact that in migrants' home countries all the acts mentioned above are considered extremely shameful and can lead to serious problems, whereas *"Here in Russia, everything is allowed"* (Komsomolskaya Pravda, December 1, 2014).

For a more detailed illustration, we would like to analyze an article published in "Ogonyok" which was dedicated to this particular aspect of the "private lives" of labor migrants. Within the commentary from the experts (whose identities were not given), it was said that the amount of *"ethnic brothels"* in Moscow is growing (Ogonyok, August 11, 2014). Moreover, this tendency was characterized as natural, considering the interdependency between the intensification of the flow of migrants and the increase demand for services connected to this, including the need for "intimate services". Attention was also given to special online resources set up for migrants who more mercenary motives for dating, besides all of them wanting to find a woman to marry for registration purposes. The authors also talk about alternative ways of earning money amongst male migrants, who join Internet groups offering sexual services to homosexuals. To legitimize the statement and underpin the amorality of the situation, the authors of the article cite a person of authority with a migrant background – the head of the "Interregional center for education of migrants" Mahsud Abduzhabbarov. He argues that when migrants come to Russia, they are free from fear of shaming themselves or their family who are far away. These people are therefore free to behave in any way they like and remain unpunished. In addition to the issues mentioned above, the authors introduce such problems as

the so-called “sms-divorce”, when labor migrants start relationships with women in Russia despite already having a family in their home country. Later, these men initiate divorce by sending a text message to their wife. The negative image of the migrants` actions is highlighted by the fact that in many cases these men leave wives who are pregnant or have children, and those initiating the divorce are sarcastically described as those who are “tired” of their wife.

We can therefore see how the negative image of labor migration is created through pointing the blame at the misuse of the host country by migrants for immoral activities. A level of stigmatization is achieved through the use of examples connected with socially disapproved practices such as prostitution or adultery, and this amplifies the argument that labor migrants do not pay respect to the host country and the norms and values of its citizens.

Disrespect towards women

In keeping with the issues related to the cultural dimension, i.e. the changing moral settings of migrants in Russia, we have detected an issue utilized by discourses in both countries. As opposed to change, the problematic view of adherence to certain religious principles, as observed by the journalists, was presented, the main issue of focus in the Russian and German articles being the perceived lack of respect from migrants towards the female population. Again, the ‘otherness’ of the minority group was marked by a confrontation of “our” civilized views and “their” backward behavior in accordance with Islam.

To illustrate this we would like to cite an article from “Ogonyok”: *“Migrants themselves often find Russian women easy to access and are actively looking for a Russian girlfriend: many local women have accommodation, so the migrant get sex and accommodation at the same time”* (Ogonyok, August 8, 2014). Here the disrespect is shown as the insolent perception of women from the majority group as a source of benefits. In the German press the evidence came from a policewoman from Bochum, who characterized the perception of women by Muslims as *“Go away, you’re a woman, you have nothing to say”* (Bild, April 5, 2014). The strategy behind the discourse described above is to spread the notion of unacceptable cultural differences between migrants and the host community, this being exacerbated by the projection of sexism or sexist beliefs on members of this community.

Cultural codes

Before moving on to summarizing the principal issues of the empirical part, we would like to present the cultural codes that were found to be the most common during analysis. Acknowledging the fact that representations and depictions made by two countries cannot be universal, we would like to examine what influence the cultural background of the two individual countries had on the representation of labor migration in each country.

In Russia cultural codes were tightly connected with the notion of traditions and the identity of Russians as Slavs. In the articles it was a common practice to present migrants from Central Asia of the Caucasus as outsiders from the majority group, calling them “*people of non-Slavic appearance*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, 2014), or dividing them from ‘fellow Slavs’: Ukrainians and Belarusians, who have good knowledge of Russian language and culture, and ‘Others’. The notion of Slavdom was also used for demonstrating the superiority of Russians, who as Slavs by characterized by their good health. Migrants in this case were linked with the threat of diseases, something described as typical for “*peoples of Transcaucasia and Central Asia*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, December 18, 2000).

