5   Mapping Public Responses to the "Refugee Crisis": Who Claims what in Heidelberg and Ottawa/Gatineau?

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Abstract

Despite their very different histories, ideologies of nationhood, and experiences with immigrant and refugee integration in 2015-2016, Germany and Canada both struggled with the sudden arrival of newcomers. This chapter maps public responses to the so-called refugee crisis in the Rhein-Neckar Metropolitan Region in Germany and the (French and English bilingual) National Capital Region in Canada. Taking local newspapers as an approximation of public space, we ask: who claims what for or against (which kind of) migrants/refugees? Our research shows that politicians and members of diverse civil society organizations are most successful in making their voice heard, while migrants/refugees are seldom allowed to speak for themselves. We also find that public discourse in both local contexts is overwhelmingly supportive of refugees with the specific claims made by civil society actors in both regions being reflective of the highly divergent refugee integration schemes at the national/federal level.

Keywords: Civil Society in Germany and Canada; Public Claims-making; Mid-size Cities

5.1   Introduction

While the Syrian civil war had been raging for years, it was only in 2015 that it generated massive flows of people seeking refuge outside the region, challenging intake and integration capacities not only in countries with a history of rejecting the idea of being "an immigration country" – such as Germany – but even in countries having made a name for themselves as multicultural nations built by immigrants – such as Canada (Winter & Zyla, 2016).

Indeed, in 2015, close to 1 million refugees/asylum seekers[1] arrived in Germany, creating new challenges regarding asylum decisions and refugee integration. In 2015, 441,899 initial applications for asylum were submitted. In 2016, another 722,370 applications for asylum were made with the most significant numbers of refugees coming from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2017). Most of these refugees arrived in Germany via the so-called Balkan route and had to be registered, distributed and accommodated upon their arrival (Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien, 2015). Facing this challenge, the German chancellor Angela Merkel proclaimed her well-known sentence "Wir schaffen das" ("We can do this").

Despite its remote location, Canada has, under the Liberal government of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, resettled over 44,560 Syrian refugees since November 2015 (Government of Canada, 2019b). This figure is the largest undertaking since Canada resettled 60,000 Indochinese refugees in 1979/80 (Molloy & Simeon, 2016). The Governor- General at the time, David Johnston, called the arrival of Syrian refugees a "defining moment" for the country. He highlighted Canada's "long tradition" of helping refugees in need and emphasized the importance of getting civil society engaged in the undertaking of resettling Syrian refugees to guarantee its success (CBC NEWS, 2015).

In both countries, the initial reception of refugees was very sympathetic and, civil society actors have played an important role in helping to manage the arrival of the newcomers and in contributing to their integration. However, at the same time, concerns about the cultural, social, linguistic and economic difficulties of the refugees' integration have also come to the forefront. In Germany, these concerns facilitated the rise of right-wing movements such as the Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident (PEGIDA) and contributed to the success of the populist right-wing party Alternative for Germany (AfD) that became the strongest opposition party in the German Bundestag (Second Chamber) in 2017. In Canada, similar concerns came to light over the past years with explicitly anti-immigrant and specifically anti-refugee and islamophobic protests on the rise (Beer, 2019; Tunney, 2019).

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1   In this paper, we use a broad definition of the term "refugee," which designates individuals who (re)migrate due to devastating political, military, economic or social conditions in their countries of permanent residence. This definition is approximated by the German term Geflüchtete, which acknowledges the fact that some migrants may feel "forced" to escape harmful economic situations, and some asylum seekers may never obtain official refugee status.

In short, in both countries the integration of refugees has become an issue of contention in the public space, with multiple and diverse actors – such as politicians, NGOs, volunteers, social movements for and against refugees, as well as (former) migrants and refugees – being heavily engaged in defining (their version of) shared citizenship and its relation to perceived outsiders.

In this chapter, we aim to shed light on these debates by analyzing the public claims made in the context of the so-called "refugee crisis". We ask the following questions:

1. Who are the actors who manage to get their voices heard in public space?

2. What claims do they put forward and are these claims made on behalf of, against or by refugees? Put differently, which issues gain political salience?

In order to answer these questions, we put together a transatlantic research team also involving undergraduate research assistants in Heidelberg and Ottawa who helped with the collection and coding of newspaper articles (locally and transnationally), and who formed trilingual transatlantic teams to write short synopses of themes that are of particular importance to this research project (see textboxes below). We also took inspiration from scholarship pioneered by authors such as Koopmans and colleagues (2005), Isin and Nielsen (2008), as well as Bloemraad (2018). Following these authors, we interpret claims-making as expressions of citizenship. Citizenship is here viewed as a permanently negotiated cultural compromise between established groups and newcomers. Emphasizing participation and political mobilization, the act of making claims in the public space itself becomes the "essence" of citizenship, which may then reshape citizenship's other dimensions: legal status, rights/duties, and (collective) identity.

Recognizing that immigration is first and foremost a local issue, we investigate claims-making in relation to the "refugee crisis" comparatively, in two very different local contexts: the region of Heidelberg with Sinsheim, Mosbach and Buchen (which is part of the Rhein-Neckar Metropolitan Region) in Germany, and the (French and English bilingual) National Capital Region in Canada with its twin-cities Ottawa and Gatineau. Taking local media as one possible approximation of dominant public discourses in both regions, we analyze articles published in the *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung*, as well as *The Ottawa Citizen* and *Le Droit*. Thus, by concentrating on public actors and their redefinitions of the "global refugee crisis" and its repercussions in local contexts, we also aim to make a contribution to the growing comparative research on migration and citizenship in both countries (Bauder, 2011; Schmidtke, 2014; Triadafilopoulos, 2012; Winter, 2014). The following sections of this chapter contain (2, 3) a discussion of the two regional contexts, (4) the methodology, (5) the analysis, and (6) the conclusion highlighting the differences and similarities of both countries. Our results show that politicians and political issues at the national level often prevail in local news coverage. Furthermore, local civil society, while being supportive of refugees, does rarely involve refugee voices into heterophony of humanist claims.

