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Master's Thesis

Negotiating Deservingness and Solidarity

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A Comparative Analysis of Syrian and Ukrainian Refugees in the German Newspaper *Die Zeit*

or

The Invisible Role of Racialised Othering in German Refugee Discourse

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1. Introduction

"Wir schaffen das!" - the statement by Angela Merkel (Sommerpressekonferenz der Bundeskanzlerin, 2015), which roughly translates to "We can do it!", was made famous during the so-called *long summer of migration* (Yurdakul et al., 2018) and became a touchstone in Germany's immigration debates. The inclusivity implied shaped the political, public, and media discourse in the face of the Syrian mass displacement in 2015 (Wigger et al., 2021), marking the beginning of a German *Willkommenskultur* (culture of welcoming). Yet, in accordance with the initial optimism, the culture of welcoming was rather short lived and soon declined, rapidly transferring into a discursive spectrum of negative affects, ranging from concern to suspicion to hostility (Wigger et al., 2021). While the issue of migration remained a hot and polarised topic in Germany, attitudes towards migration were hardening and anti-immigration stances gained prominence in the media over the years (Holzberg et al., 2018). Merkel's *Willkommenskultur* was criticised sharply, often portrayed as a careless and irresponsible political act (i.e., Kortas et al., 2022), and the then-chancellor herself was often declared as a scapegoat for rising problems in the realm of migration politics (Agarwala, 2016). Next to the disapproval of immigration politics, refugees and asylum seekers themselves also increasingly became the focus of negative attention in the media in the wake of the Syrian mass displacement (Wigger et al., 2021). Contrary to the general scepticism towards immigration, seven years later, the initial optimism resurfaced in response to Ukrainians fleeing war. The Russian invasion of Ukraine resulted in an unprecedented level of support for displaced people on different levels. Politically, the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) was activated for the first time, allowing Ukrainians to register across the European Union without filing for asylum (Bosse, 2022). In Germany, displaced Ukrainians had immediate entitlement to accommodation, social benefits, and childcare, as well as work permits (Middelhof et al., 2022). Moreover, a new platform for private citizen hosting for Ukrainians was established, while citizen solidarity and willingness to help was outstanding (Allmeier et al., 2022). Contrary to the general discourse on migration and asylum, the German media discourse on the Ukrainian mass displacement right after the Russian invasion was unequivocally positive, expressing no serious doubts or counter-narratives (Gebauer, 2023). To sum it up: solidarity with Ukraine and displaced Ukrainians became a German "state doctrine" (Varatharajh & Hilal, 2024, p.217), coming as a surprise in a climate of rising anti-immigration politics and rhetoric.

Although Germany's reception of Ukrainian refugees in 2022 was exceptionally welcoming, refugees from other regions have faced much greater restrictions. This differentiation raises the question, why particularly displaced Ukrainians are regarded as an exception in the ongoing anti-immigration climate. One distinctive difference between Ukrainian and Syrian people is the way in which the majority population is racialised. The ethnic and religious composition of Ukrainians is similar to the European majority, whereas the majority of Syrians is of a different ethnic descent and religion (De Conick, 2022). This difference is expected to play a role in the magnitude of solidarity towards displaced people from the respective countries (De Conick, 2022). One theoretical lens, through which differences in the treatment of migrants are analysed,

is deservingness (i.e., Welfens, 2023). From this perspective, migrants who fulfill certain criteria are perceived as more worthy and deserving than others, which is reflected in the access to residency and resources (Welfens, 2023). Racialised othering refers to the process of constructing groups as fundamentally different and unbelonging on the basis of ascribed, racialised attributes. Based on the different ways in which the majority of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees are racialised, this thesis aims to look into the discursive connection of deservingness and racialised othering. The differences in the discourse on Syrian and Ukrainian refugees have been described as reflections of *selective solidarity* (Paré, 2022). Based on the different ways of welcoming both groups on part of the German population, this thesis also aims to analyse how the discourse on migrant deservingness influences notions of solidarity.

Previous studies have established that German media discourses construct images of (un)deserving refugees (Holzberg et al., 2018), and that German newspapers framed Syrian refugees more negatively compared to displaced Ukrainians (Hoffmann & Hameleers, 2024). However, while large scale content analyses do find framing differences for both groups (Hoffmann & Hameleers, 2024), there is a need for detailed qualitative research focused on the *how*. In particular, close attention to the discursive patterns through which the deservingness frames are constructed can complement such findings by uncovering narrative structures, rhetorical strategies, and intertextual references that shape public opinion. In addition to its academic relevance, the study of refugee discourses is of societal value, too. Crises around the world are on an increasingly intensifying trajectory, and will continue to make Germany a destination for refugees from different regions. Likewise, despite growing anti-immigration sentiments, Germany is an *Einwanderungsland* - a country that understands immigration as integral to itself. Understanding how discourses around different refugee groups and the expression of solidarity towards them are shaped by notions of racialisation and deservingness is, in this context, imperative. It helps uncover insights about the perceptions of Germans of themselves as well as the unequal perception of others, and may aid in combating right-wing narratives and dehumanising depictions of refugees.

Building on the discrepancy in the reception of refugees, this thesis is guided by the following research question: *How does the discourse on deservingness in the context of migration reflect processes of racialised othering and influence selective solidarity towards displaced people in Germany?* To address this question concretely and well structured, it is divided into three sub-questions. First, how does the discourse in German print media frame Syrian and Ukrainian refugees as (un)deserving? Second, how do these frames evolve over time? Third, how does the framing of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees compare to each other, and how do these discourses express selective forms of solidarity?

This research seeks to understand the interconnection between language, power, and social structure in the reporting on Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. To this end, articles from four different timeframes published in the German newspaper *Die Zeit* are analysed through the combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Frame Analysis. *Die Zeit* was chosen to complement similar studies into reporting on refugees by providing a deep dive into a widely-published left-leaning newspaper. Four time frames between 2015 and 2022 and a total of 26 articles were chosen for close reading based on the relevance and frequency

of reporting, as well as the historical context. For analysis, CDA (Fairclough, 1995) was combined with Frame Analysis (Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1993), as this offers the benefit of combining CDA's three-level analytical framework with the perspective on meaning-making in discourse and simple integration of theoretical insights into analytical frames that Frame Analysis provides. The analysis is theoretically located at the intersection of Critical Migration Studies, Critical Race Studies, and Media Studies. Specifically, I employ the concepts of *Deservingness*, *Othering,* and *Selective Solidarity*. These enable me to "construct[...] [my research] object" (Fairclough, 2001, p.167) and interpret the data collected from the articles. The combination of methodological and theoretical framework complements each other and is well-suited to provide comprehensive answers to the research questions addressed in this thesis.