It must be added that primarily in the discourse on labor migration, the status of Russia as a superior country was systematically underestimated. To this end Russia was presented as bread-winner, or ‘*kormilitsa*’ in Russian, the message being that, thanks to Russia, the countries that send migrants to Russia have a means of subsistence. As the capital of Russia Moscow was described as the most desirable destination for labor migrants, referring to it using the powerful metaphor “*[the] Center of the Universe*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, May 5, 2014). The opportunity of labor migration is therefore presented as a prestigious right for newcomers to Russia. Another perspective however portrayed labor migrants as lacking the necessary qualities for such privilege. In the article on the new integration measures by the Committee on International Relations this is conveyed through the rather normative saying that “*A good migrant must be cultured and kind. They must adopt these values from the moment they set foot in Saint Petersburg*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, Oktober 13, 2014). Besides the implication that culture and kindness have to be learnt by migrants, meaning that they do not already possess these characteristics in comparison with the local population, the word combination “good migrant” can be interpreted as an extreme view on current labor migrants, portraying them as undesirable given their low level of culture.

The notion that of labor migrants and Russian cultural wealth are mutually exclusive is also presented with a reference to historical memory connected with The Great Patriotic War (the Second World War). As articulated by one of the columnists, “*In the former Asian republics any traces of our common history, from the eternal flames to the names of the streets and cities, are being systematically and thoroughly destroyed (...) They fail to save our shared memory and certainly will not cherish the memory of Russian, entirely alien to them*” (Komsomolskaya Pravda, January 9, 2014). As we can see, the emphasis was placed on “common history” with an underscored purposefulness to the destruction of symbols which express memories of war and heroism. In this sense immigrants are presented as people lacking respect for the great achievements of Russian people and the country of Russia as a whole.

Among the German cultural codes examined in our analysis, collective historical memory was also to be found, but in a different way however. Following the historical past of Germany, in particular that of the Nazi regime, it was to be expected that any mention of Nazi ideology would be avoided in the German press. Nevertheless, the analysis of “Spiegel” publications in the year 2000 led to the discovery of several references to it, the first being found in an article on the murder of a migrant from Algeria. In reporting on the motives for the murder the focus was on the influence of Neo-Nazism. Interestingly it also mentioned another cultural code; that is to say, the historical division of Germany into East and West. As a matter of fact, the official reunification of Germany did not fully unify the two parts of the country, which is largely expressed in the form of socio-economic differences between them. In aforementioned article the Neo-Nazism was conveyed through the interpretation of it as a piece of “*East German heritage*” (Spiegel, 2000 / 17). By placing emphasis on the poor financial conditions of people in the East and the differences in their education, as well as using statistics on nationalist attitudes in this part of Germany, the authors of the article portrayed radical forms of intolerance as characteristic of “nationalist and right-wing oriented alternative society”, thus separating the majority from the notion of expressing negativity towards migrants. The same tactic, reflecting van Dijk’s idea that the topic of racism among the majority group is more likely to be reported when “it can be blamed on marginal in-group members (the “Others” among Us)” (van Dijk, 2001: 12), was employed in reporting on the rise of the “Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the West” (PEGIDA) movement in Germany in winter 2014. The discourse around this issue was based on finding someone to blame, later presented as leader of the movement Lutz Bachmann, who was repeatedly convicted for crimes such as drug trafficking, or followers of Kremlin politics embodying marginal characteristics. Thus, the hostile attitudes towards members of migrants’ group were presented as not common for the majority group representatives.

