

## Frame Map of the Debate on Migration/Integration & Islam/Muslims in Germany

(Oct 2019-October 2020)

Developed for the RESET Project

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### 1. Introduction

#### *What is this frame map and why?*

This document provides an overview and breakdown of the dominant narrative lines or frames in the public debate on social media around the issue Migration/Integration & Islam/Muslims in Germany from October 30, 2019 to October 30, 2020. This map was developed based on a social media analysis conducted by Bakamo Social<sup>1</sup> and commissioned by ICPA for the RESET project<sup>2</sup>.

By mapping the landscape of the debate, this tool is intended to provide a baseline and a resource to prepare campaigners to enter this often challenging and emotional public discussion. More specifically, we hope that campaigners wishing to enter and/or reframe the debate will be able to:

- Get an in-depth understanding of the full range of frames across the debate
- Understand the messages, stories, triggers and emotional appeals that drive these main existing narratives or frames

And therefore:

- Have an informed starting point to planning an advocacy campaign targeting the public
- Recognise and have the insight to analyse the campaigns and arguments of other actors
- Have a basis to prepare a reaction to various frames in the argument
- Get insight to lead them towards a reframing approach in their own advocacy work
- See this map as a stepping-stone to the broader ICPA reframing migration toolkit<sup>3</sup>, which will provide further guidance for a reframing-based advocacy process.

#### *How was the frame map developed?*

As mentioned above, this frame map is built on the data provided by a social media analysis of the migration/integration debate in Germany with a special focus on the narratives around Islam and Muslims, which analysed 4.1 million public posts over 1 year. Using Internet scraping technology, Bakamo did an analysis of publicly shared posts on blogs, forums, comments sections of media websites and on social media sites (e.g. on twitter, Instagram) to identify and analyse the dominant narratives or frames and the value appeals that are made in each frame, i.e. why is a particular story is argued to be important in the debate.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.bakamosocial.com>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.narrativechange.org/reset>

<sup>3</sup> [www.narrativechange.org](http://www.narrativechange.org)

Based on this initial analysis, the ICPA Research & Evaluation Hub then worked to take the results of the analysis to a frame level and the seven identified narrative frames that make up the core elements of dominant discourse are presented in this paper.

Having previously commissioned similar social listening studies from Bakamo, we recognise both advantages and limitations of the methodology used to produce the map. These are the following:

- This is a listening, not asking technology<sup>4</sup> and so gets over the social politeness of polling or focus groups.
- In comparison to other discourse analysis approaches, this method is not an analysis of the political or opinion leader text, but the public response to these texts in media, blogs, forums and social media platforms. This is really important for those who want to engage the public debate.
- However, as we have seen in our previous work & proven by partners who work in this field<sup>5</sup>, the social media debate tends to be more polarised and emotional than regular polling would suggest. Nevertheless, preparing for this more polarised debate may be useful, as much campaigning work starts online and the segments of the public who react to campaigns and turn up at even offline events are the more engaged and committed and so may bring these more angry opinions.

**An important disclaimer** – the original Bakamo study was developed based on a grounded-theory approach of reporting what was found in the analysis, and indeed there are some difficult and nasty positions in the study and reflected in this map. **We have made no attempt to justify, refute or analyse the rationale for the positions outlined here, whether on the pro or anti side of the debate.** It is simply that we feel that it is a useful (and indeed sobering) starting point for campaigners to see the whole picture before entering the debate. This approach is built on the one our key lessons from supporting this work: “Understanding does not equal agreement”<sup>6</sup>.

### What is covered in this frame map?

Firstly, we introduce the seven most common frames identified in the discourse. Then we break them down to provide more insight into each. Building on key framing insights and the approaches of other analysts<sup>7</sup>, we break down each of the frames to cover the following elements:

- Frame title
- The main lines in the frame
- A Frame Summary box which covers the Actors involved, Problem, Solution, Common Value appeals made (why the issue is said to be important)

<sup>4</sup> Please note that only posts that are marked as ‘public’ by the public are analysed, e.g. most Facebook posts are not available, as the default for most users is just to share with friends.

