"To arrive means being able to tell"

Memory Cultures and Narratives of Historical Migration in German Media in 1991–1994 and 2015–2017

Philipp Seuferling

Supervisor: Magnus Andersson

Examiner: Annette Hill

MSc Media and Communication Studies

Department of Communication and Media

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LUND
UNIVERSITY

Abstract

The way a society remembers its past is crucial for how it deals with its present. Migration is one of these historically continuous events that produce memory cultures, which affect how refugees and migrants are perceived today. This thesis presents a case study of mediated memory cultures of migration in Germany. Mediations of migration history from two strikingly similar periods of condensed societal communication about migration, the so-called "refugee crisis" (2015-2017) and "asylum crisis" (1991-1994), are analyzed. The aim is to understand how memory cultures of historical migrations both are part of and affect contemporary mediations of migration.

Embedded in a conceptual triangle of media, memory and migration studies, this research goes beyond a study of migrant representations. It argues that memory cultures can demonstrate how media repetitively and continuously re-narrativize migration – across different cases of migration, across the media ensemble and across two time periods. Media pre- and remediate the story of migration in cultural templates and, thereby, contribute to the social construction of how migration is understood in society.

A narrative and discourse analysis of mainstream media texts, which feature historical migrations into and from Germany, sheds light on how historical frameworks of telling the story of migration form a media culture of migration. It can show that mediations of migration are historically continuous and repetitive: Media converge diverse experiences of flight, expulsion and migration over history into similar narrative patterns and cultural schematic templates of mediation. The analysis of a wide variety of factual and fictional media texts (broadcasting, press and online) from both time periods shows how media re-tell the story of migration within certain meta-narratives, on a textual and visual level, regardless the migration case.

Narratives and discourses of migration history form a contested memory culture: Mediated memories of migration negotiate a power question of inclusion and exclusion of refugees and migrants in national memory cultures of Germany. The different mediations show how, on the one hand, the voicing of historical migration experiences is limited to nationalist framing and one-sided perspectives of the receiving society. On the other hand, they also potentially contribute to incorporating imaginations of others' experiences into own memories, as well as to creating empathy for contemporary refugees through the transfer of historical knowledge. Recognizable, culturally schematic narrativizations of migration in the media both limit and reduce diverse experiences, but also make identifiable time-crossing imaginaries around the phenomenon of migration possible for audiences in receiving societies.

Mediated memory cultures of migration can re-imagine past, present and future together. Showing the historical repetitiveness of mediations of migration, this thesis hence contributes to our understanding of how media historically affect social knowledge of migration.

Key words: *media history; memory culture; narrative; migration; refugee; Germany; "refugee crisis"; "asylum crisis"*

Acknowledgements

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Translated by author. Original: "Ankommen heißt, erzählen zu können".

Abbreviations

ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland; cooperation of the regional public-service broadcasters
BR	Bayerischer Rundfunk; public-service broadcaster
GG	Grundgesetz; Germany's Basic Law
HR	Hessischer Rundfunk; public-service broadcaster
MDR	Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk; public-service broadcaster
NDR	Norddeutscher Rundfunk; public-service broadcaster
RB	Rundfunk Bremen; public-service broadcaster
rbb	Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg; public-service broadcaster
SWR	Südwestdeutscher Rundfunk; public-service broadcaster
WDR	Westdeutscher Rundfunk; public-service broadcaster
ZDF	Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen; public-service broadcaster

Figures

"The right to visit, to associate, belongs to all men by virtue of their common ownership of the earth's surface; for since the earth is a globe, they cannot scatter themselves infinitely, but must, finally, tolerate living in close proximity, because originally no one had a greater right to any region of the earth than anyone else."

Immanuel Kant, Perpetual Peace, 1795

INTRODUCTION

1. The Eternal Story of Migration

Migration history is human history. Without the movement of people, cultural exchange, development or progress would hardly have taken place. Yet, modern Western societies, among them Germany, continuously debate the implications of migration. How refugees and migrants affect receiving societies, be it alleged cultural destruction or saving demographic problems, is a never-ending topic for arguments. It seems that these debates are as old as the history of migration itself.

This thesis takes its starting point from this impression: Debates about migration, flight and expulsion have a history – what role does this history play for dealing with migration today? The presented research argues for approaching this question with a study of mediated memory cultures. The two following examples illustrate, what is meant by that.

On 3 October 2016, German Unity Day, president of the Bundestag Norbert Lammert gave a speech at the official celebration in Dresden:

> "From a letter about the eternal topic flight and expulsion:
>
> 'Our boat is hopelessly overcrowded. The basket is already floating over the sea when I pull back the arm of the man. I lift my daughter out and take her to my breast. She's two days old. […] She hardly screams. I don't feel anything. The relief just comes later when we're sitting in the shacks of the emergency shelter. We escaped, with our lives. Yet we haven't arrived.'
>
> Escaped. Arrived. To our ears that sounds like the fate of a refugee from the Middle East. But it is the story of a young woman, who fled with her family from Kaliningrad in 1945. This year we are confronted again with events, pictures and reports, we didn't want to imagine in the 21st century.
>
> '15 minutes after we left the shore the engine of our boat broke down. Everyone started to scream. My sister jumped into the water and started pulling the boat. After a while I joined her. In the moment I couldn't think, I just saw my life passing by.'
>
> This young woman fled over the water, too. Yusra Mardini, born in Syria, has lived in Germany with her family for over a year." (Deutscher Bundestag, 2016)

By comparing these two refugee stories on Germany's national holiday, Lammert shows the striking similarity of historical and contemporary refugee plights and, thereby, calls for empathy through memory. At the same time, he recounts experiences of forced migration as an intrinsic part of German society: He points at the country's historical multiculturality by connecting national memories with migration memories (ibid.). Meanwhile in front of the building thousands of far-right protesters were insulting the politicians, yelling "traitor of the people" (DW News, 2016).

The meaning of migration is subject to discursive struggle. In Germany's "refugee crisis" atmosphere, the eternal topic of migration is once again debated, first and foremost discernible in the media. As Lammert's speech demonstrates, memories of previous migrations return into these media discourses. Historicizing often holds up a mirror to receiving societies, as another example from TIME Magazine shows. Historical refugees represent or stand for contemporary refugees through a practice of remembering. The colorized photographs connect past and present in new, yet very recognizable ways, by means of cultural memory.

A homeless refugee German woman sits with all of her possessions on the side of a muddy street in Cologne amid ruins caused by massive Allied air raids, March 1945. John Florea, Courtesy of Steven Kasher Gallery

A homeless refugee German woman sits with all of her possessions on the side of a muddy street in Cologne amid ruins caused by massive Allied air raids, March 1945. Photo colorization by Sanna Dullaway for TIME / original image: John Florea, Courtesy of Steven Kasher Gallery

Figure 1. Screenshots from TIME Magazine, 2015. Historical pictures were re-colorized to create a link to today's situation © TIME (Dullaway, 2015)

These examples illustrate the fundamental question, goal and analytic procedure of this thesis: What role do memory cultures of migration play in mediated accounts of migration, negotiating societal understanding of migration?

This study sets out to analyze mnemonic practices of German media during two periods of condensed communication about migration: the so-called "refugee crisis" (2015-2017) and "asylum crisis" (1991-1994). Combining approaches from media and cultural studies as well as media history, a narrative and discourse analysis of mediated memory cultures is presented, theoretically embedded in a conceptual triangle of media, memory and migration studies.

The material corpus consists of media texts (broadcasting, print and online) from both time periods (appendices 10./11.). Included are only mediations re-narrativizing historical migration, not the coverage of contemporary events, because arguably a study of memory cultures can provide access to understanding how media and society ascribe meaning to the phenomenon of migration.

The approach this thesis takes is not a traditional study of migrant representations in the media, but seeks to historically understand how continuous meta-narratives of historical migration are part of framing refugees and migrants in times of condensed mediated communication about migration. Cultural representations of migration over time have affected our imagination of

refugees and migrants. I suggest that scrutinizing mediated memories of different migrations together can show how memory cultures "premediate" and "remediate" (Erll, 2008) cultural schemata and discursive and narrative patterns of mediating migration. Meta-narratives of migration will demonstrate on micro- (individual cases) and macro-levels (general patterns) how media invoke journalistic "templates", making the past "stand in" for the present (Zelizer, 2002:65). Ultimately, these memory cultures can provide historical insight into media cultures of migration in general – the ever so similar ways of mediating the same phenomenon.

The central argument is that diverse historical experiences of migration and flight become mediated within converging mediated mnemonic narratives and discourses, which affect social knowledge about people on the move now. Media are central platforms and actors in this process. In times of increased migratory movements, they pick up these repetitive narrative patterns and historically frame migration discourses. Therefore, two of such periods (1991-1994 and 2015-2017) serve as cases here to show how memory cultures are part of and affect contemporary mediations of migration. They, firstly, provide a culturally specific, national context, which is crucial in the study of memory cultures, and secondly, show the continuity and repetitiveness of migration remembrance in the media.

By asking how mediations of migration are embedded in memory cultures of migration, I want to understand and problematize how migratory memories are re-narrativized in media. An inherent power struggle of selective memories will be demonstrated: In converging diverse experiences, the media negotiate inclusion and exclusion of migration into Germany's national history. The title quote from a Russo-German immigrant during the 1990s illustrates this struggle for voice and recognition.

In 2015, around 890.000 refugees from mostly Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan arrived in Germany, the highest annual number since World War Two (Tagesschau, 2016). When refugees were walking on Hungarian highways coming from the Balkans in early September, Germany and Austria decided to circumvent the Dublin regulation[1] and take in the refugees directly. They were welcomed by applauding people at Munich central station – what was to be called "Willkommenskultur" [welcome culture]. Chancellor Angela Merkel stated "Wir schaffen das" [We can make it] and refused to limit the number of incoming people. After the reported events

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[1] "Dublin III" determines the EU-country responsible for processing asylum applications seekers. This is usually the first EU-country of the refugees' arrival, which in this case would have been Greece or Hungary (European Commission, 2017).

on 31 December 2015 in Cologne[2], public excitement cooled off. An integration law and the EU-Turkey-deal followed in 2016, while violent attacks against refugee shelters increased sharply. This series of events (their totality cannot be referred here) is referred to as a "refugee crisis" in Europe – although no European country lists among the top-ten refugee hosting countries (UNHCR, 2016). In addition, almost 9.000 refugees and migrants died in the Mediterranean in 2015 and 2016 due to European border regimes (Missing Migrants Project, 2017).

In the early 1990s, the strikingly similar discussion was called "asylum crisis". For Germany, this period is characterized not only by the recent reunification of the country, but also by increased migration: East Germans moving West, Russo-Germans resettling from the Soviet Union and refugees from war-torn Yugoslavia (430.000 asylum applications in 1992) (Seifert, 2012). Resurging xenophobia[3] and an intense public discussion about asylum led to a tightening of the asylum legislation in 1993. Chancellor Helmut Kohl declared: "We are not an immigration country."

These two strikingly similar contextual time periods underline the necessity of studying the media and migration nexus from a historical point of view. Therefore, I want to go beyond a study of media coverage and suggest enhancing our understanding of how media affect the phenomenon of migration through a study of memory cultures. Juxtaposing two historical periods of condensed public communication about migration underscores how repetitive and continuous narrative and discursive "templates" of re-telling migration are.

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 will provide an overview of Germany's history of migration and memory culture. In chapter 3, the theoretical framework, based on a literature review, is presented. Mediation of shared cultural memory of migration in Germany is studied, using concepts of *mediated memory* (Erll, 2008; Sturken, 1997; Zelizer, 2002) and *narrativization* (Ricoeur, 2004) in order to show the link between past, present and future through *mnemonic imagination* (Keightley/Pickering, 2012) in *historical discourses* (Landwehr, 2008). Memory cultures help to socially construct migration, its ramifications in society and how it is mediated.

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[2] According to the police's (BKA) final report in July 2016, in different German cities around 1200 women were sexually assaulted by around 2000 men, mostly of North African descent. Media coverage and surrounding public discussions around these events affected the general mood in the refugee debate (Staudenmaier, 2016).

[3] E.g. from 22-24 August 1992 a violent mob occupied and attacked an apartment block of migrants and asylum-seekers in Rostock-Lichtenhagen (Richter, 2012).

On this basis, the research questions are:

1. What narratives and discourses of migration historical memory cultures are present in German media during the "refugee crisis" and the "asylum crisis"?

2. How are continuous memories of previous migrations into Germany included or excluded from national memory cultures?

3. How do repetitive meta-narrative strands of migration history provide a basis for mediations of migration in general?

Research questions 1 and 2 are thoroughly answered on the empirical level, while research question 3 abstracts the empirical results and makes a larger theoretical argument about media cultures of migration. A study of memory cultures provides answers to these, by displaying where repetitive templates of mediating migration come from, as well as how memory can have the power of facilitating imaginaries of incorporation and empathy toward refugees and migrants.

The methodology and methods for answering these questions will be elaborated in chapter 4. The empirical material is presented throughout three analytical chapters (5-7). Compiling all cases of migration appearing in the media from both time periods, chapter 5 presents four main narrativization and discursive strands, emerging from the material: All relocations of people are told around the meta-narratives of BEFORE (reasons for migration), DURING (experiences of the journey), AFTER I (arrival and integration from the migrants' perspective) and AFTER II (arrival and integration from the receiving society's perspective). Chapter 6 elaborates how these meta-narratives are communicated on the visual levels, presenting two central icons of migration across the material corpus: the "trail" and "mother-child-motif". Finally, chapter 7 displays two in-depth case studies of single media texts, the docudrama "Landgericht" (ZDF, 30.1.2017) and the TV-documentary "Die großen Fluchten" (ZDF, 19.11.2016). They illustrate the main findings of the analysis: Diverse experiences and memories of migration converge through mediation into repetitive narrative and discursive strands, which provide a basis for imaginatively combining historical and contemporary phenomena of migration. In doing so, national framing is a central feature of narrativization and demonstrates the power question of inclusion and exclusion of migration from national memory. A conclusion (8.) discusses the results.

2. Germany – an "Immigration Society"?

Memory is culturally specific in time and space. Hence, this chapter situates the case study of German migration historical memories in its contexts: Germany's migration history, its national memory culture and its history of "Flight and Expulsion" after World War Two.

During the 1990s, chancellor Helmut Kohl repeatedly denied that Germany be an immigration country. A quick look at German migration history (Bade, 2003; Oltmer, 2016) easily offers many arguments to doubt that statement. Numerous immigration and emigration movements made German society what it is today. Yet in political and legal self-definitions Germany does not understand itself as an immigration country (unlike e.g. the USA). This materializes in citizenship law. A *ius sanguinis* (blood right) legislation (§116 GG) defines Germans as part of the German ethnic community. Citizenship is therefore firstly inherited.

Posing the question if Germany might be an "immigration society" after all – not in legal terms, but in cultural, social and discursive ways – this chapter will give a short overview on German migration history. Hence, the empirical analysis of memory narratives and discourses serves the discussion to what extent Germany incorporates migration into national narratives or doesn't – and thereby culturally *is* an immigration society.

2.1. Context I: Germany's Vast Migration History

Most important for this study are different population movements caused and experienced by Germany over the last two centuries. The industrial revolution triggered large-scale labor and land-to-city migration all over Europe, e.g. from Poland to the coal mines in the Ruhr area (Bade, 2003:53-60). At the same time millions of Germans left (alongside many other Europeans) for the New World, as refugees, labor migrants or opportunists, escaping poverty and hunger (ibid.:81-117). Also, religious conflicts produced refugees, e.g. during the 17th century, the French Huguenots received asylum in German lands, fleeing persecution and bringing their industries.

The 20th century has appropriately been coined the "century of expulsions" (Münz, 2002) or the "century of refugees" (Wingenroth, 1959). Nationalist ideologies and two world wars produced massive expulsions and population movements (Schwartz, 2013). Hitler's and Stalin's violent politics reshaped Central and Eastern Europe completely. During the Nazi regime, around 500.000 Jews and other persecuted left Germany into exile; German-induced forced labor and the Holocaust produced 11,3 million displaced persons (Herbert, 2001:129-190). At the end of

World War Two and in its aftermath around 14 million ethnic[4] Germans living East of the new Oder-Neisse-border[5] fled or were expelled by the Red Army. This is a central case of German migration history and memory culture, which I will return to below.

In post-war West Germany, the economic boom resulted in the hiring of "Gastarbeiter" [guestworkers] from Turkey, Southern Europe and North Africa from 1955 – the term implying that they would leave again. After the recruitment stop in 1973, 2,6 million foreign workers were employed in the Federal Republic (ibid.:224). Including families, the foreign population was almost 4 million in the same year (ibid.:233). And it kept growing, as the guestworkers became settling immigrants with children. Also, the GDR hired around 100.000 "Vertragsarbeiter" [contract workers] from socialist countries (e.g. Hungary, Vietnam, Cuba, Mozambique) (Bade, 2003:246).

Parallel to labor migration, people moved to West Germany as refugees. In the Cold War, people fleeing Communism were warmly welcomed, e.g. from Hungary in 1956, from the GDR, or from Vietnam ("boat people"[6]). Due to Germany's guilt in causing forced migration during World War Two, West Germany's Basic Law (1949) includes a historically unique paragraph on asylum (§16 GG), declaring it a basic right for politically persecuted. When the Yugoslavian wars in the 1990s and the collapsing Eastern bloc caused more than 400.000 asylum applications in 1992, and the atmosphere around foreigners in reunited Germany got tense, §16 was tightened in 1993 by declaring safe countries of origin, not entitled to asylum and increased deportations. It is still in place for the continuous arrivals of refugees from Africa and the Middle East until today.

Adding to the immigration debate of the early 1990s, between 1987 and 1992 around 1,5 million Russo-Germans[7] or "late resettlers" (ethnic Germans who remained East of Germany's new border after 1950) from mostly Siberia, Kazakhstan, Poland and Romania arrived in Germany after Gorbachev allowed their resettlement and Germany granted them citizenship (Panagiotidis, 2015).

Continuous immigration adds up to 21% of German population having foreign roots in 2016 (bpb, 2016) and 49% having post-World War Two refugees/expellees in their family or friend

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[4] The term "ethnic Germans" is used here to demonstrate their legal status according to citizenship law.
[5] Germany's current Eastern border with Poland, along the rivers Oder and Neiße; drawn by the Allied forces at the Potsdam Conference in 1945.
[6] This term refers to the Vietnamese refugees who escaped from the Vietnam war by boat and ship, in total around 800.000 from 1975 to 1995 (UNHCR, 2000).
[7] Historically, this group of Germans mainly settled to the Wolga area in Southern Russia under Catherine the Great in the 1700s.

group (SFVV, 2015:3). This fast march through Germany's migration history provides contextual information for the mediated memory cultures analyzed below. The baseline is simple: Germany has constantly experienced migration – all of them have produced memories.

2.2. Context II: Germany's National Memory Culture

A second relevant context is contemporary Germany's general discourse about history, as it will be asked how memories of migration are part of national memories.

Germany's anchor points of historical self-understanding as a democratic nation state are the Second World War, Nazi regime and perpetration of the Holocaust. "Never again" is the fundament for Germany's Western and European integration (Schildt/Siegfried, 2009)[8]. Also after reunification, commemoration of the Shoah and German perpetration is crucial, as represented for instance by the Holocaust memorial in the heart of Berlin, or the Wehrmacht exhibition in the 1990s[9].

In relation to migration history these discourses are relevant, when looking at the interplay of historical guilt commemoration and narratives of victimhood. Firstly, memories of German perpetration translate into moral obligations of openness, symbolized in the open asylum law. These memories also include migration, e.g. in the case of Jewish refugees. Secondly, memories of German suffering include the experience of forced migration, too: Flight and Expulsion of 14 million Germans. In these narratives, Germans are victims of the Nazis, Stalinism, socialism/communism and the Allied forces (Niven, 2006). Victimhood includes suffering from the Nazi regime, of the Western Allies (bombing of cities) and first and foremost of the Soviets who expelled the Germans, the loss of the Eastern territories, mass rape of women and German partition. This discourse was emphasized again under Kohl in the 1990s as a project to reunite East and West Germans in a common memory of suffering. These narratives become problematic when disconnected from German crimes and especially from the absolute victimhood position of the Jews; therefore, they are considered narratives of "relative victimhood" (ibid.).