**Textbox 1: National Identity in Canada and Germany:
(still) Multiculturalism versus Ethnic Nationhood?**

Sanford Jones and Daniella Ingabire

Canadian national identity is prominently associated with multiculturalism, as this configuration allows the appeasement of diverse ethnocultural and national communities. In the 1970s, multiculturalism emerged in response to diverse internal claims of nationhood, declaring that no distinct Canadian culture exists and that the participation of all ethnic, religious, linguistic cultures equally shape society. It has maintained national unity by employing what some call "cultural relativism" which is used to reject claims of nationhood by subnational cultures (Turgeon, 2015, para. 6). Despite the official adoption of multiculturalism as national ethos and law, social conservative rhetoric still defines Canada as a white settler society, considering the white population "real Canadians" (Paragg, 2015). However, even social conservative politics must employ a public discourse in which nationhood is determined based on civic loyalty, rather than on blood-based or mono-cultural "ethnic" definitions of citizenship, as this would alienate significant portions of non-white voters (Winter, 2014). Similarly, German political parties have begun to realize the normative and politically strategic necessity of appealing to multiethnic constituencies. While traditionally defined in terms of *Kulturnation* (a nation based on shared culture) with an ancestry-based citizenship law (*jus sanguinis*), in 2000 Germany adopted *jus soli* (territory-based citizenship), allowing "civic" citizenship. While it remains a contentious issue in public discourse whether Germany *wants* to be an "immigration country," most have come to accept that this is *de facto* the case. In both countries, the recent "refugee crisis" brought contestations of national identity. Overall, and comparatively speaking, German discourse primarily focused on the construction of refugees as "others," while Canadian discourse emphasised that their integration was a crucial aspect of multiculturalism (Winter, Patzelt, & Beauregard, 2018). In both countries, these conceptions were also hotly contested. While these national identities continue to be in fluctuation in public discourse, both countries face similar challenges; at the beginning of the 21st century, both countries strive to be active players in the global race for talented, skilled immigrants (*Fachkräfte*), and human capital more generally. At the same time, politicians on both sides of the Atlantic struggle to re-define citizenship in ways that highlight loyalty and attachment to the country.

5.2 The Heidelberg Region (with Sinsheim, Mosbach and Buchen) in Germany

Beginning with the opening of the borders to Hungary (which annulled the Dublin regulation) and the arrival of thousands of refugees who entered Germany via Austria on September 5th, 2015, the "refugee crisis" had arrived in Germany. The central station in Munich, where most refugees arrived that day (and in the subsequent

days), became the symbol for the "German welcome culture", as local citizens tried to help the newly arrived refugees by distributing food and water, donating money, clothing and toys, as well as helping to build temporary shelters (see textbox 2).

Textbox 2: What is *Willkommenskultur* ("Welcome Culture")?

Patrik Dahl & Alexandra Karabatos

The term Willkommenskultur was first used in German debates around immigration policy in the early 2000s with the intent of attracting skilled labour. By 2015, it was adapted to refer to the reception of a wider range of migrants including refugees. While Willkommenskultur generally describes an open and accepting attitude towards those wanting to settle in Germany, its usage in socio-political discourse has aligned with two related definitions. On the one hand, it refers to a paradigm shift in German immigration policy whereby Germany, previously considering itself not to be a country of immigration, promoted policies that opened up the country to immigration. The opening of Germany's borders in 2015 despite the Dublin Regulation, which states that refugees must remain in the first safe EU country in which they arrive, can be seen as a symbol for this shift. Germany moved away from considering migrants to be a nuisance that must integrate to viewing integration as a two-sided process where the host country is responsible for establishing a structure that facilitates integration (Kösemen, 2017). The large number of refugees arriving in Germany in 2015 provided the context for the second meaning of Willkommenskultur: a surge in civil society willingness to get involved in refugee aid. This volunteer work – so extensive that Hamann and Karakayali (2016) classified it as a social movement – compensated for the state's failure to prepare for the reception of so many refugees at once. However, public enthusiasm for welcoming strangers waned after some refugees were accused of sexual assault in Cologne early 2016 (Hamann & Karakayali, 2016). This marked a shift in German discourse away from Willkommenskultur. The Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), a right-wing anti-immigration party in Germany has grown in support. German immigration policy has shifted towards advocating a European solution, i.e. the distribution of refugees among member states, in order to better protect one's own borders. However, Willkommenskultur remains a contested issue, with many civil society actors still advocating the reception of refugees.

The work of volunteers at the local level was indispensable as the state and municipal authorities were not prepared to register or provide accommodation and medical care to a large number of refugees arriving in Germany (Speth et al., 2016). This is also reflected in a survey by Gesemann and Roth (2017) which shows that 90% of municipalities identified volunteering/civic engagement as the primary resource for coping with the "refugee crisis"; furthermore, local cooperation networks, a positive attitude and the openness of the population were also highlighted.

Overall, most refugees arriving in Germany and filing an asylum application in 2015 were from Syria (158,657 or 36%), Albania (53,805 or 12%), Kosovo (33,427 or 7.5%), Afghanistan (31,382 or 7%), and Iraq (29,748 or 6.5%) (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2016). Like elsewhere in Germany, the administrative district of Heidelberg received asylum seekers from all these regions. In total, Heidelberg accommodated approximately 5,000 refugees in 2015 and an additional 2,500 in 2016.