<sup>5</sup> Hope not hate, British Future

<sup>6</sup> See key 5: <https://www.narrativechange.org/toolkit/core-lessons>

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Counterpoint (2014) Responding to Populist Rhetoric: A Guide. Available Online: <http://counterpoint.uk.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Responding-to-Populist-Rhetoric-A-Guide.pdf> & Frameworks Institute (2014) Building Public Understanding of Comprehensive Immigration Reform: A Communications Toolkit. Available online: <http://www.frameworksinstitute.org/toolkits/immigration/>

- How the story is usually told
- Examples of social media posts in the frame
- Common triggers for this frame

You may notice that there is some overlap in the elements argued in different frames. However, the key thing from a framing perspective is that the overall story is different from problem to solution to actors to values. And empirically it is clear that these frames are the main drivers and seeing the frames broken out is a useful way to see the whole and the detail of narrative picture. But we also recognise that people use these stories/frames in a very fluid way.

Last thing to note is that we did not get updated data on triggers in the 2020 analysis, but have built on the common triggers identified for these frames in the past.

### **What is not included?**

As the name would imply, this map literally lays out and explains the main lines of argument used in the debate around migration and integration in 2019/2020 in Germany. It does not tell you how to respond to these various arguments or how campaigners use and/or refute these arguments in the campaigns. However, the steps in the ICPA toolkit will help you to understand how to operate in a public debate tied to such frames. So please do consult the other parts of the toolkit for cases and insights into how to go about reframing and structuring your campaigns and responses<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> [www.narrativechange.org](http://www.narrativechange.org)

## 2. Overview of the 7 frames identified

Based on the commissioned analysis of public posts on social media of migration & integration debate in Germany (Oct 30, 2019 - Oct 30, 2020), the following 7 frames were identified as the dominant stories/positions in the discourse:

1. parallel society
2. us v them
3. openness
4. instability
5. diversity
6. deprivation
7. pragmatism

The main lines in each of these frames are summarized in the table below.

<b>1. parallel society</b>	<b>2. us v them</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• integration not working/ possible</li> <li>• migrants not trying to integrate</li> <li>• not adopting German values/culture</li> <li>• Islam as a barrier</li> <li>• loss of social cohesion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Islamisation</li> <li>• headscarf &amp; forced marriages as oppression</li> <li>• threatening democracy, freedom of speech &amp; religion/secularism</li> <li>• threat to gender equality &amp; LGBT rights</li> </ul>
<b>3. openness</b>	<b>4. instability</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• humanitarianism/human rights</li> <li>• solidarity for persecuted Muslims abroad</li> <li>• willingness to accept migrants</li> <li>• integration can work &amp; migrants need more support</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• new waves of migrants from Muslim countries in conflict</li> <li>• further terrorism</li> <li>• losing everyday order &amp; rule of law</li> <li>• Muslim communities not following COVID 19 guidelines</li> </ul>
<b>5. diversity</b>	<b>6. deprivation</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• multiculturalism enriches society</li> <li>• Islam is a religion of peace</li> <li>• Muslims need to be protected from discrimination &amp; the far right</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• burden on the economy and welfare budgets</li> <li>• stretching the capacity of the system</li> <li>• German families &amp; businesses suffering</li> </ul>
<b>7. pragmatism</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Settled migrants contribute</li> <li>• Add to economic prosperity</li> <li>• Economy strong enough to handle change</li> </ul>	

Each of the frames is broken down in detail in the rest of the document.

## FRAME 1: PARALLEL SOCIETY

### Key messages/lines in the frame:

#### 2021

- Integration not working nor possible
- Migrants not making efforts to integrate
- Not adopting German language, values and culture
- Islam a barrier to integration
- Loss of social cohesion

### Summary of the frame:

<i>Actors</i>	Unintegrated migrant communities; Teachers struggling to engage Muslim students; Refugees who have not learned German; Blind liberal politicians who claim that integration is working; No-go zones in cities
<i>Problem</i>	Islam is a major barrier to integration, meaning that many migrant communities are living detached from society and failing to learn German language, customs and culture. They will never become part of mainstream society and so undermine social cohesion.
<i>Solution</i>	Stricter, more assimilatory integration policies, accept fewer migrants from Muslim countries, ban teaching of Islam and Arabic in schools
<i>Value appeals made – or why is the issue said to be important?</i>	Social cohesion, stability, safety in cities, respect for national language and culture, importance of making an effort, fatalism