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[8] These discourses of coming to terms with the past happened twofold in East and West. A discussion of this would however lead to far here.

[9] The "German Wehrmacht Army Exhibitions" toured Germany and Austria during the mid-1990s. For the first time, they showed with extensive evidence the involvement of common Wehrmacht soldiers in war crimes and the Holocaust.

2.3. Context III: *Flight and Expulsion* in German Remembering

The most central element of German migration history is the *Flight and Expulsion*[10] of ethnic Germans during and in the aftermath of World War Two. Legitimized by the Allies at the Potsdam conference in 1945, 14 million Germans fled or were forcefully expelled from the former Eastern and Central European areas of settlement. 8 million found a new home in West Germany, 4 million in the East (Naimark, 2001). Memory cultures of their experiences (movies, literature, museums, monuments) have shaped public discourses until today – subject to wide academic scholarship (e.g. Ahonen, 2003; Kittel, 2007; Kossert, 2008; Krauss, 2008; Hahn/Hahn, 2010; Niven, 2014). How it has been remembered in the media will be mentioned in chapter 3.

The expellees formed an influential societal group affecting history politics[11]. Even though their completed integration seems to be a given today, Kossert (2008) showed the difficulties and outright rejection many of them faced as "foreigners" in their own home country.

This case of German migration and memory culture demonstrates that the country has an experience of losing home. Historian Stephan Scholz (2016) pointed at the relevance of exactly these experiences in the refugee debate today: "Willkommenskultur"[12] can be motivated by the "comparison of fates". A third of volunteers helping refugees today stated in a survey that they have a family background of Flight and Expulsion.

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[10] This term has been established as a fixed reference for the events between 1944 and 1950, designating the flight and forceful expulsion of Germans living east of the Oder-Neiße-border (see a detailed summary of the events in Beer (2011) and Naimark (2001)). "Flight and Expulsion" (Flucht und Vertreibung) is a "cipher" (Beer, 2011) for all these manifold events and experience and their ramifications in post-war Germany.

[11] In West Germany, they formed an own political party in the 1950s and organized into unions for remembering the old home and for supporting a possible return to the lost areas. In the GDR, any political organization of "resettlers", as they were called there, was forbidden (see Ahonen, 2003).

[12] "Willkommenskultur" [welcome culture] is a central term during the "refugee crisis", meaning the efforts Germans are making to welcome refugees.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3. Media – Memory – Migration

"About past events we can only say for sure, that it exactly didn't happen like we present it today. At least of this we can be sure." (history philosopher Achim Landwehr, 2016:27)

Migration is not only the movement of people from one place to another, but also from one social and cultural environment into another. Experiences of relocation, cultural exchange and encounter produce memories, which become re-told, re-enacted, re-shaped through different forms of mediation. Texts, images or sounds offer us interpretations of what migration means in modern, media-saturated societies. This is where this thesis takes its theoretical stance: Memories of historical migration experiences represented today in mediated forms ascribe new meaning to this history. Within what was coined *cultural memory* and *communicative memory* (Assmann, 1995; 2008), *collective memory* (Halbwachs, 1925/1992), or *social memory* (developed by Aby Warburg (Assmann, 1995:125)), individual experiences are subject to social practices of remembering. They are translated into cultural forms of expression, which offer audiences affective, empathetic access to meanings of migratory history. I argue that mediation entangles memories into repetitive meta-narratives of migration history, which make them recognizable and relatable.

This chapter will map out, based on existing research, the conceptual triangle of media, memory and migration, which serves as a theoretical framework for this study. The discussion is opened with situating migration within memory and media, which then leads to an understanding of mediated shared memories and national memory cultures. These concepts are challenged by the inclusion of migration as a factor. Mediated memories of migration ultimately crystalize as the research lacuna, both theoretically and empirically.

3.1. Migration

Migration as a history of human cultural exchange and as a subcategory of mobility is a deeply socially constructed concept. Thereby its ramifications debated in society and its connection to media and memory can be grasped thoroughly. The construction of migration is anchored in the construction of borders as territorial distinctions between political entities, in modernity between nation states, based on the construction of cultural boundaries. These borders are crossed by people which then are labelled migrants. This resulted in the development of

migration control and "migration regimes" (Pott/Rass/Wolff, 2014[13]). Instruments of this discursive, political and mostly legal construction are citizenship (documentation of people) and protectionist labor markets, controlling labor forces within certain territories (Anderson, 2013). Thus, discursive negotiations around belonging, "us" and "them", "guests" and "aliens" (Sassen, 1999; Anderson, 2013) or "illegality" and "legality" (De Genova, 2002) take place in connection with migration.

During what classic migration scholars Castles and Miller (2009:2-3) coined "the age of migration" (starting in the 1600s with the post-Westphalian implementation of sovereign states) manifold kinds of migration movements affected the development of sending and receiving societies, creating discourses of immigration policies, migrant incorporation or multiculturalism in Western societies. This vast history of people on the move (see 2.), affected by migration regimes, is the basis for mnemonic narratives and discourses analyzed here.

Migration studies offer valuable concepts for understanding these memory cultures in their context. Migration regimes of modernity created the definition of migration categories: most centrally the distinction between forced migration (refugees) and voluntary/labor migration (Castles/Miller, 2009:181-206). The boundary between these is highly blurry and political, because different legal frameworks define these categories according to different discursive environments over history. For instance, today's "refugee" concept was shaped in the 20th century (Gatrell, 2013), articulated in the Geneva Convention for the protection of refugees of 1949, in reaction to World War Two which produced the displacement, deportation, evacuation, flight and expulsion of around 25 million people. In contrast, e.g. the mentioned guestworkers represent the category of labor migration, which is again subject to different migration regimes (Castles/Miller, 2009:96-124).

Given the politics behind these historically constructed migration categories, I apply a wide concept of migration, not limiting the view on memories to just a certain category of refugees or migrants. Accounts of their experiences feed into each other and many differences are only constructed by putting individual experiences in certain groups through legal terminology. These histories of migration, connected with the emergence of legal frameworks and respective migration regimes, are the basis for the memory cultures they produced (and vice versa: which produced them). Hence, the goal of this thesis is to scrutinize how these historical notions of

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[13] The research group "Migration Regimes" is an interdisciplinary study group at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies at University of Osnabrück. The concept understands legal frameworks and discourses as decisive for the migration experience.

migration were mediated and thereby affected social knowledge around migration based in mediated memory cultures.

3.1.1. Mediating Migration

Migration is as an inherently mediated phenomenon. In his study of modernity and globalization, Appadurai (1996) identifies media and migration as central dimensions of rupture within the global cultural economy and its imagination: "[W]hen [mass migration] is juxtaposed with the rapid flow of mass-mediated images, scripts, and sensations, we have a new order of instability in the production of modern subjectivities" (1996:4). Not only are experiences of migration connected to media practices and media representations, but also are the legal categories mentioned above part of mediated societal discourses. Understanding migration in relation to what Appadurai (1996) calls "mediascape" – a space of cultural representation – is crucial for applying it to shared cultural memory. I will return to the concept of mediation below.

The main strand of scholarship on the media and migration nexus focuses on migratory audiences, targeting media consumption of diasporas and thus the meaning of media practices for ethnic/minority communities. This research comprises how migrants can be empowered through media usage or perform identities in transnational media spaces (Chin, 2016; Hegde, 2016; Gillespie, 2000; Gillespie/Webb, 2012; Georgiou, 2010; 2013; Madianou/Miller, 2012). From an ethnographic perspective, such as Eastmond's (2007) study of refugee experience narratives, we can extract the relevance of media practices in the production of migratory memories, relevant for migrant communities and identities.

Another direction media and migration research is taking is the representation of migrants in media (e.g. Chavez, 2001; King/Wood, 2001; Wellgraf, 2008; Berry et al., 2015). King's and Wood's (2001) edited volume offers mostly British case studies on migrant representations in the search of what they call "tropes of migration" (ibid.:12) or the "'Ur-Migrant' imprinted in one's visual memory" (ibid.:13). This thesis however wants to go past a study of representation and investigate how mnemonic narratives as specific forms of migrant representations are producing such meta-notions around migration.

3.1.2. Remembering Migration

The mentioned work on media and migration is mostly lacking a clear historical outlook, especially one that includes memory. In the intersection of migration and memory studies, the edited volume by Glynn and Kleist (2012) on exactly this combination clearly hints at the politics of migration history, as they influence incorporation of minorities by negotiating belongings in diverse and multicultural societies. Contemporary national political discourses about integration, assimilation or "the other" are affected by memory politics of "immigrant heritage". According to the authors, memory and migration meet on three levels: social groups, national society and the state level (ibid.:10). This relates back to the ways the media and migration nexus is studied from: as audiences and as represented; these different levels help to construct migration regimes. Unfortunately, this volume is missing a media perspective. After all, media are the space where through communication Glynn's and Kleist's (2012) levels of memory and migration meet.

Discussions about migratory pasts in society must acknowledge the meaning of these memories within national remembrance cultures: representations of memories demonstrate a right to remember within the frame of a minority-majority-setting and ideas about homogeneity of societies. Worcman and Garde-Hansen (2016) point out this power struggle: migrant memories are mobile across communities, and by that able to create conversation between them. However, territorial claims often go along with claims on heritage and memory, which shows the political power dimension of communicating migrant memories.

How different these self-understandings about homogeneity can be, is easily demonstrated by looking at the USA in comparison to European countries. In the US, the immigrant heritage is part of a national identity and narrative – at least of certain groups; the exclusion of e.g. Hispanic immigrants from this by certain discursive actors emphasizes the power relations and connection of migrant memories with national politics. In Europe however, ethnic homogenous understandings of nations prevail (see citizenship law), so that memories of migrants challenge national ideas of a shared past negotiating identities (Glynn/Kleist, 2012:12-16). The crux of migrant memories is therefore the question of who can remember what in which context, as moving people stand in a paradoxical relationship to homogenous, national ideas of memory cultures built around settled communities. The contributions in Glynn's and Kleist's (2012) volume explore how certain migrant memories are enacted in specific contexts, mostly from an anthropological and ethnographic point of view, however (except for Myers' (2012) chapter on1960s BBC radio shows about South Asian teenagers) lacking the media.

3.1.3. Interim Conclusion: Media – Memory – Migration

Finally, there is research combining the three areas of media, memory and migration.

In Germany, Flight and Expulsion of Germans is the most remembered migratory event in a national context until today. Amongst the wide scholarship in general, most recently Scholz, Röger and Niven (2015) presented a handbook about media and practices of memory around Flight and Expulsion, exploring memories in amongst other museums, schoolbooks, radio, movies or press. Part of this research is also Röger's (2011) dissertation about media debates about German refugees and expellees after 1990 in Germany and Poland, as well as Tiews' forthcoming (2017) work on cinematic narratives of Flight and Expulsion as forms of integration in West and East Germany during 1945-1990. The aim here is, however, to understand migration and its memories in Germany broader, namely across other cases of migration, too.

Yet in the data, central images and narratives of forced migration in general link back to the German expellees. This connection and historicity of contemporary images of refugees is shown in an article by Scholz (2014) about visual icons of Flight and Expulsion, whose pictorial origins can be traced back to certain repetitive motifs and photographic careers of images. The central icons of Flight and Expulsion are the mother-child-motif and images of trails with people carrying luggage (Paul, 2009). These symbolic cues immediately can be read by audiences as referring to the general topic of forced migration, back then as well as today. An analysis of the visual dimension is undertaken in chapter 6.

Research on this case serves as a basic orientation to approaching the media-memory-migration triangle across many cases of migration. Yet, of course, this is not the only case of migration in German history represented in media. This outline of concepts and research around migration, media and memory sets the first pillar in this chapter: Media and memory practices matter in the construction and production of meaning around migration.

3.2. The Mediation of Shared Cultural Memory

The next major concept is memory. In simple terms, "memory is the past made present" (Terdiman, 1993:60). It happens in the present and is a creative, active labor process.

The study of memory cultures is vast and has a long history. Based on the early ideas on *collective memory* by Maurice Halbwachs (1925/1992), many scholars have updated this concept until today. The notion of memory applied here intrinsically connects it to mediation.

This is based on broader conceptualizations of *cultural memory* (Assmann, 2007; Erll/Nünning, 2008) and national *lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1997), but thinks these "memory sites" or externalized storage places of social knowledge, myths or traditions, as communicated and culturally mediated. If we understand shared memories, or the common, public referral and identity relation to certain events in the past, as "the interplay between past and present in socio-cultural contexts" (Erll/Nünning, 2008:2) and as constructive of communities, it is inevitable to think these processes as intrinsically mediated. Media make history present everywhere around us, or as Hoskins (2011:19) describes it: "[T]he glut of media is also a glut of memory; the past is everywhere: media ghosts memory".

This ubiquity of media re-telling memories requires deeper consideration of how mediated processes of remembering function. The link between media and memory has found wide academic awareness (van Dijck, 2007; Cronqvist, 2013; Garde-Hansen, 2011; Grainge, 2003; Erll/Rigney, 2009; Huyssen, 2000; 2003a/b; Neiger et al. 2011; Sturken, 1997; Zelizer, 2002; 2014). A much-debated challenge at the core of memory studies is the relationship between individual and collective, private and public memories, or "memory-in-the-head" vs. "memory-in-the-world" (Hoskins, 2011:21). The most useful solution to this problem is to not think of them as opposite poles but as and interdependent forms of the same process of remembering. Only individuals can actually remember in the end, but what and how they remember is, next to lived experiences, affected by social and cultural factors – made available by media. This links to the notion of *mnemonic imagination* described by Keightley and Pickering (2012). They understand memory as the "creative articulation of the relationship between individual experience and shared understanding of the past" (ibid.:103). Single experiences become worked into cohesive narratives through imagination. A sense of temporality and identity in fragmented, future-oriented modernity is constructed "acting upon" (ibid.:5) memories in imaginative ways: "The remembering subject engages imaginatively with what is retained from the past and, moving across time, continuously rearranges the hotchpotch of experience into relatively coherent structures" (ibid.:43), thus re-negotiating the past self as linked to the now and the possible future. Past, present and future are connected through memory and imagination processes. This creative memory labor happens in a playoff of personal and societal/cultural frameworks. It offers the connection of own and others' past and present in the transfer of experiences, potentially creating empathy. Hence, migration history and migration present can be connected through mediated memory. *Mnemonic imagination* is a central concept in the analysis.

That also connects with van Dijck's (2007) notion of *personal cultural memory*: individual practices of remembering, classically collecting photographs in a shoebox, become ever more mediated. They are thereby expressed in common cultural forms, made meaningful by individuals. Ways of referring to the past are "shaped by cultural resources available to us" (Keightley/Pickering, 2012:81). Basically, an individual remembers as a member of a group, one level actualizes the other (Erll/Nünning, 2008:5).

This understanding of personal and public memory as two sides of the same coin seems highly applicable in a context of migration: how individuals remember in certain cultural codes is vital in the case of group- and border-crossing, mobile memories. Of interest in this study are social, publicly mediated memories. As shown, they are ultimately connected to personal memories, which are full of individual details and experiences, but the goal of enquiry here is how on a societal level compilated mnemonic narratives emerge within such memory cultures. In mediation processes, these migration historical narratives and discourses, through mnemonic imagination, provide a basis for wider understandings of migration.

For a definition of mediation, I draw on Silverstone's (1999:13-20) views on media as processes of mediation, which he describes as movements of meaning between texts, discourses and events "across the threshold of representation and experience" (ibid.:18). In endless flows of mediation, institutions produce meanings offering accounts of reality, in which audiences place trust. In this sense, mediated memories constantly circulate new meanings about past realities, affected by the institutions, technologies and groups that are involved in the processes of mediation (e.g. as will be shown in the analysis, through the use of contemporary witnesses).

Through representation and mediation, past experiences are communicated within social settings and thereby become shared cultural memories. This exchange is the basis for memory cultures, where memories transform to "knowledge with an identity-index" (Assmann, 2008:114). Mediation of shared memories then means "first-hand experiences" becoming imagined "second-hand experiences for others", to speak with Keightley and Pickering (2012) again, through public representation. Publicly constituted memories are formed according to certain discursive and cultural schemata and conventions, which communicate the remembering subject's experiences in a recognizable and empathetic way to others. A concrete example for this is the mentioned trail-motif: People walking behind each other carrying luggage are instantly read as refugees by audiences (see 6.). These recognizable templates of migration are to be analyzed here.

Thereby, memories affect others' subjectivities and engagements with the past, which then again creatively re-negotiate imaginations of the past (Keightley/Pickering, 2012:85-100). This was also described as *prosthetic memory* by Landsberg (2004), where distant audiences find ways to empathize with others' experiences through media memories, in her study through movies. Continuing this argument leads to Silverstone's (2007) *mediapolis* as a site of morality through encounter with the "other". Understanding memory cultures in an ethical way is very central to the discussion about refugees and migrants – a setting where "the other" enters the mnemonic space of a receiving society and adds new imaginations of the past to cultural memory.

3.2.1. Generating Mediated Memories: Power and Politics

"We need to ask not whether a memory is true but rather what its telling reveals about how the past affects the present" (Sturken, 1997:2). This statement by Sturken in her study about media memories of the Vietnam war perfectly summarizes the politics at play within the mediation of memories in public spheres, especially of migrants. Put simply: the question of who is telling which history from which perspective and can mediate it to an audience is a political power question. Who is remembering which experiences of refugees and migrants for whom?

Sturken (1997:3) understands cultural memories as a field of "contested meanings", of discursive struggle. For instance, the image of a photography itself stays fixed, but its meaning, just like memory, is reshaped and constituted in different contexts all over again (ibid.:21). Sturken's (1997) study reveals the discord of mediated memories. What she calls re-narrativization, re-enactment and re-embodiment of past experiences through media are conflictive social practices, which make cultural memory political: "The desire for narrative closure thus forces upon historical events the limits of narrative form and enables forgetting" (Sturken, 1997:8). In the chapters on photographs, memorials and docudramas about the Vietnam war and the AIDS epidemic in the US, she studies a wide variety of media material from these memory culture practices in order to trace the narrative structures of these mediations. This approach is taken up here: puzzling together a mosaic of national memory narratives and discourses of migration.

Hoskins' and Tulloch's (2016) study on mediatization of memories of economic crises, risk and neoliberalism in a context of hyperconnectivity is constructed similarly. Applying Hoskins'

concept of *new memory*[14], the authors present a thorough study of mediated memories, their discourses and narratives about the 2008 financial crisis in today's hyperconnective media ecologies. One of their main findings, which motivates my approach here, is the continued relevance of mainstream, established media in the negotiation of memories; remediations of memories use the "collective memorial gravitas" of mainstream media, following their editorial logics (Hoskins/Tulloch, 2016:305). This justifies, just as Sturken's study, to more freely look for the "reconfiguration of discourses" (ibid.:297) in central media outlets, because they demonstrate the limitedness and selection of memory cultural representations.

Looking for memories in different media reflects the notion of a *media ensemble* (Couldry/Hepp, 2017:67-70) in place, which mediates the past for audiences in complex interplays with each other. Memory media are not single and independent from each other, discourses manifest in different places. How different media outlets within the system of journalism produce memories, has been described by Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014), who understand journalistic actors as memory generators. Paying tribute to Gitelman's (2006) discussion of what media (history) scholars actually mean by "media", I aim in this study at "media" in a quite classical sense of mass media (acknowledging the difficulties of this term), as in media that are relevant in larger societal communication processes, such as broadcasting, print media or digital platforms. A study of memory cultures could easily include museums, memorials or fiction literature, too, but this would exceed the range of this study. This also follows Gitelman's (2006:7-8) media historical stance on media as "socially realized structures of communication", whose specific social and cultural contexts are vital for understanding "modes of inscription" media apply as "sites of experiences of meaning". Here, the choice of different media outlets, which produce representations of migration as social and economic forces in a specific historical context, reflects this.

