

CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES HAMBURG



CIS PAPERS

No. 12

**Illustration of East-West Labour
Migration in French, German, Polish
and Romanian Press**

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Gawronska/ Marc Holt/ Kristin Vorbohle**

August 2006

<http://www.hwp-hamburg.de/cis/>



UNIVERSITY OF HAMBURG

The CIS – Discussion Papers are published on an irregular basis by:

Centre of International Studies
University of Hamburg
Von-Melle-Park 9

D-20146 Hamburg

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Citation:

CIS Papers, Centre of International Studies Hamburg

Research paper developed in the working groups of the Master programme European Studies

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Title

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German, Polish and Romanian Press**

Summerterm 2005

30.09.2005

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ANNEX

Common questionnaire for the analysis of articles

1. Relevance of topic

1.1 Labour migration in context of eastern enlargement

The topic of labour migration has always been an important topic in the European Union, especially after the recent eastern enlargement. Although the eastern enlargement has had many aspects, the topic of labour migration has attracted the most importance.

Due to the eastern enlargement on May 1st 2004, labour migration has become more and more present in the public discussion, especially in the printing press. The authors expect a point of view, which differs between the eastern and the western countries of the European Union¹. This gives reason to analyse the illustration of east-west labour migration in French, German, Polish and Romanian press. For that purpose, the western countries of the EU (France and Germany) and the eastern countries (Poland and Romania) are considered in this paper.

Concerning the term labour migration the authors agreed upon that due to the vast amount of definitions found in the literature, labour migration in the context of this paper is defined as movement of people to a foreign country out of economic reasons, which includes both employment and self-employment. The duration of residence is considered unimportant. Temporary as well as permanent migration is considered. Additionally, of main importance is not quantitative statistical data, like figures on cross-boarder movement, but rather the representation of the migration in the printing press.

1.2 Impact of Printing Press

The sound development of democratic society depends on the ability of the press to secure free access to information and freedom of expression. It also depends on the ability of the press to fulfil the role of a public watchdog.

“Despite being a relatively recent development, the mass media plays a crucial role in forming and reflecting public opinion. It communicates the world to individuals, and it reproduces modern society's self-image” (Wikipedia 2005). Since the printing press plays such an important role in a modern democracy and has wide diffusion in its member states (which will be stated more precisely), it has significant impact on the image of migrants.

According to Marshall McLuhan's statement “media is the message” (McLuhan 2005) special emphasis is put on the type of media: more than only conveying the message, the media even shapes it. Therefore, the authors' aim is to give the reader an impression of the impact of the printing press on the creation of images of migrants. Moreover, the huge impact of the printing press on society becomes obvious by the existence of national and international codes of conduct, whose aim is to ensure the abidance to moral standards.

¹ Since Romania is one of the applicant countries and most likely to enter in 2007, we assume it to be part of the EU in this paper.

2. Methodology

Within the framework of this paper the authors are going to analyse the east-west labour migration in French, German, Polish and Romanian press. In order to narrow the broad scope of the topic down the authors agreed upon the following methodology.

First, the choice of the countries, in which the newspapers are published, refers to the authors' land of origin – France, Germany, Poland and Romania. Moreover, the chosen countries represent two old, one new member state and one accession state of the European Union. Second, the time frame of analysis has been limited to the last two years (August 15th 2003 to August 15th 2005). Third, within this time frame every author chooses a reasonable number of articles from daily national newspapers. Among these newspapers published in the four countries, the two or three largest in edition have been chosen. The third one will only be added if the authors do not find enough relevant articles for the topic of our research.

The research is conducted online by consulting the archives of the newspapers. In a first step the search function of the archive is used by entering general keywords on the topic. These terms are: migration, immigration, emigration, emigrants, immigrants, labour, labour migration, Eastern Europe, new member states, accession states. All terms are used in the national languages of the newspapers. As some of these terms cannot be exactly translated into all languages differing results can not be avoided. All terms are firstly entered as a single word search, followed by a connection of two or more terms which are searched for with an “and”-operator. The authors examine the search results and aim to isolate the relevant national sub-topics of east-west labour migration within the timeframe considered. Moreover, each author decides to analyse one or more sub-topics, which he considers the most relevant. Further particularities and difficulties concerning the selection of the articles are mentioned in the specific parts of chapter three.

For the examination of the articles a common questionnaire, compiled by the authors, is utilised. The questionnaire is attached at the end of this paper.

After the two chapters about the relevance of the topic and the methodology the national press of the four countries will be analysed in chapter three. Codes of conduct and the responsibility of the press are considered in chapter four. Finally, a conclusion is given.

3. Analysis of national Written Press

3.1 Overview of Written Press

3.1.1 France

The Golden Age of the daily written press in France was at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. This zenith was enabled by the absence of a serious competition which appears later on with the development of the radio and the television.

Today, in spite of the competition of the new Medias, the French print press seems to be quite dynamic. One of the main sources of information is the “Nouvelles Messageries de la Presse Parisienne” (NMPP)², one of the two companies, together with “Transport Presse” that distribute the national newspapers to the selling points. The NMPP

² <http://www.nmpp.fr/index.htm>

represent the newspapers of 740 publishers. In 2003 they treated 3500 newspapers and distributed 2.5 billions copies (all categories).

However, for about twenty years the daily French newspapers have been going through a deep crisis in comparison with the other Medias (radio, TV, Internet ...) but also in comparison with the other kinds of newspapers (weekly magazines in particular are especially flourishing in France). For a few years many discussions focused on two main new competitors: Internet and the press given for free in the underground (*Metro* and *20 Minutes* in Paris, *Lille plus* in Lille, *Marseille plus* in Marseille ...).

Moreover, as mentioned above, among the press the traditional daily newspapers (intellectual or not) are not very popular in France. Whereas the Germans still read a lot of daily newspapers³, the French readers prefer the weekly magazine press (prepared with a more beautiful and expensive paper, more pictures like *Le Nouvel Observateur*, *L'Express* ...). 44 million out of the total population in France regularly read at least one magazine a week⁴. The popularity of the weekly press is not at all shared by the daily national press. In the world ranking of the access of the adult public to the national daily newspapers, France comes at the 31st place, very far away from the UK, Germany and the USA⁵. Therefore, the sale of almost all the daily French newspapers has been regularly decreasing as illustrated by the following figures:

Table 1 : The paid diffusion (only the newspapers that are bought and not those given to public institutions for example) of the national daily French press (Source OJD⁶ between 1999 and 2004):

Title	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
La Croix	86 400	86 574	87 891	92 873	94 929	96 312
Les Echos	122 999	128 342	127 445	120 333	116 903	116 856
L'Equipe (football magazine)	386 189	397 898	370 661	331 638	336 533	365 752
L'Humanité		50 097	47 051	46 126	48 175	48 966
Libération	169 427	169 011	171 551	164 286	158 115	146 055
Le Figaro	366 690	360 909	366 529	359 108	352 706	341 075
Le Monde	390 840	392 772	405 983	407 085	389 249	371 803
La Tribune	85 885	90 918	87 577	82 042	80 459	80 846

Another important feature of the daily print media is the geographically strict separation between:

- the national daily press
- the regional daily press
- the local daily press

This is very important because those different categories do not have the same target groups and the same sources of financing. But in this paper the authors only tackle the national newspapers. Contrary to Germany, the centralist tradition in France causes the supremacy of Paris in many fields including the print media. The national daily press

³ Cf: 3.1.2.

⁴ http://www.etnoka.fr/static/page/infosconseils/magazine/secteur/presse/pg_1

⁵ http://www.esj-lille.fr/article.php3?id_article=222 : data of the journalism school of Lille

⁶ <http://www.ojd.com/fr/> : association for the control of the spread of the medias

actually often corresponds to the Parisian daily press and this feature is therefore concerning the intellectual press. Thus the first daily newspaper in the French history was published for the first time in Paris in 1777 and was called “le Journal de Paris”. However, this does not mean that the Parisian press is only for intellectuals. One of the most popular daily regional newspapers is *Le Parisien* whose target group is similar to that of the German *Bild Zeitung*, the “lower middle class”,⁷ even though *Le Parisien* is a more serious newspaper (there are far fewer articles about sex, violence and gossips than in the *Bild* for example). But the authors of this paper have chosen to focus on the national press which is why *Le Parisien* could not be included in this section about the French press.

3.1.2 Germany

In Germany there exists a long tradition and a vast culture of print media, especially daily newspapers. According to data from the Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger e. V. (Federal Association of German Newspaper Publishers / BDZV), which is the non-profit organization of newspaper publishers in Germany, more than three-fourths of all Germans over the age of 14 (75.7 percent) regularly read a daily newspaper. These are around 49 million men and women all over Germany (BDZV 2004).

According to BDZV’s Chief Executive Director Dietmar Wolff the reach of German newspapers is, despite recent declines in circulation due to the regressive demographic development and an ongoing high unemployment rate, stable. This is, according to Wolff, because many readers now tend to share their subscriptions. This would explain the still broad reach of German newspapers. In fact, with the above mentioned three quarters of German citizens and more than half of the German youth regularly reading newspapers, Germany’s newspaper market can be considered world leading (BDZV 2005).

According to the data from the BDZV, in Germany there have been 347 daily newspapers with a total circulation of 22, 1 million copies sold in second quarter 2004. Additionally, 4.16 million copies of Sunday newspapers, and just over than 1.9 million copies of weekly newspapers have been sold in the same period. The total figure of daily newspapers is comprised of 15.4 million local and regional subscription newspapers, while just 1.6 million copies are accounted for by national newspapers. Over 5 million copies are accounted for by newspapers sold solely at newsstands (cf. figure 1).

Even if the overwhelming part of Germany’s newspaper market is comprised of local and regional newspapers, there also exists a considerable number of trans-regional daily newspapers and periodicals. All in all in Germany there exist 10 daily national newspapers⁸.

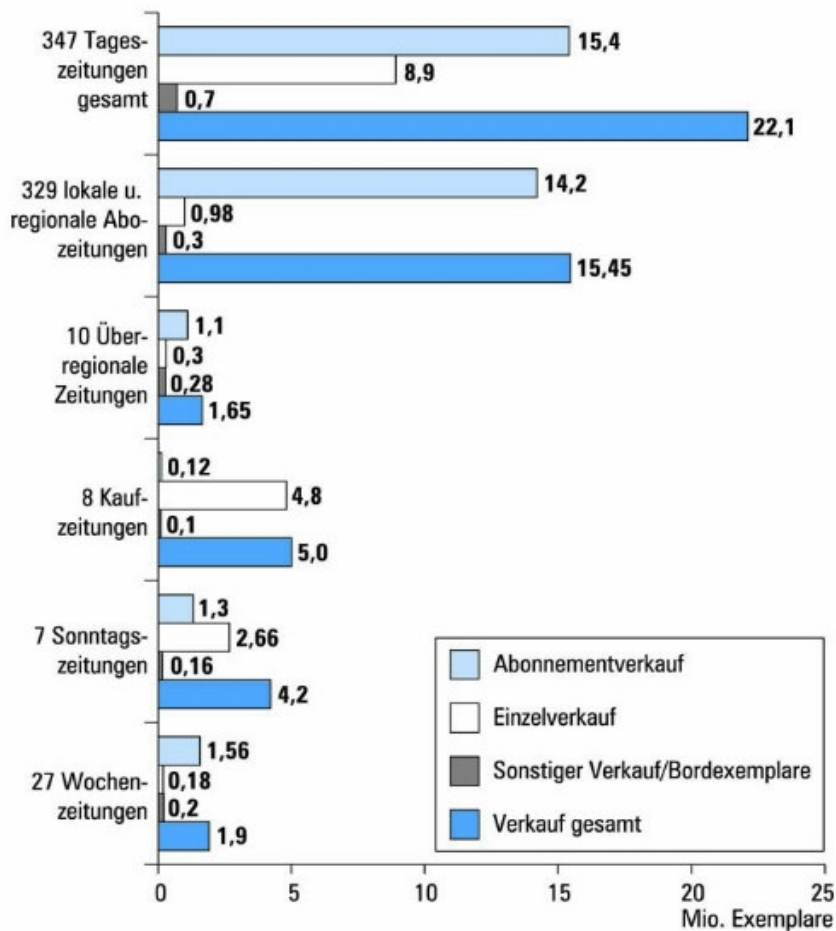
During the last few years all national newspapers have aimed to broaden their reach by supplementing their print edition with online offers. Articles of the print edition can be found online in so called “ePapers”. Even if this additional offer does not necessarily aim at the same target groups than the print edition, it nevertheless broadens the access to available news.

⁷ Cf. 3.2.2.

⁸ These are in alphabetical order: [Berliner Zeitung](#), [Bild](#), [Financial Times Deutschland](#), [Frankfurter Allgemeine](#) (FAZ), [Frankfurter Rundschau](#), [Handelsblatt](#), [Süddeutsche Zeitung](#) (SZ), [Die Tageszeitung](#) (taz), [Die Welt](#) and [Die Zeit](#) (cf. <http://www.mavridis.de/links/printmedien.htm>).

Figure 1:**Newspaper Sales in Germany in 2. Quarter 2004**

Source: BDZV/IVW-data, own presentment

**3.1.3 Poland**

The situation in the written press in Poland changed radically after the collapse of the communist system in 1989. On regaining sovereignty, the censorship and control of media by the one ruling party were eliminated. With the coming of the new freedoms, new media initiatives sprang up spontaneously. With amendments to the existing law, every Polish citizen could become a publisher. The press market grew rapidly in the first half of the 1990s. The number of newspapers and magazines published in 1990-1995 rose from 3,007 in 1990 to 4,340 in 1995. By 2001, there were already 5,837 press titles - nationwide and local newspapers, dailies, weeklies, monthlies and specialist papers. Among the nationwide dailies the most important are sensationalist tabloids – the novelty of the 90s – *Fakt* (22% of readers) and *Super Express* (11% of readers) and quality newspapers *Gazeta Wyborcza* (20% of readers) and *Rzeczpospolita* (5% of readers). A large and growing popularity in Poland is enjoyed by the serious political and social weeklies, such as *Wprost* (9% of readers), *Polityka* (7% of readers) and *Newsweek Polska* (6% of readers). To the best selling monthlies belong women magazine *Twoj Styl* (7% of readers) and magazines for businessmen *Profit* (1% of readers) and *Businessman Magazine* (0.5% of readers) (Polish Government 2004).

The local press has registered recognisable growth in the 90s. Before 1989 local press was rare, though, at the beginning of the 90s, the attempts to publish local, regional or neighbourhood newspapers were started in many regions in Poland. These changes accompanied the development of self-governance and civil society. In recent years the press market has developed more and more in the direction of niche-oriented branch and hobby magazines, such as *My Wedding*, *My Garden* or *Computer-World*. On the one hand these magazines fulfil the function of forums, where the specialist information can be changed, and on the other hand they become one of the elements defining the identity in the society of capitalists and individualists (Orłacz 2004).

Women's, youth and entertainment-related press also gained importance during the 90s. The owners of these journals are mainly foreign, western companies which took over many Polish papers or created new ones sometimes with similar titles and contents as for example in Germany. The German company Bauer publishes over 30 titles in Poland. Another German Publisher, Axel Springer has focused on the specialist press such as computer or motor magazines. The others are: Verlagsgruppe Passau, Gruner+Jahr, Maxwell, Murdoch, Berlusconi, Bertelsmann, Time Warner, and Presspublica. At the end of the 90s these companies possessed approximately 75% of the Polish national press as well as approximately over 30% of local press. Due to the foreign investments the Polish written press market approached the West-European standards. However, it is discussed in public that due to the dominance of foreign publishers, the independence of press has been threatened and the press may not always represent public interest. Among the Polish publishers the most known and influential are Agora, Prószyński i S-ka and INFOR (Świątek 2004).

3.1.4 Romania

The years after the fall of communism in December 1989 brought about a media revolution with an impact similar to the profound changes experienced by the entire Romanian society. Since then, the Romanian press has evolved in different directions. On the one hand, many newspapers oriented themselves towards sensationalism and tabloid-style journalism in order to attract and keep audiences which seem to need entertainment rather than information. On the other hand, some publications started to address the new category of dynamic, entrepreneurial people that has emerged with the market-oriented economy and demanded objective and niche-oriented information. The coming years will hopefully bring the much needed quality that some Romanian media presently lack.