### How is the story usually told?

This popular anti-migrant, anti-Islam story is normally argued as follows: Migrants who have come to Germany are living in self-contained communities, continuing their lives as they did in their home country, without interest in or need to integrate with the rest of society. Many are not learning German and are disinterested in the culture. Islam in particular is a barrier to integration because it does not respect other faiths and cultures, causing reluctance to mix with Germans. Such statements are often backed up by encounters with Muslims, which proponents of this argument believe demonstrate that they are unreachable and detached. Ultimately, the perceived decision of migrants and Muslims to live in parallel societies is seen as the cause of social fragmentation and tension.

### Examples of social media posts in the frame

#### Separation

- “ "At some point the process is irreversible", says a Berlin headmistress, "Large parts of my students live in a parallel society that we can no longer reach" - teachers warn that Islamism has long been present in school" - Twitter, 2020

- “I see these muslim quarters in cities and it’s like they don’t make any effort to integrate, they just continue to live their lives as they did in their home countries. I feel like we are being slowly conquered by Islam.” - Facebook, 2019

#### Not making an effort

- “I worked with a refugee from Iran for two and a half years. And I can tell you that everyone who just wants to come here is the one who is too lazy at home to improve their lives there.” - Forums, 2020

#### Islam

- “For people from Europe and America, this means assimilate among the Germans to integrate. For immigrants from Africa and the Middle East, this means the reluctance to integrate, #Islamisierung Germany and the black / Turkish / Arabic ghetto” - Twitter, 2020
- “The evidence that ISLAM NOT integrate .... it doesn’t recognize other faiths and cultures ... why don’t you recognise this radicality?” - Twitter, 2020
- “Practiced islam + tribal culture; such people will never integrate. There should be no place for them in Europe.” - Disqus, 2020

#### How is the frame commonly triggered?

- References to migrant districts in Berlin and other German cities
- Stories of teachers struggling to teach Muslim students
- Stories of public services having to offer support in other languages
- References to well-known migrant districts in Paris, Moolenbeck, Brussels (so-called ‘No Go’ Zones by the populists)

## FRAME 2: “US” VERSUS “THEM”

### Key messages/lines in the frame:

- Islamisation
- Headscarf and forced marriages as oppression
- Threat to democracy, freedom of speech and religion/secularism
- Threat to gender equality and LGBTQ+ rights

### Summary of the frame:

<i>Actors</i>	Large numbers of migrants from abroad bringing a foreign culture; Foolish liberals (like Merkel) and EU politicians holding open the door; Oppressive religious male figures; Oppressed Muslim women; Brave campaigners warning against Islamisation
<i>Problem</i>	Large populations from the Middle East and Africa present a threat to German and European cultural norms, customs and practices. The resulting Islamisation would cause social decline.
<i>Solution</i>	Isolation, building fences, Muslim ban, deporting people, preventing mosques being built.
<i>Value appeals made – or why is the issue said to be important?</i>	Nativism, gender equality, secularism, freedom of speech and religion, democracy, rule of law, social cohesion

### How is the story usually told?

Building on a very old frame of orientalism that historically has had a lot of traction, this classical ‘othering’ frame is built around an invasion and ‘clash of cultures’ line. Much of the discussion focuses on the prediction of an increasing influence and even forcing of Arabic and Islamic cultural norms on German public life, with a view that this will lead to some zero-sum game outcome, i.e. ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’.

The story is told like this: Western Europe is locked in a culture clash between its traditional Christian and secular values and the conflicting values of migrants who are bringing Islam with its customs and laws. (In this frame, migrants are assumed to be Muslim.) German communities now hear the call to prayer from local mosques and see halal food in their canteens. There is a risk that Islam will win out over German culture because of ongoing migration and high birth rates in migrant communities. This could result in the decline of German society, the imposition of Sharia Law and the undermining of cherished rights and freedoms including: equality for women, LGBTQ+ rights and the protection of Jewish communities from anti-Semitism. Freedom of speech and religion will be impaired, threatening democracy itself.