In the Heidelberg Region, like elsewhere in Germany, most of the work of settling and integrating refugees took place at the local level, as the state allocated a certain number of refugees to each municipality. This work, primarily facilitated through the civic engagement of volunteers, can be divided into several phases. The first stage of refugee integration took place in the summer and fall of 2015; this is the time frame under investigation here. This phase was characterized by a broad and spontaneous engagement at train stations and clothing stores along with the temporary housing of refugees. Volunteers also started to offer language courses, legal support, and translating services. Often people from bigger organizations acted independently as they wanted to start helping straight away, rather than waiting for programs to be put in place (Karakayali & Kleist, 2015) . Several small, and more flexible, organizations which were able to integrate the interests, abilities and wishes of new volunteers resulted from this spontaneous engagement (Mutz et al., 2015). Later, in 2016, spontaneously founded initiatives went through a process of professionalization (phase 2a); vocational training, access to jobs and social integration became more dominant and resulted in the organization of welcome and integration cafés as well as workshops on intercultural practices (Hamann, Karakayali, Wallis, & Höfler, 2016). At the time of writing, a new phase of politicized volunteering is emerging as refugees, volunteers and established service providers are learning how local, regional and national structures are interrelated (Schmid, Evers, & Mildenberger, 2019).

5.3   The National Capital Region (of Ottawa and Gatineau) in Canada

In Canada, the so-called refugee crisis came onto the radar of politicians and civil society actors when the pictures of Alan Kurdi, a young Syrian boy found dead, washed ashore on a beach in Turkey, were published on September 3rd, 2015. These images did not only impact Canadians because they revealed the vulnerability of people fleeing from the civil war in Syria, but also because they created a "real" link between Canada and Syrian refugees as Alan's aunt, Tima Kurdi, is a Canadian citizen and had been aiming to "sponsor" Alan's family in order to bring them to safety (Winter et al., 2018). Given that the pictures were published amidst the federal election campaign, the question of the "refugee crisis" became a "central issue during the elections" (Ramos, 2016, p. 5). Having won the elections with the promise of resettling 25,000 Syrian refugees by the end of the year, the Liberal Party under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau "undertook a widely publicized initiative to resettle 25,000 Syrian refugees under the slogan "Welcome Refugees" (Hynie, 2018, p. 1). However, it only achieved this goal by February 27, 2016. By the end of March 2019, a total of

44,560 Syrian refugees have been resettled in Canada under this initiative (Government of Canada, 2019b).

As in Germany, civil society actors played an important role in this undertaking and showed their compassion by becoming engaged in the resettlement process. Canadians did not only donate clothing, furniture and money but also sponsored about 42% of all Syrians who came to Canada through the so-called Private Sponsorship of Refugees (PSR) Program (see textbox 3), one of three programs for the resettlement of refugees in Canada (Government of Canada, 2019b).

From November 2015 to March 2019, in the National Capital Region, the City of Ottawa (Ontario) admitted 2,300 Syrian refugees (285 through the blended sponsorship resettlement program, 1,485 as government-assisted refugees and 530 as privately sponsored refugees). Its twin-city Gatineau (Québec) accepted a total of 375 Syrian refugees (5 through the blended sponsorship resettlement program, 270 as government-assisted refugees and 100 as privately-sponsored refugees) (Government of Canada, 2019b).

In contrast to Germany, Canada has a well-developed immigration and settlement sector by and for immigrants and refugees (Bauder, 2014; Flynn & Bauder, 2015; Knowles, 2007) and refugees were mainly settled in communities that have "an existing Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) service provider organization" (Immigration Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2015). Consequently, structures able to help the newly arrived Syrians with housing, language training, employment support, and health services already existed in Ottawa. However, new organizations, such as Refugee 613, were also established by civil society actors who wanted to help with the resettlement and integration of Syrian refugees (Refugee 613, n.d.). Moreover, the Syrians who arrived in Canada through the country's resettlement program automatically obtained the status of permanent residents in Canada, allowing them to stay in the country indefinitely and having access to social and health services as well as the possibility to work.

Textbox 3: Canada's Private Sponsorship Programme

Alanna Cunningham Rogers & Stanislava Schwalme

Eligibility for resettlement in Canada is established through the assignment of UNHCR Convention refugee status, or classification as "persons in refugee-like situations". There are three refugee resettlement programs in Canada: 1) the 1978 Government-Assisted Refugees Program supports Convention refugees with public money; 2) the 2013 Blended Visa Office-Referred program allows Convention refugees to receive a mix of private and public funds; and 3) the 1978 Private Sponsorship program allows organizations and individuals to apply to sponsor Convention refugees and persons in refugee-like situations. Sponsors can be a "Group of Five" (five or more citizens or permanent residents), a Sponsorship Agreement Holder (an incorporated organization that has a signed agreement with the Government to help support refugees; most are religious, community, ethnic or humanitarian organizations), or a Community Sponsor (an organization, association, or corporation which does not have a signed agreement, but can apply to sponsor refugees nonetheless). Through this program, the sponsored refugee(s) receive(s) financial support from their sponsors for one year, or until they become financially independent. The sponsor(s) are also responsible to help with "housing, clothing and food, as well as social and emotional support," and thus, play an important role in facilitating integration into Canadian society (Government of Canada, 2018). Since its inception, the Private Sponsorship program has helped resettled 225,000 refugees and persons in refugee-like situations. While the support for the program has generally been high since its initiation, the use of negative rhetoric around refugees – especially under the former Conservative government from 2006 to 2015 – resulted in "a deterioration in attitudes towards asylum seekers and refugees" (Hyndman, Payne, & Jimenez, 2017, p. 57). Despite this, the annual numbers of privately sponsored refugees remain higher than those in the two other groups and, in fact, the majority of refugees who were resettled between January 2015 and April 2019 entered Canada through the private sponsorship program (Government of Canada, 2019a). Therefore, the government intends to continue the facilitation of more privately sponsored refugees than government assisted and other refugee groups. Proponents of the system highlight benefits for both refugees and sponsors: the total number of refugees accepted increases, the personal assistance of the sponsor(s) improves integration, and Canadians can channel their desire to help into direct assistance (Treviranus and Casasola, 2003). However, anecdotal evidence collected by the task force set up to manage the 60,000 Indochinese refugees resettled in the initial phase of the Private Sponsorship program indicated that some privately-sponsored refugees envied the independence and privacy allowed by the monthly allowance provided in the Government-Assisted Refugee Program (Molloy and Simeon, 2016) (for more information see Garcia, 2017).