Coming back to the politics in the mediation of memories, both Hoskins and Tulloch (2016) and Sturken (1997) ascribe mediated memories a function of "closure" through narrative: remembrance orients individuals to a version of the past, setting a full stop and offering an interpretation, which makes it relevant again to contemporary concerns (Hoskins/Tulloch, 2016:26). Hence, seeing a concept as remembered – in their study it's neoliberalism, here it's

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[14] This concept takes up the concern of the loss of memory in the internet age articulated by many memory scholars. In the digital, hyperconnective, post-scarcity media ecology, memories are constantly available, constituting a "long tail" of mnemonic knowledge affected by algorithmic logics. This creates new relations between a stable cultural memory and its representations in communities, by imposing a new paradox between immediacy and archive (cf. Hoskins/Tulloch, 2016:297-306; Hoskins, 2011). This whole strand of memory research is however not in the center of attention in this study here.

migration – means to understand it as a social and discursive construction, that was, put bluntly, made a thing through historical discourses (ibid.:31).

This idea has also been described by Erll (2008; 2009) as *premediation* and *remediation*. Posing the question of what turns media into media of cultural memory, Erll (2008:390-396; 2009) identifies "intramedial", "intermedial" and "plurimedial" conditions that affect "memory making" in media. First, intramediality concerns rhetorics and narrative structures of shared memories. Next, intermediality is based on the notions of premediation and remediation; the repetition of certain memory products, images, motifs, narrative plot structures etc. affects how the same memory site will be re-narrativized later; premediation provides cultural schemata for the remediation through certain practices of looking, naming and telling. Grainge (2003:5) hints at these "narrative imperatives" for popular cinema, which are "largely character-driven, marked by continuous editing, demanding resolute closure". These conditions affect the re-telling of historical events in cultural forms, such as movies. Applied on forced migration, one typical narrative plot structure would be "happy life in homeland" – "violence makes people leave" – "arduous journey into safety" – "difficult arrival and slow integration into new home" (Tiews, 2015; Niven, 2014). The analysis will argue that these patterns can be found across different media genres and migration cases.

Hoskins and Tulloch (2016:26-33) call it "commemorative cycles" or "iterations", while Zelizer speaks of journalistic "templates" (2002). She argues in her comparison of photographic coverage of 9/11 and concentration camp liberations that journalism maintains historical templates, perpetuating their functions (ibid.). Therefore, the analysis will look for these meta-narrative continuities in the mediation of migration, arguing according to Zelizer (2002) that these perpetuations of a media culture of migration mean that ultimately "in seeing what seems like more we in fact see less" (ibid.:66).

This idea of continuous reconstructions of memories through pre- and remediations – central in the analysis here – ultimately connects to Rothberg's (2009:3) concept of *multidirectional memory*, a site of ongoing negotiation through borrowing and cross-referencing. In mediated public spheres, different groups' memories are not competitive, but multidirectional, according to Rothberg, meaning that creative dynamic transfers take place affecting identity politics. Hence, also shared memories of different migrations enter a "back-and-forth movement […] in and out of public consciousness" (ibid.:17), not fighting for scarce public recognition, but being multidirectional in dialogic interactions. This malleability of mediated memory discourses leads to Erll's (2008) final idea of plurimedial networks at play; different media create contexts for

memories through cross-referencing. A classic example for this would be a movie about a historical event, which then is discussed in press and thereby made into a "memory movie", a fiction film genre described by Erll and Wodianka (2008) – applied in case study 7.1.

3.2.2. The National Dimension of Memory Cultures

Understanding memories as social practices of meaning-making among communities, means understanding them as cultures. Drawing on Assmann's (2008) *cultural memory*, the meaning for the remembering groups arises through the cultural conventions, the ways of doing and making memory. They make the stored cultural memory understandable as social memory (Erll/Nünning, 2008:3).

When talking about memory cultures in the German case, the dimension of the national frame needs to be addressed. Even in globalized and transnational settings the nation still prevails as a central factor in community practices in the late modern era (Billig, 1995; Skey, 2011). The inclusion of memory cultures in the explanation of nation building processes through mediation is essential, most basically demonstrated by Anderson's (1991) study of *imagined communities*. This imagination – connecting well with mnemonic imagination – of communities happens through references to a common past. So, for this study, the question arises how national memory cultures are challenged by (transnational) migrant memories – how do diverse narratives work within a national frame of memory?

Thinking memory cultures from a nationalism perspective requires an understanding of nation as constructed through discourse and narrative. Bhabha's (1990) concept of "nations as narrations" points at the construction of historical continuity through "national objects of knowledge" (ibid.:3), which offer timeless and irrational frames of identification, just like Nora's (1997) *lieux de mémoire*. This way of understanding nationalist practices through discursive practices is picked up in Billig's (1995) idea of *banal nationalism*, describing the mundane, everyday life reproduction of nationalist "beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices" (ibid.:5) at the center of Western societies. Only through the subtle, continuous, but still ideological "flagging" of nationhood can the construct be preserved, Billig argues. This continuity is provided by memory cultures, which function like reminders. Drawing on Bourdieu's habitus, Billig (1995) sees the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, of making the past present, as a basis for acting. Memory cultures "transmit past grammars and semantics" (ibid.:43), again relating back to the concepts of premediation and templates of mediating the past, now adding a nationalism perspective.

Acknowledging the relevance of the national in the study of memory cultures raises tensions when combining it with migration. How is the nation a space for memory cultures of migratory communities and how is migration incorporated or not into narratives of national memories? Migrants transgress national borders and imaginaries, as well as borderlines of "us" and "them". In an article about diasporic memories within national memory cultures in Germany, Huyssen (2003a) points at the exclusion of migrant communities from cultural memory, posing the question if migrants must also "migrate into the history of the host nation" (Huyssen, 2003a:154) as a form of integration. In a German context, as outlined in 2.2., this national dimension of memory cultures causes identity problems for migrants, when cultural memory is fundamentally based on the Holocaust and victimhood of Stalinism and socialism (also discussed by Assmann and Schwarz (2013)). So, the question remains: How are migrant memories incorporated in Germany's memory culture – toward a migration historical memory culture?

3.3. Narrativity of Memory

So far, the terms "discourse" and "narrative" have been mentioned several times without further clarification. They are central concepts for the methodology in the next chapter. The descriptions of mediated memory above demonstrated that cultural forms of story-telling is a crucial element in the creation of shared cultural memories. In their mediation, they rely on premediated templates or cultural, symbolic conventions of narration, so their meaning can be unfolded. This can be underscored by theories of narratives and discourses; they bring us further in understanding *how* memories of migration are mediated. Building on the framework of re-narrativization presented by Sturken (1997), a glance at narratology reveals how memories are a field of discursive "struggle" (Foucault, 1977:22).

"Narrative […] is what results from the effort to make real or imagined events and objects meaningful in relation to one another" (Puckett, 2016:2). This definition by narratologist Puckett provides a basis for understanding narratives in relation to memories: experiences of "real or imagined events" (cf. mnemonic imagination) are put into a (premediated, conventional) structure which mediates meaning about migration.

On the relevance of mediated narratives, Corner (2011:65-70) points at the centrality of narrativization in any kind of accounts of events in the media: "Even where a narrative is not developed in a written, read or enacted account, media items often promote narrativised understanding in the minds of readers and viewers" (ibid.:66), namely through cues (cultural

schemata) and imaginative work of audiences; mediated narratives are a primary source of knowledge about events or issues today. Corner criticizes narratives for their inherent tendency of closure, omission and exclusion in giving account of reality: they can thereby hinder "thoughtful engagement" (ibid.:66) and might systematically misrepresent the messiness of reality. This is reminiscent of the discussion of politics of memory above.

This discussion of representation is taken up by Ricoeur. In his work on *Memory, History, Forgetting* (2004) he extensively discusses the relationships between mnemonic practices and their translation into historiography. Applying his concepts about narratives and representation to a media context gives useful underpinnings for this study's methodology. In his study of the genesis of historical knowledge, Ricoeur distinguishes between three interplaying phases: documentary (testimony and archives of memories), explanation/understanding (modeling process of history, explaining causes and lawfulness) and representation/narrativization, which I will elaborate on now. Based on documented testimonies and memories of witnesses we have trust toward, the historian ties together layers of meanings and explanations of events and actors into narrative configurations – very similar to what media do in mediation processes of shared cultural memories. Ricoeur (2004:243) conceptualizes the role of the narrative as the

> "coordination between multiple events or between causes, intentions and also accidents within a single meaningful unity. The plot is the literary form of this coordination. It consists in guiding complex action from an initial situation to a terminal one by means of rule-governed transformations […] within the framework of narratology."

He thereby describes the process of arranging the results of the understanding/explaining phase of historiography according to rhetorical concerns of readability and visibility:

> "The selective role of figures of style and thought in the choice of plots, the mobilizing of probable arguments within the frame of the narrative, and the writer's concern to convince by persuading are the rhetorical resources of staging a narrative" (ibid.:236).

Narratives produce coherence and closure through the emplotment of events and characters (narrative operators). Identified events and actors are encoded into narratives by certain schemata and rules for emplotment, but also historical imagination and inventions (ibid.:251-253). Again, this echoes the descriptions of mediated memories above: in the idea of story-telling, the politics of selecting and mnemonic imagination. This happens on macro- and micro-levels, e.g. when names in the narrative, like "French Revolution" (or "Flight and Expulsion"), are developed from mnemonic accounts on the micro-level. Ricoeur connects this notion of historical narrative to representation (in a sense of "re-presentation"), which he sees as "standing for" the events and characters that existed before. Narrativity adds its modes of intelligibility to history and, based on the idea that memories are iconic and mimetic,

representation (as "taking the place of") of the past stands in a paradox of absence in the narrative and presence in visual iconic memories. However, it has an inherent truth claim, as "we have nothing better than testimony and criticism of testimony to accredit the historian's representation of the past" (ibid.:278).

Taking these ideas of narrative representation of history based on memories into a media context, we have to replace "historian" with "media": Media make narrative configurations of past events and characters, too. Narrativization according to Ricoeur (2004:246) has an "integrative function" by being a "switching point between structure and event", thereby creating a relevant meaning for the event in the present. That easily resonates with the view on mediated memories above. Ricoeur's views on narratives of history in a fluid zone between factuality and fictionality are applicable for the kind of mediated narratives of migration history I am looking for here. The question is, hence, how media compile different narrative strands about migration history, based on mediated memories (testimonies), into narrative configurations, which re-present migration history, just as historians narrativize events in their ways. Of course, this comparison has different shortcomings; historians and media do not work in the same way. Yet, the idea that narrativization and representation of memories mean adding new modes of intelligibility (readability and visibility) to the account of the past, lends itself to an analysis of how media re-narrativize migration history.

3.4. Conclusion: Media – Memory – Migration

This chapter started from the picture of a triangle with media, memory and migration as its cornerstones. The theoretical framework for this thesis was developed based on a review of relevant literature: migration in relation to media and remembering in national settings and memory cultures and their mediation, happening through discourses and narratives. The presented research around this triangle leads to the lacuna and research goal of this thesis: the mediation of migration history, which is seen as memory culture within a national frame of Germany: The research object are mediated renarrativizations of different migrations, converging into templates through mediation. These mediations of shared cultural memories, both for the host society and newcomers, affect the representation and thereby inclusion of migrants and refugees over time; the mediated historicizing of contemporary migrations revitalizes national memory cultures of migration history. This theoretical outlook combined with the empirical data analysis from two different periods in time offers valuable new perspectives on how mediations of migration are historically continuous and repetitive, because

memory cultures create symbolic references to migration history. By that the argument is threefold, echoing the research questions:

1. Memory cultures build culturally schematic, conventional narratives and discourses of migration history.

2. These shared cultural memories are re-narrativized in contemporary mediations of migration. They, thus, can create mnemonic imagination as well as power imbalances through inclusion and exclusion from mediated space.

3. Thereby, media representations of migration in general become historically repetitive and continuous, because memories produce social knowledge about what migration means in society.

By looking at two strikingly similar periods of condensed societal communication about migration into Germany (1991-1994 and 2015-2017), an argument can be made about the repetitiveness of migration discourses and narratives. The concepts of memory culture and narratives, as outlined here, can explain how the media's referral to Germany's migration history is part of contemporary mediations of migration. Ultimately, this migration historical media culture, in the form of narrative patterns of telling migration memories, affects how the story of refugees and migrants is told today.

4. METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter will outline the methodology and method architecture for the case study of memory cultures of migration in German media during the "refugee crisis" (2015-17) and "asylum crisis" (1991-1994). It is done through a narrative and discourse analysis of media texts from TV, radio, press and online offers.

4.1. Social Constructionism and Cultural Theory

The previous chapter has outlined the general ontological, epistemological and partly methodological anchoring of this research: studying narratives of history is rooted in social constructivism. As Hacking stated, no construction has to be as it is (1999:6). Hence, the task is, following Luckmann (2008:282), to reconstruct data (narratives of migration history) and preserve them as constructs in their meaningfulness and contextual historicity. Also Burr (2015:2-5) underscores the necessity of situated knowledge in scientific enquiry in order to understand social processes behind the data and question taken-for-granted assumptions. Concepts of migration, its history and its political ramifications are socially constructed in the mediation of memories – an analysis of narratives and discourses can uncover how media produce and perpetuate these meanings.

Secondly, the title promises a study of "memory cultures". The contextual understanding of migration history as negotiated in mediations, is very much based in cultural theory. Fornäs (1995) in his account of late modernity puts communication and symbols central to his understanding of culture; these "flows of culture" (ibid.:7) are highly dynamic, being based on complex intersubjective encounters through symbols. His approach to culture is "polydimensional and heterological. It works the way symbols function in discourses: bringing together signs and meanings into voices which run in various directions simultaneously combining and separating ideas" (ibid.:9). Here, a methodological framework can be extracted: The task is to uncover "roots" and "routes" (ibid.:3) of culture, which has symbolic communication at its core. Mediations of migration history, understood as a space of contested meanings, are communicative, intersubjective encounters involving commonalities and differences in the web of culture.

4.2. Data Gathering and Sampling

In order to situate the study in context, this project uses case studies on different levels. Flyvbjerg's methodological approach (2011:66-87), as well as Gitelman (2006:8) emphasize the value of case studies as a reliable and generalizable epistemic undertaking by producing context-dependent knowledge. Therefore, Germany and two periods of its history serve as cases for the study of mnemonic mediation of migration. Moreover, in chapter 7 two case studies of single media texts are presented, which in-depth illustrate the results of the narrative and discourse analysis.

The empirical material was selected as follows: The corpus comprises 65 newspaper articles[15], 63 TV-clips/shows (only 2015-2017), 6 radio-clips/shows one online multimedia-platform, and 42 archive sources from NDR[16] in Hamburg (see appendix). This is no representative sample, as the goal is to trace narratives and discourses across the media landscape in both studied periods. Rather the sampling strategy is orientated at the approach, e.g. Sturken (1997) or Hoskins/Tulloch (2016) take: media material which features mnemonic practices about migration was chosen rather freely, no exact outlets were defined and only the general timeframes of the two periods (2015-2017 and 1991-1994) were applied. Linked to the theory above, memory cultures in media are cross-referencing, premediating and remediating across the media ensemble. The goal is to trace the mosaic structure of narratives and discourses, hence free sampling.

At first, the online archives of ARD, ZDF[17], Der Spiegel and DIE ZEIT[18] were gone through with combinations of keywords: "(im)migration", "flight/escape", "expulsion", "guestworkers", "history"[19]. Next, an extended Google[20] search was conducted for both periods with the same words, from which pieces from other outlets[21] were added to the corpus. The

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[15] 38 from 2015-2017, 27 from 1991-1994

[16] NDR (North German Broadcasting station) is a public service broadcaster (part of the federal ARD) and produces regionally and nation-wide broadcasted TV programs. Therefore, the findings here can actually only give an insight into what was shown on TV about migration history. For a full overview and probably stronger sampling, all TV archives of ARD would have to be visited. However, the material here is already rich enough to be analyzed for the questions asked here.

[17] These are both the public service broadcasters. ARD is federally organized, consisting of nine regional broadcasting stations (TV and radio). The online archive gives results from all channels, ARD operates. ZDF is the second public service broadcaster and only offers one TV channel.

[18] Both of them are weekly news magazines, important on national level. Their online archive delivers results from both the magazine and the online page.

[19] In German: „Einwanderung", „Migration", „Flucht", „Vertreibung", „Gastarbeiter", „Geschichte"

[20] For all online searches I am aware that personalized algorithms affect the results. Most of the material however stems from online archives of the public service stations and print outlets, where this is less of a problem, as key words clearly define what results come up.

[21] Welt, Focus, Tagesspiegel, managermagazin, Huffington Post, ntv, Stern

relevance of the results was judged by me: based on the title and short descriptions it could be seen if historical migrations are significantly mentioned in the media text. Last, in a circular way of data collection more material based on the already found content was added during the analysis[22].

For the 1990s, TV-sources (not available online) were gathered from the NDR-archive in Hamburg. For their database the same keywords were applied to generate lists of relevant broadcasts. The extended information was printed out (descriptions of the shows) and some shows were watched there. The source basis for both periods is not equal, due to access, time and money constraints. However, it is rich enough to deliver answers to the questions of narrative and discourse analysis.

4.3. Narrative and Discourse Analysis

The gathered data was analyzed according to a mixture of qualitative approaches. Fundamentally, the textual analysis of written and visual material is based on the theoretical elaborations about narratives and discourses above. The aim is to map out how across the media ensemble migration history is re-narrativized within different "patterns of discursive argument" (Hoskins/Tulloch, 2016:52). Based on Altheide's and Schneider's (2013) approach of document analysis for qualitative media studies, the following steps were undertaken.

Open coding was conducted during data immersion, looking for repetitive narrativizations within the accounts of migration history. The process is based on an analysis of media text around formats, frames, themes and discourses (ibid.:50-55). The focus herein lay on finding out what is said about previous migrations in which ways and by whom, inspired by Hoskins and Tulloch (2016:54) speaking of "templates [which] act as powerful memorial trajectories and are routinely employed by television news and other media to forge visual [or textual] schema". The data was questioned for repetitive discursive statements and emplotment structures about the different mentioned migration cases.

This discursive level of this analysis is oriented at Landwehr's (2008) *historical discourse analysis*. Based in a Foucauldian understanding of discourse, this approach applies the analysis of the speakable and its implied power structures to historical studies, in order to provide "access to a history of truth, reality and knowledge[23]" (ibid.:96). Central to his approach is the

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[22] For example, for chapter 7.1. about the drama movie "Landgericht" (ZDF, 30.1.2017) reviews were googled for.
[23] Translated by the author.

extensive inclusion of context into the analysis of texts on a micro- and macro-level, from which the entanglements of statements and discourses and their subjective actors become discernible. On this basis, processes of remembering and forgetting can be revealed (ibid.:128). This approach is applied by asking what social knowledge was produced through memory in both periods about migration and specific migration cases, as well as related terms, like "integration". What is remembered by whom? What questions are even asked about migration history? What connotations does certain terminology have?[24]

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) present detailed insight into analyzing narratives. This thesis, rooting in Ricoeur's (2004) conceptualizations, focuses on the content of narrations and the patterns of narrativization[25]: The data has been coded asking what is being said about migrations by whom and how these memories are emplotted into narratives in the media. Then, showing the repetitiveness and continuity of historically framed mediation of migration, the open codes were gathered into different narrative strands (meta-narratives) of migration history.