## Examples of social media posts in the frame

### Islamization

- “The #Mezzin is symbolically charged and underlines an Islamic claim to expansion. The #AfD is the only party that speaks out clearly against the muezzin in our cities and communities, because it questions our growing cultural imprint! #CarlofuerGL” - Twitter, 2020
- “Islamization is the main problem facing western states. Because 10% of all people in Europe are already Islamic ... at some point the entire continent will be islamised and at the level of the Third World...” - Forums, 2020
- “Islamization is not a right-wing conspiracy theory. The percentage of Muslims is rising continuously due to the birth rate, even without migration. A Muslim society with a blasphemy law etc. would contradict my values. You don't have to be a Nazi to see this.” - Disqus, 2020

### Contradicting German values

- “Islam is no race but an ideology! Not a particularly peaceful one. One that sees women as inferior, and that brings death to homosexuals and infidels wherever Islam can..” - Twitter, 2020
- ““Sharia courts” already exists in England and they regulate many Muslim affairs. Women are forced by their families or husbands to seek Sharia Courts in the event of divorce dispute and no courts, by many disadvantages arise for these women.” - Disqus, 2020
- “When I ask around my Jewish circle of acquaintances, they all say the same thing: violence against Jews comes exclusively from Muslims.” - Twitter, 2020

## How is the frame commonly triggered?

- Stories/pictures of women in mosques and wearing headscarves
- Stories of the treatment of women in Islamic societies
- Images of large, traditional Muslim families
- Stories of Sharia Law being applied in Europe
- References to AfD, other populist leaders/parties and the ‘Christian Europe’ agenda

### FRAME 3: OPENNESS

#### Key messages/lines in the frame:

- Humanitarianism / human rights
- Solidarity for persecuted Muslims abroad
- Willingness to accept migrants
- Integration can work – migrants just need more support

#### Summary of the frame:

<i>Actors</i>	Refugees escaping genocide and persecution; Other countries that turn a blind eye and reject asylum seekers; humane Germany accepting migrants and helping them become German
<i>Problem</i>	With migrants that are victims of oppression and persecution who are fleeing to safety, we cannot just stand by and do nothing
<i>Solution</i>	Remain open, settle refugees in Germany, provide them with services, support and jobs, support them to learn German and integrate fully
<i>Value appeals made – or why is the issue said to be important?</i>	Human rights, morality, compassion, religious liberty, solidarity / brotherhood, social cohesion, opportunity, fairness

#### How is the story usually told?

Migrants coming to Europe are fleeing oppressive regimes, genocide and religious persecution. We risk repeating moral failings of the past by closing our eyes to these crimes against humanity. Germany should stand up for human rights and continue accepting migrants, for no-one should be persecuted for their religion. If education, therapy, care and support are provided for migrants, then they will integrate successfully. Many will jump at the opportunity to learn German, be grateful to live here, and in time become assimilated. Where this has not been the case, it is because the government has not provided the necessary programmes of support, leaving migrants no choice but to retreat into their own communities.

#### Examples of social media posts in the frame

##### Humanitarianism

- “#Srebrenica was one of many genocides next door, facing Western civilization to close her eyes, because the victims were Muslims. 1. Palestine 🇵🇸, Myanmar 🇲🇲, Syria 🇸🇪 are three more where it is not different today.” - Facebook, 2020

##### Providing support

- “The state should be more helping in providing immigrants with jobs, so they don’t stick only to job opportunities given by their own communities, which will only grow stronger this way, decreasing their need to integrate even further.” - Twitter, 2019
- “It offers education for kids, sports, therapies and health services for people who need it. Pipka is a good example how Europe can solve acceptance of refugees in a humane, personal and in line with the law. ” - Forums, 2020
- “Have you ever asked about the background, why the situation is like this? Day after day I see how refugees have to run the gauntlet and are denied the chance of integration. Sure, would you offer German courses? Because there is not enough.” - Twitter, 2019