Additionally, we discover the cultural code that was used concerning the Nazis’ ideology but being used as a tool to oppose it. German articles used variations of the expression “*Volk ohne Raum*” or “people without space” in English. This expression originally came from the title of the novel by Hans Grimm, one of the most popular writers during the era of the “Third Reich”. The name of the book, which argues that without expanding its boundaries Germany will be at risk of extinction, was widely used by the Nazi regime for propagandist purposes. However, if Nazi propaganda used the term to legitimize the annexation of countries, thus implying that as a large nation Germans should possess more territories, modern journalistic discourses have reimagined the term as “*Raum ohne Volk*” (space without people). In the latter case, the slogan was used concerning immigration as a mean of battling demographic changes within Germany. For instance, in the article by “Spiegel” it was presented rather explicit through the dramatic scenario of Germany’s future “*Already in the very near future the country will be in urgent need of hundreds of thousands of immigrants to obtain its wealth, as it is undoubtedly clear that the population of Germany will shrink over the coming decades. According to reliable calculations*

by demographers, in 2050 there will only be 59 million Germans. The country is empty – it is a space without people.” (Spiegel, 2000 / 43). This modified metaphor, alongside the argument about the shifting demographic situation, actively contests the anti-migration discourse spread by other sources.

Despite the argument expressed in the previous discourse of migration as being unwanted, accounts arguing against still outweigh it. Similar to Russia being a desired (and desirable) destination for the labor migration, the reputation of Germany as a member of the European Union with a highly developed economy is a “pull” factor for labor migration from other countries. However, in the year 2014 a discourse of discontent with mass migration could be seen in the German press analyzed within this study. The cultural code that was employed here was connected to Grimms’ Fairy Tales, a collection of stories published by the Grimm brothers which has been widely used as a source of proverbs. The journalist referred to Germany as *“the land flowing with milk and honey”* (Bild, May 13, 2014) in order to indicate the discontent with rising numbers of migrants attracted by the country’s imaginary prosperity. Later on in the article we can see an example of a disclaimer when first he acknowledges that the situation is understandable, and every German would also look for employment in a country with higher economic status if they had vague or limited career and social prospects in their own country. The author adds later however that Germany is overwhelmed, suffering in particular from being the “Social service for the whole of the EU”, and thus German folklore is used as a way to introduce the argument of the burden that migration puts on Germany.

All things considered, the cultural codes employed by the German and Russian press were used to give added value to dominant views on labor migration. Russian discourse however appeared to be more self-centered compared to Germany, largely focusing on the superiority of Russia as a country.

3.4 Limitations of the study

As stated in the “Methodology and methods” section, our research was focused on two years – 2000 and 2014. However, due to restricted access to the “Bild” archives, the articles from the year 2000 published in this newspaper were not included in the sample, thus not allowing us to compare the changes in the discourse used by “Bild” over time. As for the analysis of cultural analysis, the fact that I am not German myself makes me acknowledge that certain cultural codes may have been overlooked. If we are to discuss more general aspects, it is possible that a greater time frame would have provided a more detailed view of the dynamic character of labor migration. Another attractive asset to the research could be the inclusion of other types of media in addition to print media, in order to examine what representations of labor migrants are present there. This however would have required a larger number and range of time sources.

Findings and conclusion

This study was conducted in order to provide insights into how and with what implications the Russian and German press represent labor migration. By employing critical discourse analysis and cultural critical discourse analysis of the representations of labor migration in Russian and German press in the years 2000 and 2014, I aimed to deconstruct what is put forward and what is concealed or given less prominence in media debates over migration, primarily guided by the questions: what categories emerge in the articles about labor migration? What rhetorical means are used in the representation of labor migration? How different actors are represented in the publications on labor migration and in which way do the cultural characteristics of Germany and Russia influence these representations?

Despite the extent of neutral or supportive representations of labor migration that were found mostly in quality press, with German quality press being the primary source of such publications, the evidence has shown labor migration is generally placed in negative framework. The initial analysis using the supportive versus oppressive scale as developed by Gavriely-Nuri demonstrates that Russian and German discourses are predominantly oppressive towards labor migration, pointing at the negative consequences of mobility, being vague in their accounts of migration and focusing on the perceptions of the problem shared by the majority groups, whilst at the same time excluding migrant perspectives.