I begin with a theoretical framework that introduces the key concepts of deservingness discourse, racialised othering, and selective solidarity, situating them within existing literature. An extensive methodological chapter then outlines the research rationale and approach, including Critical Discourse Analysis and Frame Analysis, the operationalisation of the key concepts, procedures for data collection and analysis, and a reflection on limitations and my own positionality. The analysis chapter then chronologically examines the discourse on the two populations at two points in time - first, the discourse on the deservingness of Syrian refugees in September 2015 and January 2016, and then on Ukrainian refugees in March and September / October 2022. Subsequently, the discursive framing of both populations is compared with regard to selective solidarity. Finally, my thesis integrates the key findings and considers their broader relevance for scholarship and social practice in the form of a conclusion.

2. Theoretical Framework

This section situates the study within the existing relevant theoretical and empirical literature. By reviewing the concepts of deservingness, racialised othering, and selective solidarity in relation to each other, it creates a framework for the following analysis.

2.1 Deservingness

The concept of deservingness has been applied to study how discourses, policies, and practices construct hierarchies between and within migrant groups, stratifying access to material, symbolic, and emotional resources (i.e. Holmes & Casteñada, 2016; Ratzmann & Sahraoui, 2021). As Welfens (2023) aptly phrases it: "At its core, the question of refugees' or migrants' deservingness is a question about how or on which grounds to select when access is - supposedly or de facto - limited" (pp. 1106). In Germany, the past decade has been characterised by growing anti-immigration attitudes and concerns (Wieland, 2024), while protection for displaced people has been increasingly portrayed as a limited resource by different parties across the

political spectrum (Wieland, 2024). From a perspective of alleged scarcity, a hierarchy of deservingness is required to allocate access to supposedly rare resources (Welfens, 2023). In that sense, the concept of deservingness helps to characterise the conditionality and stratification of access to residence and resources, and is useful for analysing the political, medial, and public discourse in the context of displacement.

2.1.1 Dimensions of Deservingness

There are different ways to distinguish dimensions of the concept of deservingness. Ravn et al. (2020) theoretically distinguish between three dimensions of deservingness, namely legal, economic, and moral. On the legal level, perceptions of deservingness arise from a particular status a displaced person is assigned in the respective asylum system. Economically, individuals are regarded as deserving when being potentially productive members of society rather than a perceived 'burden to the welfare state'. Lastly, on the moral level, displaced people who are seen as particularly vulnerable and in need of protection are perceived as deserving. To be considered as deserving overall, however, it requires a trade-off: displaced people need to be vulnerable enough to be regarded as morally deserving, while simultaneously being stable enough to be considered as potentially productive members of society. In a similar vein, Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas (2018) coined the term *promising victimhood*. This notion entails that to be perceived as deserving of protection, residence, and resources, refugees need to demonstrate their current vulnerability while also showing a future integration potential in both the economic and cultural domains of the hosting society. The idea of promising victimhood can be traced back to Fassin's (2011) foundational work *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of The Present*, in which the author argues that humanitarianism constitutes a politics of life - a system through which societies decide whose lives are worth saving and who qualifies as a legitimate subject of empathy and aid. Fassin's central argument is that humanitarian principles, which draw attention to people's suffering and motivate taking action to help, nowadays serve as the foundation to legitimise the actions of political and non-political organisations. According to the author, humanitarian reason has become a generalised form of governance: instead of political rights, administrations nowadays base decisions such as who to grant asylum on perceived suffering. These *politics of compassion*, meaning that perceptions of deservingness depend on (potential) refugees' harm experienced in the past, are inherently intertwined with power dynamics and inequalities. Migrant deservingness is then a product of a *moral economy*, where aid and protection are distributed based on judgments of suffering and perceived innocence of those affected. Following Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas' (2018) notion of *promising victimhood*, neoliberalism turns humanitarianism into a filtering tool, which shifts macro-level structural injustice to individual-level morality and behaviour, where only those conform to expected norms of 'good and passive victimhood' are considered worthy of protection and support. In that way, the authors take a critical stance towards humanitarianism: only certain performances of suffering - mostly passive, infantilised or feminised - align with Western humanitarian expectations and are thereby recognised as legitimate within immigration and asylum regimes dominated by neoliberal rationality (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2018).

Welfens (2023), too, distinguishes three dimensions of migrant deservingness in the context of displacement, one of them being humanitarianism itself. Building on Fassin (2011), the author analyses how humanitarian deservingness works through moral hierarchies that conform to idealised images of passive suffering even within universalist human rights frameworks. While human rights agendas form a universal legal framework for immigration and asylum, humanitarianism implicitly privileges those who fit the image of a 'morally pure victim'. Thereby, humanitarian filters not only reinforce gendered and racialised assumptions of who is perceived as an 'ideal victim', but moreover foster strategic discursive selectivity that lets asylum systems appear benevolent and compassionate while still excluding the majority of displaced people (Fassin, 2011). In that sense, Welfens' humanitarian dimension of migrant deservingness entails parts of Raven et al.'s (2020) moral but also legal dimension: who is regarded as deserving of protection is (partially) established in the legal framework, however, whose rights are recognised within the asylum system heavily depends on moral interpretations and who is seen as worthy of compassion.

Welfens' (2023) second dimension of migrant deservingness is securitisation. In the context of displacement, securitisation refers to framing refugees and asylum seekers as a threat to national security, economic stability, or cultural identity that poses a risk to the hosting society rather than people in need of protection. Both discourse and policies on migration have been subject to securitisation (Triandafillydou, 2017; Léonard & Kaunert, 2020). According to Balzacq (2010), securitisation involves using symbolic tools, like metaphors and stereotypes, in order to persuade an audience that something is a serious and exceptional threat. This framing justifies urgent, targeted policy actions aligned with the securitising actor's goals. In other words, "securitisation combines the politics of threat design with that of threat management" (Balzacq et al., 2015, p. 495). Portraying migration as a security concern thereby classifies migrants either as *risky*, meaning potential threats, or *at risk*, meaning vulnerable individuals in need of protection (Dück et al., 2025). Through the lens of securitisation, the perceived deservingness of migrants depends on who is classified where on the scale from threatening to threatened, which in turn, is heavily raced, faithed and gendered (i.e. Korac, 2020; Borelli, 2022)[1]. The discourse of securitisation and threat management that shapes migration policies encourages a general suspicion towards asylum seekers and refugees, with real, material consequences: Borelli (2022) analyses how this mindset of suspicion is intertwined with perceptions of (un)deservingness among street level bureaucrats working with migrants, and how this shapes migrants' access to different material resources and social rights. While humanitarianism and securitisation compound two dimensions of deservingness, both function complementarily in migration and asylum management discourses: Olsen et al. (2014) study the social construction of 'the refugee' as opposed to 'the citizen' in Canada and indicate that the image of refugees is constructed in a way that is both dangerous and helpless, which is then reproduced by policies that treat refugees as both an object of charity and a national threat. This dichotomy serves wealthy nations in the so-called Global North[2] by maintaining a humanitarian and

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[1] The differences in perceived deservingness based on individual characteristics such as gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, racialisation or cultural belonging are discussed in a later section.