The Romanian press reached a peak in terms of quantity in 1996, with 106 dailies and 1781 other periodicals, which was an increase from the 36 dailies and 459 other periodicals they produced in 1989. In 1998 however, the numbers went down to a total of 1550 titles, from which 95 dailies and 1455 other types of periodicals⁹. The reason for the fluctuation is the link between media and politics - the number of titles tends to go up around electoral periods (1996, 2000, 2004), when various political and economic groups invest in the press in order to influence the public.

The Romanian print media landscape appears to be overcrowded but in spite of the inflation of publications, circulation figures are rather low taking into consideration the population of more than 22 million inhabitants. There are over 20 dailies being

⁹ Romanian Statistical Yearbook 1999, published by the National Commission for Statistics, now the National Institute for Statistics, http://www.insse.ro/Indicatori/San/Rom/Indicatori_sociali_anuali.htm.

published in the capital Bucharest and most of them have a national circulation. However, less than the half of them earns enough from advertising to be comfortably independent.

In the past years, Romanian newspapers were plagued by the tendency to overestimate their print run and circulation in order to attract advertisers. However, the advertisers have put pressure on the publications to affiliate themselves with the Romanian Audit Bureau of Circulation (RABC) and most of the influential papers are now audited by the RABC, which has recently launched the National Audience Survey providing relevant data regarding readership as well.

Mainly because of distribution problems, all Romanian dailies are morning newspapers and there are no “afternoon” or “evening” ones. It would be too difficult, given the present infrastructure, to produce and sell afternoon or evening editions. *Libertatea*, which started as a Bucharest-only newspaper and used to be distributed in the afternoon, became a morning newspaper when it turned national.

One could hardly separate Romanian dailies into popular (tabloid) and quality newspapers. Although there are some clear examples of tabloid press (*Libertatea*, *Ziarul*, and *Atac*) most newspapers are still hybrids between serious, quality information and sensationalist material. But exactly this precise combination of two very different types of journals explains the profile of the common reader in Romania. That means that no matter how informed a person wants to stay he still needs the spectacular news. Or to put it from the newspapers perspective, sensational sells no matter how serious your publication is.

3.2 Selection of Newspapers

3.2.1 France

The author of the part devoted to France has chosen to deal with *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*, two very important newspapers in the landscape of the daily national newspapers.

Le Monde

Le Monde made the conquest of the title of “reference newspaper” in the daily French press. In spite of some critics (putting into question the deontology and the neutrality of *Le Monde* – *La Face cache du Monde*, Pierre Péan & Phillippe Cohen, 2003), it still remains today as the greatest national daily newspaper. It is central-left wing oriented.

It is the only national daily newspaper financially independent and propriety of its own journalists. It is a single handed business group with many other publications like : *Le Monde Economie*, *Le Monde des Livres*, *Le Monde 2*, *Le Monde Radio TV*, *Le Monde Argent*, *Le Monde de l'éducation*. *Le Monde* holds 51% of the shares of *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

The table 1 shows that *Le Monde* is not an exception and also goes through the general crisis of the daily newspapers. However, we can observe on the table that 2001 was a very profitable year (probably because of the 11th September).

The target group of *Le Monde* is the whole intellectual French speaking public in France and in the world. This newspaper has a huge intellectual influence on the ideas of well-educated readers. It is also usually recognized as a reference because of its impartiality and objectivity.

Le Figaro

The other national newspaper chosen in the part devoted to France is *Le Figaro*, the oldest daily French newspaper still edited today. It was founded in 1825 and called after the name of the main figure of a theatre play from Beaumarchais (The marriage of Figaro where the author denounced the privileges of the nobility in France). From the beginning it has been a satirical anti-nobility newspaper, very Parisian and very devoted to literature. Today this newspaper is centre-right and right oriented: Serge Dassault, president of the company Figaro SA, explained in France-Inter radio on Friday the 10th March 2004 that the newspapers have to broadcast “healthy ideas” for “we are dying because of the left-wing ideas”. According to him the role of the press is “to moderate the left-wing speech”.

The table 1 shows that the sale of *Le Figaro* has always been declining despite the 11th September.

It is very difficult to get information about the financing aspects. Advertisement and big enterprises may play a great role.

Le Figaro focuses a lot on business matters. Everyday there is a supplementary sheet called *Le Figaro Enterprises*. On the one hand, one of the main target groups is business runners. On the other hand another main target groups is the conservatives in general, people tending to belong to the right wing. Therefore the study of the articles of “Le Figaro” about the representation of the Eastern-European migrants in the context of the Eastern enlargement is even more interesting in the sense that “Le Figaro” has to serve its audience which is divided:

- businesses : consider the Eastern enlargement as an opportunities to save money or/and to make money
- “conservatives”: usually known for not being very enthusiastic about the potential immigration from Eastern Europe or from anywhere else

Of course the selection of these two newspapers already implies a few hypotheses made by the author of this part:

- the immigration from Eastern Europe should be portrayed differently in “Le Monde” and “Le Figaro” because of their rather different political orientation and public
- “Le Monde” is supposed to present more arguments related to human rights for example, and “Le Figaro” should bring more business oriented arguments.

3.2.2 Germany

In order to evaluate a newspaper’s impact and influence on society one may easily be of the opinion that the extent of its spread, meaning its reach, is a core element. Therefore, as already described in chapter 2 (Methodology) the authors of this paper have agreed on evaluating the widest spread newspapers of their country of origin.

With reference to Germany the author has collected data on circulation figures among daily national newspapers derived from the database of the Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V. (Information-Community on

Assessment of Distribution of Advertising Media / IVW)¹⁰. Latest data from the first and second quarters of 2005 show clearly (cf. table 1) that among the ten existing national daily newspapers one newspaper outperforms all others in both the total number of circulation and total sales. This newspaper is *Bild*¹¹ with an overall circulation of approximately 4.5 million copies and around 3.7 million in total sales¹². It is also assumed that the reach of *Bild* is even higher, as the newspaper is considered to be shared among readers. Following *Bild*, the newspaper reaches around 11.8 million readers per day. Other daily national newspapers have considerably lower reaches. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*¹³ (SZ) with around 540.000 in circulation and 440.000 in total sales and *Frankfurter Allgemeine*¹⁴ (FAZ) with around 476.000 in circulation and around 375.000 in total sales are the two biggest followers.

Table 1:

Total Circulation Quarter Figures / Appearance Period Monday-Saturday						
Newspaper	BILD		Frankfurter Allgemeine		Süddeutsche Zeitung	
Place	Hamburg		Frankfurt		Munich	
Quarter	2005/1	2005/2	2005/1	2005/2	2005/1	2005/2
Circulation	4.484.270	4.564.236	476.407	482.470	539.224	549.918
Retail Delivery	4.436.986	4.512.286	134.511	145.685	149.304	157.625
Remittees	802.232	774.440	81.352	84.554	80.653	85.632
Subscription	0	0	254.956	253.078	314.318	312.051
Retail Sale	3.634.754	3.737.846	53.159	61.131	68.651	71.993
On-Board Copy	13.733	14.794	31.386	33.746	33.222	35.419
Other Sales	6247	8.857	33.924	27.817	24.276	24.977
Total Sales	3.654.734	3.761.497	373.425	375.772	440.467	444.440
Total Release	9.898	10.612	20.967	21.517	15.432	17.333
Spread	3.664.632	3.772.109	394.392	397.289	455.899	461.773
Remains	17.406	17.687	663	627	2.672	2.513
Source: IVW-data (http://www.ivw.de/auflagen2/web/registriert/index_regged.htm); own presentment						

Given the obvious dominant stance of *Bild* on the German national daily newspaper market, it comes without surprise that there exists fear from competitors and citizens, that the influence of *Bild* on German media and society may be too strong. *Bild* is a tabloid newspaper. Its founder, Axel Springer, considered his newspaper to follow the footprints of the British yellow press. The publishing house of *Bild*, Axel-Springer-

¹⁰ The IVW is a neutral non-profit organisation which is comprised and funded by media companies, advertising companies and advertising and media agencies, hereunder more than one-thousand publishers. The organisations purpose is delivering valid data for the assessment and monitoring of advertising media. Almost with its establishment in 1949, namely since 1950, the IVW has collected periodic data on editions of newspapers, periodicals and magazines. Since 2003 data is also collected on the spread of online-newspapers and other press products which are only or additionally available as online version (IVW 2005).

¹¹ In English: "Image"

¹² Despite this high figures circulation has dropped steadily from about five million copies in the 1980s.

¹³ In English: "Southern German Newspaper"

¹⁴ In English: "Frankfurter General"

Verlag, is one of the most influential media companies in Germany¹⁵. Today, *Bild* is not only the largest daily newspaper in Germany, but all over Europe. Its target group is considered to be mainly lower middle class¹⁶. Politically, *Bild* is seen as a rather conservative newspaper. It is very populist, pro-market and anti-communistic. The topics of its articles deal mainly with celebrities, scandals, sex, crime, catastrophes and personal gossip. The articles reach from short to very short scope and mostly use familiar and easy understandable language. The language in *Bild* is famous for its word-creations, metaphors and word-connections.

Contrary to this, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) is a rather intellectual newspaper. It is considered to tend to the political left-wing. Its articles are known for its liberal critical point of view. In recent years the SZ has set a special focus on cultural issues and topics. The SZ is published by the Süddeutsche Verlag, which is owned by five Munich publishing families and the Südwestdeutsche Medien Holding¹⁷. In general, the newspaper is valued for its objective reporting. Its readership can mainly be described as well educated and sophisticated.

This public view of objective reporting is also valid for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (FAZ). But contrary to the SZ, the FAZ is generally considered to tend more towards the political right-wing. The newspaper is owned by the FAZIT-Stiftung, a non-profit foundation aiming to promote science, research and education. The foundation ensures the newspapers independence from daily and party politics and can generally not be influenced. The FAZ's average reader is, similar to readers of the SZ, considered to be well educated.

Considering all the above mentioned facts, the author has decided to elaborate not only on articles of the two biggest newspapers, but also on articles from the three biggest newspapers. The author uses articles from *Bild* and added articles from both the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (FAZ) and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ).

3.2.3 Poland

Regarding the methodology described in the chapter 2, only the two largest in circulation polish dailies should be analysed here, in respect of the east – west migration problems. In Poland these national dailies are *Fakt* and *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which are followed by *Super Express* and *Rzeczpospolita*.

¹⁵ Recently Axel-Springer-Verlag announced to massively enlarge its share in ProSiebenSat.1 Media AG, one of the largest private owned television companies in Germany.

¹⁶ Interestingly “Bild” suffers from a so called “Bekennerdefizit” (confessor deficiency), meaning that many people reading the newspaper do not like to confess it in public.

¹⁷ The families names are Friedmann (share: 18.75%), Goldschagg (18.75%), Seidlein (18.75%), Schwingenstein (16.67%) and Dürrmeier (8.33%). The share of Südwestdeutschen Medien Holding is 18.75%.

Table 1: Characteristic of 5 best-selling polish dailies

Title	Publisher	Circulation in ths	Price zł / €
Fakt	Axel Springer Polska	715,1	1,00 zł (0,25€)
Gazeta Wyborcza	Agora SA	541,7	2,00 / 2,40 zł (0,50 / 0,60 €)
Super Express	Media Express	405,8	1,60 / 2,10 zł (0,40 / 0,50 €)
Rzeczpospolita	Prespublica (Orkla)	246,5	2,50 zł (0,60 €)
Dziennik sportowy	Marquard Sport Media	141,2	1,70 / 1,90 zł (0,40 / 0,50 €)

Source: www.dziennikarz.prv.pl

Unfortunately, the best selling daily *Fakt* has no archive so the author had no access to the old articles. In the case of the third best selling daily *Super Express*, the archive exists but comprises of articles from only two sections. In this situation the author will focus the further analysis on the articles from the second and forth best selling nationwide dailies *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita*.

Gazeta Wyborcza (Election Gazette) was created during the parliamentary elections in 1989 to help the *Solidarność* to win over the ruling communist party. It is considered to be the first democratic and independent newspaper in Poland after the communist era. The Editor-in-Chief of *Gazeta Wyborcza* is Adam Michnik, the legend of Polish communist opposition and propagator of democracy and freedom. *Gazeta Wyborcza* comprises at least three elements: national main part prepared by the Warsaw editorial office, local section prepared by the 20 local editorial offices and the thematic supplement – for every day of the week different, for instance: *Employment*, *Real Estate*, *Travel*, *Automotive*, *Woman*, *Child*, *Health*, *High Heels*, and *TV*. The main national part comprises of the following sections: *Poland*, *World*, *Culture*, *Science*, *Opinions*, *Economy*, *Sport* and *Advertising*. *Gazeta Wyborcza* is published by Agora SA - the largest multimedia company in Poland, consisting of an Internet portal, several radio stations, the largest outdoor ads company on the domestic market and a many color magazines. Agora's foreign investor was the media company COX with experience on the U.S. market. Agora has been listed on the Warsaw and London stock exchanges since 1999. Regarding the shareholding structure – 30.5% of shares belongs to Agora-Holding and the employees whereas the remaining 69.5% of shares are in free float (Agora 2005). The values which Agora promises to comply with are presented on its website.

"We endeavor to live by the values which guided us when we founded the company and which continue to be our key tenets - truth, tolerance, respect for human rights and solidarity with the less fortunate. We promote these principles in our media - the newspaper, radio stations and on-line and we strive to act on them as a company. We strive to manage the company with transparency and predictability on all levels of our operations and to observe the following rules of conduct vis à vis our readers..., our clients..., our employees... and our shareholders...." (Agora 2005).

Gazeta Wyborcza is a quality newspaper and the values mentioned above are really cultivated by the authors of the articles, who represent more liberal and social perspective. They give a lot of attention to the feminists, homosexuals, refugees and other groups which still have to fight for their place in the society and organize many social actions such as: *Transparent Poland* (combating the corruption) or *Classy School* (educational campaign). The readers of *Gazeta Wyborcza* are mainly people with secondary or higher education.

The second nation-wide daily newspaper *Rzeczpospolita* has been created in 1991. The chief editor and the president of the management board of the newspaper is Piotr Aleksandrowicz. *Rzeczpospolita* is divided in three different sections. Firstly, it comprises general information from Poland and the world concerning the political, social, cultural and sport issues and is printed on the white paper. Secondly, it includes economic information and reviews, which are published on the green paper. Lastly – the legal section – is a source of information about the legal regulations and amendments and is printed on the yellow paper. *Rzeczpospolita* also comprises thematic supplements for each day of the week. These are: *My Career*, *My Travel*, *My Car*, *My Money*, *Good Enterprise*, *Real Estate*, *Tele-Rzeczpospolita* and *Plus Minus*. *Rzeczpospolita* is published by Presspublica (Orkla Media), which owns also 12 regional dailies in Poland. 51% of shares belong to the Presspublica Holding Norway and 49% to the State Press Publishing Company *Rzeczpospolita*. There are no explicitly mentioned values on the website of the company (*Rzeczpospolita* 2005).

Rzeczpospolita is considered to be a quality liberal-conservative newspaper. Due to the business sections it is also perceived as a leader of legal and economic information. Readers of *Rzeczpospolita* are mainly high-income managers and entrepreneurs but also employees of public administration, lawyers, specialists, freelance (*Rzeczpospolita* 2005).

The migration issues are handled in both *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita* newspapers similarly. Firstly, there are many informative articles, such as providing information on how to apply for a job abroad, how to apply for the work permit. Secondly, there are interviews with the immigrants or emigrants, accompanied by the description of individual cases or interviews with the experts in migration issues. Thirdly, there are articles on migration aspects in general which are supported by the research and statistics.

3.2.4 Romania

Following the methodology described in the second chapter the author who is analysing the Romanian press has chosen the newspapers based on the information available at the Romanian Audit Bureau of Circulations (RABC). The organisation was setup in 1998 by 33 major publishing houses and in the mean time has attracted almost every actor from the print market as a member. As result of the qualitative and transparent work, RABC reached in December 2003 a number of 130 publishing houses (5 of which are web based publishing houses), 25 publicity agencies and 8 major publicity clients¹⁸.