5.4   Methodology

Research has shown that local newspapers report on immigration issues differently than supra-regional/national newspapers (Cooper, Olejniczak, Lenette, & Smedley, 2017; Wallace, 2018). These differences between national and regional and local newspapers are explained by "the differences in the types of issues that" these newspapers focus on (Wallace, 2018, p. 5). While national newspapers are required to "focus on the national government and international community," regional or local newspapers "may have greater opportunities to explore the more personal, human-interest accounts of refugees' experiences" (Wallace, 2018, p. 16). In this study, we sample claims made by refugees, against refugees and on behalf of refugees in three regional newspapers, the German *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung* (*RNZ*), as well as in *The Ottawa Citizen (OC)* and *Le Droit (LD)*, both distributed in the Canadian National Capital Region.

We focus on the period between September 2015 and January 2016, a time during which the context of refugee perception changed from massive compassion toward the despair of refugees (immediately after the drowning of Alan Kurdi on September 2nd, 2015, which occurred almost at the same time as the opening of Germany's border to refugees travelling along the Balkan route) to reservations and suspicion toward refugees (emerging after the Paris attacks on November 13th, 2015, as well as after the sexual assaults in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015/2016). Specifically, we analyze newspaper articles that were published in the two weeks following the aforementioned events. To collect articles, we used the following keywords: "Flüchtling*" for the *RNZ*, "refuge*" for the *OC*, and "réfugié*" for *LD*. For the collection of the articles on the Canadian side, the databases *Factiva* and *Eureka.cc* were chosen. From the Canadian newspapers a total of 173 articles were retrieved for the two-week period after the death of Alan Kurdi, 180 articles for the two-week period after the Paris attacks and 49 articles for the two-week period after the sexual assaults in Cologne, resulting in 402 articles all together. Out of these articles, 271 articles contained claims and, thus, were selected for the analysis and coding. On the German side, the articles were retrieved through the internal archive of the *RNZ*. 226 articles were downloaded for the two-week period after the death of Alan Kurdi, 225 articles for the after the Paris attacks and 157 articles for the two-week period after the sexual assaults in Cologne, resulting in a total of 609 articles. Out of these articles, 227 articles contained claims and were coded. For the coding, we developed a coding grid inspired by Koopmans et al. (2005, pp. 254–255). In this chapter, our analysis is based on the following codes:

1. Claimant: the actor making a claim (who makes a claim?)

2. The substantive issue of the claim (what is the claim about?)

3. Object actor: Who is, or would be, affected by the claim (for/against whom?)

In addition, we coded for standard properties (i.e. newspaper, publication date, headline, name of the author, genre), as well as two further categories, namely a) the category of claim, which identifies the overall topic of the claim, e.g. refugee/asylum

policies, resettlement or integration and b) the category of actor, which identifies the overall group an actor belongs to, e.g. politicians, civil society actors or specialists. These additional categories allowed us to group the individual claims and actors identified during the coding process into different groups.

In the first round of coding, the scheme was used to code the first 25 articles containing claims for all three events in the *OC* and the *RNZ*. Based on this initial round, the coding scheme was refined and applied to the articles of all three newspapers. Each of the first twenty-five articles was initially coded by four individuals and results were compared and discussed. By the time a good inter-coder reliability was achieved, each article was coded by two individuals and results were discussed and harmonized at weekly meetings.

In the local Canadian newspapers, *OC* and *LD*, a total of 1,486 claims were identified. Most of these claims (67%) were made on behalf of refugees, 14% were identified as being against refugees, only 4% of all claims were made by refugees and 15% were classified as none of the above ("other"). In the *RNZ*, the newspaper in the German context, a total of 500 claims were identified. Similar to the Canadian newspapers, most claims (58%) were made on behalf of refugees, claims against refugees came second with 21%, 3% of the claims were made by refugees and, 18% were classified as "other." In the analysis below, we concentrate on the five most important categories of the two main actors and the claims they made. Our analysis compares the Canadian and German cases. For reasons of space, in this chapter, we do not differentiate between the anglophone (OC) and francophone (LD) media in Canada's capital.

5.5   Analysis

5.5.1   Who Claims What in the National Capital Region?

Overall, many claims that we identified addressed political issues. Thus, it is not surprising that politicians are one of the most important categories of actors in our newspaper sample.

In fact, in Ottawa/Gatineau, the categories of (individual) politicians (54%) and of (general) federal government(s) (22%) – which refers mostly, but not uniquely to Canada's federal government – stand for 2/3 of the claims made by the five most important actors. The remaining 1/3 of the claims were made by civil society actors, employees of NGOs and specialists (i.e. lawyers, academics, doctors). Irrespective of the category of actor, most of the claims made by the top five actors were made on behalf of refugees. One interesting discovery is that claims made by NGO employees were rarely ever made against refugees, while civil society actors did (in roughly 30% of the cases) speak out against refugees, highlighting the diversity of views and opinions that can be present among different groups in civil society (see Figure 5.1).