[2] While the notions Global North/Global South and West/East are commonly used in the literature to describe contemporary structural global differences - particularly those rooted in histories of colonialism and European imperialism - these concepts are criticised for framing historically produced power asymmetries in merely geographic terms (i.e. Varatharajah & Hilal, 2024). To address this issue, this thesis adopts the convention of referring to the "so-called" Global North/South and West/East.

charitable self-image and symbolic power, while simultaneously justifying control, isolation, and restricted access to resources for refugees (Olsen et al., 2014). Welfens' (2023) third dimension of migrant deservingness are integration prospects, which refer to perceptions of deservingness based on both cultural fit as well as (expected) economic performance. The former considers migrants valuable when they are regarded as culturally aligned with the host society's values and ways of living. The latter prioritises (potential) economic contribution, favouring those who embody neoliberal ideals of productivity, self-sufficiency, and participation in the formal labour market. Yet, in contexts where work ethic is regarded as a key component of civic identity, cultural and economic criteria often become intertwined indistinguishably (Welfens, 2023). Building directly on Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas' (2018) notion of *promising victimhood*, Welfens (2023) points out how concrete identity markers - such as nationality, racialisation, religion, gender, sexuality, and age - impact perceptions of vulnerability and victimhood. While Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas (2018) theoretically focus on suffering as moral capital in contexts of migration, Welfens (2023) looks into the concrete operationalisation of tensions between vulnerability, security, economic prospects, and cultural fit within selection practices in European refugees' resettlement.

Migrant deservingness can be theorised through different frameworks: Ravn et al. (2020) distinguish between legal, economic, and moral dimensions, while Welfens (2023) identifies humanitarianism, securitisation, and both economic as well as cultural assimilation as key categories. Despite these different classifications, all dimensions are closely intertwined in practice, collectively shaping impressions of who qualifies as deserving of protection and support, as examined by Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas (2018).

2.1.2 Deservingness Discourse

Building on the notion that language is productive and discursive patterns reflect and reinforce power structures (Fairclough, 1995), the discourse on migrant deservingness reflects and (re)creates power dynamics and hegemonies. The discourse on the deservingness of displaced people has been a salient issue in recent research on migration in Europe, particularly after the refugee reception crisis in 2015/16 and the mass displacement of Ukrainians in 2022. Different studies analyse the political, media, and interpersonal discourse on migrant deservingness (i.e., Dück et al., 2025; Kneuer et al., 2025; Popovic & Welfens, 2025; Samson, 2025; Zogata-Kusz et al., 2023).

2.1.2.1 Political Discourse

Perceptions of deservingness are situated in particular contexts and vary over time (Welfens, 2023), and so does the political discourse on migrant deservingness. In August 2015, when the arrival of asylum seekers peaked, the German political discourse was initially marked by former Chancellor Angela Merkel's famous statement "Germany is a strong country […] We can do this!" (Gebauer, 2023, p. 103). Unlike many surrounding countries, Germany's government initially stressed a *Willkommenskultur* (culture of welcoming) towards refugees as well as a humanitarian duty towards people in need of protection (Beinhorn & Glorius,

2018). However, this humanitarian political discourse was a rather short-lived: after growing political criticism (from many parties across the political spectrum, including Merkel's party CDU/CSU) as well as rising expressions of public discontent (such as increasing anti-immigration protests), the political discourse started shifting from autumn 2015 onwards (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018). Facing both political and public backlashes, as well as a quickly rising far-right populist party, political discourse and actions turned from humanitarianism towards securitisation (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018). This shift intensified in the following winter, with the political discourse directed towards 'reaching limits of capacity', border control, integration difficulties, burden-sharing, and deportation, resulting in the signing of the EU-Turkey deal in early 2016 (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018). While there was a clear demarcation of *us* (Germans) and *them* (asylum seekers) from the beginning, the humanitarian appeal to be compassionate towards people at risk briefly turned into an appeal to protect *us* from *them*, framing displaced people as a threat and surplus population (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018). In line with the generally hardening political discourse and actions in the field of migration, in 2017, the far-right populist party AfD entered the German parliament, winning 12.6% of the votes running on anti-immigration rhetoric (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018), indicating a rising public support for anti-immigration politics. While the German political discourse from autumn 2015 onwards was heavily marked by anti-immigration rhetoric across the political spectrum (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018), the narrative drastically changed concerning the Ukrainian mass displacement in 2022.

Dück, Weisner, and Thevenin (2025) analyse the changes in the political discourse of the European Union about the mass displacement of Ukrainians in 2022. Their analysis demonstrates how European politicians - including Germans - focused on the alleged exceptionality, singularity, and urgency of the war in Ukraine, often drawing parallels to World War II: "Overall, the war was perceived as a European issue and discursively linked to historical grievances. The refugees were thus not external others, but victims of an act of aggression against Europe, which was also reflected in the characterisations of Ukraine and Ukrainian refugees" (Dück et al., 2025, p. 110). The discursive connection between a shared European history overcomes an in-group/out-group demarcation, while also contributing to the imagination of a shared European past. "This way, unlike migrants from the Middle East and Africa, Ukrainians were represented as part of an 'us' against a 'them' embodied by Russia" (Dück et al., 2025, p. 112). This contrast becomes even sharper in a study by Popovic and Welfens (2025), who examine how dominant frames of humanitarianism and securitisation shaped the political landscape in 2015 and 2022 in very different ways. In 2015, the physical arrival of displaced people at European borders was framed as the core security crisis. In contrast, in 2022, the root cause (Russia's invasion of Ukraine) was central to the narrative on the mass displacement, and refugees were framed as dignified individuals seeking temporary safety (Popovic and Welfens, 2025). Moreover, the absence of the 'illegality debate' - enabled by visa-free entry and bureaucratic facilitation under the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) - helped remove associations of criminality from the discourse (Popovic and Welfens, 2025). This framing fosters an environment of moral urgency and European solidarity, while additionally representing Ukrainians as 'ideal refugees': innocent yet brave, female and familial, temporarily displaced but inherently assimilable (Popovic and Welfens, 2025). Women, children, and the elderly were foregrounded, while Ukrainian men were framed as patriotic heroes for staying behind

to fight, contributing to a gendered hierarchy of deservingness that reinforced the image of a disciplined and self-sacrificing European nation. This discursive production of 'real victims' was inherently linked to the simultaneous erasure or marginalisation of non-European refugees, whose claims to protection were reframed as untrustworthy (Paré, 2022).