The main data provided by the Bureau is represented by the values of the circulation terms: printing output, sales (subscriptions and en detail sales), free copies (subscriptions, copies on request and promotional copies), and the returned copies.

In choosing the newspapers the average printed and distributed outputs of the major national dailies were compared throughout a period of four months starting from January till April this year. From this point of view the most relevant ones were *Libertatea* (which translates as “Freedom”) with an average circulation of 243.122 copies per day and *Jurnalul National* (“The National Journal”) with 181.362 copies¹⁹.

¹⁸ Romanian Audit Bureau of Circulations, <http://www.brat.ro/index.php?page=prezentare>

¹⁹ Romanian Audit Bureau of Circulations, <http://brat.ro/index.php?page=cifre>

The average circulations of the next three newspapers (111.954 copies, 81.315 and 71.195 copies respectively) show the leading role of the two in the written press market of Romania.

The best-sold national daily, *Libertatea*, is a tabloid owned by the Swiss media group Ringier. In the author's personal opinion the newspaper is a very populist one with a target group situated in a very broad age spectrum (from 18 to 65) and with a medium level of education. The tabloid does not have any known political orientation as politics is not the most important news type for it, except for the cases in which it is transformed in tabloid news.

The newspaper has a rather small format with a total number of 16 pages and is above all very cheap even for Romania, only 0.15 Euro. The articles range from short to very short, they are unelaborated, and except maybe for the editorial they do not have an elevated language. It is easily readable for its target group being also called "an half an hour newspaper".

The publication is organized under the following sections: Editorial, Politics, Event, Latest News, Useful Information and Services, Panorama, Sport, From the Wide World and Letters. *Libertatea* owes its success story not only to its low price but also to the fact that it has a great distribution. You can practically find the newspaper at every corner, on the street, in the subway, or in front of your work place.

The topic of labour migration appears mainly in three forms. The largest part is that of the "Event" or "Latest News" sections where in rather short articles a story is told. When included under this form in the newspaper the articles do not distinguish others. More rarely but with a much bigger impact they become subject of editorials. The topic itself receives bigger attention being on the first page with a powerful headline. Thirdly, labour migration constitutes a subject of *Libertatea* in informative articles under the "Useful Information and Services" section. In short or long articles concrete and impartial data is supplied to the ones interested in searching a place to work abroad.

Jurnalul National, the second most important newspaper in Romania, is owned by Dan Voiculescu, an influent Romanian businessman. The publication has managed to increase its circulation impressively since the beginning of 2004 with its print output skyrocketing from below 20,000 to a peak of 350,000 copies daily, to stabilise at an average of 180,000 copies a day for the first four months of this year²⁰. It is the only major daily newspaper that managed to increase its circulation in the past period. The success combination of *Jurnalul National* consists of new editors, new format, bigger and more comprehensive articles and for the first period a lottery with attractive prizes. From the author's stand point the newspaper tends to be more serious and informative than *Libertatea*, with better documented and elaborated articles. Still, a tendency for putting the spectacular - and less relevant - on the first page can be noticed. The target group remains, in spite of this, slightly different and more selective than that of *Libertatea* with an age spectrum from 22 to 65 but with a considerably higher level of education (medium to superior).

Compared to the latter, *Jurnalul National* is on a different scale. It costs more - approximately 25 cents - but it offers in return an impressive number of topics (which would double when taking into consideration the non-permanent ones) spread in 32 pages. The main, permanent sections are: Observer (the Editorials), Politics, Economic/Business, Event, External News, Sport, IT and Living Healthy.

²⁰ According to the author's analysis of the statistics of RABC.

The two things that put *Jurnalul National* in second place on the Romanian market are its main editors, two of which are also public television figures and the publicity on the TV broad casting company owned by the same private businessman.

While having selected the articles the author remarked two ways in which the newspaper approaches the issue of labour migration. Firstly, there are the articles presenting an in-depth researched subject. There are mostly individual cases (success stories or bad experiences) that are presented in large articles after an interview has been conducted. Secondly, there are shorter but well documented articles with an informative purpose about statistics on emigrants, ways of getting in a foreign country or tips for the first contact.

3.3 Analysis of Articles

3.3.1 France

Like the other authors of this paper, the author responsible for the part about France used the same list of questions to analyse the articles. But to present the results of the analysis as clear as possible, the author follows a chronological order.

When looking for articles in the electronic archives of *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* (and probably any other French newspaper, magazine, or any kind of other media) and only using the term “immigration”, the author of this part noticed that the articles found by the search engines only concern the immigration from Africa and especially North-Africa. The French media have always been emphasizing this issue for 30 years. Therefore, the author used very precise phrases to find the articles through the search machine of the on-line newspapers, for example: “Polish plumber”, “Eastern Europe”, “immigration”, “ex Soviet bloc”. The author got most of the articles due to searching the key word: “Polish plumber”.

The author of this part also noticed that the articles about Eastern European immigration are deeply embedded in a certain political context or in a certain political discussion. The three contexts that the author of this part noticed are the following:

- the articles dated from 2004 (at the moment of the enlargement)
- the articles published before the 29th of May (during the campaign of the referendum in France)
- the articles published after the 29th of May (after the French ‘no’)

According to the author of this part it makes it easier to categorize the articles so that we can understand in which context they have been written.

A. Articles linked to the Eastern enlargement dated from 2004

Concerning *Le Monde*, 5 articles out of the 10 that the author found were published in 2004, at the moment of the enlargement. The main developed theses are the following:

- A brain drain is more to be expected than cheap labour force immigrants
- The difference of wealth between the new 10 and the old 15
- Illegality of the transition period which is anyway not really needed
- Eastern Europeans vs. North-Africans + Sub-Saharan Africans

Concerning *Le Figaro*, only one article dated of 2004 has been found. It tackles the first topic cited above about the brain drain.

Le Monde

a) A vocabulary related to the idea of the “wave”

The authors of these articles tend, on the whole and in both of the newspapers, to question the hypothesis and the fears about a big immigration from East. So their main idea is to undermine this fear. However, even though they criticize this fear, in all the articles they tend to use a vocabulary which is quite biased. In *Le Monde*, a journalist writes about “a risk of massive immigration” (*The Commission excludes the risk of a massive immigration from the new accession countries*, from Thomas Ferenczi, 28.02.2004) or “migrants forced to exile because of unemployment” “migrants who would pressure the national social security regimes”. Another journalist (*The economic challenge*, author unknown, *Le Monde*, 29.04.2004) explains: we have “to avoid a destroying “chassé-croisé”, the capitals fleeing to East to get cheaper conditions whereas the workers would throng massively to West to get better wages”. In another article (*The future of Europe depends on the development of immigration*, Alberto Alesina & Francesco Giavazzi, *Le Monde*, 02.06.2004), the journalist refers to the Russian case explaining that after the collapse of communism, a brain drain occurred from Russia to the USA. According to the same journalist, Europe only managed to attract from Russia “a few oligarchs who have settled in the French Riviera and a few picturesque street-singers”.

b) Eastern Europeans vs. Afro-Muslims

To prove that the French should not fear Eastern European immigration, another journalist (*The immigration from Eastern Europe keeps on growing in Italy*, Jean-Jacques Bozonnet, *Le Monde*, 30.10.2004) concludes: “but the starting point of this immigration should be chosen: should we resort to a legal immigration that can be easily assimilated from the Eastern and Central Europe or to an illegal immigration from North-Africa?”. In another article, the journalist explains that the Eastern European immigration increased a lot in Italy (he only writes about the situation in Italy) and one of the subtitles is: “Decrease of the Muslims”. Whereas as the Romanians are characterised as “the first foreign community in Italy with 240 000 nationals”, the journalist writes about the Moroccans: “the Moroccans (228 000) who were for over ten years the main foreign colony in the Peninsula”. The reader can easily understand that the journalist intends to show that Eastern European immigration would actually be a good idea to avoid a much more undesirable kind of foreigner mentioning a very fundamentalist Islam for instance.

In another article (*The immigration in a dispersed order*, Francis Kessler, *Le Monde*, 09.11.2004) the author mentions: “Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary are even becoming massive immigration countries with the arrival of migrants from the Independent States Community (ISC)”.

To conclude one of the best arguments to defend the migration from the new 10 Memberstates seems to consider a worse scenario with immigration from another kind of countries.

Le Figaro

The author responsible for the French part only found one article in *Le Figaro* dated from 2004 and concerning the new enlargement (*The new Europe facing immigration*, Stéphane Kovacs, *Le Monde*, 24.04.2004). The journalist’s main thesis is also that a big

wave from East should not be expected or feared. But the vocabulary used, even ironically, is very illustrating sometimes: “hordes” of immigrants coming from East, “tourists of social allowances”. Even worse an “ethnic” origin is directly mentioned: “On the 1st of May, about 2 million of gypsies will become citizens of the European Union”. One of the arguments used by the journalist to show that there is no reason to fear anything is the following: “almost 70% of the candidates to immigration wish to settle in a border country: Germany and Austria are the first to be concerned”.

B. Articles linked to the referendum campaign.

Two articles from *Le Monde* and also two from *Le Figaro* are to be traced back to the referendum campaign (before the 29th of May 2005).

Le Monde

The articles from *Le Monde* have titles that are already pretty explicit: *Why not talk about the French supermarkets settled in Poland?* The other is called *The beautiful profession of a plumber*. Both of them tend to present the pros and the cons but they still undermine the reasons to fear a wave of Eastern European immigrants. Both of them focus on economic topics, but they could have highlighted for example that the referendum for the constitutional treaty is not really linked to the question of immigration of Polish plumbers. They could have put into question the automatic link everybody did between the ‘yes’ to the EU constitutional treaty and the Eastern European immigration. Instead, they take as an axiom the fact the ‘yes’ to the Constitution is a synonym of the ‘yes’ to the Bolkestein proposal for a directive and therefore a ‘yes’ to the Eastern European immigration.

The first article, *Why not talk about the French supermarkets settled in Poland?* (*Le Monde*, Rémi Barroux, 02.04.2005), is a very short one referring to a speech of Vladimir Spidla, the commissioner of the social affairs in the European Commission, invited in Paris for a colloquium: “Which social contract for Europe?” organised on the 31st of March 2005. The commissioner argues that it is unfair to always talk about the Polish plumber who would threaten the jobs of the French and to forget about the French enterprises flourishing in Poland. The author of this article writes: “In his speech, the Commissar, who has a Czech citizenship, did not hesitate to criticize a certain French hypocrisy”. The privacy of the person is not really preserved as the Czech citizenship of the commissar is mentioned to explain why he criticizes the French “obsession” with the Polish plumber.

The second article (*The beautiful profession of a plumber*, Frédéric Potet, 19.05.2005) is in contrast very long; it consists in a very thorough analysis of the profession of a plumber in France. Thanks to two interviews, the journalist explains how the structural problems of this profession (in particular the flexibility in time) could explain the need of foreign plumbers. The difficult conditions of such recruitment are also highlighted: the need to speak fluent French and the need of vocational training. These demands make the arrival of Polish plumbers even more hypothetical.

But once again, even if the journalist intends to de-diabolize the figure of the Polish plumber, he still uses sometimes some biased phrases: “Will the polish plumber siphon the heating or install the bath of Mr Everybody [it is a phrase in French which means in this context that the polish plumber can work in every household]”. Moreover, the lack of the hypothetical Polish labour force is highlighted: “Mr Patrick Debarle [who runs a plumber enterprise] explains: “My biggest problem is to find labour force. I do not have anything against the arrival of Polish people. We will need them in the future, just as we

needed the former generations of migrants in the past. They should come and we will train them”. The Polish workers are presented as a quite unskilled labour force without the professional skills and also deprived of the languages skills.

Le Figaro

The articles found in *Le Figaro* at the moment of the referendum campaign are clearly positioned against the potential arrival of Eastern European workers.

The first one is an interview devoted to Phillipe de Villiers (*Villiers: The Big Wangle of the yes*, Sophie Huet, *Le Figaro*, 15.03.2005), a right-wing politician whose campaign during the referendum had, as a main message, to be against the adoption of the European constitution because (in a nutshell) it would weaken the national power of decision.

Of course this politician uses phrases that are not at all astonishing in their wording: “The immigration which weakens our identity” or “The French see the plant that goes, the mosque that settles down and their wallets which get empty” or even “A Europe really European without Turkey”. When he is talking about the Bolkestein directive he states: “This directive makes it possible for a Polish plumber or an Estonian architect to propose his services in France, with the wages and with the rules of social protection of their country of origin. [...] One million of jobs are threatened because of this directive. It consists in a destruction of our economic and social model”.

The other article excerpted from *Le Figaro* of this period is devoted to a fraud in the Work code of law (*A fraud to the Work legislation causes fears about social dumping*, François-Xavier Bourmaud, *Le Figaro*, 20.05.2005. It is about a firm hiring Portuguese workers very inexpensively and with a very low level of social protection). It is quite a short article in the section of the newspaper called “the campaign for the referendum”. The intention is very clearly illustrated by a reported declaration: The delegate of the French minister to the labour relations, Gérard Larcher, “rages”: “If you want to know whether in France Leetonians, Poles or Portuguese can be employed in the same conditions than in the labour markets of Leetonia, Poland and Portugal, it is clear, the answer is no”.

C. Articles linked to the analysis of the results of the referendum on the 29th

May 2005

Le Monde

For this period four articles have been found in *Le Monde*. In three of these articles, the journalists show that the issue of enlargement was at the core of the referendum and link the ‘no’ to the fear of “the Polish plumber”. Of course those three articles underline the racism which is latent in this fear. The word “fear” is used many times (*The no underlines the difficulty of the enlargement*, Phillipe Ricard, *Le Monde*, 31.05.2005). In one of those three articles (*The deadlock* - as an editorial -, Jean-Marie Colombani, *Le Monde*, 31.05.2005), the journalist shows that the Eastern European countries were not the only one to be described as financially dependant of the 15 by the opponents to the constitutional treaty: “The President of ATTAC, an organization that militated intensively for the ‘no’ presented in its papers Spain, Portugal and Greece as a group of countries “under permanent perfusion of European funds””. In another article (*The temptation of populism*, Jean-Baptiste de Montvalon, *Le Monde*, 20.07.2005), the bad socio-economic climate in France is described to be the cause of the racist fears of the Polish plumber, for example: “In a socio-economical context going through a deep crisis, the rejection and the bad reputation of Turkey and of the “polish plumber” has

been impossible to stop". The origin of this fear of racism is the socio-economic frustration of the French. The title of the fourth article found in *Le Monde* is the following: "*The French are twice as rich as the Poles but poorer than the Irish*" (Pierre-Antoine Delhommais, *Le Monde*, 08.06.2005). In this article the journalist tackles the issue of the differences in the GDPs in the EU in general but insists particularly on the fact that the new member states' GDPs are very under the EU average. Of course the main question that the author tackles in this article is whether these differences are beneficial for the EU economic integration or whether they could be negative for the global growth of the EU. This article is part of the section "conjuncture and markets", and is based on the statistics of Eurostat (published on the 3rd June). The journalist's conclusion is pretty optimistic: the Czech Republic will have an economy comparable to the French one in about 15 years if both of the growth rhythms are maintained. However, the author also puts forward the point of the quite pessimistic economists who fear negative consequences for the economic integration of the EU in general. This very complex hypothesis is summed up by the author as following: "The richest will become poorer and the poorest richer". This type of catch-phrase suggests a very simple evolution even though the enlargement process is much more complex. The integration issue in the context of the EU has given birth to thousands of books and its complexity is really reduced in the way it is summed up in this slogan. This sentence which could easily be a slogan for many opponents to the EU constitutional treaty also suggests that "the poorer" get richer thanks to "the richest" that deprive themselves to give generously to "the poorest", a part of their wealth. Moreover, the title of the article underlines the fact that France has got a lower GDP than Ireland. The author insists on the fact that Ireland goes through "an economic miracle". As the well-educated reader knows, Ireland is one of the countries that are opened to the nationals of the new member states without any period of transition.

Le Figaro

Concerning *Le Figaro*, six articles were found in the period post-referendum. The topics of these articles are quite diversified:

- Promotion of the yes to the Constitution: interview with a Dutch intellectual very European, the French who said yes, the Polish nurse and the hospital, the EU should be better explained to the French citizens so that they do not fear the changes due to the European integration, a fraud but the author takes the side the EU legislation
- A description (but also an interpretation) of the Polish press and its disappointment about the French "non".