#### Integration

- “I believe many of them are hardworking people that are willing to learn and to integrate if given the opportunity” - Disqus, 2019
- “I know many well- integrated Turks who speak German without an accent. These are the "Ataturks". The ... other than that, the Italians are all assimilated. I don't know any "Italian ghettos" or Italians who ...” - Forums, 2019

#### How is the frame commonly triggered?

- References to Germany accepting 1m refugees in 2015
- Stories/Pictures of injured victims from ongoing conflict or persecution
- Pictures of bombed towns/cities
- Pictures of squalid refugee camp life
- Pictures of overcrowded boats
- Pictures of volunteer aid workers and NGOs boats saving refugees in the Mediterranean

## FRAME 4: INSTABILITY

### Key messages/lines in the frame:

#### Key topics

- Risk of new waves of migrants from Muslim countries in conflict
- Further terrorism
- Losing everyday order and rule of law
- Muslim communities not following Covid-19 guidelines

### Summary of the frame:

<i>Actors</i>	Refugees from ongoing conflicts; Muslim terrorists posing as / hiding among asylum seekers; Overwhelmed police and security forces; Muslim communities not following the rules; German victims of attacks and crimes
<i>Problem</i>	Ongoing conflicts in the middle-east and elsewhere will bring further influx of refugees from Muslim countries. They could be criminals or terrorists sent to steal, attack, radicalise and destabilise the country. Muslim communities seem to live by their own rules and maybe harbouring extremists.
<i>Solution</i>	More thorough screening of migrants, stronger security, suspending rights of suspects, closing borders.
<i>Value appeals made – or why is the issue said to be important?</i>	Security, safety, protection, rule of law, everyday order

### How is the story usually told?

This narrative begins from the idea that there are too many refugees/migrants who we know little about that maybe terrorists or criminals. Stories about terrorist attacks, sexual assaults and violence are the usual trigger for this frame with the perpetrators sent by foreign actors to terrorise, radicalise youth and/or commit crime. A common element of this narrative is also about foreigners bringing disease and echoes of this frame can be heard in much of rhetoric around COVID 19, with specific accusations being made that muslim communities are not following the rules.

The longer-term danger is the escalation of crime and radical Islam, whereby the security forces begin to lose control and ultimately, this leads to a loss of safety/security and public order. The story leads to discussions of stronger border controls and security responses and constraining numbers of migrants and asylum seekers.

### Examples of social media posts in the frame:

*Links to crime and terrorism*

- “It is not about “#migration background”, but about crime and Islamization. #MerkelMussWeg” - Twitter, 2020
- “Is a diverse mercenary troop from many countries and has mainly killed moslems / arabs chillts amal with the burqa mimimi. What do you think why normal arabs fled here?” - Youtube, 2019

### *Illegals*

- “People come here without ID cards and all they are asked is that where they come from... clearly all 90% of them lose their papers on the way. But we should not be so nice and say Ok or whatever ... if they are not let in they will simply try somewhere else. Who comes here without papers has no right for asylum, it is that simple. And the people who are already here should be arrested, theoretically” – 2016

### *Breaking Covid-19 rules*

- “Corona Clusters , Anti-Corona Demos, Hotels, Restaurants and Co. Proven Corona Clusters, Turkish weddings and refugee homes . PS work as well as religion protects against corona! Something is wrong with the measures!?” - Forums, 2020
- “Cluster in #Innsbruck : In at least 15 of the new #Corona cases there is a direct or indirect connection with the Somali community - second refugee home is isolated!” - Twitter, 2020

### **How is this frame commonly triggered?**

- Stories/Pictures of terrorist attacks in Europe
- Stories/Pictures of terrorists and ISIS
- Pictures of refugee crowds, camps & chaos
- Pictures of large groups meeting during Covid-19 pandemic

## FRAME 5: DIVERSITY

### Key messages/lines in the frame:

#### 2020

- Multiculturalism enriches society
- Islam is a religion of peace
- Muslims need to be protected from discrimination and the far-right

### Summary of the frame:

<i>Actors</i>	Culturally lively migrant communities; Liberal Muslims; Far-right politicians and supporters; Racists and Islamophobes; People defending Muslims from everyday discrimination
<i>Problem</i>	Germany needs more diversity and it's not migrants or Muslims who are the problem, but the far-right.
<i>Solution</i>	More public celebration of diverse cultures and religions, and outright condemnation of far-right politicians as racist will help build a better and more tolerant society
<i>Value appeals made – or why is the issue said to be important?</i>	Diversity, tolerance, peace, social cohesion, tradition/heritage, religious liberty, human rights