While references to culture, nationality, and race appeared in both periods, they functioned in opposite ways. "Although race was not explicitly mentioned, by juxtaposing Ukrainians with racialised migrants, it became clear that they were perceived as white and hence unmarked" (Dück et al., 2025, p. 112). In 2022, Ukrainian cultural proximity was used to underscore deservingness; in 2015, cultural differences became a proxy for racialised exclusion (Dück et al., 2025). This rhetorical asymmetry legitimised unequal treatment, often without acknowledgement of race, but through indirect markers (Popovic & Welfens, 2025). Samson (2025) analyses the contemporary political discourse on migration through a postcolonial lens and emphasises how geopolitical goals, such as a unified Europe opposed to Russia as a common enemy, are intertwined with highly racialised and gendered political frames. Ukrainian refugees were embraced as a part of a vulnerable, feminine, and assimilable whiteness, rendering them legitimate subjects of protection. In contrast, non-European, racialised, male refugees were constructed as hypervisible threats (Samson, 2025). Official political discourse actively highlighted the male gender of non-Ukrainian asylum seekers, weaponising masculinity as a marker of danger and thereby delegitimising their suffering. While German politicians praised Ukrainian patriotism in supposed contradistinction to men fleeing from Middle Eastern countries, thus portraying (European) men as morally superior and courageous, the particular gender dynamic in Ukrainian displacement moreover favours a lower likelihood of family repatriation, which might be another reason for the political appraisal of Ukrainian men (Varatharajah & Hilal, 2024). On the political level, the discourse on migrant deservingness reveals a deeply racialised, gendered, and geopolitically contingent logic that differentiates between refugee populations based on perceived proximity to the imagined European community - Samson (2025) refers to this as the race-gender-geopolitics nexus.

While initially having been portrayed as a *Zeitenwende* (turning point) in migration politics, it is crucial to mention that despite the drastic changes in the German political discourse on displaced Ukrainians in 2022, this does not indicate an overall change in the political discourse on migration and asylum (Dück et al., 2025). The discourse on displaced Ukrainians thereby constitutes an exception rather than a discursive shift (Dück et al., 2025). Taken together, these studies reveal how the political discourse reflects and produces perceptions of deservingness. Deservingness is thus a product of discourses that weave together geopolitical interests, colonial memory, racialised formation, and gender norms. The humanitarianism extended to some is discursively enabled through the securitisation, dehumanisation, and exclusion of others. Political discourse thus operates not only to distribute protection but to delineate who counts as a legitimate subject of compassion and who does not, ultimately reaffirming hierarchies of worthiness within the global order.

2.1.2.2 Media Discourse

The impact of media framing in influencing public discourse, popular opinion, and collective perception about migration is extensively recognised in academic literature (Eberl et al., 2018). By selecting and highlighting particular facets of observed reality and integrating them into a narrative that proposes specific interpretations of the issue, media frames contribute to defining issues, determining causes, conveying moral evaluations, and endorsing solutions (Galantino, 2022). Media migration frames are increasingly built to align with the discourse on domestic security and obstacles to national identities, lifestyles, and social cohesion (Galantino, 2022). By employing terminology associated with warfare (i.e., invasion, border defence), animals (i.e., hordes), or natural disasters (i.e., floods, waves), the media have contributed to the formulation of a reductive, negative narrative of instability and danger as well as the dehumanisation of migrants (Eberl et al., 2018). Moreover, asylum seekers have generally been portrayed as an undifferentiated mass rather than a composition of individuals who flee from similar circumstances (Holzberg et al., 2018). In line with the development of the political discourse in Germany, Beinhorn and Glorius (2018) observe a short phase of humanitarian framing of arriving refugees, with a high salience of suffering and humanitarian framing in summer 2015.

However, similarly to the political discourse, the 'refugees welcome' momentum shifted from a humanitarian framing to a crisis and security framing really quickly. The media coverage of migration-related issues became more polarised from September 2015 onwards, when the discourse started being dominated by topics such as (lack of) integration, public security, and deportations. Security and threat frames increasingly connect migration and crime, terrorism, and Islamic extremism (Beinhorn and Glorius, 2018). Galantino (2022) analyses the German and Italian media migration discourse in relation to terrorism, looking into the discursive construction of migration as a threat, sometimes referred to as 'crimmigration'. The findings indicate that both German and Italian media drew a connection in 2015/16, facilitating securitisation frames and framing migrants as threats to domestic security. "Migration and terrorism were conflated in the media discourse to look like one and the same problem, to be addressed (and solved) with the very same set of solutions: patrol, control, and eventual closure of borders" (Galantino, 2022, p. 274). This connection of both themes sometimes portrayed migration as the causal explanation for terrorism; an association that became more frequent starting from summer 2015 (Galantino, 2022). This can be interpreted as instrumentalising fear of terrorism in the discourse on migration control (Galantino, 2022), adding to the overall increasingly negative and securitising framing of migration in the media (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018; Eberl et al., 2018). Next to the increasing connection portrayed between Islamic terrorism and migration, the overall framing of asylum seekers as security threats was emotionalised in public debates, "especially pointing to the cultural 'otherness' of young, male, asylum seekers from Islamic and patriarchic cultures" (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018, p. 31).

Cultural and gendered anti-immigration stances rose across the media landscape, accompanied by exponentially growing criticism towards Chancellor Merkel's open border politics (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018). Moreover, in the course of autumn 2015, issues of costs and burdens became more salient: concerns

about the financial impact on the welfare state gained prominence (Beinhorn & Glorius, 2018). Regarding 'financial burden' narratives, some studies suggest that media coverage about immigration draw a distinction between European immigrants (i.e. from Bulgaria and Romania) and non-European immigrants: while the former are more often depicted in frames of welfare chauvinism and economic nationalism, the latter are more often portrayed as a threat to the host countries' culture or security (Eberl et al., 2018). Holzberg et al. (2018) analyse how, during the course of 2015, the humanitarian media framing of arriving refugees shifted towards an economic cost/burden framing, with some voices advocating that refugees can provide much-needed labour, and others classifying refugees as burdens to the welfare system. However, the authors stress that while portraying refugees as an "embodied economic opportunity" (p. 543) might seem as a positive frame, it still clearly draws a discursive boundary between in- and out-group by framing deservingness of protection as a matter of economic contribution potential (Holzberg et al., 2018). Overall, in the course of 2015, the media discourse started focusing on the question of who is legitimate enough to be deserving of protection and which potential risks come along with that protection status.

2.2 Racialised Othering

"People invent categories in order to feel safe. White people invented black people to give white people identity… Straight cats invented faggots so they can sleep with them without becoming faggots themselves." - James Baldwin, 1973 (as quoted in Nelson, 1994, p. 27)

The concept of *othering* in the context of migration refers to the process through which dominant groups (typically from the so-called West or Global North) define and represent other cultures, people, or societies (typically from the so-called East or Global South) as fundamentally different, inferior, irrational, or dangerous (Said, 1979). Othering is a general process that can take many different shapes. Looking at recent immigration dynamics in Europe, one important particular form of othering is *Orientalism.* For Edward Said (1979), orientalism is the ideological and discursive process by which the 'West' constructs the 'East' as its inferior, alien opposite to maintain cultural, political, and epistemic superiority. *Racialisation* refers to the social and political process by which individuals or groups are ascribed racial identities based on physical or cultural traits and are, in turn, treated differently. Racialisation thus points out the artificiality, processual, and social nature of the concept of race, and describes how social meaning is attached to perceived differences, turning them into markers of hierarchies, inequality, or exclusion. In other words, "racialisation refers to the extension of racial meaning to a previously unclassified relationship, social practice, or group" (Omi & Winant, 1986, p. 111). While all individuals in racialised societies are assigned racial meaning, "racialisation is not a symmetrical process because whites, as the dominant racial group, have always had a central role as racialisers" (Bonilla-Silva, 2021, p. 514). White bodies are often treated as the default or unmarked category - the allegedly neutral reference point from which comparisons are drawn. Thus, in critical literature across different fields - postcolonial and feminist studies and more - the notion of *racialised bodies* is often used to refer to those who do not match the alleged default category of whiteness. Sara Ahmed (2000) uses the concept of *racialised bodies* to analyse how bodies are socially and politically