If all actors representing civil society, even those who oppose refugees, are combined for Ottawa/Gatineau, they stand for 240 claims in total (16% of claims, including those made by civil society actors, NGO employees, community organizations, by

former refugees now actively involved in civil society and right-wing activist groups). Based on these groupings, both politicians and civil society actors represent those with the most impact on local discourses on refugees in the National Capital Region. Both categories of actors, however, address different topics and issues in their claims.
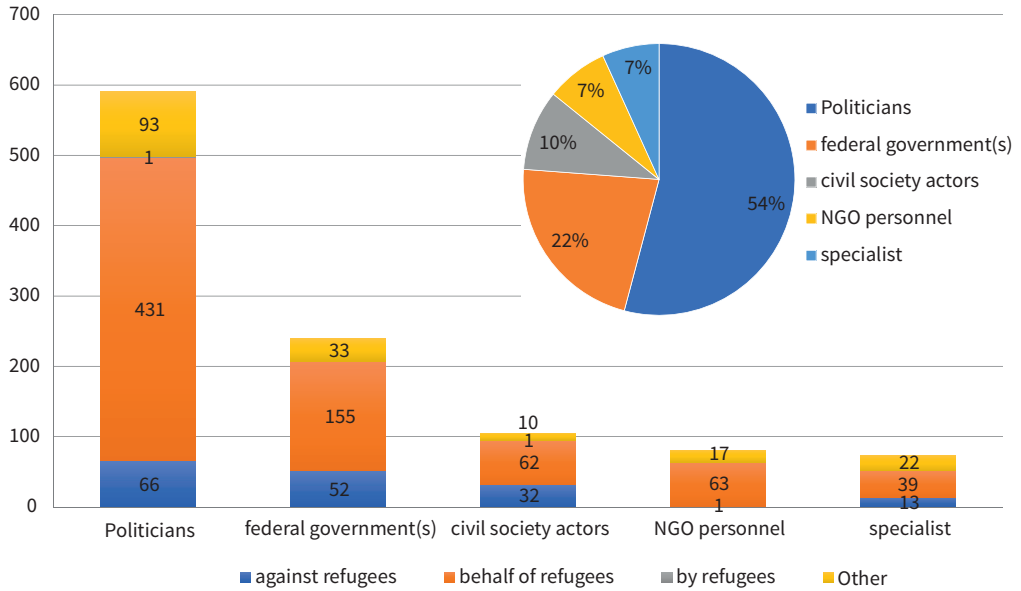

Figure 5.1   Top 5 kind of actors in the National Capital Region

Politicians, who represent the biggest group of political actors, were mostly concerned with the topics shown in Figure 5.2.

The topic of resettlement was most prominent among politicians. Claims based on resettlement (124 in total) focused on issues related to the relocation and reception of refugees in Canada in general, and Ottawa or other regions of the country in particular. Claims grouped under the category of resettlement (election) related to the question of how many Syrian refugees should be resettled by the Canadian government, a debate which dominated the federal election campaign in Canada in the fall of 2015. Also, many claims addressed the topic of privately sponsored refugees and the commitment to help with the reception of refugees at the local level. They also emphasized issues about the reception and distribution of refugees arriving in Europe and, thus, topics which do not concern Canada directly. An international orientation is also found among claims listed under the category of refugee/asylum policies, many of which referred to Merkel's refugee policy in Germany and other refugee regulations in Europe.
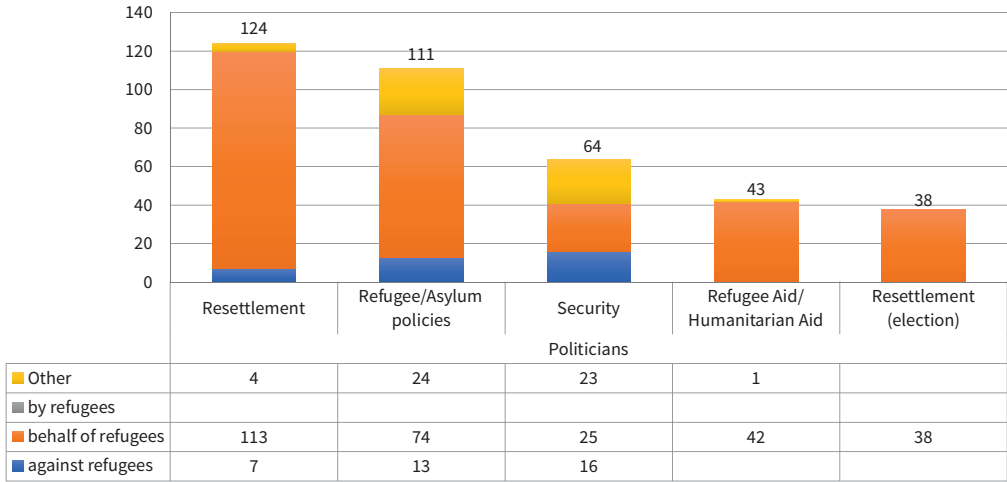
	Resettlement	Refugee/Asylum policies	Security	Refugee Aid/ Humanitarian Aid	Resettlement (election)
			Politicians		
■ Other	4	24	23	1	
■ by refugees					
■ behalf of refugees	113	74	25	42	38
■ against refugees	7	13	16		