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) point out that post-structuralist narrative analysis should look for the "particularities of human existence rather than its general patterns" (ibid.:16). Social phenomena – like migration – are always compiled from multiple perspectives. Therefore, the analysis will extensively embed the narratives in contextual knowledge, when finding out what is said by whom about what migration. This leads to a discussion of power, authority, truth and credibility. To operationalize this, the analysis scrutinizes power constellations by coding who is able to voice their memories. Mediated story-telling is a persuasive, identity-constructing technique, for audiences and media actors. Accounts of memories, e.g. by contemporary witnesses, enjoy increased credibility drawing on the primacy of their experiences (ibid.:137-141). They can be joined by expert (historians) or journalists and editorial control of the medium affecting the narrative. On that basis, dominating, potentially hegemonic, narrative frames can develop, unifying experiences for the collective and potentially suppressing others (cf. "cultural schemata" or "templates"); these will be called meta-narratives here.

Media are platforms where this consensus materializes in perpetuated emplotments of events. These can eventually become dominant master-narratives: certain cultural plots about specific

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[24] Thereby, this concept of discourse analysis is not a Critical Discourse Analysis or linguistic study of media discourses; rather a basic, yet in its foundation Foucauldian understanding of discourse as "what can be and is said and known when about what" is added to the narrative analysis.

[25] Unlike for example types that analyze patterns of story-telling as such or linguistic discursive approaches, focusing on how narrators construct identities through audiences (Holstein/Gubrium, 2012).

migration cases, which other narrativizations draw from (ibid.:143-150). They are not static, but constantly reproduced (pre- and remediated) and resisted against, just as the contested understanding of memory. Following this methodology, it is asked what dominant structures emerge in the mnemonic accounts. The data was searched for similar meta-narratives and discourses across the media ensemble, across different cases of migration history and across two time periods. Regarding the "how" of narrativization, or rhetorical strategies of narratives, Feldmann and Almquist (2016) propose a model for analyzing the implicit in narratives. Here, rhetorical features of storylines are looked at to find syllogism (implied logical conclusions) which are used to make an argument. This operationalizes the question how implications about contemporary events, or mnemonic imagination, is part of the underlying argument structures, that media use in historical accounts.

The analysis of narrative strands and repetitive "templates" is applied on the visual level as well, in the analysis of icons (chapter 6). In a more hermeneutic way, visuals are seen as part of discourses (Rose, 2016) and "close reading" (Mikos, 2015) will reveal interpretations of how meanings about migration are implied in repetitive visualities of moving people in the corpus.

Shortcomings of this approach are certainly subjective and unequal results in sampling, coding and the generalizing construction of meta-narratives in my reading of the empirical material. However, this qualitative research process was conducted in circular ways to deepen the understanding of the data and the analysis will support the arguments with suitable empirical examples, reflecting the wider corpus.

Concludingly, the narrative and discourse analysis undertaken here is a combination of different approaches. Through a qualitative media text analysis, meta- and master-narrative strands as well as textual and visual narrativization techniques are identified and then embedded in contextual knowledge. Thus, the construction of a migration historical memory culture through mediated communication can be demonstrated, showing what and how media re-narrativize migration in repetitive and continuous ways.

EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

5. Narratives and Discourses of Migration History in German Media in 1991-1994 and 2015-2017

> *"We shouldn't get tired of publicly explaining that, historically, migration is no exception, but normality. The idea that humans should live settled and home-loving, cozy and determined by a dominant culture – that is simply not in line with the realities of large phases of history."*
> *(historian Dirk van Laak; ZEIT, 23.2.2017)*

In the analysis of mnemonic narratives of migration, this thesis dares to think experiences of manifold historical migrations together. The fundamental argument, based on the theorization of mediated memory cultures above, is that the divergence of different population movements becomes re-narrativized and remediated in rather convergent ways, which historically frame contemporary migration. In the following three chapters a narrative and discourse analysis will trace these convergent narrative patterns, showing how in the two selected time frames media have historicized migration in repetitive, cultural schemata. These are conventional "templates", which serve as historical frameworks in the mediation of migration. Throwing all of this into one pot, the presentation of the empirical data is genre-crossing (all media), event-crossing (all migrations), and time-crossing (both periods). Therefore, the structure of this chapter follows the articulation of migration historical narrative patterns identified across the empirical material – be it factual or fictional, press or TV, drama or witness reports.

These patterns follow the chronological order of any migration process: BEFORE – DURING – AFTER. Cinema critic Georg Sleeßen wrote in an essay about the "grammar of the 'refugee movie'" (2016):

> "The drama of escape can be described in five acts. The first one shows the unbearable in life stories and the escalation of the situation, enforcing to flee. The second one is about farewell, the third about the dangers of the escape between adventures and tragedies. The fourth one tells about arrival, the fifth one finally about successful or failing attempts to find a new home."

Supported by the data, this is not only true for fictional cinema. Other mnemonic narrativizations of migration happens along these storylines, too. Some of these "acts" are always part of remediated migration history, told by either migrants or observers. Therefore, the subchapters will deal with narratives and discourses (1) about reasons for migration - anything BEFORE packing the suitcase – (2) about experiences DURING the journey itself: leaving and moving, (3a) about the experience of arriving and coping with integrating AFTER

the migration from the migrant's point of view and (3b) about meanings of arrival and "integration" from the receiving society's perspective.

In the analyzed media, different cases of German migration history are told within these "acts", functioning as meta-narrative strands. Aligning with Sleeßen's "grammar" of remembering migration, this structure also underscores the main argument: Narrative templates of telling migration are historically repetitive and continuous and are the basis for later mediations of migration. Applying the concepts of *premediation and remediation* as well as *mnemonic imagination* will show that.

This first analysis chapter is followed by a study of the visuality of migration history in chapter 6, showing how two icons of migration re-narrativize within repetitive patterns as well. In chapter 7, two case studies of single media texts (a docudrama and a TV-documentary) will in-depth illustrate the main arguments: Mediated re-narrativizations of different migration cases create recognizable, repetitive schemata of telling the story of migrants and refugees. By this, mnemonic imagination in connection to contemporary migration can be facilitated, while at the same time national framing and repetitive patterns reduce diverse migration history. The following subchapters will show the mosaic of different meta-narratives across migration cases and in both time periods. Media converges historical experiences of migration into a historical framework for the mediation of migration.

5.1. BEFORE: Reasons for Migration

Every relocation happens for a reason. The decision for a person to move from their home can be evoked by various factors, shaping the entire experience of migration. These motivations for leaving are discursively the basis for legal migrant categories, such as "forced" or "labor" migration. Explanations of reasons for resettlement are central to almost every mnemonic account, forming the meta-narrative scheme BEFORE based on a narrativized causal relationship: Across the material, different "push-factors" are brought up, in accordance with the dominating discursive master-narrative about the specific migration case.

For example, most re-narrativizations of Flight and Expulsion include a causal relation to German war crimes in Eastern Europe, like this typical quote exemplifies:

"Up to 14 million Germans lost their homeland in 1945. Their expulsion was the consequence of the barbaric German occupational rule during World War Two." (ZEIT, 12.2.2015)[26]

This master-narrative connects with the "relative victimhood" discourse, described in 2.3., explaining what events led to the expulsion, but not leaving out German war crimes[27]. Many accounts mention revenge for German atrocities by the Red Army, which the German population fled from. In re-telling the expulsions, violence against Germans is given as a reason, e.g. called "violence excesses" (BR, 3.11.2016).

Another key example drawn on in this narrative are Jews who fled the Nazi regime[28]. There, Germany is framed as a refugee sending country, drawing on mnemonic imagination to give legitimacy and moral obligation to host refugees today. The same narrative framework of persecution can also be found in the tales of the Huguenots, fleeing pogroms and receiving refuge in Germany[29].

This shows how political, religious or ethnic persecution are, in the narratives, causes for forced migration; they dominate the narrativizations about reasons for escape, giving evidence of an obvious reason for leaving. BEFORE-narratives negotiate the legitimacy of migration from the receiving society's perspective and thereby include a value-judgment into the discourse. Explaining what motivated certain groups to move is the basis for the degree of empathy they are met with (the "welcome culture").

This can also be found in accounts of GDR-refugees[30]. Their discourse is part of a Cold War context: In the master-narrative "Mauerflüchtlinge" [wall refugees] decided to break free from communism/socialism, preferring the more successful and truly free capitalist Western system (cf. Hamann (2008) showed that connection). Inner-German migration during the 1950s (before the wall) was coined a "vote by foot"[31]. Escaping communism perfectly fitted the new post-war definitions of political refugees – negotiating the legitimacy of migration here too.

The accounts of the Russo-Germans are a combination of the Cold War narrative and the Flight and Expulsion tale[32]. Legally being treated as the post-war expellees, their memorial accounts

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[26] All quotes have been translated by the author.
[27] Also for example put forward in a ZDF-documentary (8.5.2016) called "*Meeting history: Germany '45*" about Flight and Expulsion, where the connection to the Holocaust is discussed and the narrator asks a witness: "*Are you allowed to be a victim?*", which demonstrates the discourse.
[28] For example: NDR, 23.5.1993 (documentary about Jewish childhood in Nazi Germany)
[29] For example: SWR2, 23.12.2015
[30] In total around 4,6 million people left the GDR between 1949 and 1990 (Martens, 2010).
[31] For example: Spiegel, 18.7.2015; HR, 3.10.2016 about inner-German border area
[32] Also: Spiegel, 21.10.1991

fit into the victimhood discourse of suffering from Stalinism and ethnic oppression[33], as this account from a second-generation Russo-Germans shows:

> "We didn't leave because we weren't doing well. My parents had work and a nice flat. We left, because we were Germans, Russo-Germans, not Russians." (ZEIT, 21.4.2016)

Discursively, these discussions about reasons are negotiations of legitimacy and victimhood. They affect the degree of welcome-ness, which materializes in used terminology, ranging from "refugee" over "expellee" to "migrant", which imply imaginaries of their plights. These reasons are narrated in memories of the guestworkers or contract workers, too. Here, however, poverty, unemployment and the state-organized hiring from Germany caused the migration – maybe a less dramatic reason than persecution, and therefore not as present in the data. Typically, their immigration is linked to purely economic needs:

> "Because work force was scarce in economic-miracle-land, suddenly thousands came, and with them integration problems." (NDR, 3.2.1992)

> "They left their poor country for our economic miracle." (SWR, 2.10.2016)

In a NDR-documentary (6.6.1993) images of deprived Anatolia recount the Turks' decision to escape poverty by approaching the German recruitment center in Istanbul. This is one of the few examples where the guestworkers' situation back home was given as a reason at all, and not only Germany's attractiveness. Generally, in 1991/1992 guestworkers were remembered more often within the 30-year anniversary of the recruitment contracts[34]. Here, the master-narrative is an economic, capitalist one of migrating work force pushed by poverty and pulled by Germany's "economic miracle". In contrast, the migration of the Vietnamese contract workers in the GDR[35] negotiates a different legitimacy by linking it to the Vietnam war, such as in an episode of "Fremde Heimat Deutschland"[36] about the individual example Thinh Nguyen-Do[37], who shares his war memories and escaping military service.

Concludingly, this first episode shows how regardless of different migrations, similar meta-narrativizations about causes of relocation appear, however adapted to their contexts. The way

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[33] During World War Two Germans in the Soviet Union were deported to Siberia, the Ural Mountains or Kazakhstan, as the Soviets wanted to prevent them from collaborating with the Nazis (Ther, 2014).

[34] NDR, 3.12.1991; NDR, 26.9.1991; NDR, 3.2.1992

[35] Stories of the Vietnamese are in general much more present during the 90s, which is due to the xenophobic attacks against them, directing the media's attention to their situation.

[36] This 5-part series [Foreign Homeland Germany] aired in fall of 1994 and introduces 5 individual migrants in Germany, which are interviewed about their experiences of migration, arrival and life in Germany by actor and TV-host Rolf Becker.

[37] This person appears in different programs astonishingly often.

migration reasons are re-narrativized depends on the master-narrative of the cases, and thereby on the importance that is attached to telling why relocation was necessary within the narrative. On a discourse level, victimhood and legitimacy are negotiated, which either implicitly or explicitly affect how the narrative about arriving and integration continues.

5.2. DURING: Experience of the Journey

The next "act" of any migratory movement is the journey itself: leaving behind the old home and getting to a new one. This "act" is the ultimate place of humiliation, loss and victimhood, especially for Flight and Expulsion, which is the prevailing case for this part in the data[38]:

> "Many refugees and expellees were traumatized. Not only had they lost their home, also were they victims of violence. Approaching Red Army soldiers raped thousands of women and later on at the expulsions abuse and murder happened. Being uprooted, many of the homeless didn't manage to begin from zero. At times resulting in suicide." (Spiegel, 1.4.2016)

The arduous journey of refugees is the central element of DURING. These memories are centrally based on accounts of oral witnesses, usually memories of violence and suffering on the trip. Witness reports (individuals representing the fate of an entire group through their account) are used as authentic deliverers of the past experience, giving evidence and testimony of their plight. They communicate with an alleged trust – an important part of mediation processes, in the flow of meaning within communication. Ashuri and Pinchevski (2009) provide a concept of mediated witnessing, understanding it as a contested field of struggle (aligning with the memory concepts above). Historical discourses and trust affect how mediators translate witness accounts into media structures. The material here proves how important witness accounts are for media narratives, like in these two examples (about Flight and Expulsion and a Cameroonian refugee), giving "authentic" evidence:

> "Then the Czech police came and said you have to get out. Then we left with our handcart, put the essentials on it. Then we went to the station and were loaded into open wagons." (MDR, 26.5.2016)

> "And immediately abroad, to another African country. First to Nigeria, by foot, through the forest, for weeks, until you got somewhere safe…we were a group of around 50…I was 15." (NDR, 1.12.1994)

The journey itself, regardless of the specific case, is told as a physically and emotionally straining experience, leaving strong memories for the affected. Often, narrativizations of

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[38] For example: ZEIT, 22.5.1992; Deutschlandradio Kultur, 10.10.2015; ZDF, 8.5.2016 (documentary about suffering and violence on the escape from Eastern Prussia and Silesia)

DURING center around the iconified means of travel: boat, train or by foot (trail) with a handcart. For Flight and Expulsion certain specific events prevail within this episode. Röger (2011:308-309) already showed in her study that memory discourses are dominated by the most extreme happenings, such as the trail over the frozen lagoon in Eastern Prussia or the sinking of the passenger ship *Gustloff* in January 1945[39]. In 1993, NDR (23.10.1993) produced a 60-minute-documentary about this often-repeated incident, embedded in the German victimhood story of Flight and Expulsion. It is mentioned alongside many accounts of harsh westward trails on foot, train rides or boat trips[40] roughly between 1944 and 1950. Often the witnesses appearing in the media were children back then, such as the author of this report, which was published in Huffington Post (31.7.2015):

> "For two days we sat on the train. Shortly after we had left, a man who sat directly next to Emma, threw up on her. It stank so abominably, I could hardly breath. Emma was sobbing the entire night on my shoulder."

The article's title "Before you judge refugees you should know this story" directly draws an argumentative link between this description and today through mnemonic imagination.

Moreover, exhausting and traumatizing journeys in the accounts often stand alongside the experience of total loss of property. E.g., in an online multimedia story produced by BR (2016) about migration history, in the beginning the sound effects in the background include an African accent saying: "Our house is burnt. We have nothing now". Narratives of loss, of "we had nothing", can again be found across many cases of migration, e.g. again about Flight and Expulsion:

> "They don't have much, no toys, are often relocated. Sometimes more welcome, sometimes less." (NDR, 24.10.2016)

In the accounts of GDR-refugees, this narrative pattern has a slightly different focus[41]. Instead of extreme suffering, here the spectacular aspect prevails, be it accounts of tunnel digging, taking a balloon or swimming across the border. This example basically tells a story of human

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[39] The cruise liner *Gustloff* was sunk by a Soviet submarine on 30th January 1945. The ship left Gotenhafen in Eastern Prussia toward West, totally overcrowded, with around 10.000 people on board. It was one of the last possibilities to escape from the proceeding Red Army, as the Nazi regime had so far forbidden evacuation. Around 9.000 people are estimated to have drowned (Wagener, 2015). This story has been found entrance into a variety of factual and fictional accounts in media and popular culture (Tiews, 2017).
[40] For example: NDR, 5.9.1993 (documentary about the ship "Goya", which was sunk by a Soviet submarine off the coast of Eastern Prussia in 1945, killing thousands of refugees).
[41] For example: ZDF, 15.3.2016 (documentary about 10 turning points in German history, one of them being partition)

trafficking in a positive tone, again based on the Cold War idea of the "good" refugees escaping socialism:

> "Wild chases, strict controls: how a Berlin barkeeper smuggled GDR-refugees over the border […] Often the traffickers had more luck than sense. Their trick […] was simple: a messenger got in touch with potential refugees in the GDR, revealed himself with a password ("Jutta says hello") and told them the escape date and meeting point." (Spiegel, 5.1.2015)

These re-narrativizations tell a spectacular story of dangerous escapes. They also include accounts of getting shot at the inner-German border ("Mauertote" [wall dead])[42]. This is both part of the Cold War frame, adding to the illegitimate violence and suffering accounts, while at the same time it underscores the spectacle narrative.

In general, narrations of DURING use a more dramatic, but thereby empathy provoking language. It is the most illustrative and impressive element of the migration story to tell, which is why it presumably focusses on refugees. These examples show how choice of vocabulary dramatically re-tells the journey:

> "Escape via the Baltic Sea is deemed the safest route out of the inferno." (NDR, 23.10.1993)

> "It was the biggest mass exodus since antiquity." (Welt, 19.5.2015)

Whether the words are suitable or not – they ascribe meaning to the migrations talked about and relate their historical dimensions to the present. Again, master-narratives about individual migrations influence which episodes are remembered most predominantly here. Similarly over both time periods, experiences DURING the journey are re-narrativized, using trustworthy witnesses giving mnemonic evidence of arduous fates, violence, loss of home and exhausting journeys. As Ricoeur (2004) elaborated, testimony of witnesses is basis for historical narratives. They provide empathetic access through narrativization of experiences, discursively negotiating legitimacy and compassion for historical migrants and refugees, which are a mirror for contemporary ones through mnemonic imagination. The same converging, but recognizable meta-narrative of dangerous relocation and loss of property and home is enacted within the respective master-narratives of migration cases, as the differences between Flight and Expulsion and GDR-refugees show.

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[42] For example: NDR, 7.8.2016 (documentary clip about 10 people shot at the wall in 1963); HR, 3.10.2016 (documentary about inner-German border area between Thuringia and Hesse).

5.3. AFTER I: Arrival from the Migrants' Perspective

Thirdly, any migration leads to a new home, confronting migrants with new demands. The arrival phase is the space of encounter. The analysis of this part is split into two chapters: memories of arrival, settling in, or the term "integration" look different from the migrants' or the receiving society's point of view. The newcomer's perspective is presented first.

The most common thread mentioned about all migrations in the corpus is the experience of a cold welcome, harsh treatment, outright rejection and racism. Remediating this provides a basic historical framework for understanding the same experience in the present, as e.g. this Flight and Expulsion example:

> "Rejection, defamation and pure hate were common until the late 1950s, including racial reservations of Germans against Germans…Flensburg's head of district Johannes Tiedje wrote in 1946 that Schleswig-Holsteinians and Lower Germans would live a life 'which in no way wants to become part of the mulatto breeding the Eastern Prussian undertook in the mix of peoples.' Jakob Fischbacher, founding member of the Bavarian Party, considered it a 'blood shame', when a local farmer marries a 'northern German blonde' and wanted to send the Prussians 'to Siberia right away'. A wine farmer from […] Weil im Rheingau went even further: 'You refugees all go to Auschwitz!'" (Deutschlandradio, 24.8.2016)

Especially remembering how Germans rejected other Germans[43], is an often-used rhetorical device for drawing mnemonic parallels to today, as the title of the radio feature quoted above demonstrates: "Expellees back then, refugees today". This meta-narrative template enables historical comparison.