In the chronological sense, we can observe how labor migration discourses experienced several shifts by comparing publications from the years 2000 and 2014. In Germany, there has been a change in the focus from labor migration being considered a desired practice to concerns about precarious work opportunities and the abuse of the social system. In Russia, the focus has shifted from labor migration being regarded as a developing issue to the extensive problematization of migration.

Whereas labor migrants in the two countries are different in their origin, there has been a trend, common to both Russia and Germany, that Muslim groups are more frequently represented in publications. In this sense their cultural differences are actively used for adding value to publications, bearing such news value as consonance and adherence to the stereotypes about a given group. Following this trend, the homogenization of labor migrants is often achieved not only by the use of religious indicators but also by the use of ethnic markers. Nevertheless, in their accounts of labor migrants, German print media sources seem more delicate when dealing with the issue, whereas the Russian press actively employs stereotypical names and notions to label migrants.

Another observation from my analysis is that German discourse presents the standpoints of political actors more strongly than the Russian discourse. However, it should be noted that in my sample it has been a common technique

in both countries to cite credible actors such as lawyers, scientists or members of social movements. In the Russian press, much attention was also paid to local citizens living in migration-affected cities, to underscore the relevance of the reported (critical) opinions.

As it has been stated before, labor migration has been predominantly represented through its negative implications. The most common subjects to discuss are illegal practices, abuse of the social system, and deviant cultural practices. It is visible not only in the headings of the publications but also in the use of diverse rhetoric tools, including metaphors and hyperbolic expressions, along with firmly placing certain issues, such as the abuse of the Hartz IV system in Germany, on the agenda. The analyzed discourses can therefore be seen as reinforcing the understanding of labor migrants as member of minority groups. Such cultivation is also reached through the active use of disclaimers by the members of receiving communities quoted in the press. The credible actors, despite showing initial sympathy for labor migrants, also make arguments which imply that migrants themselves are complicit in their alienation.

The final significant findings of the research deal with the decoding of the cultural codes embedded in the representations of labor migration in Russian and German print media. In Russia, a sense of belonging to Slavic groups and the idealized images of Russian cultural wealth, together with an emphasis on collective memory of the Great Patriotic War, are employed to pinpoint the acceptability of the marginalized position of labor migrants. The German discourse relies on counterposing Nazi ideology through modifying one of its slogans in order to normalize labor migration, yet cultural codes implying the undesirable character of migration and its consequences for the local population are also present. This is conveyed through references to the historical division of Germany into East and West, therefore shaping hostile attitudes towards migrants among the population of former East Germany, as well as the use of German proverbs to indicate the imaginary prosperity of the country, thus acting as a reason for mass immigration to Germany in particular.

Therefore, building on the account of the conducted research, I suggest that the Russian and German print media included in the sample tend to represent the issue of labor migration in a rather discriminatory way. After having analyzed different types of print media I conclude that “Komsomolskaya Pravda” is the most sensationalist news outlet and “Spiegel” is the most neutral and analytical, however I nonetheless argue that accounts of labor migration include many generalized claims and frame migration as highly problematic. Surprisingly, even within the positive initiatives connected with labor migration, contradictory attitudes towards human mobility are triggered as a result of it. Taking into account the current composition of labor migrants, and bearing in mind the potential of media discourses for the dissemination of ideologies within public discourse (van Dijk, 2006b), I assume that the analyzed sources contribute to hostile attitudes in society and reproduce general discontent with migration in both of the countries.

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Appendix I. Example of coding

Наемный работник не волк, но убежать не может[proverb / cultural].

Дата публикации: 16.10.2000

Авторы: Куфельд Вадим

Источник: Комсомольская правда Москва

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Для того, чтобы отремонтировать домик в Подмосковье, самый лучший и дешевый инструмент [**impersonal / comparison**] - **гастарбайтеры**. Люди они сколь неприятельные [**cheap labour**], столь и неуправляемые [uncivilized, negative]. Промозглый день. На обочине Ярославского шоссе, возле указателя "Мытищи", толпа. Человек сто, не меньше. Накрапывающий дождь, похоже, никого не трогает. Народ хмуро вглядывается в проносящиеся автомобили. Стоило сделать шаг по направлению к толпе, как от нее отделился мужик средних лет. И украдкой от остальных затрусил ко мне.