The articles of *Le Figaro* dated from the period post-referendum are actually quite proponent of the 'yes' contrary to the articles dated from the campaign found by the author of this part.

One of these articles (Nooteboom, "*an offence for the newly entered countries*", Alexis Lacroix, *Le Figaro*, 31.05.2005) is devoted to a brilliant Dutch intellectual, Nooteboom, with the subtitle: "an offence for the new Member States". Another very interesting article is about the Polish nurse (*The Polish nurse, the hospital and the yes to the Constitution*, Gilles Denis, *Le Figaro*, 11.06.2005). The potential hiring of nurses from East is depicted in a quite positive way: "The Polish plumber has been mentioned too

much in the last days. Let me please talk about the polish nurse and tomorrow, her Bulgarian colleague.... (Dominique Feuille who is director in a psychiatric hospital in La Roche-sur-Yon) [...] She [the eastern-European nurse] is without doubt less qualified technically than the French nurses. But we have a lot to learn about her relational capacities, particularly concerning the elderly persons. I do not face a necessity to hire one. But I will not hesitate to do it as soon as they speak French and as I can fulfil the lacks of their training.” Once again, exactly like in the case of the Polish plumber, the lack of training and technical know-how is underlined. But the hospital director also insisted on the human relations abilities of the Polish nurse, whereas the personal advantages of the Polish plumber were never mentioned in any of the articles. However, the conclusions are still the same: they have to be trained and to speak French to be able to work in France. Moreover, the director of the hospital insists very clearly on the fact that there is no immediate intention to hire Polish nurses. The Polish nurse seems to be a more attractive figure than the plumber, one of the sentences of this article is quite straightforward: “the nurse from East is not a fantasy anymore”. The word fantasy (in French at least) is pretty sexually connoted.

In all of these articles of *Le Figaro*, the intention is to show that the reasons to vote ‘no’ to the constitutional treaty were not very legitimate. For example, one of these articles (*Investigation about the French who said yes*, Sylvie Pierre Brossolette, *Le Figaro*, 11.06.2005) is a portrait of French citizens who voted yes. The subtitle is the following: “Many Frenchmen, even if they only represent 45% of the population, believe in life, in effort, in progress, in the other, even if this other has the face of a Polish plumber or a Hungarian router”. The author shows that there are a few French that are dynamic, open-minded and supporting free competition. The journalist argues that those citizens are so tolerant that they are not even afraid of “the face of a Polish plumber or a Hungarian router”. This figure has here the function of a straw man meant to scare the others. Another article is devoted to the Herbillon report (*The EU should be better explained*, *Le Figaro*, Michel Herbillon, 29.06.2005). The French deputy (in the Assemblée Nationale) Mr Herbillon wrote a report to the government with proposals aiming at improving the knowledge of the French about the EU and Europe. Referring to the fear of the Polish plumber, Mr Herbillon argues: “The absence of popular discussions caused a frustration and a majority of the citizens could not understand it and therefore the Polish plumber has become a scapegoat for our fears. And this is not positive for our national dignity. It is high time to pass criticism upon ourselves”. Once again, although the intention is to denounce the fear of the Polish plumber, the character uses an argument which can be seen as selfish: this fear is condemned by Mr Herbillon because it is an injury for the national dignity, the prestige of the nation has to remain clean and particularly towards the other countries. Mr Herbillon does not put forward any humanist or pro-EU argument to condemn this process of taking a special nation as scapegoat.

In another article (*Dominique Perben promises an act to the routers*, Christine Ducros, *Le Figaro Economie*, 23.06.2005), a fraud to the Work legislation is tackled (similarly to the article mentioned above about the Portuguese workers). It is about the problem of the “coasting” (the fact that an enterprise from any other member state can transport merchandise between two French cities with the same rights than those of a French enterprise): the result is that Eastern European routers are working in France for very low wages and it is allowed by the European law.

Once again the vocabulary employed by the author tends to belong to the “fear” style: “It is high time. The fear of the Hungarian or Lithuanian is almost as famous as the one

of the Polish plumber. France is the European country where the “coasting” is the most widespread”.

Contrary to the article about the Portuguese workers, the journalist tends here to adopt a neo-liberal point of view explaining at the end that the French legislation should be amended to match the European law in a more liberal way.

The last article (*The fabulous destiny of the little Polish plumber*, Ariel Thedrel, *Le Figaro*, 31.05.2005) of *Le Figaro* dated from the period post-referendum has a very ironical title: “*The fabulous destiny of the small Polish plumber*”²¹. This article is very interesting because it describes the Polish reactions in the Polish press to the French ‘no’ to the Constitution. The journalist explains that the disappointment is the main feature of the Polish press after the French ‘no’. The journalist cites for example, a declaration of Mr Belka, the Polish head of the government:

“The French, explains M.Belka, are tired because of the changes of the last years”. And he adds with perfidy: “what has become normal for us for the last 15 years, change after change, every week and every month, turned out to be a traumatism for the western societies.”

In citing his speech in this way, the journalist insists on the lack of legitimacy of his speech.

Moreover, in a second part, the journalist describes the reasons of the disappointment. According to him the Poles only fear to get less money from the EU:

“The Poles fear to pay for this institutional crisis when they begin to get the dividends of their accession in the EU.”

“The balance of their first year in the EU turned out to be unequivocal for Poland that already got from Brussels 1.45 billion euros more than the amount Poland paid to the EU.”

“The catastrophically bad scenarios feared before the accession – bankrupt of the SMB, repurchase of the floor space by the foreigners, market over flown because of the western products- did not happen, on the contrary. Thanks to the direct subsidies, the peasants, who were the most anti-EU, completely changed in ardent pro-EU. The support to the EU has never been so strong. The economic actors [...] fear at the moment [...] a freeze even a reduction of the European subsidies to the new member states.”

We can see that the journalist uses many words referring to finance and economy in general to insist on the financial aspects of the Polish disappointment.

3.3.2 Germany

While searching articles dealing with issues of east-west labour-migration the author discovered that the topic of migration, labour migration and foreigners in society seems to be a very popular and widespread topic in the German written press. Articles on migration and foreign labour can be found in nearly all German newspapers. Thereby, the three closer analysed newspapers (*Bild*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* [SZ], and *Frankfurter Allgemeine* [FAZ]) do not constitute an exception. In fact, the author rather considers the three chosen newspapers to more or less represent the way in which German written press deals with the issue of migration and foreigners in general, and east-west labour migration in special.

²¹ Hinting at a very famous French movie: “Le fabuleux destin d’Amélie Poulain”

Principal Topics of the Articles

Even over one year after the eastern enlargement of the European Union on 1st May 2004, the enlargement is still one of the dominating topics regarding labour migration. Thereby the author gets the impression that the enlargement, which is and has been a very complex political and economic process, including dozen of different aspects, is reduced just to the single aspect of labour immigration from and companies' emigration²² to the new member states and whole Eastern Europe. This view is also given in one of the articles, where Michael Bauchmüller writes "The EU-Enlargement has in Germany narrowed to one dimension: the anxiety for jobs." (SZ 2005a). But the articles also point out that the overall effect of the eastern enlargement should be positive for western economies like Germany, though one should not forget that there will be also negative effects for those who are "in a competition situation with immigrating labour" (FAZ 2003b). These will mainly affect low qualified workers (SZ 2005a).

In fact the dominating background with which almost all articles are provided with is anxiety for loss. Anxiety for loss of jobs, anxiety for loss of wages and anxiety for loss of social and living standards in the western societies.

Many articles provide their readers with a scenario of a constant and moreover growing threat from East-European labour migrants. These migrants are considered to come to the "old" member states and either take jobs away from the working citizens or do not attempt to work but rather have the aim to exploit western social systems. For example, there are supposed to be polish 'Ich-AG's'²³ which "coil up" Berlin's taxi market (SZ 2004a), East-European workers are expected to come "kolonnenweise"²⁴ to German slaughterhouses to work as cheap butchers (SZ 2005a) and the number of polish "cheap-tilers" has increased dramatically (BILD 2005d). Thereby it seems that the only people who migrate are those who have already lost the economic race in their home country (SZ 2004e). Additionally, the workers of the now accession countries Bulgaria and Romania seem only to wait for their opportunity to work in the west (SZ 2005c).

There are manifold reactions to this 'threat'. Especially *Bild* articles deliver a very conflicting point of view. On the one hand, efforts to stop the "cheap-workers" are presented in a very positive light, by singling a statement of conservative Bavarian minister president Edmund Stoiber out of an interview on German employment policies otherwise not related to the topic of immigration (BILD 2005a). Also German federal government is affronted of being "nuts!" to ratify ("nod through") the accession treaties with Bulgaria and Romania, which will give their citizens also freedom of movement within the EU once they entered the union (BILD 2005b). But on the other hand one of the leaders of Germany's new left-most party "Die Linke", Oskar Lafontaine, is seriously attacked for his efforts to fight eastern "Fremdarbeiter", who would take away jobs from German families. *Bild* condemned communist near Lafontaine for his

²² Though the aspect of companies' emigration to Eastern Europe is a highly related topic and also mentioned many of the articles, it regretfully lies beyond the scope of this paper to also focus on this aspect.

²³ The term 'Ich-AG' can not easily be translated. Its origins come from the German words "ich" for "I" and the abbreviation "AG" for a public limited company. It describes the efforts by former unemployed persons to get self-employed with the help of public subsidies from the Federal Employment Office. From the very first moment of its implementation the idea of 'Ich-AG' has had a bad reputation, because of fears of the abuse of subsidies and the possible faking effects on official unemployment rates.

²⁴ Difficult to translate. It is a term which describes a large group of people who come in a long row, similar to soldiers who march in a platoon.

wording, claiming that “Fremdarbeiter” was the term national socialists used for their slave workers (BILD 2005c, 2005g).

But also articles from *SZ* and *FAZ* have opposing positions to the ‘threat’ from the east. Most favour and even recommend labour migration from Eastern-Europe. The reader is provided with the argument that many of the migrants are well qualified workers which are deeply needed in some areas of the economy, for example, in the area of ambulatory and stationary health care (FAZ 2003a). But also needed are both skilled and unskilled workers in other areas of Europe’s economy (in both ‘old’ and ‘new’ member states). Some articles argue that Europe has to integrate its migrant workers to solve the serious upcoming economic problems arising from a shift to the old in demography and overloaded social welfare systems (SZ 2005d, 2003a; FAZ 2004a).

But only few articles mention that with their accession to the EU the citizens of the new member states have obtained the right to move freely within the union and that this freedom of movement is, as a result of the anxieties mainly by German and Austrian societies, now limited for all employed workers for a maximum of seven years after the accession²⁵ (SZ 2004e, 2004f).

Finally, most articles agree that the expectations and anxieties which dominated the discussion before the enlargement did not come true up to now. On the contrary, the enlargement is considered to be “all in all” a success (SZ 2005b), which nevertheless reads itself somehow like a defensive relativity. In another article it is almost defiantly stated that main migrations flows are going not to Germany but rather to Great Britain. But this again is considered to be a disadvantage by German economists, who fear to loose qualified workers to a competing member state (SZ 2004d). But nevertheless the anxiety for ‘cheap-competition’ still exists in the public opinion. There seems to be some kind of “felt east-disaster” deep within the society (SZ 2005a). Interestingly anxiety seems to be the comprehensive theme in all articles, independent if the articles finally argue pro or contra labour migration. One the one hand there is anxiety to be exposed to large-scaled competition on the domestic labour market and on the other hand there is anxiety not to be able to make use of needed qualified workers before other member states do. Words which can therefore be found in many articles and in both context are: anxiety, fear, threat, competition, disaster, loss, risk, protection, reform or growing pressure. However, there also often appear words like: new, hope, chance, opportunity, growth or potential. All these words prove the emotional approach to the topic.

Structure and form of the Articles

First of all it must be mentioned that all articles are taken from online archives in the internet. Therefore statements on structure and form of the articles can only be given in a very restricted way. In all cases the original layout, including the type and size of the font as well as size and position of the headline, can not totally be assessed. This problem exists also for most of the visual aids (pictures, tables, figures) originally delivered with the articles. Nevertheless, the mere existence of pictures and their underlines is often provided by the archives. Information on the original positioning and placement of the articles in the written edition is provided only by the archive of FAZ

²⁵

Also known as the ‘2+3+2’ agreement

and DIZ²⁶. Information on articles originally placed near the articles is not provided by any archive.

The commanding type of articles varies in all three newspapers, but generally all kinds of articles exist ranging from breaking news over background information to editorials and commentaries. Below the author will try to identify the common structures and differences of the articles in the analysed newspapers.

Articles of *Bild* are generally very succinct, most times not exceeding more than 400 words. Every article, even a commentary, is visually dominated by an oversized, bold printed headline, which is very eye-catching. The headlines are mostly very short and often in the form of short sentences as “Stoiber wants to stop cheap-workers!²⁷” (BILD 2005a). The use of exclamation-marks in order to emphasize is quite normal. This can also be seen from headlines like “Crazy! Government promises Romanians and Bulgarians Work in Germany” (BILD 2005b) or “Pied Piper from the left!” (BILD 2005c). Also short questions like “How many foreigners come to us?” (BILD2004) are not uncommon. Almost every headline is accompanied by a subtitle, which can be found over the bold-printed headline. All articles are divided in small paragraphs of not more than a few sentences, often headed by more subtitles. The subtitles are very often in form of short questions, while the answer is given in the following paragraph. Often single sentences or even short paragraphs are highlighted by bold printing, to emphasize the importance and relevance of their information.

Regarding form and structure articles of the *SZ* are generally more serious looking and most of the times longer than articles from *Bild*. Even if short articles comprised of round about 150 words can be found, mostly the number of words ranges from 400 to 1500 words. This is, because the articles cover often more than one topic and aim to give a manifold insight into the issue. Nevertheless the articles do not necessarily have a very differing structure from those of *Bild*. The text is mostly divided in smaller paragraphs, sometimes described by a subtitle. One main difference nevertheless is the fact, that articles in *SZ* often have a final paragraph with either a concluding summary or some kind of outlook with some method of resolution regarding to the topic (cf. *SZ* 2005a).

Finally, form and structure of the articles in the *FAZ* appear to be very similar to articles in the *SZ*. Nevertheless the length of the articles is with roughly 200 to 1000 shorter than those of *SZ*, but still longer than those of *Bild*. Both, in *SZ* and *FAZ*, in many of the articles can be discovered an argumentative structure. First, a situation is introduced by giving some pure facts or a citation, than more detailed information follows, delivering pros and cons to the reader. Despite this neutral sounding method, the articles often argue towards a certain point of view on the topic, which the author of the article wants the reader to share.

Phrasing and Wording of the Articles

The phrasing and wording differs from article to article, but still the author has discovered some core elements which are part of almost every article.

²⁶ All articles of the *SZ* are taken from the online archive of the Dokumentations- und Informationszentrum (DIZ) Munich, a company of Süddeutsche Verlagsgruppe (cf. <http://medienport-archiv.diz-muenchen.de>; 15/08/2005).

²⁷ While translating into English the author tried to retain not only the meaning but also the connotation of the original German wording. Nevertheless a loss in the emphasis or slight discrepancies of the original connotation can not totally be excluded.

In *Bild*, the author found a very special type of wording. The newspapers makes special use of word creations and word connections like “cheap-workers”, “cheap-tiler” (BILD 2005d), “Job-Errors” (BILD 2005e) or “Fremdarbeiter-Frailty” (BILD 2005g). There also exists an obvious tendency to use superlatives and emphasizing wording of any kind such as “smartest” (BILD 2004a), or “dramatically” (BILD 2005d). Also metaphors, “talk like one is blue in the face²⁸”, “to be up in arms” or “ripped open the barn door” (BILD 2005b) are not uncommon. The articles are all written in short and easily readable sentences in a very day-to-day language. Even the use of phrases which are generally only just colloquial can be found in articles of BILD, like “wangled” (BILD 2005f), “snatch away”, “crock up” (BILD 2005d) or “need to get a grip on” (BILD 2005b). All in all the wording is mostly very direct, involving and emotional and, given the almost excessive use of exclamation marks, often almost aggressive.