### How is the story usually told?

Germany would become culturally richer if we were able to appreciate and celebrate the heritage and traditions which migrants bring to our country. Islam has been misinterpreted as violent and barbaric when it is actually a peaceful, sophisticated religion with liberal Muslims too. We should not be afraid of Islam. It is an outrage that Muslims living in Germany face everyday discrimination and abuse. Perpetrators of abuse and even passive witnesses risk repeating the mistakes of the past. Muslims are the new Jews, who must be supported and protected from the far-right.

### Examples of social media posts in the frame

#### Multiculturalism

- “Why not live NEXT to each other peacefully? Would be great to see a little middle east in the neighbourhood with nice halal food and a turkish market maybe?” - Twitter, 2020
- “I understand your point, but do they really have to forget their heritage and become German only with a darker skin? We could learn and enjoy their culture as well.” - Forums, 2019

Islam is a peaceful religion

- “Islam if interpreted correctly is a peaceful religion. Just like Christianity. Belonging to a religion does not make it impossible for a normal person to integrate.” - Forums, 2020
- “There are liberals amongst Muslims as well. They should be heard so they can address problems, educate, and reform their community. This way Europeans wouldn’t be scared of Islamisation etc..” - Forums, 2020

#### Discrimination

- “It is not only the bullets that have hit people, but also the negative public tag as migrants, as Muslims, the experience of exclusion and the perceived impotence towards everyday racism.” - Twitter, 2020
- “Mothers with #Headscarf should not be allowed to take children to school? This #Islamfeindlichkeit is highly inhumane! Where is the outcry of those who always say "Never again" ??? Perhaps the next Hitler will come from France. ....” - Twitter, 2020

#### How is the frame commonly triggered?

- Stories/Pictures of Berlin as a cosmopolitan, international, integrated city
- Pictures of ethnically & racially diverse school kids & sports teams
- Stories/Pictures of political representatives with a migration background (e.g. Sadiq Khan, Mayor of London).
- Stories of working multicultural communities, e.g. UK/US

## FRAME 6: DEPRIVATION

### Key messages/lines in the frame:

- Burden on the economy and welfare budgets
- Stretching the capacity of the system
- German families & businesses suffering
- Losing economic advantage

### Summary of the frame:

<i>Actors</i>	Noble taxpayers; Struggling German families and small business owners; Undeserving migrants; Naïve do-gooders and liberal politicians
<i>Problem</i>	Welfare benefits, services and job opportunities will be taken away from the deserving local poor and given to migrants instead. Taxes will keep increasing to pay for the rising cost of refugees. Germany is getting into debt and can't afford all this migration.
<i>Solution</i>	Controlling numbers of migrants, restricting access to citizenship and thereby services, sending migrants home, cutting spending on refugees and cutting taxes.
<i>Value appeals made – or why is the issue said to be important?</i>	Nativism, welfare, fairness, economic security, financial prudence, capacity of the country

### How is the story usually told?

Liberal and left-wing politicians who welcome migrants into Germany have no idea of the economic reality on the ground and how much Germans are already struggling. High taxes, low wages and the costs of everyday life put small businesses and German workers under immense financial pressure. Migrants are jumping to the head of the queue and taking from the limited opportunity and welfare pie. German families are suffering while Merkel's asylum seekers continue to get preferential treatment in jobs and social services. The costs of looking after refugees are extraordinarily high and German taxpayers cannot afford to keep paying for it, especially when more will be attracted to come here.