'raced' through histories of colonialism, racism, and institutional power. For Ahmed, racialisation is a process through which certain bodies become visibilised, assigned meaning, and regulated, while other bodies remain unmarked (usually white, normative bodies). Whiteness, in Ahmed's (2006) work, is not a skin colour but a normative orientation - the unspoken standard that others are measured against. Following Ahmed, this thesis adopts the term *racialised bodies* to refer to the physical appearance of those who are othered in relation to whiteness (meaning not racialised as white).

2.2.1 Racialised Othering, Displacement & Deservingness

Racialisation and othering impact perceptions of deservingness in the context of displacement in multiple ways. Hage (2016) illustrates how the European idea of the nation state as a white entity, as opposed to the uncivilised, racialised Other, emerged in colonial times and re-emerged in the context of border securitisation in Europe. According to the author, Europe perceives itself as 'under siege' by racialised asylum seekers from the so-called Global South, while simultaneously contributing to the very reasons of displacement through exploiting and dominating the natural world (Hage, 2016). Migration from the so-called Global South is seen as threatening to Europe's dominant position in the global hierarchy and the nation state itself. The concept 'under siege' offers a powerful theoretical lens to critically understand the racialised treatment of asylum seekers. The European political and public discourse around asylum has become increasingly affective: asylum seekers are tied to feelings of fear, threat, and disorder. This echoes Hage's (2016) point that the nation state under (perceived) siege manages not only bodies and territories but also affects: fear becomes a tool of governance. Populist rhetoric, racialised media portrayals, and securitised border regimes turn the racialised asylum seeker into a figure of *ontological insecurity*. Asylum seekers are thereby not only seen as migrants but also "become the racialised Other that stabilises as European self-definition premised on order, whiteness, and sovereignty" (Hage, 2016, p. 41). Thereby, Europe's securitisation and politics of fear not only distinguish between citizens and foreigners but also function along racialised lines of life and death. According to Butler (2016), death and grievability demarcate a clear distinction of in- and outgroups: "One way of posing the question of who 'we' are in times of war is by asking whose lives are considered valuable, whose lives are mourned, and whose lives are considered ungrievable" (p. 2). Moreover, whether a life is publicly seen as worthy of mourning is deeply political: while some lives are considered human and thus valuable, others are invisible or classified as disposable (Butler, 2016). This (de-)humanisation of lives through frames of grievability has racialised components and offers a further tool to look at narratives of deservingness: both Southern Europe's maritime borders and Eastern Europe's land borders are zones of mass death (Samson, 2025), where thousands have died attempting to reach safety, something that - as an ongoing condition for years - hardly generated any more media attention and seemed to be accepted. Building on Mbembe's (2003) necropolitics - the sovereign power to exert control over life and death - Hage (2016) emphasises how Europe decides whose death is tolerable, while often leaving the racialised other to die. And those racialised asylum seekers who arrive in Europe often live in unclear legal circumstances for years, where the attributed residency status can change at any given moment and might take years to be

issued in the first place. Hage (2016) refers to this as *permanent temporariness*, where the bureaucratic management of asylum seekers becomes an instrument of disciplining and surveillance. Moreover, camp and detention spaces are described as *siege zones*, where the state exerts total control over movement, communication, and time, and thus function as zones of control where racialised bodies are rendered visible as managed risks (Hage, 2016). In a similar vein, more scholars interpret the securitisation of migration as a (post)colonial practice, wherein former imperial metropoles seek to protect themselves from their previously colonised and still racialised subjects, framing migration as a threat in the context of contemporary competition over capital, resources, and global influence (De Genova, 2018; Samson, 2025). According to De Genova (2018), Europe's so-called 'migrant crisis' is not a logistical or humanitarian issue, but rather a fundamentally racialised construct produced by racism and border regimes. The scholar critiques dominant narratives framing migration as a crisis of welfare or numbers, and instead redirects attention to the logics of European border regimes that produce this 'racial crisis' by themselves. For De Genova (2018), the category 'migrants' is in itself highly racialised: while some populations on the move are treated as unwanted, racial others, whose access to mobility is restricted or even criminalised, European mobility remains naturalised, oftentimes without even referring to inner-European mobility as migration. The author argues that the crisis narrative itself conceals the structural violence of European border regimes, where non-European migrants are racialised, criminalised, and rendered disposable (De Genova, 2016). De Genova (2016) criticises Europe's *colonial amnesia* - its failure to recognise how colonial legacies shape current migration patterns - and ongoing (post)colonial racial hierarchies. Migrants from former colonies are not met with responsibility or recognition, but with walls and detention. The author considers this disavowal of colonial accountability itself as a racial project (De Genova, 2016).

Paré (2022) compares the European political response to the mass displacement in 2015/16 and 2022, focusing on racialised othering in the political discourse. The author analyses how othering as a process is not only distinguishing another group from one's own group, but is more importantly a process of stigmatisation and exclusion (Paré, 2022). Along the same lines as Hage (2016) and De Genova (2018), Paré (2022) examines how politics of emotion function affectively and generate attitudes towards asylum seekers. By comparing the political discourse concerning the mass displacements of 2015/16 and 2022, the author points out how racialisation makes a key difference in whether these attitudes are supportive or antagonistic. In 2015, immigration was heavily problematicised and migrants were portrayed as threats to the economy, security, and European identity. In 2015, most asylum seekers arriving in Europe came from predominantly Muslim countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Racialised migrants were constructed as a threat to European identity (ideally white and Christian), and Orientalism led to new racialised and Islamophobic tropes of othering, demonising, and securitising Muslims discursively and visually (for example, through bans of burqas, niqabs, or hijabs in various settings in Europe). The securitisation discourse pushed an atmosphere of fear around migration, which the author describes as *fearism* - meaning the systematic production and spread of fear on others, boosted by mass media. Taking the example of the speech act of referring to the mass displacement in 2015 as a *migration crisis,* Paré (2022) demonstrates how discursive elements and language of fear can serve as justification for controversial measures. Through the