- Строить че надо, командир? - выдыхает он заученную скороговорку.

- А что вы умеете?

- Все, - оживляется работяга [**name**]. - А тебе что надо-то? По полной программе или так, подшаманить влегкую?

Приходится выдать ему заранее заготовленную "легенду". Мол, дом я летом отстроил, а теперь отделочкой дело запахло.

- Ну, это мы сообразим! - еще возбужденнее откликается мужик. - Я штукатур [**profession**]. Если еще нужны люди, я мигом ребят организую.

Поскольку "организация ребят" не входит в мои репортерские планы, "сбиваю" на разговор о ценах. Он раздражается тирадой, состоящей из цифр, которые в уме надлежит накладывать на квадратные метры. Молча киваю головой, хотя ни бельмеса не смыслю, выгодна ли мне его математика или нет.

Дальше наш разговор принимает еще более конкретный оборот. Мужик, оказывается, уже готов ехать в мой виртуальный особняк. Жить согласен в новострое. Поинтересовался, есть ли в доме окна. Инструмент у него с собой в издавшем виды рюкзаке. Я, в свою очередь, спрашиваю, имеется ли у него, жителя Украины [**country of origin**], временная регистрация на жительство в области. Работяга скисает:

- А зачем? Проблемы с ментами - за мой счет. Они по столынику с брата берут. Ну, так **[illegal / police]** что, едем?

Немалых трудов стоило отвязаться. Углубляюсь в самую гущу толпы. Таджики держатся организованнее, чем славяне **[Ethnicity / Slavic]**. У них даже есть некто вроде бригадира: коренастый усатый сородич по имени Игорь. Все переговоры только через него. Все без исключения работяги экипированы для немедленной работы.

Потенциальные наниматели останавливаются редко. За час лишь несколько машин, в которые спешно погрузились счастливицы, сторговавшие с новоиспеченными хозяевами. Остальные хмуро провожают их взглядами. Осень - не лучшее время для наемного рабочего. И он это понимает.

Паломники с мастерками в руках **[metaphor]**

Прошедшее лето было отмечено небывалым наплывом **гастарбайтеров** в Московскую область. Больше всего среди них было зарегистрировано граждан из стран СНГ-106 047 человек. По неофициальным данным, еще столько же. Это примерно в два раза больше, чем в прошлом году. Причем паломничество мастеровых **[metaphor]** начинается с мая. А отток на родные земли происходит сейчас, в октябре. Кроме жителей СНГ, есть среди наемных рабочих Подмосковья и русские, и вьетнамцы, и корейцы, и китайцы **[ethnicity]**. Чтобы читателю было понятно, к кому и зачем в Московскую область приезжает эта орда **[name, military, exaggeration]**, еще немного статистики. Сейчас в области насчитывается 555,7 тысячи личных подсобных хозяйств. Общее количество дачных участков достигает 1 млн. 863 тысяч. Индивидуальное строительство ведут 316,5 тысячи семей. Естественно, что в каждом таком хозяйстве нужны профессиональные рабочие руки. Впрочем, многие москвичи-дачники и жители Подмосковья время от времени подкидывают **гастарбайтерам** работенку. Построить забор, например, или настелить на крыше шифер. Это тоже приработок. Так что работы хватает на всех.

Холод не тетка **[proverb / modification]**

По словам начальника отдела по борьбе с преступлениями, связанными с иностранными гражданами, ГУВД Московской области Алексея Квасова, **гастарбайтеры** не замечены в связях с организованными преступными группировками. Ведут они себя в целом спокойнее, чем некоторые другие категории населения. Основным видом правонарушений у них является отсутствие регистрации **[illegal, crime]**. За шесть месяцев этого года были оштрафованы 26 тысяч рабочих-иностранцев **[numbers, credibility]**, не желающих становиться на учет по месту пребывания.