Figure 5.2   Politicians and categories of claims in the National Capital Region

Claims classified under security often referred to the screening process for the resettlement of refugees, which was frequently discussed by politicians. On the one hand, Canadian politicians claimed that screening processes should be put in place to prevent terrorists and those presenting a danger to the country from entering the country. On the other hand, it was also politicians who claimed that a balance be struck so that screening processes would not slow down the rate at which Syrians can be resettled. Overall, claims in support of stricter controls and screenings became more prominent after the Paris attacks in November 2015. Nevertheless, claims demanding help and support for Syrians fleeing war, terror, and persecution remained high on the agenda for politicians. This is demonstrated by the fact that these claims, classified under the category of refugee aid/humanitarian aid, form the fourth - largest category of claims for this category of actors (see Figure 5.2).
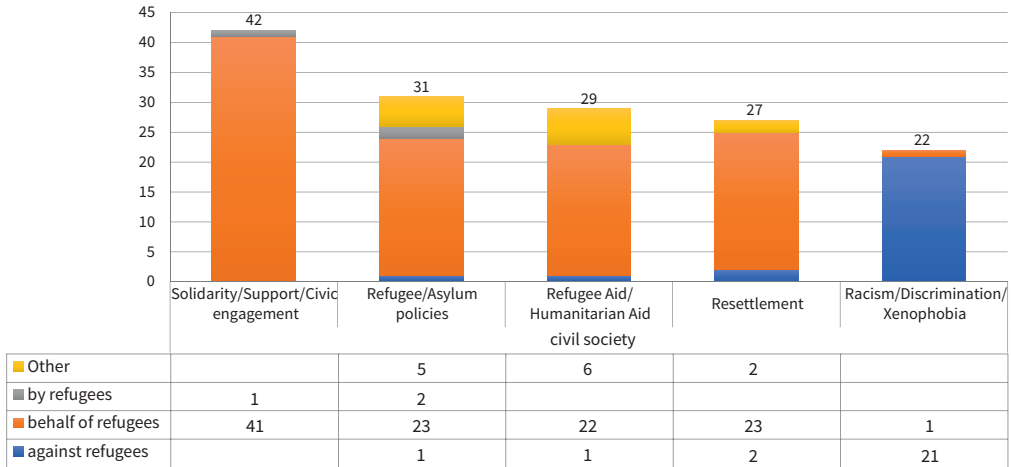
	Solidarity/Support/Civic engagement	Refugee/Asylum policies	Refugee Aid/ Humanitarian Aid	Resettlement	Racism/Discrimination/ Xenophobia
Other		5	6	2	
by refugees	1	2			
behalf of refugees	41	23	22	23	1
against refugees		1	1	2	21

Figure 5.3   Civil society and categories of claim in the National Capital Region

The focus of the claims made by civil society actors differs slightly. Most of the claims (42) demanded solidarity, support and civic engagement for refugees. Specifically, they focused on private initiatives providing support to arriving refugees. Calls for more support and solidarity were particularly dominant in the period after the drowning of Alan Kurdi. The second - largest category of claim – refugee/asylum policies – captures demands to remove barriers to the private sponsorship of refugees, which had previously been put in place by Stephen Harper's Conservative government (2006-2015). Civil society actors also lobbied for more governmental support for resettling and integrating Syrian refugees. Refugee aid/humanitarian aid represented the third - largest category of claims. It was demanded that the Canadian government increased its efforts to help Syrian refugees and provide more financial resources to refugee aid programs and organizations. These claims highlighted the existing commitment of civil society actors and underscored their willingness to help even more. Claims made under the category of resettlement discussed in detail how civil society can even better support the settlement (and integration) of refugees, mostly by means of private sponsorship. Finally, right-wing activist groups, mainly located outside the country incited hatred and violent acts against refugees (classified under the category of racism/discrimination/xenophobia) (see Figure 5.3).
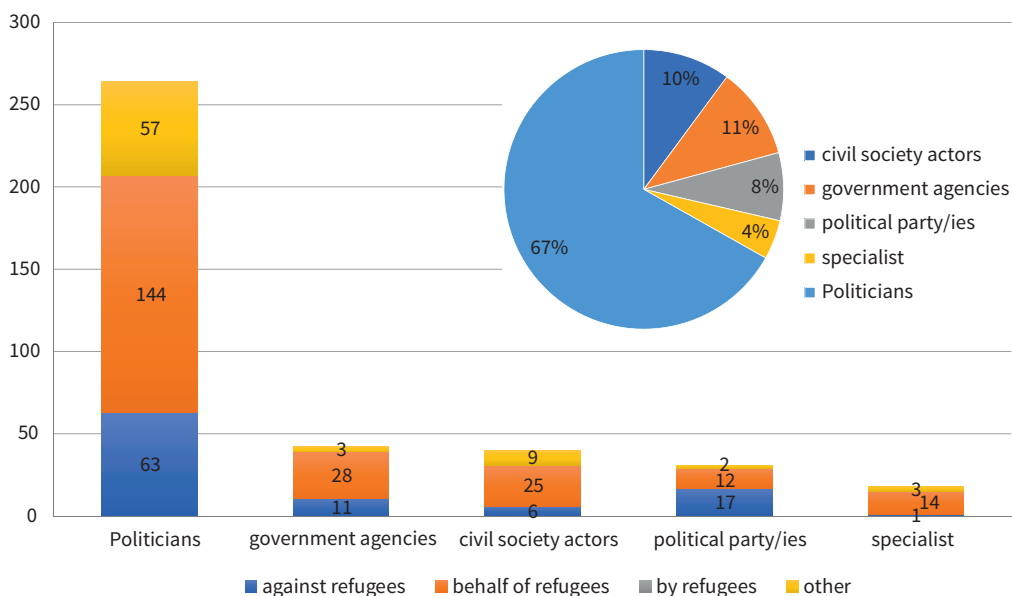
Figure 5.4   Kind of actors in the Heidelberg region

5.5.2   Who Claims What in the Heidelberg Region?

Similar to the articles in the *OC* and *LD*, political actors represent the most important group of claims-maker in the *RNZ*. Politicians were responsible for 67% of all claims, while government agencies represented 11%, and political parties 8% of claims. Thus, taken together, political actors were responsible for over 2/3 of all claims coded in the *RNZ*. Specialists were also among the five most important categories of actors, with 4% of all claims made by this group. Civil society actors represented only 10% (40 claims) of the claims made in the Heidelberg region. However, if this number is combined with the claims made by NGO employees, they total 53 claims. Civil society members become, thus the second most important group of actors (see Figure 5.4). As such, similar to the National Capital Region in Canada, political and civil society actor groups dominated the newspaper discourse in the Heidelberg region. Likewise, most claims in the *RNZ* were made on behalf of refugees. Only in the case of political party/ies, more claims were made against refugees than on behalf of refugees. This is because the Christian Social Union (CSU) demanded the introduction of an upper limit for the number of asylum seekers accepted into the country.