politicisation of the migrant subject, migrants in 2015 functioned as the scapegoat for their own destiny and were framed as the justification for militarised border regimes, mass deaths in the Mediterranean, and almost punitive asylum procedures (Paré, 2022). Paré (2022) further elaborates on how linguistic dehumanisation makes it easier to enact harsh and isolating laws: asylum seekers were constructed as separate from the European collective imaginary and thereby did not enter the psychological realm of humanitarianism, solidarity, or compassion. According to the author, the shift in migration policies in 2022 - such as the activation of the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) - and the political discourse in 2022 clearly reflect the highly racialised nature of Europe's othering process towards migrants (Paré, 2022). The discursive binary drawn between the alleged backwards, uncivilised, and suspicious asylum seekers in 2015, compared to intelligent, educated, and hard-working Ukrainians in 2022, can be interpreted as an expression of semantic violence - meaning the exclusionary harm caused by the language chosen (Paré, 2022). Despite little or no mention of race, the "manifestation of hyper-nationalism in Europe functions according to the biopolitical logic of race, insofar as white-skinned refugees with blue eyes and blond hair benefit from special, favourable treatment from European elites" (Paré, 2022, p. 51). This distinction between racialised asylum seekers and white Ukrainians even extended to so-called third-country nationals and Ukrainian Roma people fleeing the very same war in Ukraine, who were often denied similar protection at European borders despite formal eligibility (Samson, 2025). Here, whiteness served as both a racial marker and a geopolitical signifier: to be 'properly European' was signified by whiteness and fulfilled the criteria to access protection. Meanwhile, racialised migrants - even those with the same citizenship, such as Ukrainian Roma people - were regulated to a position of disposability, where access to the very same rights was in question (Samson, 2025). This aligns with De Genova's (2016) thesis that Europe's bordering practices serve to construct the continent symbolically through the exclusion and devaluation of racialised subjects. Moreover, excluding people of colour who fled from the very same war in Ukraine - for example, international students from different countries of the African continent or Roma Ukrainian citizens - from that special treatment "because of observable, physical characteristics incompatible with 'Europeaness', further indicates racialised dimensions of European elite's distribution of solidarity" (Paré, 2022, p. 51). For Paré (2022), the exceptional treatment of displaced Ukrainians as white Europeans thereby clearly reveals that "migrants are discursively and politically ranked along a biopolitical, racialised hierarchy of worth" (Paré, 2022, p. 52).

The contrast between the treatment of asylum seekers during the refugee reception crisis in 2015 and the mass displacement of Ukrainians in 2022 suggests that indeed European border regimes operate through racialised hierarchies of belonging, deservingness, and perceived threat. Drawing on Hage's (2016) concept of the nation state 'under siege', European governance of migration is marked by spatial and affective politics in which racialised asylum seekers are positioned as permanent outsiders and managed risks. In 2015, the arrival of predominantly non-European, non-white asylum seekers from the Middle East and the African continent was constructed within a securitised discourse of crisis (Paré, 2022). These individuals were not only rendered as a burden to national welfare systems, but as cultural and civilisational threats to an implicitly white European order (Paré, 2022). Looking through Hage's (2016) lens, their presence intensified the siege imaginary - Europe portrayed itself as under essential attack, serving as a justification for fortified

borders, detention camps, and emergency legal regimes. This aligns with Hage's (2016) understanding of a colonial logic that disciplines and restricts racialised bodies through the suspension of legal protection. It also reflects what De Genova (2018) terms a *racial crisis*, in which the spectacle of migration functions as a performance of European sovereignty, which is racially coded and fundamentally exclusionary. In stark contrast, the political response to the mass displacement in 2022 was immediate, coordinated, and marked by an overtly humanitarian discourse (Paré, 2022). Open borders, accelerated protection status, and access to housing, education, and work permits were granted without the usual bureaucratic and securitised resistance (Paré, 2022). Hage's (2016) theory helps to illuminate this divergence: while asylum seekers from the so-called Global South are isolated and treated as managed risks - contained in camps, left in legal limbo, or even left to die at European borders - Ukrainian refugees were incorporated into the European space quickly. Following Hage's (2016) theory, Ukrainians, as a predominantly white population, were seen as non-threatening to the racialised order of European nation states - Europe's perceived siege is not about actual numbers or security risks, but about defending the imaginary integrity of a white civilisational order. The siege, in this case, is selectively applied: it is not the state of exception itself that is suspended, but to whom it is applied. This racialised distinction is crucial. As Dück, Weisner, and Thevenin (2025) find, the treatment of Ukrainian refugees does not mark a new era in migration policies and a turning point of Europe being more open towards displaced people, but simply marks an exemption for one particular group - in other words, a double standard. The Ukrainian case exposes the elasticity of European humanitarianism, which expands and exceptionalises when whiteness is at stake and contracts when confronted with the mobility of racialised others. The temporary protection mechanisms extended to Ukrainians also expose the selectivity and conditionality of European humanitarianism - what De Genova (2016) would describe as the *racial spectacle of sovereignty* - where care is distributed along the fault lines of race. Ultimately, both crises underscore how European states do not merely respond to displacement, but *produce* and *perform* crisis through racialised regimes of mobility, securitisation, and selective solidarity. In this sense, European migration politics cannot be separated from colonial logics that organise who counts as grievable, governable, and savable - and who does not.

2.2.1 The (Lacking) Discourse on Racialised Othering

Although race is almost never explicitly mentioned within the discourse around migration in Europe, "by juxtaposing Ukrainians with racialised migrants, it became clear that they were perceived as white and hence unmarked" (Dück et al., 2025, p. 112)". Paré (2022) refers to this as *racism without race* in the European migration discourse: "Insofar as it is too embarrassing to admit the continued existence of 'race' in a 'decolonised' world, contemporary European discourse does not openly discuss race" (p. 49). However, while the absence of a direct discourse on race silences the role of whiteness as the default category and precondition to access certain rights, the discursive banning of race in Europe does not represent an actual post-racial reality (Lentin, 2008). As Lentin (2008) argues, the silence about race in Europe does not signify the erasure of racial thinking but rather its concealment beneath the surface of a liberal self-image. Modern

so-called Western political and cultural self-understanding is "ordered by, yet discursively conceals, a system of classification that is racially underscored" (Lentin, 2008, p. 490). In this way, states are able to perform anti-racist commitments while simultaneously reproducing racial hierarchies through implicit markers. By declaring themselves non- or even anti-racist, European states effectively mask how their domestic and international relations continue to be shaped by racialised logics of superiority, treating some as "in but not of Europe" (Lentin, 2008, p. 487). This racial coding becomes evident when comparing the deservingness discourse around displaced people arriving in Europe in 2015 and 2022. Popovic and Welfens (2025) demonstrate how culture is frequently discursively mobilised as a proxy for race, allowing states to prioritise populations that are considered culturally or ethnically proximate, while maintaining the veneer of race-neutral policy. However, even though not explicitly expressed, "racialisation has always worked in tandem with various concrete, material racial practices" (Bonilla-Silva, 2021, p.515). To (re)produce racialised structures and hierarchies, it does not require an explicit expression of racism or racist intentions. While the European self-image is one of inclusion, progression, and unity, "it is at the heart of the mismatch of discourse and practice that denies the possibility of collectively imagining an inclusive Europe" (Lentin, 2008, p. 497). In other words, real progress cannot happen when ignoring the problem. However, the perception of European superiority depends on a progressive self-image, leaving no room for admitting systematic racism without reducing the self-declared position at the top of progression.