The phrasing and wording of articles in *SZ* and *FAZ* are, like their form and structure, very similar and can therefore be presented together. These newspapers mainly use very sophisticated language, including words of foreign origin, like “demography” (FAZ 2004a), “economist” (FAZ 2003b), or “erosion” (SZ 2004a). Nevertheless, compared to BILD, the creation of new words is not unknown in these newspapers either, as words like “away-reforming”, “distribution-stress” (FAZ 2004a), “wealthchasm” (FAZ 2003a), “poverty-migration” (SZ 2004a) or “wage-pusher”(SZ 2005a) show. Also illustrating and metaphorical language like “European taillight” (SZ 2005a) or “jump on the train” (SZ 2004b) is commonly used. In one subtitle named “Licence to Job-Kill” (SZ 2004c) there exists even an allusion to a well known James Bond movie²⁹. This gives many articles a subjective and emotional look. But despite this the migrants are not really presented as human beings, but rather as a mass or even simply as a pool of workers. Individuals and their personal decisions are not presented. The migrants are presented as anonymous workforce. All in all this makes the phrasing and wording in *FAZ* and *SZ* much less flashy and aggressive. A last technical aspect to mention is that all three newspapers follow the old orthography³⁰.

Recapitulating the author wants to point out that all three newspapers use a broad spectrum of stylistic devices. The aim is both to get and hold the reader’s attention and to gain influence on his process of opinion building.

3.3.3 Poland

The search of the articles in the electronic archives of *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza* with the phrases ‘migrations’ or ‘emigration’ have not brought many positive results. Thus the author decided to use more precise watchwords like ‘labour migration to West- European countries’, ‘service directive’ and ‘polish plumber’. It seems that the latest and the most common topic concerning the issue of labour migration in *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita* is associated with controversies around the liberalization of the service market in European Union because the key-words ‘service directive’ and ‘polish plumber’ have given the highest number of results. First articles, which deal with this problem, were published in February 2005. The most recent appeared in June 2005 during the debate around the European Constitution in France and Holland and several weeks after its rejection. The liberalization of services in the EU was supposed

²⁸ Original: “sich die Köpfe heiß reden”.

²⁹ The original title of the movie from 1989 is ‘Licence to Kill’.

³⁰ Since summer 2005 the so called ‘new orthography’ has come into force. Nevertheless two federal countries and many national newspapers refused to implement it or returned to the old one.

to lead to the further economic integration through the elimination of barriers for the providers of services. Foreign providers would be allowed not only to hire the staff from their home countries, but also their relationship with the employees, height of the salaries or security at the workplace would become the subject of the home country law. Polish authorities and media informed about the positive effects of the liberalization process for Polish society and economy. They were convinced that Polish companies and workers are able to compete with Western service providers. However, in France and several other countries of Old Europe service directive aroused many doubts. The issue of labour migration from new member countries was suddenly in the centre of public discussion together with the questions about the future social and economic model of EU and globalization. The hypothetical migrant from Eastern Europe – ‘Polish plumber’ – became a symbolic cause of so called ‘social dumping’ and the collapse of social capitalism.

The articles in Polish written press are very often the response to the French public debate. The author assumes that this results from the fact that the symbolic star of this discussion is a Polish qualified worker. It can be noticed that the authors of the articles identify themselves with their countryman, because they use such words as *we*, *us* or *our*, for instance: *Our Plumber in Paris* (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005a). Therefore the hypothetical migrants, in this context, are presented in a very positive light. The main intention of most of the analysed articles is the refutation of the arguments against liberalisation. Thereby the positions of the opponents of the liberalisation are presented as irrational. According to the authors of the articles the rejections of the original form of the service directive would bring negative consequences for Eastern Europe as well as for West-European societies and the European Union as a whole. Moreover Western-Europeans are presented in this context negative way.

Form and titles of the articles

The author has chosen approximately twenty articles for the analysis. All of them have been found in internet archives of the newspapers mentioned above. Therefore the previous form of these articles has been modified to a certain extent. It is hard to say how many columns existed in a printed form of articles. The same is for the type and size of printing, because these variables have been standardized in the archive texts. Regarding the size of the articles, the author can only state that the texts in the archives, written with 12 size of printing are between one and three pages long. In the archive of *Rzeczpospolita* the page numbers of the articles are not given. Thus only the archive of *Gazeta Wyborcza* gives the opportunity to elaborate the importance of the analysed articles according to pages on which they were placed in the original form of the newspaper. However, most of the articles have no pictures, figures or tables. There are only some pictures of the authors in the articles from *Rzeczpospolita*. The analysed *Rzeczpospolita* articles come mainly from the following parts of the newspaper: *Opinions*, *Economy*, *Law*, *Poland* and the *World*. *Gazeta Wyborcza* articles are placed in sections: *Opinions*, *Economy* and *Employment*.

Gazeta Wyborcza and *Rzeczpospolita* differ considerably with respect to the titles of the articles. In the former, they are usually short and are often not accompanied by the subtitles. They adopt a form of slogans or catch phrases as can be seen in the following examples: *How to Rescue the European Union* (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005b), *Union As a Mine Field* (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005c), *Pole As a Toy Gun of United Europe* (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005d).

In turn, in the latter, most of the titles are longer and have the subtitles with informative character. For instance: *The Opening of the European Job and Service Markets - Increase in Structural Aid - Brussels on the Side of Warsaw* (Rzeczpospolita 2005a) or *Constitution Referendum - Future of Europe Depends on the Choice of France - Polish Plumber and French Affair* (2005b). However some *Rzeczpospolita* articles from the section *Opinions* have also short titles in form of slogans, for instance: *No Solidarity in Europe* (Rzeczpospolita 2005c) or *Fear of Politicians* (Rzeczpospolita 2005d).

Majority of the articles chosen for the analysis have editorial, argumentative character. Usually, the first part of the article contains some news, facts, statistics or external opinions and the other is the presentation of the opinions and arguments of the author on information from the first part. The personal involvement of the authors can be observed in many of the analysed articles. Thus chosen texts have often subjective and emotional character.

Irrational fear and insincere arguments regarding the liberalisation

First of all the authors of the articles in *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza* show a lack of understanding to the fear of increased migration flows from Eastern Europe and 'social dumping' in Western Europe. Especially French society, politicians and media are presented as very irrational actors.

For instance, A. Słojewska from *Rzeczpospolita* quote, in her article from the report prepared by Danish Institute which predicts the positive effects of liberalization of service market in the EU. She writes that the liberalization will result in creation of 600 thousand new jobs and increase of consumption by 37 million euro due to the falling prices. According to this report France and Germany would gain on the liberalisation much more than other countries. The author of the article points out that France and Germany are in opposition to the liberalisation because they are irrationally afraid of cheaper competition (Rzeczpospolita 2005e).

Additionally other authors claim that the main arguments of the opponents of the liberalization – threat of 'social dumping' and deterioration of the 'consumer protection' are only the excuses. K. Niklewicz writes in his article in *Gazeta Wyborcza* that:

"(...) under the statement about the 'consumer protection' lies hidden fear that Polish, Latvian and Slovaks construction workers or bookkeepers would sweep out too expensive domestic service providers from the market" (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005e).

Similar opinion expresses A. Słojewska from *Rzeczpospolita*:

"Service providers from the rich member countries of the European Union are afraid of the competition with cheaper companies from Poland and other new member states. Opponent governments only officially speak about threat of 'social dumping'". (Rzeczpospolita 2005f).

Negative effects of the rejection of the service directive

The authors from *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza* focus mainly on the negative effects of the rejection of the service directive and European constitution and the whole atmosphere associated with these events. B. Luft in his article in *Rzeczpospolita* presumes that the whole confusion around the service directive, the hysteric fear of 'polish plumbers' in France may have negative influence on the perception of migrants from new member states also in other West-European countries. As a result, the governments of these countries may not have courage enough to open their job markets for private persons from new member states in 2006, after the first phase of the transition period. Moreover B. Luft is convinced that the rejection of the directive in its original form will also have negative consequences for France and other countries from

'Old Europe'. He mentions that in France 280 thousand qualified workers are missing and domestic unemployed people are not willing or not able to fulfil this gap (Rzeczpospolita 2005g).

The journalist from *Gazeta Wyborcza*, R. Soltyk, claims that France needs new young migrants because of its ageing society. Therefore, very soon Polish doctors and nurses will migrate to France and thereby causing problems in Poland (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005f).

New argument supporting the thesis that French society is acting against its own interest presents J. Bielecki in his article in *Rzeczpospolita*. In his opinion, the fact that the French authorities are closing the job markets for migrants from new member states will cause so called delocalization of the production. He supposes that: "(...)when trade unions push the companies to the wall and not allow them to hire cheap labour migrants then the entrepreneurs decide themselves on more drastic measures and move the whole production to Poland and other countries of Central Europe" (Rzeczpospolita 2005h).

Several authors speak about negative effects of the rejection of the service directive to the whole European Union. In these elaborations France and some other countries from Old Europe are made responsible for the internal problems of the European Union as well as for the bad performance of the Union on the world arena in times of globalisation.

R. Soltyk cites in his article with the emotional charged title – *New EU or Death* – the words of EU Commissar P. Mendelson which refer to the rejection of the service directive in its original form:

"Protectionism increased in Europe. In short-term it can protect several jobs, but in long-term it blocks changes and make further treatment even more painful (...) Economic nationalism and populism is hidden behind the protectionism. Leftist populism – against foreign competition from the side of Polish plumbers and rightist populism – against the immigrants and for the closure of borders of the European Union".

In opinion of the author protectionism and populism are not very good answers to the globalisation process. To support these arguments he refers to the statement of Tony Blair, saying that only free market competition in combination with the reasonable social politics, makes sense in this situation. That is the only alternative to the economic collapse of the European Union (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005g).

In this context the authors of the articles write about the conflict between the liberal and social model of the European Union, presenting the latter as an insufficient and destructive one. According to A. K. Kozminski, Europe will lose if the Western societies will not stop defending the living-standard of workers, which is disproportionably too high in comparison to the world market price of work (Rzeczpospolita 2005i).

J. Majcherek, in his article *French people voted against Poles. Where and with whom?*, presents French and German nations in an ironical way, writing that: *"Great Britain became the main barrier against the inclinations of French-German tandem to impose its malfunctioning socio-economical system on other countries."* Moreover, to present the French-German tandem in bad light, J. Majcherek uses ideologically charged words and compares the tandem to a dead horse. The purpose of this author is to convince the readers that the cooperation between France and Germany makes no sense and that Poland should tighten its relationship with Great Britain (Rzeczpospolita 2005j).

Perception of West-Europeans

In general, West-European societies are presented in *Rzeczpospolita* and *Gazeta Wyborcza* from a negative perspective. Lech Walesa, legendary leader of the communist opposition and head of *Solidarność* movement, compares French people during the interview for *Gazeta Wyborcza*, to the communists (this attribution is not a very pleasant one in a Polish historical context). He says: “*We should ask French people why several years ago they encouraged Polish people to build the capitalism, if they are themselves communists*” (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005h).

Moreover, West Europeans are perceived as egoists, who are reluctant to accept new poorer countries in the EU. M. Filar, using the metaphors, states that Old Member States are used to treat the European Union as an exclusive club only for rich gentlemen with elegant shoes and full wallets. In this circle they would be able to integrate and ‘globalise’ themselves. Of course, they are surprised now, when the group of starvelings with defects in dentition and different smell burst into their salons (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005i).

Additionally, an often repeated attribute of West Europeans is laziness. K. Niklewicz in his article *Social Europe on the Barrel of Gun Powder* asks in rhetorically way: *Are the Europeans ready to reject their lazy way of living? Are they ready to work harder and more efficiently for less money?* (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005j).

Additionally *Gazeta Wyborcza* published the article with the ironical title *35 hours per week or a day?* which contains fragments of English articles with comments on the rejection of the European constitution in France. For the cited English author it seems very funny that in the world of engineers from India who are prepared to work 35 hours a day, still exists the 35-hour working-week in France (Gazeta Wyborcza 2005k).

In turn, the Polish plumber has mainly positive characteristics. He is perceived as a busy and hardworking man. E. Overbeek – Dutch man who is the foreign correspondent of *Rzeczpospolita* in Netherlands writes: “*He and thousands of other migrants from new member countries have reasonably improved the image of Poland in the Netherlands. The stereotype of Poles as a loafer, trouble-maker and thief has met the rival in form of the diligent, resourceful and good qualified worker*” (Rzeczpospolita 2005k).

3.3.4 Romania

Labour migration as an independent topic is rather seldom in the Romanian press. Taking that into consideration and the fact that it would not fit into the framework and spatial limitation of this paper, the analysis has a modest quantitative dimension. The qualitative dimension will be explored by ways of content, phrasing, local semantics, representation, structure and intention of the articles.

As presented in the second chapter, the author is looking for articles in the first two newspapers – from the circulation point of view –, respectively *Libertatea* and *Jurnalul National*.

In the period chosen for the analysis, the articles that appear the most as results of the search engine were related to the emigrants living and working in Spain and England. The search was then directed according to this topic by using combinations of terms like: “Emigrants Spain”, “Workers England” but also “Romanian” together with the names of the two countries alone. The latter procedure was used in order to observe if emigrants are seen by the press in another way as well. The research produced a number of articles out of which the author selected the most relevant in reverse order of their

appearance. Eight articles from *Libertatea* and nine from *Jurnalul National* were chosen in the end..

Backgrounds: Working in Spain and England

Romania is a developing country that had to recover from a disastrous economic situation after the revolution against the communist regime in 1989. After almost 16 years it is still a country with a lot of structural problems. One of the most important is the reorganization of the rural areas that generates a lot of unemployment for people with a low education level and poor chances of re-qualification. This forced some of the population in these areas to find work in another country and by that giving raise to the migration movement that Romania is experiencing at the moment.

On its process of becoming a member state of the European Union, Romania entered into several partnerships with older member countries to transfer part of its cheap labour surplus in a legal and organized manner. This is the case of Spain which needs agricultural workers on seasonal basis for the different crop harvest. From all this, the case of strawberries collectors distinguished itself from the rest by being the most solicited type of job. This organized labour migration works as follows: the Spanish companies from one sector organize themselves and present their labour force demand for the following season to the Spanish Ministry of Labour. They contact the corresponding authority in Romania which is the Office for the Placement of Labour Force with the enquiry. The Romanian office organizes a competition where the representatives of the Spanish companies can meet and interview the pre-selected Romanian candidates³¹. The answer is most often given immediately to the candidates; the accepted ones must only apply for their visa and wait for the season to start.

England does not have such partnerships with Romania. The only legal way of working on the British island is either as self employed if you have a business plan and the required resources, or through the au pair program for youngsters. Students are also allowed to work part time. It must also be said that England, since it is not part of the Schengen Treaty, still requires a visa to enter its territory.

Content / Topic

The author starts with a description of the thematic structure of the selected articles. These articles consist of several types: news, background features and editorials, and have therefore different proportions between fact and opinion in their discourse. Concretely, this means that in the proper articles no personal opinions of the journalist become explicit or dominant. A background feature gives an analysis of the context or historical background of a news event, and this analysis may be given explicitly from a specific point of view and involve explicit opinions of the writer. In an editorial, finally, opinions are both explicit and dominant and formulated from the point of view of the newspaper or its editor. Moreover, these opinions are usually defended by a series of arguments, which means that editorials have an argumentative structure. This argumentation is not only defensive, but also persuasive, the editorial having the intention to contribute to the opinion formation of the reader about a current news event. The thematic structure is understood as “the hierarchical organization of themes or topics of a text, theoretically accounted for in terms of semantic macrostructures.”³² It

³¹ Statement of the Office for the Placement of the Labour Force 2004.

³² Teun A. Van Dijk, *News Analysis-Case studies of International and National News in the Press*, Hillsdale, New Jersey, 1988.

thus defines what the most important information of a text is, containing the respective topics and their mutual relations.

Labour migration is present in topics such as the following:

1. New labour offers for strawberry croppers in Spain
2. Job opportunities in Great Britain
3. Finding a job in Spain
4. The Romanian community in Spain
5. The Romanian community in London
6. Illegal migration

These topics define the main news event. There are also topics about context and backgrounds:

7. Success-stories of Romanians in Great Britain
8. Romanian immigrants, dangerous malefactors
9. Romanian students abroad
10. Bad-ended stories of legal or illegal immigrants

Though various sub themes may be distinguished, the major of the press stories, however, focus on these main topics.