Also other groups share this experience, put forward e.g. by an Italian guestworker in a TV-reportage (SWR, 2.10.2016):

> "'Spaghetti-glutton', 'knife man', that hurts…My first girlfriend worked in another hotel. Her mum slapped her in the face and said: if you keep seeing an Italian, you mustn't come home anymore. Summer '62."[44]

or a Russo-German writing "We Russo-Germans were regarded criminal drunkards in the 90s" (ZEIT, 21.4.2016). This experience of harsh treatment is a continuous part of the narratives, whereas experiences of arrival are more diverse, yet still repetitive. Firstly, housing is an issue: difficulties of having accommodation in the beginning (many expellee-accounts remember being assigned to farms or shacks[45]), being put into shack settlements (especially guestworkers (SWR, 2.10.2016)), or the formation of ghetto-type, secluded areas (often in the memory of the

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[43] Historian Andreas Kossert (2008) coined the term "cold home" (Kalte Heimat) for this experience of the expellees in the post-war years.

[44] Interestingly, a German expellee remembers the exact same experience: "My husband's relatives, they took long in accepting that he married a refugee girl. Was like that" (BR, 3.11.2016).

[45] For example: ZDF, 8.5.2016; BR2, 21.6.2015

Russo-Germans and of Vietnamese contract workers (NDR, 17.11.1994)). Here, memories differ in what this experience meant: a sense of security among peers, a sense of exclusion and unwanted-ness, or even a sense of imprisonment as one guestworker child remembers in a documentary (SWR, 2.10.2016): She didn't go to school and was locked into the shack doing housework, while the parents were working in the factory. Multiple elements like these form the mosaic of arrival memories under the umbrella of the meta-narrative of difficulties of arriving. This emplotment encompasses the continued experience of loss, now more metaphorically of home:

> "We have no home left. Because home doesn't only include the land you live in, but also social security, friends you can talk to, you can have fun with. That's home!" (rbb, 13.11.2016; GDR-refugee)

In many narrativizations this feeling of loss is connected to efforts to succeed in the new home. Many migrants mention the will to "make it" – and these are negotiations of what integration means – and remember it as an incentive to work hard and learn the language:

> "When you try hard, you can make it at some point." (ZDF, 10.7.2016; Vietnamese contract worker)

Aspirations of succeeding are often connected to economic welfare and being integrated through a job. Unemployment is mostly mentioned as unwanted and bad. What role language and culture obstacles played for integration is accounted for by this Spanish guestworker:

> "He has arrived in Mainz Laubenheim, but the way there was harder as the pictures make believe. – 'The beginning was hard, we couldn't communicate. To ask for bread or other things. We had to point.' – But the family man still, over 50 years later, hardly speaks German. How can that be? – [daughter]: 'The background is simply that his colleagues were also foreigners. They were Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks, Italians. That were the languages that he mostly heard. Dad learned to speak Italian and Portuguese fluently. And he knows basic Greek…and broken German' – Luis Conde Santana considers himself a Laubenheimian of Spanish descent." (SWR, 2.10.2016)

These re-narrativizations of integration and its hurdles show the relevance of the migrants' voice in these discourses. In the examples, they are granted the mediated space to remember those difficulties. Their voiced memories form one contesting narrative strand of complex recollections of what arrival and integration entails for them. In the next chapter, it will be opposed to the receiving society's perspective on these issues.

Moreover, the last quote exemplifies the construction of identity in mnemonic narratives of arrival. Discourses of integration from the migrants' perspective focus on struggles of identity and recognition between two places. Often this problem seems put on them by either the media

(e.g. question of the interviewer, first example) or by society (second example) – but still reported by themselves[46]:

> "'Did you grow up in Germany or in Turkey?' – 'I'm a Hamburger, a Hamburg boy[47]!'" (NDR, 15.12.1994)

> "The Russo-Germans found out: We can declare all the time to be German, but we'll still not be welcome. So they did, what they were best at: not stand out. They practiced that in the Soviet Union." (ZEIT, 21.4.2016)

In the second example, integration is remembered as managing to not "stand out", rather a definition of assimilation. Later in that piece the author realizes that accepting the own difference is actual "integration".

Another part of this complex identity construction through memory, which is connected to having voice in the mediated space, is the common remembrance and continuous relationship to the old home. Expellees in West Germany organized themselves into "Landsmannschaften" (associations), upkeeping specific culture and memory of the old homeland. Missing home together and living own culture is a common habit of different migrant communities[48], as portrayed in this documentary about Vietnamese in Berlin, where the narrator uses the exact same vocabulary as in German expellee discourses:

> "Together they celebrate longing to the old home and solidarity in the new home." (ZDF, 10.7.2016)

In the mediated narrativizations by migrants, arrival is connected to this ongoing relationship to the old home country (be it visits[49], remittances or struggling with deciding whether to go back or not[50]). Memories of migration include transfer of culture. This is often exemplified with food, especially in guestworker narratives, who brought their cuisines to Germany, e.g. in a documentary about Italians remembering food as a means of making living abroad easier (SWR, 2.10.2016).

Concludingly, these discourses around meanings of arrival and integration from the migrants' perspective first and foremost show how complex and specific this experience can be. Although the same meta-narrative strands (racism, loss, old home, adapting and identity) come up across the corpus, it strikes how detailed they can vary in individual cases. There is no clear master-

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[46] For example: Spiegel, 7.6.1993; rbb, 16.10.2016 (documentary about "guestworker children: more than just Germans")

[47] In original: "Hamburger Jung'", a local dialect expression for an inhabitant of Hamburg, fairly patriotic.

[48] For example: ZDF, 12.7.2015, about Tamil refugees; RB, 25.9.2016 about Greek guestworkers

[49] For example: ARD, 6.1.1991 (documentary about Vietnamese boat people visiting their old home); ZDF, 8.5.2016 about Flight and Expulsion

[50] For example: ZDF, 16.7.2016 (documentary about Moroccan community in Düsseldorf)

narrative for each migrant group (as was more the case in 5.1. and 5.2.), but rather differentiated meta-narratives of the same experiences in each case, which the media however still pick in a convergent way by repetitively addressing these topics across the data. Memory is more malleable here, contested and mosaic-like. Through mediation in German platforms memories of arrival by migrants are mostly told by individual witnesses. Therefore, they are very dependent on what is asked and how it is actually contextualized in a TV-show or print piece. No community media were analyzed here, so that the selection of these arrival memories is very much a power question: what is publicly remembered here still must be understood as affected from mediation processes from a German perspective. This inherent power imbalance is exemplified by the documentary "Luckily Germany – A different view on our country" (WDR, 29.12.2016), whose title reveals this double-perspective: Selected immigrants from different countries and periods tell about their positive or jokingly awkward experiences in Germany, allegedly showing that "when the Germans want to, they can be fantastic" (ibid.). Having voice to mediate memories of migration in the media hence is a power struggle of inclusion and exclusion – and thereby sets the limits for mnemonic imagination.

5.4. AFTER II: Arrival from the Receiving Society's Perspective

The contested memory of "integration" becomes more visible in opposition to media texts re-telling the story entirely from the receiving society perspective. Here, mnemonic imagination is drawn upon by remembering arrival and integration in purely economic and national terms – again, across all cases of migration.

The most common and underlying thread is framing integration with a neoliberal, capitalist discourse: Put bluntly, integration is understood as contributing to economy and helping to increase societal welfare. Most re-narrativizations of Flight and Expulsion, for instance, stress the essential contribution the 8 million expellees in West Germany made for the "economic miracle"[51,52] – a key point of new post-war West-German self-identification. On this basis, the narrative of Flight and Expulsion – and that's the common discourse today – ends with a finished or "successful" (ZEIT, 12.2.2015) integration, made possible incredibly fast by

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[51] This term refers to the period of post-war West Germany's rapid economic boom and welfare increase. It's a strong part of national memory.
[51] For example: MDR, 2016; ZDF, 15.9.2015

unifying economic growth[53]. This alleged historical evidence is often taken even further, like in this quote, twisting it to be a guaranteed remedy for integration problems:

> "Today, Germany stands economically relatively solid. Another 'economic miracle', which would comprise everyone and cover up faults, seems out of question. As long as integration and participation of migrants stays the societal goal, the slogan can only be 'education, education, education'" (Deutschlandradio, 24.8.2016)

The economic influence is mentioned about every migrant group in the corpus[54]. Some examples measure the effects[55] and mostly tell a story of migrant communities being vital for German economy, like the TV-program "New consumers: Turks" (it is unfortunately not explained why they are "new" 30 years after their arrival):

> "German economy gives to the Turks and takes back from them again…The economy has discovered the Turks in Germany as equal citizens, not for social but for commercial reasons." (NDR, 12.9.1994)

Post-war migrations are often linked to the "economic miracle" discourse: GDR-refugees supported it and the guestworkers were only hired in the first place to make it possible, with the idea that they would go back home, making integration efforts irrelevant[56]. Lacking integration of the guestworkers in the narrative is connected to this economic reasoning, as the policy expected the workers to leave again and not stay and bring families. In the mentioned programs about the 30-year anniversary of hiring guestworkers in 1991/1992 their economic contribution to Germany is the main topic. Lastly, even the Huguenots are re-narrativized within this discourse: they brought new skills and industries[57].

This discursive focus on work as a measurement for the "good immigrant" implicitly makes integration into something, which Germany has the right to demand; it is legitimate to ask migrants to make an effort. In the quote below the TV-narrator is in a position of judging the Vietnamese community's success by comparing them to others from an assumed neutral position:

> "The Vietnamese credo: Only education gets you off the rice field. No other immigrant group is more successful at school." (ZDF, 10.7.2016)

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[53] For example: Welt, 19.5.2015; "Die großen Fluchten" (ZDF, 19.11.2016)
[54] For example: SWR, 2.10.2016 (documentary about guestworkers' daughters who are making big careers now in Germany)
[55] For example: managermagazin, 8.1.2017; BR multimedia homepage, 2016; ZEIT, 7.2.1992; a ZEIT-article (1.9.2015) answering "What happened to the refugees of the 90s?" in solely economic terms
[56] For example: SWR, 2.10.2016
[57] For example: SWR2, 23.12.2015

This capitalist narrativization is often fluidly linked to a national understanding of integration. An underlying idea of assimilation, of foreigners becoming Germans, characterizes these mnemonic narratives, such as this example:

> "Now German flags are next to Turkish ones in Berlin-Kreuzberg, German-Turks root for the German football team, Colognian fans wear Togo wigs, one could think: This integration exists, it works." (Spiegel, 13.9.2016)

Connecting immigrants' behavior to nationally charged symbols such as football is a measurement of integration here. Also, migrants in occupations such as police, which allegedly presupposes clear loyalty to the state and discursively has a national connotation, seem successful integration[58]. This can even end in assimilation as an understanding of integration, such as the title of the talk show "Arrived to stay – how do immigrants become Germans?" (WDR, 18.4.2016) suggests. Part of this nationalized discussion of migration history is also the debate about citizenship laws, led equally passionately in the 90s and today. This links back to the overarching discussion about the "immigration country" – based in narratives about migration history. The re-narrativizations of integration and participation described here are the place where this negotiation happens.

By making migration history German history and connecting integration to German culture, state and economy, migration history is strongly nationally framed. Very often celebrities are used as characters in narrativizations as rhetorical evidence of "good integration" or "positive refugees", mostly meaning that they contributed to public interest or are part of national culture. For the Russo-Germans many accounts mention Schlager-singer Helene Fischer[59], who was born in Siberia and in recent years became a successful celebrity in Germany. Others mention people like Hannah Arendt, Albert Einstein or Henry Kissinger being Germans who had to flee the Nazi-regime: German migrants contributing positively abroad. Re-narrativizations of AFTER II focalize migration history to German history as the point of view migrants are looked at from.

That continues in a last aspect of this chapter: narrative patterns that describe the visible influence of migration, like cityscapes and architecture (e.g. in a documentary about post-war city reconstruction affected by the expellees (RB, 13.2.2017); or guestworker areas in cities), changed religious majority ratios (e.g. through the Huguenots[60] or the expellees), place names

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[58] For example: ZDF-documentary (23.10.2016) about police with migration background; or Spiegel-piece (29.8.2015) about a policemen of Afghan descent on duty in Saxony against far-right-protesters
[59] For example: ZDF, 15.9.2015
[60] For example: SWR, 23.12.2015; "Die großen Fluchten" (ZDF, 19.11.2016)

(expellee settlements[61]) or the imported cuisine of guestworkers. A news show on NDR (3.2.1992) about guestworkers at Volkswagen in Wolfsburg mentions the "special flair" of the city brought by the Italians or a documentary on SWR (2.10.2016) is titled "Bella Italia in the South West – How ice cream and pasta came to us", reducing the guestworkers to their national food which metaphorically represents the whole group. Remembering AFTER II, hence, uses these cultural cues of visible influences on Germany; they are recognizable templates of discursive negotiation of migration, too.

Lastly, part of these "how it affects us"-narratives are accounts of criminality – due to "integration problems". This quote shows how the argument of economic integration and criminality are tied together:

> "Many Kurdish or Lebanese immigrants didn't find access to work and education and thereby to German society. People instead searched for support in the family, therefore the famous clan structures with ancient mechanisms were reinstalled. On this basis, organized crime still exists today." (Welt, 5.1.2016)

Hence, "integration" from this perspective means employment and no criminality. Compared to the complex experiences of arrival in the previous chapter, these narrativized definitions of the term are much more straight-forward, less diverse and individual. By determining the meaning of this term, a top-down, almost judgmental constellation between receiving society and migrant groups emerges. The discursive struggle within the mnemonic narratives of arrival becomes evident in the opposition of the two perspectives, demonstrating the power question of mediated memory. National framing leads to selective exclusion and reduction of the migrants' complex experiences.

5.5. Interim Conclusion

Narratives and discourses of migration history are tangled in mediations around the three strands BEFORE, DURING and AFTER. In a mosaic way, flows of migration historical memory culture happen through communication within these discursive patterns, weaved together from individual accounts of witnesses, journalists or experts. Different memories become remediated in certain schemata of narration and national, cultural contexts, across time and migration cases. Merging sometimes more, sometimes less, they provide basis for a contested, yet shared cultural understanding of what migration means in society, being subject to discursive struggle, especially in case of arrival and integration. Juxtaposing the discourses

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[61] Almost every German city has streets which are called e.g. "Silesian road" or "Sudeten street", where the distributed refugees and expellees after World War Two settled.

of the 1990s and today shows that during both times of condensed communication about migration the historical topos is part of the discourse. Similar re-narrativizations appear across both time periods and across the different cases of migration. Remembering migration is historical itself.

In each part a meta-narrative (constructed in this analysis) became visible from different master-narratives of specific migrations. Media apply repetitive patterns and templates of narrativization (meta-narrative) and in the specific cases society and culture has certain dominant interpretations (master-narrative) that affect what is said about them. In deconstructing these narrativizations and discourses it could be shown which aspects media focus on in the different episodes – and which migration cases are even mentioned. In the BEFORE and DURING phases, memories of forced migration (especially Flight and Expulsion, GDR-refugees) prevailed, while AFTER had a stronger emphasis on the labor migration cases. Ultimately, the media texts make history rhetorical parts of their underlying argument structure in the present, drawing on potential mnemonic imagination of implicit comparison to today or empathy-creating elements. History and present can be connected in that way.

In the analysis of narrative techniques, the use of individual witnesses remembering their specific stories and giving authentic evidence of past truths is pivotal (cf. Ashuri/Pinchevski, 2009). One individual represents an entire group and speaks for a collective experience, whether this generalization can be made or not. Experts or journalistic commentators organize the statements in the emplotment of the show or article. Thus, many mediations use the same argument structure: An implicit statement about today is made by using memory. A syllogism (Feldman/Almquist, 2016) of "A led to B before, therefore it will be identical today" is created through mnemonic imagination. This becomes visible e.g. in time-travelling terminology across accounts of different migrations (calling Huguenots "asylum seekers"), or in the memories of integration in AFTER II comparing economic policies across time and making arguments about refugee employment today. Making these time-crossing connections can both be problematic in twisting and limiting historical facts into fitting meta-narratives. At the same time recognizable schemata of narration are the basis for mnemonic imagination and potentially empathy for refugees and migrants today, like in a Tagesspiegel-article (24.4.2015) called "Refugees back then and today. Ms Kiesewetter's list", where a

German expellee compares her experiences with those of contemporary refugees in a systematic list. I will return to this discussion in the conclusion.

It also turned out that migration history (as any historical narrative in the media) is told from two different standpoints, like history "from inside" and "from outside": by affected remembering subjects themselves (witnesses, people with "first-hand-experiences" (Keightley/Pickering, 2012); especially examples in 5.2.) and by experts, mostly historians[62], or journalists re-telling history from a bird perspective, claiming scientific credibility. According to Röger (2011:178-181) experts' explanations in media work against the emotionalizing witness accounts, but have crucial influence on memory cultures. Of course, both levels are entangled (relating back to Ricoeur's (2004) elaborations on the creation of historical narratives): different memory generators are cross-referencing in the mediated space and thereby create the narrative strands.

Finally, a central finding is the strong national framing of memory narratives, thus, constructing migration history as a part of national history. Memories of migrants and "facts" from (German) historians are at interplay in mediated spaces, where they are embedded in national discourses of Germany's past. This results in a power question and discursive struggle of inclusion into the national memory. Ultimately, national framing, alongside the presented repetitive narrative strands with their recurring topics, emerged as templates or cross-referencing reiterations, which the media deploy – hence, mediated memory culture is arguably a basis for the mediation of migration in general.

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[62] For example: Jochen Oltmer ("Die großen Fluchten", ZDF, 19.11.2016), Klaus J. Bade (ZDF, 15.9.2015), Michael Schwartz (BR, 3.11.2016), Andreas Kossert (ZEIT, 12.2.2015)

6. Visual Icons of Migration: The Trail and Mother-Child-Motif

The saying "seeing is believing" holds especially true for the documentation and witnessing of traumatic experiences like forced migration. Zelizer (2002) showed how visual communication is essential in the journalistic coping with events like the Holocaust or 9/11. This chapter builds on her argument of repeated templates by delivering a short study of two central visual icons of migration: the "trail" and the "mother-child-motif". Before this analysis digs into two case studies in chapter 7, this chapter continues the basic argument of chapter 5: Mediated narrativization of migration converges experiences into recognizable schemata. The trail and "mother-child" represent two of these – continuing the argument on a visual level. Of course, media visuals of migration would deserve an entire own study. Yet, the two chosen icons were especially prevalent in the material and exemplify how mediated re-narrativization also visually converges diverse experiences into recognizable schemata.

Remembering is intrinsically visual and so are TV and press analyzed here. On 12 February 2015, historian Andreas Kossert wrote in DIE ZEIT: "The handcart from back then is the boat drifting in the Mediterranean today." He historically connects two means of transportation, which are however more than that: They are discursive icons of forced migration, iconified by repetitive visual remediation.

The relevance of photography and iconified, symbolic imagery for memory (Ruchatz, 2008), is based on the image's function of alleged authenticity and trace of the past: "Photographs furnish evidence" (Sontag, 1977:5) of history. Embedded in the narrative and discursive strands of migration elaborated above, iconified motifs repeatedly occur across different cases of migration. Through premediation and remediation they become part of a visual memory of migration. Naturally, narratives of DURING are predominant here, as it is the most visible "act".

Paul (2009), Röger (2011:254-303) and Scholz (2014) have identified the central icons in the visual memory of Flight and Expulsion: the trail and "mother-child". The material showed, however, that these icons can be found among other cases of migration as well – exemplifying how "cross-referencing", "multidirectional memory" (Rothberg, 2009) can function. In the following, a hermeneutical analysis of these two icons is presented, acknowledging that they mostly focus on forced migration and are only one, albeit central, dimension of general visuals of migration.

6.1. The Trail

Trail imagery is a central icon in the memory of Flight and Expulsion. The little visual material documenting this historical event itself, though often from dubious, unclear sources[63], is continuously re-used, informing visual memory discourses of this event. Figure 2 shows the prototypical trail image. This screenshot from short footage is remediated across the entire corpus. It gives evidence of the event. This particular footage, originally from a Nazi news reel from 16.3.1945 (Paul, 2009:668), appears identically across the material, being one of the few preserved ones. The data corpus shows that also other cases of migration are fitted into this image constellation. Figure 3 uses the exact same arrangement, now in the case of Bosnian refugees in the 1990s (ZEIT, 1.9.2016). Figure 4 (not from this study's corpus as it's not a memory product) finally shows how the pre-mediated template is used in contemporary mediations of migration.