2.2.2 Racialised Othering & Gender

When analysing how displaced people are racialised and othered in Europe, it is essential to also look into the role of gender. As Korac (2020) argues, European border securitisation is legitimised through fear-based narratives that construct displaced people as both racialised and gendered threats. These narratives rely on the construction of a civilisational binary that positions the 'civilised West' in opposition to the 'barbaric East', producing a moral geography in which certain bodies are seen as deserving of security while others are seen as inherently threatening. In this framework, racialised masculinity - particularly that of racialised migrant men - is framed as dangerous and sexually deviant, invoking tropes of *racially marked rape* and constructing the state as the patriarchal protector of its national (often white) female subjects (Korac, 2020). As a result, displaced men are not viewed as vulnerable or in need of protection, but as threats to national security, thus reinforcing both racial hierarchies and gendered violence within migration discourse. In a similar vein, Samson (2025) examines how migrant men (particularly non-European or Muslim) are portrayed as dangerous, deceitful, and threatening in the political and public discourse. The scholar argues that this framing is rooted in the colonial and patriarchal underpinnings of contemporary migration politics, where racialising and gendering practices serve broader geopolitical goals based on the Cold War and imperialist agendas (Samson, 2025). Thus, racialised refugees' bodies - especially male ones - become symbolic of threat, reinforcing discriminatory policies and public perceptions.

Puar's work (2007) further elaborates on how queer rights are often instrumentalised within this process: so-called Western, liberal states frame themselves as sexually progressive and inclusive, contrasting

themselves with a homophobic, repressive so-called East. However, only certain queer subjects - typically white, gender-conforming, middle-class - are incorporated into the national imaginary. Queer migrants, particularly Muslims, are excluded from this inclusion, seen as incompatible with Western norms of sexuality and thus othered at the intersection of race and sexuality (Puar, 2007). These narratives of moral superiority based on alleged queer-inclusion and acceptance are also regularly weaponised in anti-immigration discourses and thus pave another way of excluding and othering (certain) immigrants (Puar, 2007).

Through a lens of deservingness, gender plays a pivotal role in shaping perceptions of how vulnerable a displaced person is seen, and where they are positioned on the continuum of being perceived as threatened or threatening. Humanitarian discourses often construct vulnerability through gendered and racialised lenses, with women and children frequently being portrayed as passive victims in need of protection, while men - especially racialised men - are framed as potential aggressors or security risks (Korac, 2020). According to Hilal (Varatharajah & Hilal, 2024), "white feminists' solidarity with non-white women often tends to essentialise men of the same origins" (p. 225). Taking the example of Afghanistan, the author elaborates on how some women welcomed the return of Taliban rule, while some men faced prosecution and had to fear for their lives. Thereby, making a rhetorical distinction between those who are deemed deserving of access to protection based on gender seems dangerous, because "exclusive protection implies a general suspicion towards others" (Varatharajah & Hilal, 2024, p. 225). Hilal (Varatharajah & Hilal, 2024) sharply criticises how demonising men as "as if they were all oppressors in complicity with the systems of violence" (p. 225) was often instrumentalised as discursive legitimation of violence against racialised or Muslim men: "The imperial hierarchisation of victims by the West reduces brothers, fathers, sons, and partners to enemies of women and obstacles to liberation" (p. 225). This dynamic reflects broader patriarchal and colonial imaginaries, in which femininity is associated with innocence and masculinity with threat. As a result, displaced men might be excluded from narratives of vulnerability and care, despite often facing severe trauma and material insecurity. These gendered logics of deservingness not only shape public opinion and media representation but also have material consequences, influencing access to support systems and access to protection.

To sum it up: The bodies of refugees are strongly racialised, faithed, and gendered (Burrel & Hörschelmann, 2018). Narratives of fear and politics of securitisation further impact the framing of refugees along racialised lines (Korac, 2020), which results in processes of othering and impacts who is seen as a 'deserving refugee' in need of protection, and who is considered a threat.

2.3. Selective Solidarity

"We can only act in solidarity if we constantly re-categorise ourselves, listen and check whether our own positioning makes sense. This requires self-critique and an evaluation of our own biases: do we believe the representation of a conflict because it fits into our worldview? Our perception - and with

it, the basis of our acts of solidarity - is probably always ideological and motivated by identity, and solidarity is not necessarily progressive or morally correct." - Moshtari Hilal, 2024

In the previous parts, this literature review examined the discursive framing of displaced people through a lens of deservingness and racialised othering. In this part, another intertwined topic is analysed, namely differences in expressions of solidarity. The concept of solidarity can be defined in many different ways and is still contested in academia (Bauder & Juff, 2019). Reviewing all aspects of the "complex, multi-dimensional and normative" (Saidani & Ortega-Pérez, 2023, p. 138) concept of solidarity is way beyond the scope of this paper. In this thesis, solidarity is regarded as " a social value, political concept and legal principle that is discursively constructed in public contentions" (Cinalli et al., 2021, p. 5). The concept of solidarity seems to play a central yet deeply ambivalent role in European migration politics and discourses. While often invoked as a moral imperative or political principle, its application revealed stark inconsistencies, for example, when looking at the European political response to the Ukrainian mass displacement compared to the (non-)welcoming of asylum seekers from the Middle East (Paré, 2022). This illustrates what Paré terms 'selective solidarity' and seems to be underpinned by racialised and geopolitical logics of inclusion and exclusion. Moreover, the discourse on solidarity with migrants is strongly intertwined with public perceptions of deservingness: solidarity among the public is conditional and related to deservingness and the question of "who should get what and why" (Van Oorschot, 2000). Zogata-Kusz, Öbrink-Hobzová, and Cekiera (2023) research the social construction of Ukrainian refugees in Polish and Czech media following Van Oorschot's (2000) CARIN model: "if the public identifies some groups as deserving solidarity, it results from fulfilling specific criteria regarding **c**ontrol, **a**ttitude, **r**eciprocity, **i**dentity and **n**eed" (Zogata-Kusz et al., 2023, p. 2). Accordingly, impressions that shape perceptions of deservingness are relevant for encouraging solidarity among the public. Their findings show how in Polish and Czech media the discursive construction of displaced Ukrainians as mostly women in children facing a war they have no impact on, expressing both gratitude and potential reciprocity, with whom the public generally empathises and identifies - often supported through ethnocentric topics and portrayals - and who are much in need of support, fosters narratives of solidarity towards this particular group (Zogata-Kusz et al., 2023) The findings, moreover, indicate how the strong expression of solidarity with one particular group enables a society to maintain a positive and generous self-image, while rationalising the exclusion and refusal of support towards those who are othered on different grounds - a mechanism Zogata-Kusz, Öbrink-Hobzová, and Cekiera (2023) refer to as *hypothesis of constructed rationalisation of assistance*. In that sense, perceptions of deservingness seem to shape attitudes and sentiments of solidarity.