Structure / Form

The titles in *Libertatea* are meant to give the reader an impression of the article. They are therefore long and in most cases full sentences. They are always written using distinct fonts or appealing colours, red being the predominant one. In most cases the title as a whole is reproduced in the first part of the article.

The main topic of the articles is entered without further introduction and the background is not contoured. *Libertatea* has a low level of specificity, as the description is rather poor, with few details. Sometimes the first sentence is used as leading sentence summarizing the topics of the news story. The text is rather compact, and developed on a range of 4 to 40 lines, the facts are succinctly presented, leaving out sometimes even significant details. Only the main event is briefly covered. Although the topic is sometimes related to previous ones, no connection is drawn from the reporter, no causes, no consequences or other background are presented that could make the sequence of events clear.

Sometimes, no concordances can be noticed from one article to another. This gives *Libertatea* a poor credibility, as this aspect could be noticed in the situation of the informative articles. The publication is very visual. The newspaper abounds in pictures, as auxiliary means, although they are not always relevant for the discussed topic.

The titles of *Jurnalul National* are concise, yet the most relevant and interesting aspects of the topic are revealed. The titles, written with distinct fonts, are often sustained by subtitles. Pictures are also widely used and they carry subtitles that concentrate on the most important information of the text.

The coverage of the studied topic is extensive, there is a dedicated theme where migration as a topic is being covered, "Romanians in the World" and most of the articles the author selected can be found there. In some articles, a concrete case is brought to the reader's attention, supported most often by interviews conducted with the

main character whose story is practically told. This story is a pretext for the author to further enlarge the topic at hand and to express his own opinion. The articles, developed on a range of 40-160 lines, are therefore structured in two or three parts and these are marked through short subtitles, which mark distinct sequences of the story. The sequence of topics follows the context and the backgrounds schema of presentation. The consequences of the presented article and the international reaction to it are emphasized and motivated. The most important aspects of the article are again often summarized at the end and evidenced with distinct fonts. Thus the reader has a short overview of the discussed topic at hand.

Phrasing and Wording

The articles in both newspapers are written in a convenient language for the target groups that they address. A difference in the writing styles of the two newspapers is evident from the first reading. Still, as a common feature of the articles of both publications, one can remark the tendency of presenting the Romanian emigrants in a positive light as the ones who were forced by the scarcity in their country to go working abroad and send money to their families in Romania. Thus they are perceived and presented as an important contribution to the national economy.

The syntactic style of the news does not show special feature for both newspapers. It is the usual, formal and complex type of syntax we find in any news discourse.

Libertatea uses in its titles and subtitles - there is seldom only one title - as well as in the body of the text very simple but most of the time very effective language. Being part of the popular press, *Libertatea* uses mostly the every day register. There is rarely room for interpretation of the title. They are very eye-catching, spectacular and most of all attracting. The words used – not for informative articles - are often shocking like “Un roman si-a taiat venele intr-un aeroport”³³ (*Libertatea* 2005a).

For the informative articles, the main information that the author wants to convey is to put from the very beginning in the title of the articles – “Alte 10.000 de slujbe in Spania anul acesta”³⁴ (*Libertatea* 2004b). The facts in the body of the article are presented in a linear, objective manner without any personal involvement of the author. Exact figures or procedures are reproduced almost statistically from the press release of the Office for the Placement of the Labour Force.

The editorials of *Libertatea* are the ones where metaphors, antithesis or an ironic joining of words are used as for example “Miliardari batjocoriti”³⁵ (*Libertatea* 2005b). It is the story of a country woman that wants to work abroad and encounters numerous difficulties while trying to get information from the authorities on working legally in Spain. This very catching metaphor in the title represents the association made by the journalist between the incomes that the emigrants are sending home and are taxed by the state and the treatment that these people have to endure in order to get there to earn money.

Their aim is more than simply presenting a case or being informative, but rather criticising in a sarcastic and displeased manner the public authorities, in the negative articles or overemphasizing the image of the main character in the positive articles.

This newspaper is also characterized by the use of rhetorical devices, such as exaggerated hyperbolic forms, generally associated with the tabloid style of reporting:

³³ In English: “A Romanian cut his veins on an airport”

³⁴ In English: “10.000 new jobs in Spain this year”

³⁵ In English: “The Insulted Billionaires”

“impressive”, “thousands people”, “extremely large numbers” (Libertatea 2005c, 2005d)

When compared to *Libertatea* the phrasing of the articles in *Jurnalul National* is more elaborated and complex in accordance with its target group and much more specific. The words are used in accordance with the formal style of news writing, the events are described explicitly, yet not in a low-key and unemotional tone. Rhetorical devices, like contrast and exaggerations are also present. As an example, in some articles, are first presented the success stories of immigrants who are highly appreciated and recognized as hardworking and bright persons and, in the next paragraph, are offered examples of offences done by some immigrants or bad-ending stories.

Words like “migration”, “immigrants” (Jurnalul National 2005d, 2005g) are often used and in some cases even words from the register of violence like: “criminality”, “kamikaze” (Jurnalul National 2005b) and exaggerations: “wave of immigrants”, “huge, overwhelming”, “enormous flood of persons” (Jurnalul National 2005a, 2005b).

The articles are dimensionally bigger, most of them being longer than the editorial of the former. That is perhaps the reason why the author did not find any editorials with the researched topic. The articles in themselves are very powerful, well documented and with a significant personal touch of the author.

One can differentiate the wording and phrasing styles between the informative and the story telling articles. The informative ones abound in exact details, as the typical news rhetoric used to make stories more credible pays specific attention to precise details and exact numbers. Although, behind the figures, the metaphors and the abrupt phrasing with short sentences, let us see the opinion of the reporter. Through this subtle mixture of objective and subjective the readers are slightly manipulated, as this opinion is also induced to them. This mixture of styles is also to recognize in the other type of articles, yet in a more prominent manner. However, the narrative style is dominant.

Privacy, Religion, Dignity

Both newspapers generally show respect for the private sphere of the heroes of the articles. The identity of these people is protected, especially with regard to the identity of illegal immigrants where there are no names provided and no photos taken of them. However, names are mentioned when it comes to interviews or declarations, when the persons concerned are official representatives of state authorities, either Romanian or foreign, or of NGOs. Names are also given when the deeds of dangerous malefactors or accidents in which immigrants were involved are reported. In only one particular case, in an article from *Libertatea*, when reporting on an accident a Romanian driver caused in Spain, full details on his family members are offered.

None of the analysed articles refers to any moral and religious beliefs. The religious or ethical affiliation of the concerned persons is never mentioned. It is seen as irrelevant for the topic, since the articles are about Romanian emigrants and are targeted to a Romanian audience and the country is in itself from this point of view very homogenous.

In several articles the idea is present that any human person must be treated as a subject, and not merely an object. He has to be met with respect in such a way that recognizes his or her [human dignity](#). This is the case of the articles on bad-ended stories of immigrants, where violations of human dignity are reported. Most of the articles, however, depict the life of the immigrants as being better than in their native country. Therefore, primarily positive aspects are emphasized and no reference to human dignity is made.

4. Codes of conduct for the Printing Press

4.1 Codes of Conduct in Europe

Codes of Conduct in general

Codes of conduct are a set of rules to guide behaviour and decisions. People or organisations can commit themselves voluntarily to abide to these rules. Thereby, people or organisations assume responsibility prospectively for their acting, i.e. they state responsibility for something they will do in the future. The opposite is to take responsibility for something that people or organisations have already done (retrospective responsibility)³⁶. This second option will be unrealistic for the line of journalism since journalists cannot anticipate fully the consequences of the articles they have written, for instance. Thus, prospective responsibility, i.e. codes of conduct, is the only possibility to assume responsibility for the branch of journalism.

Codes of conduct are needed because we live in a society, which complicates continuously, so that responsibilities can no longer be related exactly to an individual without any doubt. Decisions are taken collectively and actions are realised not only by a single person. Aßländer (2005) mentions three main reasons for the growing complexity of our society.³⁷ First, the European Union enlarges successively, especially towards the East which means that new cultures are integrated into the Union which enlarges cultural diversity as well. Second, the work environment has changed over time. The character of employment has changed: employees get more and more flexible and people fill a job shorter and shorter. Third, public is becoming more and more censorious by having access to (electronic) information more easily. The diffusion of information has increased rapidly by the frequent use of internet, for instance. Therefore, journalists have a larger audience and more power as well as responsibility by deciding on what is published and civil society gets more and better informed and thus has sufficient information out of which people can decide what they believe and which attitudes they adopt.

Since we live in a very complex society with diverse cultures and sovereign citizens the responsibility of journalists is of special importance, because they are very powerful through the high diffusion of their investigated information. They should admit their responsibility towards society since foreign news coverage can influence international relations (Hafez 2003: 54). To demonstrate the responsibility of journalists, codes of conduct for the press are implemented.³⁸ Furthermore, freedom of press should be considered as a necessary precondition for voluntary self-commitment of journalists.³⁹

Below, Codes of Conduct on a European and national (France, Germany, Poland and Romania) level are illustrated and compared to each other. Moreover, they are contrasted to legal requirements.

European level

³⁶ The terminology traces back to Aßländer (2005).

³⁷ Originally, Aßländer mentions four reasons. The author of this paper considered globalisation as inherent in the enlargement of the EU.

³⁸ In chapter 4 codes of conduct for the press are considered and not for public relations, although they are in most cases very similar (cf. Code d'Athènes, Code de Lisbonne). PR would be beyond the scope of this essay.

³⁹ For further information, see Wiedemann (1992: 9ff.).

The European Federation of Journalists (EFJ) is a regional, Europe wide organisation of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ). It is created to represent the interests of journalists' unions and their members. The EFJ is Europe's largest organization of journalists, representing about 280,000 journalists in over thirty countries, including France, Germany, Poland and Romania⁴⁰. The EFJ fights for social and professional rights of journalists working in all sectors of mass media.

The EFJ is recognised by the European Union, the Council of Europe and the European Trade Union Confederation as the representative voice of journalists in Europe. The EFJ has its headquarters in Brussels from where it gives statements, e.g. on the EU Commission Staff Working Papers concerning the branch of journalism⁴¹.

The EFJ focuses its work on social and professional issues relating to the enormous changes affecting the media industry. It supports member unions all over Europe to foster trade unions and to maintain or create environments in which quality and journalistic independence can be, become or return to be reality (European Federation of Journalists 2005b).

Moreover, the EFJ "insists that there is a strong need to assess breaches of moral rights in more detail at European Union level and to measure the consequences that these can have on creativity and quality of the cultural industry in general" (European Federation of Journalists 2005a). This means, that the Europe wide network of trade unions fosters a common basis for moral acting and, in addition, a common institution for the surveillance of the abidance to these rules by the European Union. This suggestion stipulates legal rules instead of volunteering codes of conduct. However, the EFJ accedes to the Code de Bordeaux, adopted by the Second World Congress of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ)⁴².

The Code de Bordeaux is a multinational code⁴³ that was updated in 1986 and has 116 member countries (including the four countries analysed in this essay).⁴⁴ This code consists of nine short paragraphs, compared to other codes mentioned in this essay. The main topics of concern are telling the truth⁴⁵, human dignity and discrimination. Since it is the most important international code of conduct, the latter issue is of special interest. E.g. point seven says "The journalists shall be aware of the danger of discrimination being furthered by the media, and shall do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins" (International Federation of Journalists 1986). Due to the fact that more than one hundred countries

⁴⁰ The membership of these countries consists of the membership of journalists of trade unions for their profession; i.e. for France the Syndicat national des journalistes, Syndicat general des Journalistes and Union syndicale des journalistes francais are members of the EFJ, for Germany there is the Deutsche Journalistinnen und Journalisten Union and the Deutscher Journalisten-Verband, for Poland there is the Polish Journalist Association and the Association of Journalists of the Republic of Poland, and for Romania there is the Uniunea Sindicala "Mendia sind" and Societatea Ziaristilor din Romania (cf. EFJ 2005c).

⁴¹ See, for example, European Federation of Journalists (2005a).

⁴² For further information see, www.ifj.org, 25/08/05.

⁴³ The classification between national-official codes, national-independent codes and multinational codes traces back to Hafez (2003).

⁴⁴ For further information, see <http://www.ifj.org/default.asp?Issue=IFJ&Language=EN> (24.08.2005).

⁴⁵ "Truth" appears in many codes in connection with plagiarism and reporting true information.

world wide joined this code, the matters of truth, human dignity and no discrimination could be considered as a consensus in values valid for Europe wide journalism.⁴⁶

National level

In this paragraph, the codes of conduct with the widest diffusion – or the two codes with the widest diffusion - of each country, analysed above, are presented. Hence, the presentation of the different codes of conduct of the press on a European and an international level is not meant to be exhaustive. The national codes⁴⁷ of conduct are presented with special respect to the treatment of migrants (discrimination).

The *Charter of the Duties of French Journalists* was adopted by the *National Syndicate of French Journalists* in 1918 and revised and completed by the Syndicate in 1938. The values it calls for are to take account for what a journalist writes, professional dignity, truth, and respect for legal rules. The newspaper *Le Monde* has published *Le style du Monde* in 2002 in which it commits itself to adhere to certain values. Of importance is, for instance, bribery, truth, humanity, explicitly, the contact with prejudices towards foreigners: “Journalists [from *Le Monde*] will refrain from using any phrase or cliché with sexist or racist connotations (‘a charming lady registrar’, ‘a very Oriental kind of cruelty’) or social contempt (‘the son of a humble school teacher’)” (*Le Monde* 2002).

The German *Press Code* was drawn up by the German Press Council in collaboration with the Press associations and presented to the former Federal President Gustav W. Heinemann on 12 December 1973 in Bonn; it was last updated on 20 June 2001. It puts special emphasis on human dignity, truth, respect for private sphere, and the responsibility of journalists toward society. Paragraph 12 of the German Press Code states that “no one should be discriminated because of his or her sex, disability or affiliation to an ethnic, religious, social or national group” (Deutscher Presserat 2005a). Special about the German Press Code is that the Press Council obliges his member to sign a voluntary self-commitment, which binds them to the Code. Almost all national and regional newspapers are member of the Press Council and have signed the commitment (cf. Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger 2005). This pledges the members also to accept the penalties of the Press Council in case of injury (cf. Deutscher Presserat 2005b).

The *Media Ethics Charter* from Poland was adopted on 29 March 1995 in Warsaw by Polish Journalists Association (SDP), Association of Journalists of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), Catholic Journalists Association, Syndicat of Polish Journalists, Journalists Trade Union, Press Publishers’ Union, and several smaller private and public publishers and broadcasters. In this code, truth and respect for human dignity as well as privacy are highlighted. What is special is that no paragraph about the contact with foreigners is mentioned. (cf. Media Ethics Charter of Poland 1995)

For Romania no code of conduct could be found in the literature, which does not necessarily mean that there is none, but at least that there is none that is translated into English. Nevertheless, the Romanian trade union *Societatea Ziaristilor din Romania* is member of the EFJ, like all other national organisations mentioned in this paragraph. Thereby, Romanian Journalists are theoretically bound to the Code de Bordeaux, since the EFJ is part of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ).

⁴⁶ A proof gives Hafez (2003: 42ff.).

⁴⁷ National codes include not only nation wide codes of conduct, but also codes on a company or trade union wide level.

The case of Romania exemplifies a common problem of codes of conduct for the occupation of journalists: there is a lot of confusion with the abundance of the different unions to the different codes of conduct. The *Charter of the Duties of French Journalists*, for example, is valid for French Journalists, but, at the same time, they have to abide to the Code de Bordeaux, because of their membership of the European Federation of Journalists and thus of the International Federation of Journalists, which has adopted this international code. The case of Germany is very similar; though the German Press Council has its own press code, it is still obliged to the code de Bordeaux due to its membership of EFJ and IFJ. Poland, too, has its own national code and is bound to the international code by the same means as France and Germany. Since Romania has no national code, the trace back to the Code de Bordeaux becomes even more complicated. This is something that has to be strongly criticised. Journalists should abide to codes of conduct for their every day acting and thus the codes should be as present as possible at their work. Nevertheless, all trade unions and press councils have in common that they, as an organisation, fight for the freedom of press and the rights of journalists.