Figure 2. Screenshot from "Die großen Fluchten" (ZDF, 19.11.2016). Originally from "Kriegswochenschau No. 754" (16.3.1945) (Paul, 2009) © ZDF, 19.11.2016

Figure 3. Image in print article "What happened to the refugees of the 90s?" © ZEIT, 1.9.2016

Figure 4. Imagery of the contemporary "refugee crisis" © ZEIT, 31.3.2016

Trail imagery is always constructed in the same way: A large amount of people walks toward the camera along a curvy route, making the endless "stream" of migrants visible. It creates a potentially threatening perspective, the receiving society being opposite, confronted by the "in-migrants", who are diagonally crossing space. Beginning and end of the trail cannot be seen. This othering-dimension is underscored by the fact, that most trail photographs are shot by an observant; memories of the trail are not produced by the migrants themselves, but rather the

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[63] Scholz (2014) showcases the problematics of the historical image stock in his article. Often it is unclear what the photos actually depict and where they were taken by whom. In many cases, the material was produced by Nazi propaganda units with certain intentions of what was to be depicted, sometimes even staged. In other cases, completely different people are depicted as the archival reference claims or the picture stems from a different time period. It would be worth a similar critical study for images and footage of other migrations.

camera's eye, which aligns with the receiving society's eye. This eye often sees a distinguishable group of people in the beginning, which merge into a "mass" of de-individualized people. Figure 4 only consists of rather faceless refugees. In addition, the refugees carry luggage, often more than they can carry, all of their left goods, symbolizing loss of home and property. Ultimately, depicted escape on foot expresses humiliation, emergency and determination of crisis migration, as these refugees are obviously unable to use faster and less straining means of transportation.

Thereby, the trail imagery plays into different narrative strands at the same time: it can be used from an empathy-creating standpoint of remembering DURING, as well as depicting the "influx" of de-individualized people in negotiating AFTER II. The trail is part of the visual memory of migration[64], especially in the case of the German refugees after WW2. Remediations of this tradition affect the narrativization of other migrations, too. The examples show how mediation converges diverse migration cases into a condensed icon, just like the narrative strands in chapter 5 showed for the textual level. Aligning with Zelizer (2002) again, as well as keeping in mind the selectiveness and omission of memory, this visual reduction into recognizable icons might let audiences in the end "see less": The vast majority of all historical migrants and refugees did certainly not arrive into Germany by foot, yet the icon is such a ubiquitous element of re-narrativizing forced migration.

6.2. The Mother-Child-Motif

The second main icon is a mother with a child. Embedded in cultural imaginings of the traditional family (mother, father, children), this icon projects the rupture of this stability experienced by refugees onto different migration cases. It is rooted in culturally charged predecessors, such as the Pietà (Maria mourning Jesus) or Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother" (1936)[65]. This eternally reshaped symbol encompasses narratives of victimhood and suffering in the plight of refugees; it creates empathy by projecting the forced migration experience on symbols of family and innocence. The idyllic home of the family has been undermined and shattered by spatial dislocation, often by war. By that, the icon can re-narrativize different parts of that story (BEFORE, DURING and AFTER): violence or war has destroyed the family (potentially taken the father), the mother protects her child from this violence, their survival is

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[64] In cultural history, it even dates back to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, guided by Moses (Paul, 2009).
[65] Dorothea Lange was commissioned by the Resettlement Administration to document the poor and migrant workers during the Great Depression (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017).

the goal of the journey. Pre- and remediation have encoded this cultural meaning into the symbolic icon, especially because unlike in the trail imagery, the very act of migration is not visible. It appears throughout the corpus in memories of different migrations.

Figure 5 shows a typical example of "mother-child" from the corpus. In most depictions the mother holds her (small) child in a protecting position close to her body. In this program (WDR, 9.5.2016) the icon is featured through a private photograph of an oral witness giving account of his memories of Flight and Expulsion. The fact that he and the producing team chose this image for visualizing his accounts underscores the symbolic meaning it

Figure 5. Screenshot from "Where were you at the end of the war?" (WDR, 9.5.2016). Family photography by the interviewed witness used for illustration. The interviewee's (right) mother (left) died on the escape West. © WDR, 9.5.2016

encapsulates, both for him personally and the show's audience. It serves as a physical and symbolic evidence of the escape experience (in this case his mother on the picture died on the journey). Reminiscent of van Dijck's *personal cultural memory* this photography contains a recognizable, shared cultural reference to migration history as well as the witness's individual memory. It is used as evidence, drawing on the discursive truthfulness of pictures remediating the past directly to us. This narrativization technique is used across the data. Ultimately, the fact that it becomes remediated with the function to publicly remember this plight demonstrates how it is a conventional template in the cultural memory of migration.

Mnemonic re-narrativization within the mother-child-symbol implies need for protection, which the traditional, settled family cannot provide anymore, fractured by the uprooting migration experience. Figure 6 (WELT, 1.9.2015) remembers the arrival of Vietnamese "boat people" to West Germany in the late 1970s –

Figure 6. Image used in online newspaper article, Vietnamese refugees arriving at Hannover airport in 1978 © WELT, 1.9.2015

with the exact same visual iconography. A mother with her child on her arms covered by a blanket at the center encapsulates the determination to survive, the need for protection, as well as the joy of arrival in a safe place. Next to her a German nurse symbolizes the welcoming receiving society, also a mother-figure holding the refugee child. Children as symbols of innocence are hence part of the narrativization this icon undertakes in implicitly re-telling specific aspects of BEFORE, DURING and AFTER.

Finally, this icon, unlike the trail, always shows individual faces, giving the experiencing subjects a personality. Discernable people, again through mnemonic imagination, offer identification and relatability for audiences. In the trail images, identifiable people in the first row can instigate this transfer of experience. At the same time, the motifs visualize underlying narratives, which are implicit in the cultural memories referred to through these icons. They tell a certain story, because the icon has always told that kind of story. The faces in the mother-child-motif stand for entire groups, just as the individual witnesses in chapter 5, personal and impersonal simultaneously. Their depiction from that moment represents and stands in for their experience as a physical, visible evidence. However diverse these experiences might be – iconification through continuous pre- and remediation boils them down into recognizable symbols.

The visual level of migration condenses diverse experiences of migration, equally as textually narrativized in chapter 5. Ultimately, this reduction leads again to the power question of mediated memories: Who tells the story for whom and gets the screen space to depict them? Those parts that are visualized, then, contribute to the repetitive re-narrativization of migration history through the use of recognizable icons that "resonate" with cultural memory (Erll, 2008:389). The visual level of mnemonic re-narrativization is an intrinsic part of the narrative strands analyzed above. Remediated icons and original historical imagery add to the arguments made in individual media texts. These two repetitious icons connect and reduce different migrations, illustrating the meta-narratives of BEFORE, DURING and AFTER. Finally, this repetitiveness is the basis for mnemonic imagination, as figure 4 above showed; visual memories of other refugees are reminiscent of contemporary events. Hence, iconic "templates", as part of a media culture of migration can be found across different migration cases.

7. Case Studies of Mediated Memories of Migration

This final part will present two case studies of single media texts. Digging in detail into two examples from TV illustrates how the narrative and discursive strands elaborated above are enacted on a visual and textual level, regarding their contexts in entirety. The docudrama "Landgericht" (ZDF, 30.1.2017) as well as the TV-documentary "Die großen Fluchten" (ZDF, 19.11.2016)[66] were chosen to exemplify how the repetitive narrativization patterns (chapter 5) work "in action". They show two main points: firstly, based on the narrative strands, how in plurimedial networks they create a mnemonically imagined, empathetic connection between historical migration and today; and secondly, how national framing raises questions about the power struggle of inclusion and voice of migrants in memory discourses.

7.1. Case Study I: "Landgericht" (ZDF, 30.1.2017)

The first example is a two-part drama movie[67], which aired on ZDF on 30.1.2017 and 1.2.2017. This adds a new genre-perspective to the corpus, consisting mostly of factual content[68]. The film about a half-Jewish family, who is scattered all over the world in World War Two and then has to cope in post-war West Germany, is a typical case of a "memory movie" according to Erll/Wodianka (2008): It resonates with a cultural memory through symbolic systems and is

surrounded by plurimedial networks, making the link to migration memory. The plot is an adaptation of a true-story-based novel by Ursula Krechel[69]. It tells the story of the Kornitzer family: Richard is a Jewish judge, Claire is an "Aryan" owner of an advertising firm, two children Georg and Selma. In 1938, after the November pogroms, they decide to send the children

Figure 7. Screenshot from "Landgericht", Kornitzer family at the train station to send their children to the UK (ZEIT, 30.1.2017) © ZDF

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[66] Both case studies are from the "refugee crisis"-period, as access to entire shows or movies from the 1990s is connected with considerable access and cost complications. That does in no way mean that there is no material suitable for a deeper study. For instance, the mentioned 5-part series "Fremde Heimat Deutschland" [Foreign Homeland Germany] (NDR, 1994) would be a rich source for this research.

[67] The meaning of the title is ambiguous. Firstly, it means "district court". Literally, however, the compositum means "country court", playing on the topic of the movie: guilt of a whole country, in which the Jewish protagonist is a judge.

[68] Another example from the corpus is the drama movie "Mord Ost – Mord West" [Murder East – Murder West], aired on ARD on 24.7.1991. It tells a crime story among smugglers between East and West Germany.

[69] Published in 2012 and amongst others awarded with the German Book Prize.

to the UK to protect them from the dawning Holocaust[70]. Exile due to immense anti-Semitism and the Shoah is the form of forced migration told in this movie: a traumatic experience of separation, loss of home and threatening genocide. Richard lost his employment as a judge, but manages to obtain a visa for Cuba, hoping he could let his family join. Claire, left alone in Germany, is raped by a Gestapo man, while they confiscate all valuables. She cannot leave the country and is assigned forced labor. When in 1947 she manages to find Richard, all family members, now "displaced persons"[71], have built up new lives. He returns to his family, leaving behind a pregnant Cuban woman, but eager to reinstall justice in Germany. Claire visits the UK trying to get the children back. In the end, all attempts to rebuild the family fail. The 10-year separation, though assuring their survival, has estranged the family members from each other. The children stay in Britain feeling let down by their parents, the marriage is broken, and Richard despairs of continued Nazi structures in post-war Germany's justice system.

Part of the plot are all recognizable "acts" of forced migration: Several scenes in the beginning present the extreme anti-Semitic persecution under the Nazi-regime as the reason for leaving. The children's train ride and sad farewell at the station (figure 7) as well as Richard's crossing to Cuba depict the journey and act of separation. Finally, the consequences of the exile are identity struggles (of the children), feeling uprooted and even foreign in the own home country after the return. But what more does this example tell about re-narrativized historical migration?

A glance at mediated communication around the movie, or the plurimedial networks (Erll/Wodianka, 2008), reveals the centrality of mnemonic imagination in the reading of this movie today. ZDF provides an entire homepage[72] with extra-material and historical facts, including interviews with producers and actors and a 35-minute documentary (ZDF, 30.1.2017) about the real-life Kornitzer family – typical of a "memory movie", where fiction and historical documentary are entangled[73]. An individual case represents the fate of an entire group: "The Kornitzer family stands for many families with the same experience" (ZDF, 2017). The goal is

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[70] Around 10.000 Jewish children (Jewish according to the Nuremberg racial laws of 1935) were allowed to leave Germany in 1938 to Britain, mostly organized by Quakers. These "Kindertransporte" (Refugee Children Movement) offered the children exile in the care of host families (USHMM, 2017a).

[71] The category "displaced person" (DP) was introduced by the Allies in World War Two. It comprised people who were uprooted because of the war, mostly due to forced labor (alone around 11 million in Germany in order to keep up the war economy) (Bade, 2003:215).

[72] https://www.zdf.de/filme/landgericht (last access: 10.5.2017), in corpus as ZDF, 2017.

[73] On the homepage this is pointed out directly: "Like the novel, the movie melts together documentary and fiction. In the two-parter, director Matthias Glasner creates a touching image of a time, during which countless people were deprived of their dignity. Heide Schwochow adapted Krechel's award-winning political novel into a thrilling script about a family, that cannot escape the trauma of their separation" (ZDF, 2017). This aligns with the public service TV task of entertainment and public education and information.

clearly to convey historical knowledge via fictional entertainment, embedded in more factual material.

A video in the accompanying material, titled "Flight and Expulsion", discusses the timelessness of forced migration in the movie, connecting past and present. The editor ascribes the following meaning to the film:

> "Since we developed the scripts, the topic became shockingly current…The whole idea of flight and expulsion and the impossibility of life in exile and misfortune that seizes these people, even if they have bread, water and accommodation, all of that is mirrored here." (ZDF, 2017)

This understanding of the experience of migration is seconded by the script-writer, who describes one of her intentions of the re-narrativization:

> "Actually, it's the same with the refugees today. To find something I wanna actually know, also from the refugees from Syria, what they actually lived through. And then I start developing empathy with these people. And that's what I wanted to try in this adaption." (ZDF, 2017)

The main actor follows her:

> "All conflicts back then are there today too…If the refugees, war, what war means or being allowed to leave, not being allowed, Cuba…what visas are there, what about Syria, home, not wanting to leave home, it's totally current and that's the bad thing." (ZDF, 2017)

These explanations by producers and actors give insight into the intended meanings behind the narratives (however they are then of course read by audiences). They show how emplotment is resonating with cultural memories of forced migration and the Nazi regime and how these memories can be connected to re-telling these stories today. In the video, scenes from the movie are used to prove these points, such as the ship full of refugees, which cannot land at Cuba and

Figure 8. Screenshot from "Landgericht", re-enacting the refugee ship "St. Louis" from Hamburg, rejected by Cuba, the US and Canada, so that 937 Jewish refugees had to return to Europe in 1940 (USHMM, 2017b). In the movie, Richard tells the story of this ship in a letter to Claire. © ZDF, 30.1.2017

has to return to Europe – an icon of migration with a parallel to boats on the Mediterranean today rejected by Europe. Thereby, this video demonstrates how handed-down, recognizable cultural schemata are part of narratives and offer a connection of past and present.

Narratives of "AFTER" are discussed in another extra-video, titled "Home". Here, identity struggles of uprooted expatriates and the lost home are taken up, reminiscent of AFTER I-narratives:

> "Also the question is: where is actually my home?...What does it mean to lose my home and to go to another country?...Do I wanna go back? Don't I? What is home?...So is the Jewish people which always had to flee everywhere and cannot arrive." (ZDF, 2017; told by the producer and the main actor)

Again, this is illustrated by two scenes in the movie. One where Richard tells his friend that he has applied for Cuban citizenship, accepting his expulsion, which his friend who wants to return and build up a democratic society cannot understand; and another one where Richard receives the first letter from Claire after 10 years in Cuba and is forced to consider what to do. These are narrative plot elements showing struggles of identity and belonging in exile.

Furthermore, countless reviews in the press discuss the meanings conveyed in the movie, contributing to its memory making. Apart from discussing the movie's statements about denazification and the unatoned post-war legal system (ZEIT, 30.1.2017; Stern, 30.1.2017), the experience of forced migration is read as a central feature of the movie – especially in its timelessness and the relevance of memory for today:

> "It's an important story, it must be told…And it's our depressing everyday, that fleeing families are torn apart for years…especially as the idea to save children from the horror pops up again in the Syrian war." (Spiegel, 31.1.2017)

The emotional meaning of escape for the characters, the separation and loss of home and security – cf. narratives in AFTER I – is read as most compelling and central message of the movie by many reviewers:

> "Who has seen this movie, can understand what it means if escape from war and authoritarian regimes blow apart families into different directions." (SZ, 30.1.2017)

> "In the end, everyone stays homeless for themselves and much stays unatoned." (FAZ, 30.1.2017)

Concludingly, this case study could demonstrate how narrativization of forced migration in the case of German Jews in the 1930s uses certain symbolic systems in the plot, which are remediating cultural memory about the experience of escape. It is told on a very emotional level, focusing on the family's psychological suffering of homelessness. From there, the mnemonic connection of past and present is made in the plurimedial networks: this experience is timeless.

7.2. Case Study II: "Die großen Fluchten" (ZDF, 19.11.2016)

The final case study links most threads of the analysis so far together. In November 2016, the weekly serial "ZDF History"[74] aired an episode on German migration history: "The big escapes"[75]. Already the short description of this episode correlates history with the current events – revealing the relevance and underlying argument of re-telling these stories now:

> "The many refugees that flooded into Germany in 2015, bring back memories: Several times Germans had to flee, and Germany has often been a country of refuge." (ZDF, 19.11.2016)

Mnemonic imagination through re-narrativization of previous migrations that offer interpretation and explanation of current events is defined as the aim of this show. Like many examples above did more subtly, also here the implicit rhetoric of this framing works like a syllogism, saying: These were the consequences of previous migrations in and out of Germany. Therefore, the same consequences will happen today, too. The evidence the show presents are six different cases of migration history. This choice demonstrates the selectiveness – hence, the power question – of mediated memory. Why these and not others?

The episode starts with compilated historical footage of the trail icon. People with luggage are commented by historian Jochen Oltmer explaining that migration is historical normality of human existence.

Figure 9. Screenshot from "Die großen Fluchten", a suitcase, symbol of migration, is used as background for the chapter titles throughout the show. Here: "Escape into freedom" © ZDF, 19.11.2016

Then, the first case is introduced (figure 9): GDR-citizens going West. Right at the beginning, history of forced migration is tied to a central national German memory site: division and reunification. The famous 1961 footage of the East German soldier jumping over the closed border (figure 10), a Cold War icon, is turned into a document of forced migration here – re-narrativized in

Figure 10. Screenshot from "Die großen Fluchten", image "Leap into freedom" of soldier Conrad Schumann jumping over the barbed wire, taken by Peter Leibing (Time 100 Photos, 2017) © ZDF, 19.11.2016

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[74] The show is a public service TV institution for popular history since 2000 and was led until 2013 by famous TV presenter Guido Knopp. It features 45 minutes of popularized history every week.

[75] An interesting detail here is that Guido Knopp produced a five-part documentary for ZDF called "The big escape" in 2001 about the German refugees and expellees. Here, the title was simply put into the plural form.

the context of this documentary. Aligning with the mentioned Cold War narrative of fleeing communism, oral witnesses remember their spectacular ways of crossing the closed border. Narrating German division as a history of flight the issues of "Republikflucht" [escape of republic][76] and the West buying free the incarcerated refugees, as well as economic motivations to go West are part of this often-repeated and well-known memory. Finally, the events of 1989 are brought up: "mass escape" via Austria and Hungary, causing difficulties in housing the refugees in West Germany. Footage of the collapsing Berlin wall is re-contextualized as "the end of inner-German escapes" – migration is weaved into the national memory site "reunification" in this narrative. Meta-narratives of reasons, journey and consequences are framed nationally along the respective master-narrative.

Next, German emigration to America during the 19th century is re-narrativized with time-travelling vocabulary of the mentioned capitalist narrative. Calling the emigrants "economic refugees[77]…driven by sheer necessity" their story is told as entrepreneurial success: migrants bring innovations and welfare, exemplified by famous brands as Levi's or Steinway, while poverty and unemployment are the reasons for migration. Due to an obvious lack of original visuals, re-enactment serves to illustrate the events, here with two icons combined: a trail of people walking to a ship. The main narrative strategy of this part is an economic framing, almost reminiscent of classical economic migration theories of push-and-pull factors (Castles/Miller, 2009:21-22). Also this migration is connected to national memory: the failed revolution of 1848, causing persecution and exile in the New World. A presented example is German political refugee Carl Schurz, who became a US-minister – which is deemed successful integration, meaning political participation. Especially in contrast to the definitions of integration presented otherwise in AFTER II, one wonders if the producers imply that the same ideal of integration should also apply the other way around, e.g. Turkish ministers in Germany.