The focus will now be turned to the categories of claims, including the topics, themes and discourses highlighted by politicians and civil society actors in Germany.

The claims made by politicians in the *RNZ* fall roughly within the same categories than those made by other actors in the Heidelberg region. As such, refugee/asylum policies (107 claims) were the most important categories of claim. It was claimed that Germany opened its border to refugees, that Chancellor Merkel's approach to refugee policy was upheld, and that the distribution of refugees in Europe be speeded up.

Classified under politics with 27 coding instances, were claims calling to take into consideration the financial burden posed by asylum seekers to the German state. In contrast to the overall ranking of claims, the topic of integration was not very important to politicians who were more concerned about security (23 claims), especially after the Paris attacks and the sexual assaults in Cologne. After these events, German politicians claimed the establishment of a new anti-terrorism law (*Anti-Terror-Paket*) and better protection of the population from security threats. The related topic of increased border controls (classified as "mobility/border control (restricted/controlled)") occurred in 21 claims. Mostly, politicians in different European countries demanded closing borders to refugees, while politicians in Germany requested an upper limit on the number of refugees admitted to Germany. Finally, the accommodation of refugees was addressed in 20 claims made by politicians and dealt with the rather contentious issue of how to provide housing and accommodations for newcomers (see Figure 5.5).
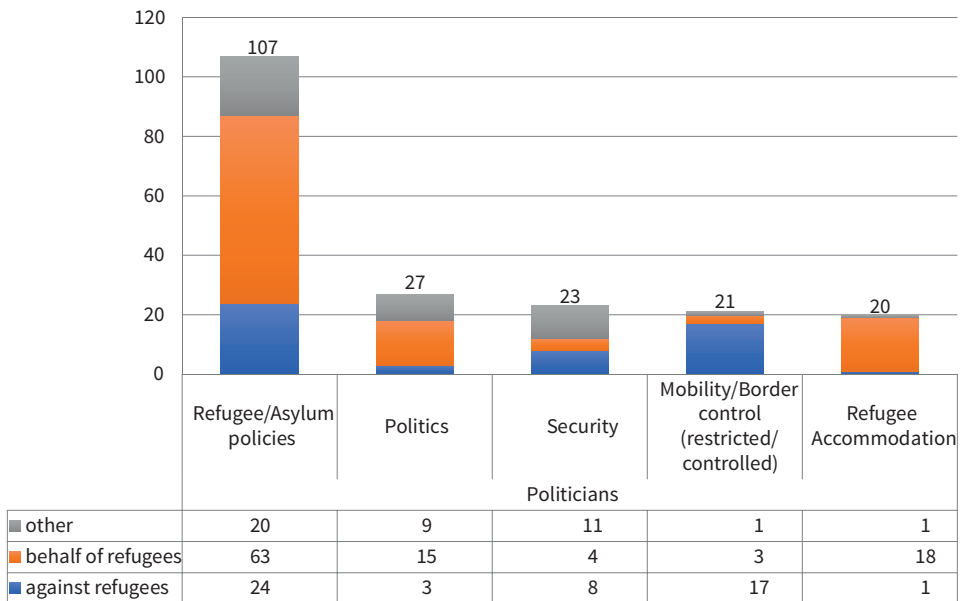

	Refugee/Asylum policies	Politics	Security	Mobility/Border control (restricted/ controlled)	Refugee Accommodation
■ other	20	9	11	1	1
■ behalf of refugees	63	15	4	3	18
■ against refugees	24	3	8	17	1

Figure 5.5   Politicians and categories of claim in the Heidelberg region

While integration was not amongst the most important categories of claims made by politicians, the topic was the most important one for civil society actors (18 claims in total). These claims mainly demanded better support for the economic and cultural integration of refugees. Second was the category of refugee aid/humanitarian aid (7 claims) which captures demands for (financial) support for various organizations providing aid to refugees. Claims addressing "other issues" and claims regarding solidarity/support/civic engagement (6 claims each) came on a shared third place. The former included claims that could not be allocated to any of the other categories.

The latter highlighted activities in support of refugees, such as donations, events promoting the strength of diversity, and anti-discrimination measures. It is interesting to note that claims about solidarity/support/civic engagement which, seemed to be important in the Ottawa/Gatineau context received relatively little attention in the Heidelberg region. Finally, claims on refugee/asylum policies came fifth with four claims in total addressing different political topics both at the local and international level (see Figure 5.6).
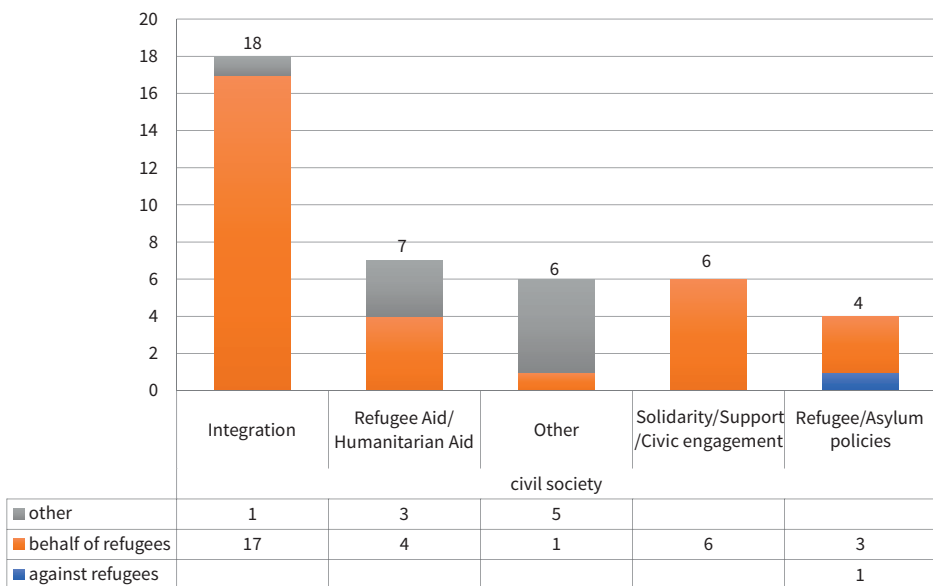
Figure 5.6   Civil society and categories of claim in the Heidelberg region