Legal requirements

In contrast to voluntary codes of conduct, there are also legal regulations coping with the treatment of foreigners and migrants. As an example, the Council Directive *Implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial and ethnic origin* (2000/43/EC) will be taken into account.

This directive is based on article 13 of the *Treaty Establishing the European Community*, since it fosters that “the Council (...) may take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation” (art. 13(1) TEC), as well as on Article 6 of the *Treaty on European Union* where it is mentioned that “the Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States” (art. 6(1) TEU). Point 13 of the recital of the directive of equal treatment mentions accordingly that “this prohibition of discrimination should also apply to nationals of third countries”. Furthermore, in this directive a definition of discrimination is given that divides the term into four aspects: direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, harassment and instruction to discriminate (cf. art. 2 2000/43)⁴⁸.

The provisions laid down by this directive should be considered as a minimum requirement concerning the equal treatment between persons (cf. 2000/43/EC, art. 6(1), 11(2)). This opens legal space for further measures to ameliorate the situation of people living in a foreign country, like codes of conduct. Yet, the implementation of codes of conduct is mentioned explicitly in article 11(1): “Member States shall, in accordance with national traditions and practice, take adequate measures (...) to foster equal treatment, including through the monitoring of workplace practices, collective agreements, *codes of conduct*, research or exchange experiences and good practices [accentuation by K.V.]”. For effective monitoring, the directive regulates by law that sanctions “comprise the payment of compensation to the victim, [which] must be effective, proportionate and dissuasive” (art. 15 2000/43/EC) as well as the Commission

⁴⁸ This official definition of discrimination designated by the EU is applied throughout the whole paper.

of the European Union requires all five years a report about the application of the directive (cf. art. 17 2000/43/EC)⁴⁹.

In brief, the Council directive *implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin* invokes again the respect for Human Rights, fosters the implementation of codes of conduct by considering the requirements of this directive as minimum standards and this directive is the legal basis for penalty payments in case of violation. Thus, codes of conduct for the branch of journalists are completely in line with legislation of the European Union.

4.2 Monitoring of Codes of Conduct

Integrity vs. Compliance

Special about voluntary rules is that people bind themselves to the rules and thus act integer, whereas to observe the law means to comply with legally binding rules. Consequently, if there is a legal loophole, people just complying to legal law will possibly not act in favour of the law, but, perhaps, in their own - while integer or equitable persons act in the sense of law, including situations for which no legal law is enacted. Thus, binding to codes of conduct means to act according to the sense of the law and not only to its words.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, “both sides are connected and call for each other: Compliance needs integrity - integrity needs compliance” (Thielemann 2005: 31, 36)⁵¹. Both approaches are needed to evoke integer acting of people bound to the code in general and journalists in particular. To “support ethically sound behaviour” (Paine 1994: 111) shared values and attitudes have to be promoted by codes of conduct whereas legally binding rules are just passed by authorities and can be considered as the smallest amount of rules. Since, according to Paine (1994: 109), it is proven that ethically sound behaviour depends strongly on the organizational culture in a profession - in this case in the line of journalists - common values and attitudes are of special importance. Codes of conduct gain acceptance through a commitment to common values and beliefs. Thus, if someone injures the values set down in the code he or she will be identified easily and either disregarded by his or her colleges and/or held responsible for this injury by several institutions presented below.

Institutions for monitoring

Some of the national organisations have their own press council which monitors the abidance to the accordant code of conduct. In this paragraph the German press council is presented as an example for the general functioning of press councils.

Everyone is allowed so send a reasonable complaint about a violation of the German press code to the German press council. This complaint is checked by the council, which is – in case of relevance - followed by a conciliation committee that tries to solve the complaint without an official decision of the German press council. It has four alternatives to impose a sanction: a) public reprehension (includes obligation to publicise), b) not-public reprehension (without obligation to publicise, e.g. to protect the victim), c) disapproval, d) advice (cf. Deutscher Presserat 2005c). Especially the latter

⁴⁹ Jenaro Tajeda complains that this directive neglects discrimination out of religious reasons (2002: 16).

⁵⁰ The differentiation between compliance and integrity traces back to Paine (1994).

⁵¹ The article quoted deals with business ethics. The author confers Thielemann's thoughts about business ethics to the field of codes of conduct for the press since both deal with ethics in professions.

two opportunities of the press council to penalise a violation is limited to mere disciplinary action. The press council has no power to demand for compensation for immaterial damage. Nevertheless, out of 672 received complaints in 2004, 34 lead to reprehension (private and non-private) and 77 to disapproval and advice. 51 of these received complaints were pertained to paragraph 12 of the German press code, concerning discrimination.

Since press councils in general do not have legal power, their power is rather limited; there is no way it impose “hard” sanctions that prevent journalists from violating the code again. This underlines that codes of conduct are strongly dependant on voluntary self-commitment and that monitoring is only conditionally possible and effective.⁵²

On an international level no instrument for the monitoring of the Code de Bordeaux (or any other codes) is implemented. On this level information about the monitoring of the codes could not be found. Therefore, the author assumes that the monitoring as well as the briefing of journalists about the code, its proper interpretation and appliance is left to the national level, i.e. to the different trade unions. This makes a Europe wide (international) monitoring of codes of conduct, especially of the Code de Bordeaux, impossible.⁵³

In 1976 the first ombudsman⁵⁴ was hired by the American newspaper *New York Times*. His mission was to assure the abidance to journalistic standards, to represent the readers’ interest and to treat complaint of victim discreet, i.e. save their anonymity (cf. Wiedemann 1992: 221f.). The implementation of an ombudsman improves the transparency of this organ and thus, increases its credibility towards the readers. The problem with ombudsmen, as it is with all of these monitoring instruments, is that they act with hindsight, when the violation of the code has already happened, so that their aim is to minimise the amount of lawsuits and not to assure integer thinking of journalists.

The European Union can be seen as a controller for its enacted law as well. Although the legal requirements of the EU are less regulating than voluntary codes, penalties imposed by the European Court of Justice are much higher, since, in most cases, they consist of penalty payments. The problem with these payments is that they will rarely prevent future injuries of law, as long as an increase in press run by unethical reporting is more profitable than injuring the law and paying the penalty (cf. Wiedemann 1992: 10). Nevertheless, violence against European law is avenged by the ECJ, which is thus the only way of Europe wide monitoring. However, common to all codes of conduct is that by the commitment to the codes, journalists accept that injuries of the codes are published in the same organ in which the injury was committed. Although one should abide voluntarily to the codes, monitoring would be an important instrument to give them the proper position for acting.

⁵² There are also examples where the press council has the power to impose penalty payments depending on the diffusion of the run, e.g. the Swedish press council (cf. Leonardi 2004).

⁵³ The fact that the monitoring is left to the member states could also be interpreted as in a positive way, i.e. the monitoring is functioning according to the principle of subsidiarity.

⁵⁴ The concept of an ombudsman can be also found under the following terms “reader’s advocate”, “public editor”, or “news critic” (Wiedemann 1992: 221).

4.3 Reflection & Evaluation of Analysis of the National Printing Press

The national printing press of France, Germany, Poland and Romania was analysed in chapter three as well as different codes of conduct on a national and international level were demonstrated before. In this paragraph, the illustration of labour migrants in the national press is analysed in the light of their abundance to the national (or international) codes of conduct.

France

Le Monde considers itself to be impartial and objective (cf. p.3)⁵⁵. Nevertheless, it fosters the stereotyping of Polish migrants as “Polish plumbers” (cf. p.4, 7, 8, 10) or “Polish nurses” (p. 11), Estonian migrants as “Estonian architects” (p.8), and the movement of migrants as a wave that has to be feared (cf. p.3, 9). In the French, as well as in the German printing press, these stereotypes are often used in a discrediting way, e.g. people need not be afraid of the flood of migrants. Independent of the message conveyed at the “surface”, migrants are mentioned in connection with words which do not stem from the human sphere and thus foster negative stereotyping. Another example is the usage of the word “chassé-croisé” (Engl.: hunt; chivvy) (p.5) or “hords” (p.6), which allude to the sphere of animals.

The idea of considering migrants as out-group, i.e. as *them* and the nationality to which the journalist belongs as in-group, i.e. as *we* becomes obvious, for instance, when Patrick Debarle says: “They [Polish plumbers, K.V.] should come and we will train them” (cf. p. 8).

This rather small amount of examples shows that journalists have a point of view which considers migrants as *not part of us*, but as *them*. Therefore, they promote stereotypes and give *the others* allusions to things that are not part of the human sphere.

Germany

In the German press, anxiety for loss of job and living standard (cf. p.5, 7, 8) is a dominant topic. Exaggerated and not truthfully reported facts lead to the stoking of fears, which violates the value of true reporting being part of all codes of conduct mentioned above. In this context words like “kolonnenweise”, “cheap-tilers”, “Fremdarbeiter”, “poverty-migration”, “wage-pusher” (p.6, 9) (the term was used by a politician and criticised in the printing press) were utilised in German newspapers. Thus, the problem with truth is not to report in a critical manner, but to exaggerate facts and to stir up fears of the German public that could easily lead to discrimination or xenophobia, especially because of a rather emotional way of presenting information (cf. p. 10).

German journalists especially, have realised that their country is in strong need of immigrants “to solve the serious upcoming economic problems arising from a shift to the old in demography and overloaded social welfare systems” (p. 6). This mirrors again that migrants are treated often not as human beings, but as economic resource of great importance to insure the German living standard, as “anonymous workforce” (p.9).

⁵⁵ All pages given in this paragraph refer to this paper.

Poland

In the Polish printing press the fear of migrants is not issued, instead journalists state that the liberalisation of the European market, due to the Bolkestein-Directive, is a big chance for Polish people to increase their living-standard, although, also mentioned in the press in Poland, they are aware of the fact that they are not welcomed in France, for instance, because French people fear of strong competition in labour force. (cf. 5ff.) Therefore, migration is positively connoted in the press and migrants are always treated as humans.

Protectionism of old EU member states is presented as being guilty for a stop of the migration movement towards the west which increases the quality of life of Polish people while it diminishes the quality of life in the western countries, i.e. France and Germany. Thereby, the western countries are stigmatised as responsible for stagnation in the Polish standard of life. (cf. p.8f.) Thereby, the thinking of *them* and *us* is fostered in a manner that divides Europe into West and East which instigates the new against the old member states in a manner that exceeds the objective reporting about differences. This could lead to an enlargement of the split in the European society.

Romania

The case with Romania is similar to that of Poland. Romanian emigrants are also represented in a positive manner because they are considered to be brave to leave their home country and send transfer payments back to their families (cf. p.8f.). On the other hand, failures of migration projects towards the west are reported too, but are presented in an ironic way with many exaggerations that convey a different message instead of true, objective facts. Given the emotional and personal way to convey a message in a Romanian newspaper, one has to add that the style of writing an article is generally more influenced by the author than in other cultures (cf. 9). What is more, is the use of expressions like “wave of migrants” or “flood of persons” (p.9) in the Romanian press as it is done in the Western countries.

Given that Romania has no national code of conduct, the values of truth and objectivity are neglected with respect to the reporting about migration. By representing the journalists’ own opinion, the public opinion is decisively formed by a limited amount of journalists and therefore strongly biased. Due to their strong influence on the Romanian public, journalists should remind themselves of their responsibility either by implementing a national code of conduct or by stating explicitly their abidance to the Code de Bordeaux, generated by the International Federation of Journalists.

Comparison between Eastern and Western countries and theoretical background

The analysis of the illustration of labour migrants in France, Germany, Poland and Germany has displayed, that due to the different political and societal situations in these countries the treatment of migrants in the print media is different between Eastern (France, Germany) and Western (Poland, Romania) countries. The Western press is reporting about immigrants that are often stereotyped and considered as *them*, as not being part of *our* human sphere. A strong distinction between *them* and *us* is conducted by the press in the Eastern countries as well, but on the level of Eastern (*we*) and Western (*them*) countries. Moreover, while in France and Germany the fear of immigrants is stoked, emigration in the Eastern countries, especially in Poland, is presented as a way to a prosperous future. In the latter mentioned countries, strong influence of journalists on public poses a problem that could perhaps be solved by voluntary self-commitment to codes of conduct. What should be an issue for the

monitoring systems in the Western countries is the treatment of migrants as a resource that is needed out of financial and economic reasons for an increase in wealth. The results of this comparison are in the following related to a wider theoretical background. As Teun van Dijk, a Dutch researcher on racism and the media, pointed out, ever since migrants have become news in the western world, they have become present in the form of “they”. That is, journalists talk *about* them – not *to* them. To recognise that the writer even has to address people that are a matter of concern may be one of the biggest challenges for this occupation. It means, never losing the perspective of the fact that *they* are also listening, reading and viewing the media at the same time.⁵⁶ *They* are fellow human beings like every one else and need to be treated like human beings and not like a foreign ethnic group which are at the border of society and unable to participate in the media⁵⁷ (cf. Hage 2003: 76). According to Küng, treating a human being humanly means everyone irrespective of age, sex, race, skin colour, physical or mental ability, language religion, political view, or national or social origin possesses an inalienable and untouchable dignity, and everyone, the individual as well as the state and the media, is therefore obliged to honour this dignity and to protect it (2003: 21). The idea behind it refers to Immanuel Kant who claimed to consider human beings always as ends in themselves and never as mere means (cf. Kant 1785/2002: 80). The way we see ourselves describes our identity. Due to the fact that people distinguish between each other makes stereotyping possible. In this case mostly ethnic stereotyping can be found, which means “either an overly-simplified representation of the typical characteristics of members of an ethnic group or a falsehood that has been repeated so many times that it is accepted by many people as generally true. The use of stereotypes often leads to misunderstanding and hurt feelings” (Wikipedia 2005). In a negative sense, a bad treatment of migrants in the media forms stereotypes about them which, again, have an impact on the identity of the migrants as well as on their stereotype of the nationals of the destination country (addressed by the author of the article, in the worst case). Negative stereotyping obviously has a bad impact on the integration of (labour) migrants. Although this topic is beyond the scope of this essay, it should be used as an argument to demonstrate the proportions and extensive importance of the treatment of migrants in the media. Thus, journalists should always be aware that they consider all people that they are writing about as part of the sphere of humanity.

4.4 Responsibility of Journalists with Respect to the Image of Labour Migrants in the Printing Press

In 1997 the *Inter Action Council* of former heads of state and government under the chairmanship of Helmut Schmidt (former chancellor of the FRG), proposed the *Universal Declaration of Human Responsibilities*. In its article 14 simultaneously states that the media is free but carries special responsibilities:

⁵⁶ Referring to migrants as *them* also implies that the author considers the distinction between *them* and *us* as proportionate. Even the formulation *us* or *we* does not necessarily include all readers of the newspaper; this could just address the members of the ethnic majority in the region where the paper is prevalent, as well.

⁵⁷ Yet, the anthropologist Lévi-Strauss points out that there are some tribes which name themselves ‘*men*’, which implies that there are other tribes that are not worthwhile to be treated as human beings (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1976: 329).

“The freedom of the media is to inform the public and to criticise institutions of society and governmental actions, which is essential for a just society, must be used with *responsibility and discretion*. Freedom on the media carries a *special responsibility* of precise and true reporting. Sensational reports, which diminish the human person or the dignity, must at all times be avoided” (accentuation by K.V.).

Precisely because the Inter Action Council rejects censorship, it asks for a clear definition of a journalist’s ethical obligation. While it is certainly right that no one denies a journalist the right to be wrong, but no journalist has the right intentionally to falsify facts and to degrade human beings. That is why article 14 of the Declaration of Human Responsibilities affirms a special obligation to report accurately and truthfully without resorting to sensationalism (cf. Küng 2003: 26).