The third case is Flight and Expulsion, named by the narrator "one of the biggest catastrophes of German history". Embedded in footage of destroyed German cities and the approaching Red Army, Flight and Expulsion is, as usual, told as a consequence of Hitler's failed war of conquest. Following the master-narrative, violence during the expulsions is put into perspective as a revenge to German war crimes in Eastern Europe. Using the same visual material as in

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[76] A severely punished crime in the GDR. Those who failed were put into prison, from where the West bought free many.
[77] The term "Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge" [economic refugees] in the contemporary discourse has a derogative connotation in its implied opposition to "real refugees". Also, it is somewhat paradoxical as refugees are commonly defined as escaping persecution or war, not seeking economic welfare. See more about social construction of migration categories in 3.1.

almost every account (trail image from 6.), witnesses report from the most remembered events of the journey: the march over the frozen lagoon in Eastern Prussia and the sinking of the *Gustloff*. Again, the most extreme events are emphasized, as Röger (2011:308-309) already constituted. Celebrities act as witnesses and symbols of integration, reporting from their cold welcome and the myth that talking about their fate was long a taboo (refuted by many historians[78]). Finally, the economic narrative of integration is applied again to emphasize the expellees' role in the "economic miracle", leading to the conclusion of the AFTER II strand: "Their fast integration amazes historians until today."

Next, the "exodus" of the Huguenots is told as an early story of asylum – technically long before legal concepts of forced migration existed – but with the same vocabulary, drawing on mnemonic imagination. Fleeing religious persecution in France (narrative of legitimate reason), the Huguenots left for Germany, partly on boat. Here, the arduous escape is illustrated by a read-out original letter reporting about the sea travel, sounding almost identical to one of a Syrian crossing the Mediterranean. Their arrival is again fitted into the economic narrative: They were allowed "colonies", bringing special skills and economic boom. Finally, the national-cultural dimension is not left out here either: "The German forest and its fairy tales. How German are they really?", answered with Little Red Riding Hood (from Grimms' fairytales) – a "figure with migration background".

Fifth, the plight of Jews fleeing the Nazi regime is remembered. This central chapter of German history[79] is re-told through famous examples escaping violent antisemitism, Albert Einstein and writer Anna Seghers, who symbolize Jewish victims and refugees as contributing to society (cf. 5.4.). Imagery of boycotted Jewish shops and the "Kristallnacht" illustrates the memory site Shoah. As an interesting offer for mnemonic imagination, the Évian refugee conference of 1938[80], explained as a total fail, is brought up as an implicit parallel to today's EU refugee policies. Thereby, the narrativization's focus shifts from the sending country to other countries refusing to take in Jewish refugees.

The last case are the Russo-Germans. Again, the story is re-told by a celebrity: the Schlager[81] celebrity Helene Fischer – presented as a symbol for integration. She "resettled" from Siberia

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[78] E.g. Scholz/Röger/Niven (2015)

[79] As mentioned in chapter 2, memory of the Shoah is part of post-war German self-understanding, thereby also to some degree a national memory.

[80] At the Évian conference (6-15 July 1938) representatives from 32 countries convened to discuss the Jewish refugee and persecution problem caused by Nazi Germany. The participants failed to come to any kind of agreement, only 2 countries increased their quotas of acceptance (USHMM, 2017c).

[81] This German-speaking music genre has a national connotation.

in 1988 and tells that learning German immediately and making an effort were key to arriving, rather the arrival narrative of AFTER II. As a reason for the migration, Stalin's terror against the Russo-Germans and their deportations to Siberia are mentioned, fitting into the Cold War narrative: the Russo-Germans wanted a "better life" – "back home". The fact, that they had left this "home" 300 years earlier, shows the fluidity of meaning around nationality and integration according to different master-narratives, dominated by the receiving society's perspective.

Concludingly, this case study pulls the threads of the analysis together in three points. Firstly, it simply shows how the meta-narrative strands of 5. as well as the visual icons of 6. appear "in action". Every case is converged along the BEFORE, DURING and AFTER.

Secondly, on a discursive level, mnemonic imagination of connecting past and present is deliberately played at in the narrator's contemporary terminology in the re-narrativization. It is challenging the mostly negative connotations certain terms have: "the human traffickers from back then are agents, that lure for potential travelers with fake reports from the New World", "the asylum seeker Carl Schurz" or "without welcome culture the American dream of these Germans would not have come true". The meaning of these terms is twisted by applying them to historical cases. History is re-imagined by means of the present, leading to new ways of historically understanding the contemporary discourse. The meaning of these terms is historically underscored with positive examples – potentially a way of creating compassion.

Thirdly, the national framing is striking. The selection of the six cases shows a nation-centered selection of memories: Migration history is told as a story of Germans. Accounts of guestworkers, Poles in Germany, Balkan refugees or any other significant non-German migrant groups are simply omitted. In the narrativizations, national memory sites (e.g. "reunification") are linked to migration history, excluding other cases, which would have been more difficult to explain as success stories connected to positive national memories. In all cases except for the Jews, Germans did good: they chose freedom over Communism, they brought innovation to the US, helped the "economic miracle" of the 50s, granted asylum to the Huguenots and preserved German culture in Siberia. Ultimately, framing German migration history this closely as a national memory and transforming already existing sites of national memory into migration memory demonstrates the same power question of contested memories: Apparently, the memories of others (e.g. guestworkers) are not part of this presented national memory and thus don't fit into the narrative patterns applied here. The basic power constellation of mediated memory cultures, outlined theoretically in 3. and found across the data set in 5., is condensed here: Whose memories are included and get to be voiced in public?

8. CONCLUSION

In May 2016, memory scholar Aleida Assmann (2016) gave a keynote speech on memories of forced migration in Europe, where she called for a new overarching European narrative for the history of migration, flight and expulsion. Current refugee movements provide a frame for that. According to her, nationally oriented memory cultures are prevailing so far and (forced) migration has not been defined as part of European memory culture yet.

Assmann accurately frames the debate this thesis initially set out to contribute to. A historical understanding of migration is vital for facing the challenges of contemporary movements of people and its consecutive debates in Western societies. The remembering and forgetting of migration are a fundamental motivation source for societies in dealing with refugees and migrants today. The central space and actors for these memory cultures are the media. They deploy migration memories in contemporary mediation processes, shape media cultures of migration and negotiate social meanings around the migration phenomenon.

This study has scrutinized mediated narratives and discourses of historical migrations in German media during two time periods. Embedded in a conceptual triangle of media, memory and migration, this case study design provided empirical substance to the posed research questions.

The inquiry of migration historical memory cultures during the "refugee crisis" and the "asylum crisis" (research question 1) was approached with an analysis of narrativization and discursive strands on textual and visual level. The first central result was that across the media ensemble (TV, radio, press and online media) and across the two selected time frames, memory-generating media texts were prominently and continuously part of the contemporary negotiation of migratory events. The analyzed corpus shows that in both periods of condensed communication about migration, 2015-2017 and 1991-1994, memory cultures of migration were present in symbolic flows of mediation. A significant amount of media texts historically framed contemporary debates in both time periods within recognizable, similar narrative strands of migration history.

A combined narrative and discourse analysis of memory cultures proved helpful to identify master- and meta-narrative patterns among the manifold remediations of historical migration cases. By looking at all migrations and media texts together, repetitive templates of migration memories emerged from the data: Mnemonic narrativizations of migration are organized around the meta-narrative strands BEFORE, DURING, AFTER I (migrants' perspective) and AFTER

II (receiving society's perspective). Chapter 5 elaborated on how media texts from both periods similarly brought up discursive elements of the different migration cases, according to the respective dominating master-narratives, and thereby narrativized them along the three "acts" of migration. Even though this research design presented a rather generalizing analysis of rich and diverse material, it could reveal how media as memory generators negotiate the topic of migration in ever so similar and recognizable ways. Memories of disparate experiences were put forward by witnesses and explained by journalists or experts, in order to form implicit arguments about the present based on migration history. Across the media ensemble and across different migration cases, narrativization into repetitive meta-narratives was very similar. On the textual and visual level, mediation converges divergent memories and boils them down into cultural schemata and visual cues, re-telling the story of migration. What Erll (2008; 2009) calls premediation and remediation (see 3.2.) is enacted in the analyzed material: repetitive explanation of reasons, journey experiences and arrival and integration resemble each other and materialize in different forms throughout the media. To speak with Ricoeur (2004:243), this "narrative coherence" coordinates events into "meaningful unity". Similar discourses of the individual migration histories entangle into a contested, culturally schematic memory culture of the migration phenomenon. Empirical data from both time periods proves that and shows the historical continuity.

Part of the continuous meta-narratives of the different parts of migration is the time-travelling rhetorical element of comparing historical and contemporary refugees and migrants. A central concept for explaining this is mnemonic imagination (Keightley/Pickering, 2012). By embedding the accounts of historical cases in template-like cues, on the textual and visual level, they become recognizable and transferable to the contemporary situation through imagination. Implicit rhetorical syllogisms of "this cause-effect-relationship happened in history, therefore the same will happen today" as underlying argumentative elements of the narrativizations offer a re-imagination of past, present and future. Mnemonic imagination is offered, when witnesses publicly mediate their first-hand-experiences; they are the basis for imaginative transfer of historical knowledge. Many empirical examples showed how texts offer imagining the experiences of historical and contemporary migrants and refugees together: the examples of the introduction (Lammert's speech and TIME magazine) show how text and visuals facilitate this imaginative connection for empathy, or in the case of "Landgericht", where plurimedial networks actively communicate this connection.

Research question 2 about inclusion and exclusion of migrants from national memory cultures can be answered on this basis, too. Mixing together different migrant groups in the analysis

shows how narratives and discourses in German media are including and excluding memories of different migration experiences from narrativizations of history embedded in national memory cultures. The concept of mediated cultural memory as a contested field of discursive struggle (Sturken, 1997), which is selective and thereby deeply political comes alive here. Within the inherent limitations of the meta-narrative strands, accounts of different migrants are put forward subjected to the media's editorial power. Witnesses accompanied by experts and journalists voice and narrativize their experiences. A pivotal framing strategy here is the national dimension. As pointed out in chapters 2 and 3, national memory cultures are fundamental discourses surrounding the negotiation of migratory pasts in Germany. Across the data, national memory sites serve as nodes for re-telling migration historical cases. They range from "banal" (Billig, 1995) national reminders, such as judging integration and contribution to society from a national economic perspective or using famous German refugees (Einstein) as examples, to more obvious, "hot" nationalistic references, like "reunification" or support of sports teams. Especially, memories of Flight and Expulsion are essential in this context, because this case is part of a German national memory of victimhood. Finally, the differences in the perspectives of AFTER I and AFTER II showed the salience of national perspectives in the negotiation of migration history. On the one hand, national narrativization strategies serve as recognizable "templates" aiding mnemonic imagination, on the other hand, however, they limit the memories into a perspective dominated by the German receiving society.

This leads to the often-mentioned power question ingrained in mediated memories. The analysis showed that dominant meta-narrative as well as the media's editorial influence affects who tells the story in which way, and thus, what experiences are included and excluded. Historical discourses provide a basis for the master-narratives of different migrations (e.g. Flight and Expulsion being rooted in Germany's annihilation war and integration being finished). Subject to these discourses are the mediated memories of witnesses, experts and journalists. In many examples, this excluding and including selectiveness became discernible, either through omission of entire migrant groups (e.g. "Die großen Fluchten" in 7.2.) or through selection of certain statements and meta-narratives within the story of one migration (e.g. the strong focus on economic integration in AFTER II) – omitting other experiences.

The Russo-German journalist quoted in the title wrote in 2016: "To arrive means being able to tell." (ZEIT, 21.4.2016). The struggle of recognition is part of her arrival memories. The data demonstrates that this contest of mnemonic accounts is especially discernible in the case of migration. The core of the media, memory and migration triangle is this relationship between

newcomers and receiving society, which creates discursive power imbalances. But to what extent *are* migrants actually voicing their memories in the empirical material?

The analysis has showcased different types of including and excluding narrativizations. There are authentic, original voices of witnesses from all migration cases present. To what degree they speak for themselves or are embedded in comments by experts or journalists varies however, ranging from complete editorial control "from inside" (like the mentioned Russo-German journalist (ZEIT 12.4.2016) or a German expellee report in Huffington Post (31.7.2015)) to narrativization "from outside" (like "Die großen Fluchten" or Spiegel (1.4.2016)). The latter model dominated the corpus clearly, especially in TV-clips. Also, on the visual level "inside" and "outside" dimensions are reflected in the interplay of imagery produced from observers or witnesses. Hence, in the analyzed media, migrants and refugees are voicing memories, yet strongly selected and tailored by the narrativization and mediation process – powers they can hardly influence.

This leads to the question of what these limitations of narrativization entail. Structuring the analysis along the narrative strands and daring to mix together all migrations, at first, supports the argument that repetitive, culturally conventional and often heavily national(istic) ways of telling the story of migration, on the one hand, lead to exclusion and omission of diverse memories. On the other hand, however recognizable schematic narrativization across different migrations is the basis for mnemonic imagination and the time-crossing, empathetic comparison of plights, which can lead to increased understanding of migrants' and refugees' experiences. This thesis cannot present the only right way of building an incorporating memory culture of migration. The analysis however hints at problematic, excluding and patronizing ways of narrativization, such as the biased discursive definitions of "integration" in 5.4., or the generally repetitive focus on only certain experiences in different migration cases, due to an "us"-and-"them"-perspective, e.g. parts of "Die großen Fluchten" or the strong capitalist, neoliberal framing of "integration". Yet, it also displays incorporating and acknowledging examples, such as those with obvious offers for mnemonic imagination, like "Landgericht", "Fremde Heimat Deutschland" (NDR, 1994) or very straight-forwardly "Refugees back then and today. Ms Kiesewetter's list" (Tagesspiegel, 24.4.2015), giving migrants space and power to voice complex experiences.

Ultimately, this thesis can make two main points.

Firstly, this interplay of inclusion and exclusion is the crux of migration memory cultures. Reminiscent of Corner's (2011) approach, this is a playoff of "good" and "bad" media power;

"good", as publicly shared memories can provide empathetic access, including migrants into memory cultures, and "bad", as the selection of memories keeps silent other experiences under a national framework.

Elaborating on memories, Berger (1966:72) stated: "People on the move physically are frequently people who are also on the move in their self-understanding." Taking that further, I argue that the examples show that memory cultures of migration can provide a connection between people on the move and receiving societies. Mnemonic imagination, the exchange of experience through mediation, or ultimately Rothberg's (2009) concept of *multidirectional memory*, can facilitate exchange and imaginaries of "immigration societies": "Memories are not owned by groups – nor are groups 'owned' by memories" (ibid.:6), rather they are "complex acts of solidarity in which historical memory serves as a medium for the creation of new communal and political identities" (ibid.:11).

The amount of memory-generating media texts material presented here shows that such a multidirectional memory culture is emerging. Other examples, like the exhibition "Ever more colorful. Immigration country Germany" at the German Historical Museum in Berlin (2016), underscore that. For a more comprehensive study of this, certainly media audiences would have to be included. An audience study could add to the results here in showing how migration (history) is understood and how much memory culture is actually "lived", especially in an interplay of migratory and local audiences, who do or don't perceive themselves as citizens of an "immigration society".

Secondly, this thesis provides a basis for a further-reaching argument about mediations of migration in general (research question 3). Conducting a narrative and discourse analysis of mediated memory cultures gives access to the question how media converge different cases of migration into similar strands of narrativization. In times of condensed communication about migration, this historical framework of memory cultures is part of the media discourse and arguably affects how migration is told, sounds and looks – and *why* it is talked about so continuously and repetitively over history. This thesis cannot provide an empirical comparison of migration coverage over time (which should be undertaken on this basis). Yet, as shown throughout the analysis and discussion, repetitive meta-narratives premediate and remediate conventional, cultural schemata or templates of telling the migration story (cf. theories by Erll (2008), Hoskins/Tulloch (2016) and Zelizer (2002)). By doing so in times of increased debate about migration, these narrative patterns connect history and present in a mediation framework. A certain media culture of historically telling the story of migration becomes discernible in the

analyzed mediated memory cultures: Visual icons as well as textual narrative strands are historically similar, becoming part of a mnemonic repertoire of the media draw from, just as Zelizer (2002) analyzed for the coverage traumatic events. The historical framing of the migration debate along the mentioned strands, combined with mnemonic imagination, offer repeatable templates of mediating migration. Many of the historical accounts are strikingly reminiscent of media coverage of today's migratory events, which should be systematically studied in a larger research.

The initial motivation of this thesis was to find out why migration is mediated so similarly over history. This study can argue that memory cultures not only affect how migration is remembered and hence generate social knowledge about the phenomenon, but also are a basis for how it is generally told and depicted today: The same narrative strands, cultural schemata and visual icons appear in the media – converging very diverse experiences.

In 2017, 65,3 million people are "forcibly displaced" worldwide (UNHCR, 2017) and in 2015, 244 million people were counted as international migrants (UN, 2016). Many more diverse experiences will produce memories all over the world. The presented model of media, memory and migration concepts can serve as a basis for understanding better and maybe even improve how we deal with these challenges in media-saturated societies. After all, migration has happened, is happening and will happen – all the time and everywhere. We just have to remember that.

APPENDICES

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10. Published Sources

This source corpus (entirely accessible online) comprises all empirical material which served as a basis for the analysis. Not every media text was quoted above, they were however all analyzed.