Впрочем, считать **гастарбайтеров** агнцами невинными **[metaphor]** было бы неверно **[disclaimer]**. Они и воруют, и убивают, и торгуют оружием **[crime / homoganization]**. Наиболее активными, причем по всем видам преступлений, являются жители Украины. Ну а если говорить, так сказать, о национальной

предрасположенности к тем или иным видам преступлений, то здесь отличаются таджики **[ethnicity]**, чаще других попадающие на торговле наркотиками (кражи и наркотики - самые популярные преступления среди иностранных рабочих) **[crime, no source, name]**.

В массе своей толчком к совершению преступления в среде **гастарбайтеров** являются элементарные желания: поесть или добраться домой. Нередки случаи, когда хозяева, пользуясь бесправием работника, или занижают ему зарплату, или "кидают" с деньгами совсем **[weak]**. Но наиболее остро нужду в средствах они чувствуют с окончанием лета. Было тепло - была работа. Стало холодно и сыро - работы нет. И нет денег. Тогда человек звереет и готов на все **[hyperbolic / dramatization]**.

Как уберечься от преступных намерений **гастарбайтеров**? **[threat]**

Работники ГУВД **[actors, police]** дают один совет: всем, кто так или иначе прибегает к помощи наемных рабочих, надо обязательно переписать их паспортные данные. Причем делать это внимательно, сверяя личность владельца с фотографией в документе. В противном случае выйти на след "нашкодивших" работяг будет трудно. А ведь многие дачники или жители Подмосковья, нанимая рабочих, ограничиваются лишь тем, что узнают их имена от них же самих.

ИЗ ДОСЬЕ "КП"

За восемь месяцев этого года иностранными гражданами в Московской области совершены следующие преступления: убийства - 46; изнасилования - 16; грабежи - 49; разбои - 63; кражи - 329; мошенничества - 61; незаконный оборот оружия - 33; незаконный оборот наркотиков - 380. **[crime / statistics /credibility]**

Наиболее криминогенными являются граждане: Украины - 679 человек совершили преступления за восемь месяцев 2000 года; Молдавии - 271; Таджикистана - 173; Грузии - 134; Азербайджана - 142 **[crime /credibility]**.

Фото:

Гастарбайтеры торгуют своими руками, сгрудившись в кучу на обочине шоссе, как проститутки **[name, offensive]**.

Appendix II. Examples of the components of discourse. Oppressive / Supportive polarisation

Positive	Concrete	Bilateral	Negative	Abstract	Unilateral
<p>fair in working and conscientious</p> <p>Germany is an immigration country</p> <p>Immigrants do this country [Germany] very well</p>	<p>Movements and residence rights, professional qualifications,</p> <p>Law against undeclared work</p> <p>The age restrictions for labor migrants have to be introduced</p>	<p>incalculable social consequences for people who leave their homes</p> <p>they had already experienced a lot of suffering</p>	<p>how many people are allowed to come into the Federal Republic and by what standards they are picked</p> <p>endanger public order and security</p> <p>they cannot find work</p> <p>criminal and radical foreigners</p> <p>social abuse</p> <p>been in predicament because of its cultural and religious origin</p>	<p>(...) to understand that it [labor migration] is inevitable and to find rules for making relations with each other</p> <p>It is necessary that they make investment in the country's GDP, feed their families and behave themselves</p> <p>endanger public order and security</p> <p>massive regulatory intervention is needed</p> <p>it is legitimate to worry</p> <p>The EU cannot be responsible for any misuse</p> <p>Advise to start working</p>	<p>We – Germans</p> <p>We cannot solve with Hartz IV in Germany the social problems in Bulgaria and Romania</p> <p>Our cities are left alone. The Federal government must intervene</p> <p>We should meet immigrants generously</p> <p>Russians comprehend only those who are open to us</p>

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