It is within the scope of responsibility of journalists to write about (labour) migrants from a point of view which includes them as readers as well and therefore, treat them not as matter of concern, but as part of the human sphere. Furthermore, truth can be considered as a common value of all nations analysed in this paper. Without always reporting the truth, the readers would no longer trust in journalism, would no longer buy newspapers and journalists would no longer be able to earn money by investigating and consequently less and less people will take this profession which leads to a lack in democracy and thus to a constraint of freedom (for further information see, Küng 2003: 22ff.).⁵⁸

Nevertheless, on the one hand there is the right for privacy and on the other hand there is the public’s right to be informed. This means a contradiction between individual and communitarian journalism. The mainstream French journalism ethics offer the most far-reaching protection of privacy among European countries. Germany for instance, values the public’s right to be informed higher than France, since no agreement is needed if a person is a public figure. Thus, codes of conduct try to balance privacy with the right to be informed of the public. The different codes of the different countries vary in their ethical importance they attach to privacy. For this reason the application of the principle of subsidiarity for codes of conduct makes sense for the line of journalism. In fact, codes of conduct are first of all implemented on a national level which makes them more applicable by harmonising the code according to the national culture. Especially with the reporting about migrants, different issues are tackled in different countries, so that there is a need for implementing different codes in different countries. With regard to the different languages it would also be much easier to monitor such a code on a national level. Nevertheless, due to the change in society as mentioned above (cf. Abländer 2005), international codes are needed as well, since media reports about different countries and cultures (migrants). On the European level there are directives enacted by the EU (which foster the implementation of codes of conduct) and on an international level there is first of all the Code de Bordeaux. Both could be considered as a basis for the smallest amount of shared values. National codes should therefore be in line with these values, i.e. particularly the Human Rights and the value of truth and fair reporting.

Since the media has huge power in democratic states, journalists should be conscious about this power and become aware of their responsibility by abiding to certain rules. Journalists should bind themselves all over Europe voluntarily to codes of conduct to increase the press’ credibility as well as to contribute to a better integration of the new member states to the European Union.

⁵⁸ For further reading, see von Gerlach 2000 and Esser 2000.

5. Summary, Comparison & Critical Conclusion

5.1 Summary of the Analysis of the different Countries

France

The articles used in this paper are found in the on-line editions so it is quite difficult to really determine what kind of place the article have in the whole newspaper. Thus the auxiliary means like pictures are not available.

a) The articles dated from the enlargement process

The articles referring to the enlargement (which is a very complex process) only focus on the question of migration and most of them are inserted in the section devoted to Europe or to economy. These articles mainly intend to show that the immigration from Eastern Europe should not be feared (above all in comparison with other “waves” of migration) even though the vocabulary used is biased and marked by the “wave” topic. The religious question is also highlighted through the Muslim immigration.

b) The articles of the referendum campaign

The articles found dated from the referendum campaign focus on the “Polish plumber” issue or even refer to the Turkish question even though this referendum concerns the constitutional treaty. The articles focus a lot on labour market issues even though the potential adoption of the constitutional treaty also raises many other issues.

In *Le Monde*, the articles found tend to put into question the idea of a massive wave of immigration from Eastern Europe. One of the main arguments is that anyway the “Polish plumber” does not have enough abilities (technical and language skills) and therefore this immigration is very improbable.

The authors of the articles found in *Le Figaro* tend to convince the reader to vote ‘no’ to the referendum. The interview of the politician, Philippe de Villiers is very one-sided and against the EU constitution. The politician is mixing very various arguments (that are actually not really linked to the Constitution in itself) to convince the reader to vote ‘no’. In the other article a firm declaration of a delegate of a minister is emphasized.

As a result, the articles of *Le Monde* tend to take part of the “yes” to the Constitution whereas the authors of *Le Figaro* tend to make the public afraid of an “Eastern immigration wave”.

c) The articles of the post-referendum period

Most of the articles tackled by the author of the part about France are to be traced back to the post-referendum period. In both of the newspapers, the journalists tend to denounce the racism latent in the decision to vote for ‘no’ at the occasion of the referendum. But the author of the part about France also noticed that the articles of *Le Figaro* tend more after the referendum to be legitimate the ‘no’ to the constitution. The articles of *Le Figaro* tend to present much more arguments linked to the economy and the lacks of the national labour market. The argumentation is more based on anti-racist arguments in *Le Monde*.

General conclusive remarks

The author of the part devoted to France noticed a very big division. The traditional political division between the left-wing and the right-wing is far from being a reading key explanation. Both of the camps do have pro and contra arguments:

- the right-wing (and here *le Figaro*) can be against the Constitution (no to immigration) but also pro-EU constitution (yes to the cheap labour force for the entrepreneurs)
- the left-wing (and here *le Monde*) can be against the Constitution (no to the social dumping) and also pro-EU constitution (no to racism)

But a general trend is still to present the eastern European immigration as something that has to be feared. The Eastern countries are also pejoratively described as benefiting from the EU more than they could contribute to it.

Once again, this paper has been written on the basis of a limited corpus of 19 articles. Moreover, these articles are often embedded in a certain political context. So the representation of the Eastern migration is certainly biased by those facts.

Germany

The newspapers are not that different in their reporting than the author originally expected. Both, the two more serious newspapers *SZ* and *FAZ* and the tabloid *Bild*, present the topic of east-west labour migration in a multitude of ways.

This way of reporting can thereby be described as very complex and ambivalent. While on the one hand articles dealing with the topic mostly aim to give data and deliver objective facts, it can at the same time often be discovered that the topic is covered in a very subjective and emotional manner. As also pointed out by other authors of this paper, there seem to exist a negative perception, even near to fear, of migrants from new member states in Western European countries, maybe partly encouraged by the press. Therefore, it is not surprising that many articles seem to make use of an emotional approach to this topic.

All in all the presented image of Eastern migrants in the analysed articles is very conflicting. On one hand, they are presented as a threat to German and Western European labour markets and social systems. On the other hand, the migrants are welcomed as valuable means to fill existing and future gaps in the western labour force market.

Family, Religion or any kind of cultural related aspects are no topic at all in any of the articles. They do not seem to be seen as either a problem, nor as an encouraging factor for migration or integration. They do not seem to be an aspect at all. The only discussed migration reason is the economic motivation⁵⁹.

Poland

Rzeczpospolita and *Gazeta Wyborcza* do not considerably differ in their ways of reporting on labour migration in context of liberalisation of services in European Union. The style and wording are often emotionally charged in both newspapers. All the authors of the articles defend the liberalisation of the services and the 'polish plumber'. The arguments of the opponents of the liberalisation are not analysed in a sufficiently

⁵⁹ Thus is partly, because the selection of the articles was conducted under the aspects of labour migration only.

detailed way. Thus the articles are seldom neutral and it is not easy for the reader to mould his or her opinion independently. The only difference between *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Rzeczpospolita* is that the former has published several interviews with French experts such as Jean-Louis Bourlanges (*Gazeta Wyborcza* 2005l) or Paul Thibaud (*Gazeta Wyborcza* 2005m) who explained the point of view of French socialists in a more detailed way. However, the editorials in *Gazeta Wyborcza* do not differ much from that in *Rzeczpospolita*. Emotionally charged titles, irony, rhetorical phrases and slogans appear quite often.

In the analysed texts the violation of human rights of migrants cannot be observed. No particular persons are mentioned. Only a hypothetical migrant – polish plumber – who finally has not managed to get through to Western Europe, is concerned in the articles. Therefore, the moral and religious believes, human dignity cannot be ridiculed and the private information cannot be misused.

Moreover, the authors of the newspapers clearly sympathise with the plumber – their fellow countryman. To defend him and his rights, they try to ridicule his opponents – Western- Europeans. Therefore, Western-Europeans are presented in some articles from the negative perspective. According to the articles they are lazy communists who are not eager to work harder. They were presented as selfish and not wanting to share their wealth with the poor neighbours. Additionally, they were considered to be irrational and seen as acting even against their own interests. The authors of the articles presumed that they will cause the economic death of the European Union if they do not stop to impose on other countries their dysfunctional social and economic systems.

Obviously, not all analyzed articles concerning the issue of the service directive and polish plumber comprise these accusing elements. But a negative attitude, in this context, in particular against French or Germans, can be recognized. In this situation the reluctance and mistrust of others has been answered also by reluctance and mistrust.

Romania

From the analysis of the 20 articles in the two selected newspapers, we may conclude that the properties of the news report about immigration are systematically related to various characteristics of the social and cognitive contexts of news.

The difference that appear between the articles from the two newspapers are clearly marked, as some are reports of the elite press and some are reports of the popular or tabloid press.

Topical differences appear especially in the presence or absence of context and background information. An evaluation of the consequences of the events tends to be absent in *Libertatea* articles, yet it is present in most of the *Jurnalul* articles. However, most articles provide enough context and background that make the events minimally intelligible.

The articles from *Jurnalul* are not fundamentally different. Thematic structures, relevance structures, style and rhetoric appear to be very similar here. *Libertatea*'s articles, on the contrary, are not so homogenous from this point of view.

The news reports tend to be about topics that are often examples of newly formed stereotypes or prejudices, i.e. that the immigrants have better perspectives abroad than in Romania. The cause or the context of these facts is seldom analyzed in the press and hardly ever explained. The lack of interest in the backgrounds of the labour migration phenomenon obfuscates it for the public at whole. The reverse of the situation is also presented, but only perceived as an unfortunate exception, rather marginal and that confirms the general rule.

Such prejudices, which are also shared by large segments of the media public, favour attention for, and memory and selection of those stories that are consistent with such opinions.

Persons who migrate in search of work appear as major actors in articles in two situations: either as being successful, accepted and appreciated in their guest country, or, on the contrary, as having problems with the law or facing other overwhelming difficulties: they play a deviant role, they protest against and/or violate norms and rules, they are unable to adapt.

Migration is seen as a natural right of passport holders to enter a country and work there and the positive intention of the immigrants is emphasized. However, some limits can be perceived throughout the articles. The typical source for this kind of news is, in the first situation, represented by real persons, who have experienced life and work abroad. The second type of situation, however, has only seldom the hero of the event as source, but in most cases the authorities, i.e. national or local government, police, courts or state agencies.

The overall result strongly suggests an implicit system of rules and values in the news accounts of labour migration. This system of rules selects the events connected to labour migration as an important, although not as major news event, which receives global attention, detailed description in main and background articles and in some cases front page treatment.

The topics as such are seldom neutral in the sense that the readers could choose from an independent opinion on immigration. This means that for the readers to be able to form independent, alternative opinions and attitudes about emigrants, they must have ample prior and continuous information on the topic and the rare ability to decipher the ideological codes of the press.

5.2 Comparisons

France and Germany

Even though the French and German newspapers are supposedly influenced by certain political positions, thus there is no one-sided way of reporting about the East-West migration issue. For example, the left-wing newspapers are divided: they put forward non-discrimination and anti-racism as pro-arguments.

In the French newspapers the topic of East-West migration was strongly embedded in the topic of the referendum on the European constitution which creates a strong polarising effect. In the German newspapers such a polarising effect can not be found. Nevertheless, German journalists also tend to connect East-West migration to the spectrum of other topics (demographic development, discussion about foreigner law, problems of social security system). To sum it up, East-West migration is, in both countries, set into a social political context. Whereas the German printing press covers a broader range of connected topics, the French one focuses on the EU Constitution as main topic.

Both, French and German newspapers tend to limit the complex integration process of the Eastern enlargement to the migration question.

Poland and Romania

In Poland and Romania the authors of the articles deal with the issue of labour migration from the in-group perspective. That is the reason why the migrants are usually neither presented in a negative way nor as a danger. Instead, hints for emigration

are given in the press, e.g. how to find a job, how to receive a work permit. Nevertheless, the Romanian press exaggerates the amount of migrants moving from east to west using emotionally charged words. Thereby, a clear differentiation between Eastern and Western Europe is promoted. In general, in both countries emigrants are perceived as a catalyst for the economical development of the Eastern countries, since labour migrants make transfer-payments to their families in their home countries.

Yet the topics edited in the two countries are different. In Poland the discussion about the Service Directive from the European Union was dominant as well as the referendum concerning the constitution for the European Union, where the “polish plumber” came into discussion. In contrast to Poland, in the Romanian press these topics are of very low importance, since it is not yet part of the European Union. Instead, the Romanian press is concerned not only with offering the reader job opportunities but also with the reporting about Romanian communities in specific immigration countries of Romanians (e.g. Spain and England).

Consequently, although the topics tackled in the newspapers of the two countries are rather different, their way of presenting the topic of migration is comparable.

Comparison between Eastern and Western Countries

In all four countries analysed, the reporting is depicted in an emotional manner. This can be seen either by rhetorical means such as emotional wording, or by the way of selection the topics such as reporting specific personal stories (which either describe personal successes or failures). Regarding articles from all four countries, the strong differentiation between in-group and out-group could be observed. In case of Germany and France, the *them* is represented by migrants from Eastern Europe, whereas in Poland and Romania by Western Europeans. Moreover, the concerns of the in-group members are usually elaborated in a more detailed way than the concerns of the out-group members.

5.3 Critical Conclusion

To give a critical conclusion, it is necessary to have again a look at the scientific method applied for this research. The results of the research of the illustration of labour migrants in the printing press are strongly dependant on the limitation of analysed articles. Therefore, the results of this essay should be seen in light of this limitation.

The emotionality of the treatment of the labour migration topic reveals the sensitiveness of this topic. The decision to migrate to another country out of economic reasons is very often influenced by external factors like the labour environment in the country of origin. Therefore, labour migrants have different inducements to move and follow different incentives for their decision of their destination country. Due to these facts, the treatment of migrants in the written press should be under certain surveillance. As far as the analysis reveals, codes of conduct on an international level could be considered as an appropriate measure to limit the reporting in its emotionality as well as to protect the human dignity of migrants. A further surplus would be to promote solidarity between Eastern and Western Europe. Nevertheless, this should not end up into a Europe wide equal way of reporting about migrants, but in a Europe wide agreement to follow the principles of human dignity, respect for other people and truth in reporting objectivity. To achieve these aims, national codes of conduct should be implemented and broadcasted on an international level, which on the one hand is coherent to the international Code de Bordeaux and, on the other hand respects the specific cultural

characteristics of the different national countries. In particular, a national code of conduct for Romania should be implemented which forces journalists to reduce their emotional way of reporting about migrant issues.

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ANNEX

List of Questions to Analyse Newspaper Articles

- Identification / Classification
 - Which kind of newspaper is at hand?
 - Which influence / market share has the newspaper?
 - Who owns the newspaper?
 - Who influences the newspaper?
 - What is the newspapers core target group?
 - Which political orientation has the newspaper?
 - Has the newspaper known for a special style / journalise?

- Content / Topic
 - o With which topic(s) deals the text?
 - o Does the text link to former articles / statements?
 - o How many topics are dealt with?
 - o Exits there one core topic?
- Phrasing / Wording
 - o Are there ideologically charged words / phrases (“convicts” <> “prisoners”)?
 - o Which kind of language is (mainly) used (e.g. descriptive <> narrative)?
 - o Are there keywords, catchphrases, slogans, etc?
 - o Uses the text rhetorical phrases / elements of irony?
 - o Is the wording emotional or objective?
 - o How sophisticated / plain is the wording / phrasing?
- Representation / Make-Up
 - o Which kind of text is at hand?
 - o How is the text made up (e.g. type and size of printing)?
 - o How many columns exist?
 - o In which section of the newspaper is the text (e.g. feature pages)?
 - o Which importance is attached to the text within the newspaper?
- Structure / Form
 - o What is the main structure of the text?
 - o Which form have headline (title) and subtitle?
 - o Are there different parts?
 - o Which part has which function?
 - o Does the text follow an argumentative structure?
 - o Are the auxiliary means (pictures, figures, tables, subtitles, etc.)?
- Intention / Purpose
 - o Which main intention has the text (inform <> appeal)?
 - o Addresses the text directly (indirectly) a certain target group?
 - o Uses the text certain devices to achieve its aim?
 - o Is the text directly appealing or addresses directly the reader?
- Privacy, Religion, Dignity
 - o Is any private information of the person concerned given? Which? In which way?⁶⁰
 - o Are moral and religious beliefs mentioned? In which way?
 - o Is human dignity mentioned? In which context?
 - o Is the religious or ethical affiliation of the concerned person (victim, committer, migrant) mentioned, although it is not relevant to understand the statement?

⁶⁰ For a concrete definition of privacy see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Privacy> (08.08.2005).