Broadcasting (TV and radio)

Media outlet	Date	Original title	English translation (by author)
BR	11.5.2015	Wie fühlt sich Flucht an?	What does escape feel like?
BR	21.6.2015	Verlorene Heimat. Geschichten von Flucht und Vertreibung	Lost Home. Histories of Flight and Expulsion
BR	11.9.2015	Die 90er in Deutschland - Da war doch was?	The 90s in Germany – there was something, right?
BR	2016	Wie Flucht die Welt verändert (online multimedia page)	How escape changes the world
BR	4.8.2016	Wie Europa wurde, was es ist - die Geschichte der Migration	How Europe became what it is – the history of migration
BR	3.11.2016	Kontrovers: 70 Jahre Flucht und Vertreibung	Controversial: 70 years Flight and Expulsion
BR	18.12.2016	Junge Tschechen und die sudetendeutsche Vergangenheit	Young Czechs and the Sudeten German past
Deutschlandradio	10.10.2015	Geschichte einer Flucht aus Danzig. Hinein in den Modus des bloßen Überlebens	The history of an escape from Gdansk. Into the pure survival mode
Deutschlandradio	28.12.2015	Einwanderung und Flucht. Eine Geschichte der Migration	Immigration and escape. A history of migration
Deutschlandradio	24.8.2016	Vertriebene damals, Flüchtlinge heute	Expellees back then, refugees today
Deutschlandradio	5.3.2017	Migration - Interview mit Jochen Oltmer	Migration – interview with Jochen Oltmer
HR	3.10.2016	Zonenrandgebiet – Schicksale an der Grenze zwischen Hessen und Thüringen	On the edges of the zone (=Soviet occupation zone) – fates at the border of Hesse and Thuringia
MDR	2016	Eine Geschichte von Neuanfang und Vertreibung	A history of a new start and expulsion
MDR	26.5.2016	Auf der Flucht	On escape
MDR	2.3.2017	Die schockierende Geschichte des "Koffer-Jungen"	The shoking history of the "suitcase-boy"
NDR	5.10.2015	Neue Heimat - Einwanderer in Deutschland	New home – immigrants in Germany
NDR	11.3.2016	Willkommen in der Wirklichkeit	Welcome to reality
NDR	24.5.2016	Auftakt für „Die Tage des Exils" (Hertha Müller)	Kickoff for „The days of exile" (Hertha Müller)
NDR	7.8.2016	Auf der Flucht aus der DDR erschossen	Shot on escape from the GDR
NDR	3.10.2016	Portrait: Geschichte einer Flucht	Portrait: History of an escape
NDR	24.10.2016	1946: Erinnerungen an eine Flucht	1946: Memories of an escape

NDR	6.2.2017	Wie lebte es sich im Hungerwinter vor 70 Jahren?	How did you live in the hunger winter 70 years ago?
RB	8.5.2016	Erinnerungen an Schicksale von Kriegsgefangenen	Memories of fates of prisoners of war
RB	25.9.2016	Griechische Gastarbeiter in Bremen	Greek guestworkers in Bremen
RB	13.2.2017	Unsere Städte nach 45	Our cities after 45
rbb	16.10.2016	Gastarbeiterkinder: mehr als nur Deutsche	Guestworker children: more than just Germans
rbb	13.11.2016	Fragmente zweier Fluchten	Fragments of two escapes
SWR	8.10.2015	Zweite Heimat Deutschland	Second home Germany
SWR	4.5.2016	Sie kamen voller Hoffnung aus dem Süden	They came from the South full of hope
SWR	5.9.2016	Momentaufnahmen, die Geschichte erzählen	Snapshots that tell history
SWR	2.10.2016	Der Weg nach oben – Einwanderertöchter machen Karriere	The way up – immigrant daughters are making a career
SWR	2.10.2016	Bella Italia im Südwesten – Wie Eis und Pasta zu uns kamen	Bella Italia in the Southwest – How ice cream and pasta came to us
SWR	2016	Flucht und Asyl. Geschichte der Migration	Flight and Asylum. History of migration
SWR	19.1.2017	Spanischer Gastarbeiter findet Heimat	Spanish guestworker finds home
SWR	19.2.2017	Fluchtgeschichten im Haus der Geschichte	Escape stories in the h House of History
WDR	3.9.2015	Monitor: Kosovo-Flüchtlinge – Deutschlands Versagen auf dem Balkan	Kosovo-refugees – Germany's failing on the Balkans
WDR	1.3.2016	Was ist deutsch? – Eine Reise durch die Republik	What is German? – A journey through the republic
WDR	18.4.2016	Hart aber Fair: Gekommen um zu bleiben – wie werden aus Einwanderern Deutsche?	Come to stay – how to immigrants become Germans?
WDR	9.5.2016	Wo waren Sie bei Kriegsende? Auf der Flucht…	Where were you at the end of the war? On escape…
WDR	29.12.2016	Zum Glück Deutschland - Ein anderer Blick auf unser Land	Luckily Germany – a different view on our country
WDR	13.2.2017	Heimat Ruhrgebiet	Home Ruhr area
ZDF	10.3.2015	Dokumentation. 37 Grad - Willkommen in Deutschland	Documentary: Welcome to Germany
ZDF	25.3.2015	Info Stammtisch: Ausländer (zu ZDFzeit Wie viele Ausländer verträgt Deutschland?)	Information table: foreigners (about: How many foreigners can Germany take?)
ZDF	12.7.2015	Gesellschaft | sonntags - Andere Länder, andere Sitten	Other countries, other habits
ZDF	31.7.2015	Deutsche Willkommenskultur 1945	German welcome culture in 1945
ZDF	15.9.2015	Wissen | nano-nano spezial vom 15. September 2015:... Wir müssen den Umgang mit Flüchtlingen lernen	We have to learn dealing with refugees
ZDF	23.10.2015	Kultur | Forum am Freitag - Leitkultur für Flüchtlinge	Leading culture for refugees

ZDF	30.10.2015	Terra X: Seit wann gibt es Asyl?	Since when is there asylum?
ZDF	11.3.2016	Die Nachkriegskinder	The post-war children
ZDF	15.3.2016	Die glorreichen 10	The glorious 10
ZDF	22.3.2016	Wir Nachkriegskinder	We post-war children
ZDF	16.4.2016	Über das Leben in der Fremde	About life in the unknown
ZDF	8.5.2016	Geschichte treffen: Deutschland '45, Verlorene Heimat	Meet history: Germany '45, Lost home
ZDF	21.5.2016	Nachrichten: Ausstellung zu Migrationsbewegungen	Exhibition about migration movements
ZDF	30.5.2016	Damals nach dem Krieg	Back then after the war
ZDF	3.6.2016	Klischees mit Migrationshintergrund	Cliches with migratory background
ZDF	16.6.2016	heute: Umfrage türkische Migranten	Survey among Turkish migrants
ZDF	10.7.2016	Mein Land, Dein Land: Die leisen Musterschüler	My country, your country: the silent model pupils
ZDF	16.7.2016	Mein Land, Dein Land: Zwischen Abkehr und Minztee	My country, your country: Between rejection and mint tea
ZDF	1.9.2016	Nachrichten | heute - in Europa-Ein Jahr Flüchtlingskrise	One year refugee crisis
ZDF	23.10.2016	The multicultural cops	
ZDF	9.11.2016	Kultur | Filme, Dokus, Kabarett-Die Deutschen und die Polen	The Germans and the Poles
ZDF	11.11.2016	Brandbomben und Beifall - Herbst '91	Petrol bombs and applause – Fall '91
ZDF	19.11.2016	Die großen Fluchten	The big escapes
ZDF	30.1.2017	Landgericht (1)	District court
ZDF	30.1.2017	Landgericht. Die Dokumentation	District court. The documentary
ZDF	1.2.2017	Landgericht (2)	District court
ZDF	2017	Landgericht Homepage (https://www.zdf.de/filme/landgericht)	
ZDF	12.2.2017	Dokumentation | ZDFinfo Doku - Recht ohne Gesetz?	Right without law?

Printed press, including online newspapers and magazines

Media outlet	Date or Issue	Original title	English translation (by author)
Focus	51/1993	Ausländer in Deutschland. Am wohlsten fühlen sich die Älteren	Foreigners in Germany. The older ones feel best
Focus	47/1994	Keine Angst vor Multikultur	No fear of multiculturality
Frankfurter Allgemeine (FAZ	30.1.2017	Zweiteiler „Landgericht" im ZDF. Sie finden nie wieder zusammen	Two part movie „Landgericht" on ZDF. They never find back together
Huffington Post	31.7.2015	Bevor ihr über Flüchtlinge urteilt, solltet ihr diese Geschichte kennen	Before you judge refugees, you should know this story
manager magazin	8.1.2017	Ohne Zuwanderung droht Deutschland der Niedergang	Without immigration Germany is threatened by decline
ntv	10.9.2015	Lehren aus der Geschichte "Deutschland war immer eine Migrationsgesellschaft"	Lessons from history. "Germany has always been a migration society"

Spiegel	35/1991	Zeitgeschichte. Willige Statisten. Das Erste Programm dokumentiert die Geschichte der Wolga-Deutschen.	Contemporary history. Willing extras. The first channel is documenting the history of the Wolga-Germans.
Spiegel	43/1991	Der Wettlauf nach Westen	The race to the West
Spiegel	Special 2/1992	SITZEN AUF GEPACKTEN KOFFERN	Sitting on packed suitcases
Spiegel	10/1992	„Das geht nicht ohne Kampf ab"	„That doesnt happen without fight"
Spiegel	10/1992	„Hier bringt uns keiner weg"	„No one gets us from here"
Spiegel	14/1992	Aussiedler. Deutsches Volkstum	Resettlers. German folklore
Spiegel	15/1992	„Sie kommen, ob wir wollen oder nicht"	„They're coming if we want to or not"
Spiegel	34/1992	Im Fremden das Eigene hassen?	Hating the own in the foreign?
Spiegel	48/1992	Aussiedler. Unsere Russen	Resettlers. Our Russians
Spiegel	3/1993	„Auf Zuwanderung angewiesen"	„Dependent on immigration"
Spiegel	11/1993	Ein einig Volk von Blutsbrüdern	A united people of blood brothers
Spiegel	14/1993	„Die Fahne des Blutes"	„The flag of blood"
Spiegel	14/1993	Wie viele Ausländer	How many foreigners
Spiegel	23/1993	Weder Heimat noch Freunde	Neither home nor friends
Spiegel	24/1993	Exodus der Schwaben?	Exodus of the Swabians
Spiegel	24/1993	Tschechien. Stilles Grauen	Czech Republic. Silent horror
Spiegel	26/1993	Zeitgeschichte. Zum Schluß Schokolade	Contemporary history. Chocolate for the end
Spiegel	36/1993	Aussiedler. Liebe Landsleute	Resettlers. Dear compatriots.
Spiegel	46/1993	Ausländer. Türken-Museum an der Ruhr?	Foreigners. Turks Museum at the Ruhr?
Spiegel	21/1994	Vertriebene. „Doppelt bedauerlich"	Expellees. „Double regrettable"
Spiegel	43/1994	„DURCH HITLER GEBOREN"	„Born through Hitler"
Spiegel	47/1994	Der „Schnupperstaat"	The „test state"
Spiegel	5.1.2015	Zeitgeschichte. Flucht im Kofferraum	Contemporary history. Escape in the back of the car
Spiegel	4/2015	Milo Rau, 38, macht Politik im Theater. In München zeigt er jetzt "The Dark Ages", ein Stück über Europas Heimatlosigkeit.	Milo Rau, 38, makes politics in the theater. In Munich he shows "The Dark Ages", a piece about Europe's homelessness
Spiegel	17.3.2015	Vorurteile in deutschen Schulbüchern. Der Gastarbeiter macht Probleme	Prejudices in German school books. The guestworker makes problems
Spiegel	20.6.2015	Gedenktag für Vertriebene. Gauck mahnt Deutsche zu mehr Offenheit für Flüchtlinge	Memorial day for expellees. Gauck reminds Germans to be more open to refugees
Spiegel	31/2015	Flüchtlinge. Die Grenzen des Glücks	Refugees. The boundaries of happiness
Spiegel	36/2015	Migration. Das neue Deutschland	Migration. The new Germany
Spiegel	36/2015	SPIEGEL-Gespräch: „Heimat kann man mitnehmen"	SPIEGEL-talk: „You can take home with you"
Spiegel	18.07.2015	Essay. Seid endlich still	Essay. Just be silent already

Spiegel	26.7.2015	Debatte über Zuwanderungsgesetz. Einwanderung ist etwas anderes als Flucht	Debate about immigration law. Immigration is something else than escape
Spiegel	40/2015	Sachbücher "Einzigartiges Experiment"	Non-fiction book „Unique experiment"
Spiegel	5.10.2015	Land der Mutlosen	Country of the discouraged
Spiegel	9.12.2015	Kommentar. Raubtiere werden keine Vegetarier. Warum die Flüchtlingsdebatte ausgerechnet in Dresden eskaliert – Versuch einer Erklärung.	Comment. Predators wont be vegetarians. Why the refugee debate escalates in Dresden – attempt of an explanation
Spiegel	52/2015	Asyl. Weltgeschichte der Heimatlosigkeit. Die Bibel – ein Flüchtlingsroman.	Asylum. World history of homelessness. The Bible – a refugee novel
Spiegel	21.2.2016	Heimatlos. Menschen auf der Flucht	Homeless. People on escape
Spiegel	1.4.2016	Flüchtlinge nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg – „Wie Vieh abgeschätzt"	Refugees after World War Two – „Rejected like cattle"
Spiegel	17.4.2016	Migranten in Deutschland. "Die Flüchtlinge haben einen politischen Notstand erzwungen"	Migrants in Germany. „The refugee enforced a political emergency"
Spiegel	28.7.2016	Doku über Lampedusa. "Jeder flieht vor seiner Verantwortung für Europas Geschichte"	Documentary about Lampedusa. „Everyone is fleeing from their responsibility for Europe's history"
Spiegel	29/2016	MIGRATION. Vier Leben	Migration. Four lives
Spiegel	31/2016	Die Integrierten	The integrated
Spiegel	30.12.2016	70 Jahre Spiegel – Die bunte Republik – ersehnt und verhasst	70 years Spiegel – The colorful republic – longed for and hated
Spiegel	30.1.2017	ZDF-Zweiteiler "Landgericht": Familie in Trümmern	ZDF two part movie „Landgericht": Family shattered
Stern	30.1.2017	ZDF-Zweiteiler Landgericht: Bei diesem Zweiteiler werden Sie sprachlos vorm Fernseher sitzen	ZDF two part movie „Landgericht": At this movie you will sit in front of your TV speechless
Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)	30.1.2017	ZDF-Zweiteiler Landgericht: „Diese Rolle ist ein Geschenk für jede Schauspielerin"	ZDF two part movie „Landgericht": "This role is a gift for every actress"
Tagesspiegel	24.4.2015	Flüchtlinge damals und heute. Frau Kiesewetters Liste	Refugees back then and today. Ms Kiesewetter's list
Tagesspiegel	17.8.2015	Online-Portal zu historischen Flüchtlingsschicksalen. Die Geschichte der Flucht	Online-portal about historical refugee plights. The history of flight.
Tagesspiegel	22.10.2016	"Wir hatten seit 1945 jedes Jahr mehr Einwanderer als die USA"	„Since 1945, we had more immigrants every year than the US"
Welt	19.5.2015	Als Millionen Deutsche selber Flüchtlinge waren	When millions of Germans were refugees themselves
Welt	05.01.2016	„Viele waren schon in der Heimat Underdogs"	„Many already were underdogs back home"
ZEIT	15.11.1991	Wir sind ein Einwanderungsland	We are an immigration country

ZEIT	7.2.1992	Ausländer raus – was dann?	Foreigners out – and then?
ZEIT	22.5.1992	Schicksal Schlesien	Fate Silesia
ZEIT	24.6.1994	In mir zwei Welten	In me two worlds
ZEIT	12.2.2015	Böhmen, Pommern, Syrien	Bohemia, Pommerania, Syria
ZEIT	21.4.2016	Russlanddeutsche - Angekommen	Russo-Germans - arrived
ZEIT	1.9.2016	Was wurde aus den Flüchtlingen der Neunziger?	What happened to the refugees from the 90s?
ZEIT	30.1.2017	„Landgericht": Es gibt keine Wiedergutmachung	„Landgericht": There is no making up
ZEIT	23.2.2017	Erinnerungskultur: "Wenn Schüler provozieren ..."	Memory culture: "When pupils are provocative…"

11. Unpublished Sources

Source corpus gathered from the NDR-archive in Hamburg:

Media outlet	Date	Original title	English translation (by author)
NDR	06.01.1991	Vietnam Boatpeople auf Heimatbesuch	Vietnam boatpeople visiting back home
NDR	23.04.1991	…es waren ja nur Frauen da, Erinnerungen an die Trümmerzeit	There were only women. Memories of the rubble years
NDR	13.05.1991	Gastarbeiter-Rentner und ihre Einsamkeit	Guestworker pensioneers and their loneliness
NDR	09.07.1991	Auswandererhallen Cuxhaven	Emigrant halls Cuxhaven
NDR	24.07.1991	Mord Ost - Mord West	Murder East – Murder West
NDR	26.09.1991	30 Jahre türkische Gastarbeiter	30 years Turkish guestworkers
NDR	03.10.1991	Tag der Deutschen Einheit Reden	German Unity Day speeches
NDR	06.10.1991	Vor 40 Jahren: Abiturienten fliehen aus der Ostzone	40 years ago: high school graduates are fleeing from the Eastern zone
NDR	03.11.1991	Kompass extra: Deutschland - ein Einwanderungsland?	Kompass extra: Germany – an immigration country?
NDR	03.12.1991	Dokumentation 30 Jahre Gastarbeiter im Lübecker Volkskundehaus	Documentation of 30 years guestworkers in Lübeck's Volkskundhaus
NDR	03.12.1991	Ausländer rein! - 30 Jahre Gastarbeiter	Foreigners in! – 30 years guestworkers
NDR	03.02.1992	Die ersten Gastarbeiter. 30 Jahre Italiener in Wolfsburg	The first guestworkers. 30 years Italians in Wolfsburg
NDR	03.02.1992	30 Jahre italienische Gastarbeiter bei VW	30 years Italian guestworkers at Volkswagen
NDR	16.02.1992	Der häßliche Deutsche - gibt es ihn wieder?	The ugly German – is he back?
NDR	24.08.1992	Türkische Rentner bei uns	Turkish pernsioneers among us
NDR	05.09.1992	Goethe war ein Türke - Aktionswoche zum Thema Ausländerfeindlichkeit	Goethe was a Turk – event week on xenophobia
NDR	27.12.1992	Saliwnoje war Postnicken: Ein russischer Heimatfilm aus Ostpreußen	Saliwnoje was Postnicken: A Russian homeland movie from Eastern Prussia
NDR	13.02.1993	Vor 40 Jahren: Peter Schulz "Ein Rostocker erinnert sich"	40 years ago: Peter Schulz „A Rostockian remembers"
NDR	17.03.1993	Die Angst vor morgen: Vietnamesen in Rostock	Afraid of tomorrow: Vietnamese in Rostock
NDR	10.05.1993	Markt im Dritten: Vietnamesen	Market in the Third: Vietnamese
NDR	10.05.1993	Heimkehrer: Aus der DDR zurück nach Vietnam	Returners: Back to Vietnam from the GDR
NDR	06.06.1993	Türkei: Verhältnis zu den Deutschen	Turkey: Relationship to the Germans
NDR	18.07.1993	Kommen Sie aus Überzeugung oder aus Deutschland? Deutsche Juden in Israel	Do you come out of conviction of from Germany? German Jews in Israel

NDR	26.07.1993	DAS! Ein Deutscher in der Türkei	DAS! A German in Turkey
NDR	22.08.1993	Familienbande. Geschichten aus dem vereinten Berlin	Family ties. Stories from reunited Berlin
NDR	05.09.1993	Menschen und Mächte: Flucht in den Tod. Der Untergang des Transportschiffs Goya	People and powers: Escape into death. The sinking of the transport ship Goya
NDR	05.10.1993	Deutsche spielen gegen Ausländer	Germans play foreigners
NDR	23.10.1993	Große Dokumentation: 30. Januar 1945. Der Tag an dem die Gustloff sinkt	Big documentary: 30th January 1945. The day the Gustloff sinks
NDR	24.10.1993	Geschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns: Zerschlagung und Wiedergeburt eines Landes	History of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern: shattering and rebirth of a country
NDR	02.12.1993	Kulturfeature: Das jüdische Viertel in Paris	Culture feature: The Jewish quarter in Paris
NDR	24.12.1993	Große Not und kleines Glück: Unvergessene Weihnachtsgeschichten	Big hardship and small luck: Unforgotten Christmas stories
NDR	03.03.1994	Jahresbericht Ausländer	Annual report foreigners
NDR	03.07.1994	Geschichten aus Matrosowo: Vom russisch-deutschen Neuanfang am kurischen Haff	Stories from Matrosowo: From the Russian-German new beginning at the Curonian Lagoon
NDR	14.07.1994	Lebenslinien: Nimgir ein deutscher Kalmücke	Nimgir, a German Kalmyk
NDR	25.08.1994	ARTE Themenabend Lissabon Hafen der Hoffnung	Lissabon, port of hope
NDR	12.09.1994	Markt im Dritten: Neue Konsumenten: Türken	Market in the Third: New Comsumers: Turks
NDR	17.11.1994	Fremde Heimat Deutschland 1: Erlebt von Thinh Nguyen-Do aus Vietnam	Foreign Homeland Germany 1: experiences by Thinh Nguyen-Do from Vietnam
NDR	24.11.1994	Fremde Heimat Deutschland 2: Erlebt von Familie Leyton aus Chile	Foreign Homeland Germany 2: experienced by Leyton family from Chile
NDR	01.12.1994	Fremde Heimat Deutschland 3: Erlebt von Dr. Benjamin Leunmi aus Kamerun	Foreign Homeland Germany 3: experienced by Dr Benjamin Leunmi from Cameroon
NDR	08.12.1994	Fremde Heimat Deutschland 4: Erlebt von Latif Tawafi aus Afghanistan	Foreign Homeland Germany 4: experienced by Latif Tawafi from Afghanistan
NDR	15.12.1994	Fremde Heimat Deutschland 5: Erlebt von dem Türken Birol Senol aus Deutschland	Foreign Homeland Germany 5: experienced by the Turk Birol Senol from Germany
NDR	21.12.1994	Hamburger Journal: Weihnachtsreisen 1964	Christmas travels in 1964