5.6   Conclusion

While Canada and Germany have different approaches to understandings of immigration and the arrival of newcomers, the categories of actors getting a voice in the local newspapers, as well as the concerns expressed are relatively similar. This becomes particularly apparent when examining claims made by politicians in relation to security issues. Actors in both countries seem to be afraid that criminals or terrorists could be among the refugees. In the fall of 2015, this concern provoked claims for stricter security and border controls. Demands for better security measures intensified after the Paris attacks in November, 2015 and, in Germany, also after the sexual assaults in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015/16. Our results provide a snapshot of the voices heard and the issues that gain political salience in two local contexts within each country.

However, the claims made by politicians at the local level also reflected the national debates in both countries. On the Canadian side, the election campaign occupied a

central role resulting in many claims about resettlement, specifically on the number of Syrians who should be resettled in Canada. On the German side, the party leaders of the Christian Social Union (CSU) and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Horst Seehofer and Angela Merkel respectively, were intensively debating the introduction of an upper limit for the number of asylum seekers admitted to the country. This debate was echoed in several claims made under the category of mobility/border control (restricted/controlled).

Differences in the claims made by politicians also underscore the geographical variations of both countries. In Germany, refugees could literally walk across the borders of the country, resulting in a less structured approach to the reception and accommodation of refugees. In Canada, by contrast, the arrival of refugees was organized through an active resettlement process. These contextual differences of the reception of refugees are also reflected in the claims made by civil society actors in both regions. In Ottawa/Gatineau, private sponsorship of refugees was particularly important; this indicates a unique feature of Canada's resettlement program. It also reflects the country's self-conception as being a welcoming and caring nation for those in need. The prominence of this topic, rather than questions about integration, can be explained by the fact that for most of the period under investigation, the resettlement process of Syrian refugees to Canada was still in the planning phase. In the Heidelberg region, by contrast, refugees had already arrived and questions of providing accommodation, and facilitating integration were prominent. These issues represented the challenges faced by municipalities during the fall and winter of 2015/16, considering that several thousand refugees arrived in Germany every month during that period. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the majority of claims made by civil society actors in the Heidelberg region were made on behalf of refugees and, thus, demonstrate a positive attitude towards refugees and a willingness to integrate them into German society (in the long term). This supports the argument that Germany is moving away from its traditional self-understanding as an ethnic nation (Winter et al., 2018).

The critical role that civil society actors played at the local level is reflected through this research's focus on the Heidelberg region and the Ottawa/Gatineau National Capital Region. In both regions, actors belonging to civil society represented the second largest category of actors (after politicians) who made their voices heard in public space, here represented by the local newspapers. Given their commitment to the cause and their willingness to help – which is well documented in the literature (Aumüller, 2016; Hamann et al., 2016; Macklin et al., 2018; Schmidtke, 2018) – it should not come as a surprise that the majority of claims in the local newspapers were supportive of refugees, while only a minority of claims explicitly opposed or even condemned the accommodation of (Syrian) refugees. However, contrary to scholarship indicating that local newspapers are likely "to explore the more personal, human-interest accounts of refugees' experiences" (Wallace, 2018, p. 16), there were very few accounts on the personal experiences of refugees in our sample and very few claims made by refugees themselves (4% of coded claims in the *OC/LD* and 3% in the *RNZ*). If the act of making claims in the public space is indeed a crucial dimen-

sion of citizenship (Bloemraad, 2018; Isin & Nielsen, 2008; Koopmans et al., 2005), capable of reshaping one's legal status, rights/duties, and collective identity, we can conclude that by the fall of 2015 and the early months of 2016, refugees were not yet able to fully participate "as citizens" in the communities they moved to. Rather, their legal status, rights/duties, and identity were negotiated for them by members of the established groups.

It would be too easy to blame the absence of refugee voices from the local media solely on the period covered here, which admittedly only focussed on the early stages of the arrival of refugees in Canada and Germany during the 2015-2016 "crisis". Rather, actors – like refugees – who do not hold power in society tend to be on the margins of political discourse. At the local level, one way out of this could be related to the politicization of individuals, locally relevant questions related to humanitarian aid and pragmatic solutions to "real" problems of refugee integration, such as shelter, housing, food, schooling, and language acquisition at both the individual and the collective level. The politicization of these issues involves local civil society actors advocating for or against certain regulations or proposed solutions. While usually busy with other aspects of life, they spontaneously engage in political discourses to change them. Politicization thereby opens up the opportunity for civil society and, in a second step, for refugees to be given a voice in the local media. It is a way for civil society associations and refugees – together or, more likely, in dissent and exchange – to shape the public discourse sustainably and to render the perspective of refugees more central to "mainstream" political debates. Furthermore, in order to better capture the voices from refugees, newspapers would have to rely more on translators, social media and reporting (including diary, photo, and video materials) produced by refugees, and on – ideally permanently engaged – staff members who can legitimately give a voice to refugees because they reflect a diversity of backgrounds, experiences, and political opinions. Better capturing the perspectives of refugees and migrants in local media is particularly important during times of heightened polarization, such as elections in order to counter-act one-sided representations of migration issues for the sake of (presumed) political gains.

Acknowledgements

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