### Examples of social media posts in the frame

#### Burden on the economy

- "This "woman" is the worst that could happen to Germany! We pay with blood and billions for their bad decisions [...] Financial scientist Bernd Raffelhüschen estimates that every refugee costs the state 450,000 euros on balance in his lifetime [...] Even the Heinrich Böll Foundation, which is close to the Greens, counts with costs of 400 billion euros if the refugees are not quickly integrated into the market. Conclusion: It

was indeed an expensive year with Merkel. Germany will moan for generations under her legacy. What was the Chancellor's official oath again?" - Youtube, 2019

- "This will probably not remain at this number. Then comes family reunification, etc. Naive do-gooders naturally don't think about what this will cost the taxpayer in the long term (accommodation, asylum procedures...). If do-gooders had to pay for it at their own charge, it would be quiet." - Twitter, 2020

### Struggling Germans

- "Politicians in Berlin do not even notice what is happening in the population, how the workers and small business owners are more and more ruined with super high taxes and duties and bureaucracy and therefore more and more smaller companies have to close. I know three small businesses from my neighbourhood who have therefore gone bankrupt [...] then Ms. Merkel let in all Muslim refugees in 2015. Where's this going to end? What it all costs!! The state already has a debt of around 4500 billion euros." - Forums, 2020
- "Rent, food, clothes, electricity and work every day for a starvation wage and Merkel and her asylum seekers are doing very well while in many German households prevails need. Merkel, I tell you, you are the last one here with us and only blind media admires you". - Twitter, 2020

### Preferential treatment

- "I can understand the anger. Since houses are built for huge sums for refugees, who get everything from the state on a platter, the same state that does nothing for its own residents e.g. the homeless. Families have to evacuate homes just to make space, even if they have lived there for more than ten years. My grandpa has a rental home and the city wants to deploy there an accommodation for refugees and so on" – 2016
- "The admission of unaccompanied minor refugees cost around EUR 3.95 billion in 2017. On average, the German authorities pay € 5,250 per person every month. The average disability pension is less than 720 euros!" - Twitter, 2020

### How is the frame commonly triggered?

- Graphs/Stories of distribution of welfare and opportunity between 'natives' and 'immigrants'
- Stories/Pictures of crowds and queues for public services
- Stories/Pictures of people receiving humanitarian aid
- Stories of new spending on migration/integration programmes

## FRAME 7: PRAGMATISM

### Key messages/lines in the frame:

- Settled migrants contribute
- Add to economic prosperity
- Economy is strong enough to handle change

### Summary of the frame:

<i>Actors</i>	Hardworking migrants and refugee entrepreneurs; Business leaders; Economic experts; Economically liberal politicians
<i>Problem</i>	Germany has gaps in its workforce through missing skills and manpower for low level jobs, which could weaken the economy.
<i>Solution</i>	Accepting skilled and hardworking migrants is the long-term solution to maintaining Germany's economic prosperity.
<i>Value appeals made – or why is the issue said to be important?</i>	Prosperity, abundance, liberalism / globalisation, economic strength, respect for hard work

### How is the story usually told?

Migrants who come to German have proven to be diligent, hardworking and entrepreneurial. Far from being a burden, they work, pay taxes and help grow the economy. They are prepared to work longer hours in tougher jobs than many Germans, filling gaps in the job market for employers. The German economy is strong and adaptable, so it is able to respond to the changes brought by migration, turning it to our economic advantage.

### Examples of social media posts in the frame

#### Migrant contribution

- “Most asylum seekers work and pay taxes.” - Twitter, 2019
- “Shopping on Sunday. A corner shop behind "platform 36". Managed by a syrian refugee-family. Maybe an Afd-Hero would like to work 7 days a week from 7am till 10pm?” - Forums, 2019
- “I am happy to live in this country. I have trained one of these refugees to be an electrician. The boy does good work. He earns his own money, puts no burden on anyone.” - Disqus, 2019

#### Germany's economic strength

- “Because we do not experience a flood of refugees in Germany. The flood would be destructive but the storm of refugees is completely adjustable for Germany. It's not a disaster, it's great that we can take in so many people without any major problems.” - Forums, 2020

- “Well-integrated immigrants strengthen our society, pay taxes and fill the social funds. The stock of teachers and social workers needs to be increased. Sure, it costs money, but is a fruitful investment in the future” – 2016

#### **How is the frame commonly triggered?**

- Stories of contributing migrant populations
- Stories/Pictures of successful entrepreneurial migrants
- Stories of successful industries that employ a high number of migrant workers and have done so for a long time