Based on the assumption that "solidarity is a social value, political concept and legal principle that is discursively constructed in public contentions" (Cinalli et al., 2021, p. 5), it is important to look into media narratives that express and shape how solidarity emerges in societies. The media play an essential role in fostering or hindering public solidarity towards refugees and migration (Cinalli et al., 2021; Kneuer et al., 2025) and, moreover, express political positions of solidarity (Gebauer, 2023). Gebauer (2023) analyses the differences between solidarity narratives in German media and finds important differences concerning the

framings of solidarity in the context of the mass displacement of 2015/16 compared to 2022. The analysis reveals how in 2015/16 diverging counter-narratives (such as pro-migration versus anti-migration) "competed for discursive hegemony" (Gebauer, 2023, p. 92), while in 2022 there was only one dominant framing of unconditional solidarity towards Ukrainians. In the summer of 2015, German 'culture of welcoming' dominated the media landscape, openly calling for solidarity with newly arriving refugees (Gebauer, 2023). However, during the course of autumn 2015 and definitely starting from winter 2016 onwards, anti-immigration, securitisation frames, and voices fearing the 'Islamisation' of Germany gained prominence. While there was a clear shift in the solidarity narratives in this case, the unconditional solidarity narrative towards Ukrainians remained unquestioned: the pro-Ukrainian narrative "quickly entered the mainstream and turned into a dominant master-narrative that even transcends national boundaries" (Gebauer, 2023, p. 109).

On the level of political discourse, Dück, Weisner, and Thevenin (2025) argue that solidarity has shifted from a humanitarian principle to a strategic political tool instrumentalised in response to geopolitical crises. Their analysis shows how solidarity became an "empty signifier" (Dück et al., 2025, p. 115) that enabled EU institutions to present a unified front while practising selective inclusion. The notion of solidarity became multidirectional and was mobilised in different divisions: solidarity was expressed with Ukraine as a European sovereign nation under attack, solidarity was voiced with the Ukrainian population as victims of war, and solidarity was mentioned as a form of European cohesion of EU member states to demonstrate opposition to Russia as a common enemy (Dück et al., 2025). In all three forms, the political discourse on solidarity had changed from 2015/16 to 2022; however, not in general but towards the Ukrainian situation in particular. This discursive transformation reflects a broader shift towards a "right to asylum à la carte" (Weisner & Courbon, 2022, as cited in Dück et al., 2025, p. 103), contingent on race, proximity, and geopolitical interests rather than universal human rights. As Varatharajah & Hilal (2024) aptly phrase it: "Solidarity with Ukraine had been declared a state doctrine. […] All the instruments of solidarity that are available to the state through political and diplomatic work were put into operation. And this commitment did not even follow the so-called universalism of rights and justice but the particularism of geopolitical formations" (p. 217). This is in line with Dück, Weisner, and Thevenin's (2025) discourse analysis of the drivers behind the exceptional solidarity with displaced Ukrainians: the results illustrate how the discursive construction of a *European Self*, the stressing of the vulnerability of the *Ukrainian Other*, as well as the perception of a violent and threatening *Russian Other* legitimised the European solidarity with Ukraine and its population. In their book *Hierarchies of Solidarity*, Varatharajah and Hilal (2024) analyse how solidarity that functions based on common identity markers is a form of selective solidarity that often primarily serves geopolitical agendas. In relation to racialised othering, the authors elaborate on how the solidarity of the predominantly white European population can be traced back to where they position themselves in the category of humans - a place in the hierarchy that is denied to those of non-European descent (Varatharajah & Hilal, 2024). According to the authors, "in the case of Ukraine, this historically formed paradigm is reduced to something banal as this: they can empathise with the pain of Ukrainians because they can locate themselves in their bodies" (Varatharajah & Hilal, 2024, p. 214). In that sense, the German discourse on

solidarity with Ukrainians would be based on perceived similarities and identity markers that result in increased empathy. D'Souza (2024) criticises empathy as a foundation for solidarity and centres a politics of care, based on a commitment to treat people as human beings deserve. The author calls out the 'trap of empathy' in movements of solidarity because survivors of atrocities are consequently forced to perform their trauma in a way that raises awareness. In a similar vein, Varatharajah and Hilal (2024) criticise how "European readings of violence and suffering" (p. 190) determine who is worthy of solidarity and who is not. In that way, a hegemonic understanding of lived experiences dominates the distribution of empathy and thereby solidarity (Varatharajah and Hilal, 2024). With regards to the media discourse on migrant deservingness, this implies that portraying some displaced people as individuals similar to the majority of the population, whilst centring their pain and loss, in contrast to portraying other displaced people as a rather undifferentiated mass distant from what one could identify or empathise with, might impact the encouragement of solidarity.

In sum, the concept of solidarity within the European migration discourse reveals selective patterns, contingent on constructions of identity, proximity, and geopolitical interests. While solidarity is often presented as a moral or human imperative, its actual application in political, public, and media discourse suggests a pattern of hierarchical inclusion. The contrasting responses to the 2015/16 refugee movements and the 2022 Ukrainian displacement illustrate this shift: solidarity has been stressed and extended more readily to those perceived as proximate in terms of racialisation and culture, while others were subjected to securitised, conditional, or exclusionary treatment. As scholars (i.e., Paré, 2022; Gebauer, 2023; Dück, Weisner, & Thevenin, 2025) argue, this selective solidarity reinforces existing power structures and undermines the universality of the asylum right. Solidarity, thereby, has become a discursive tool used as a strategic instrument, shaped by identity and geopolitical agendas. This layered nature of solidarity forms the ground for the following analysis, which turns to the specific discursive mechanisms and their implications.

3. Methodology

3.1. Rationale

Over the past decade, scholarly work on the representation of refugees in German media has proliferated (Eberl et al., 2018). Many of these studies deal with these representations through methods such as content, thematic, and frame analysis. These methodological approaches do, however, not offer a comprehensive way of critically investigating the interrelatedness of socio-linguistic aspects of media representations, their production and consumption, as well as the social structures of power and ideology they are embedded within. In an attempt to address this lacuna, this research proposes the adoption of an analytical framework that combines Critical Discourse Analysis with Frame Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis is located at the intersection of "language/discourse/speech and social structure [...] [with the purpose of] uncovering ways in which social structure impinges on discourse patterns, relations and models" (Blommaert & Blacaen, 2000,

p. 448). These features make it a tool uniquely suited for the aim of this study. The use of CDA, Omrow (2018) argues, is complemented well by the use of a Frame Analysis. By providing a tool to analyse the meaning-making of frames in discourses, CDA can be integrated with theoretical insights on the subject that are operationalised into analytical frames, or, as Fairclough calls it, "constructing [...] [the research] object" (p. 167). CDA and Frame Analysis, thus, provide a complementary pair of methods that are aligned with the aims of this research.

Similar to the choice of the analytical framework, the dataset for analysis was chosen to both build on existing research and suit the aims of this research. Previous studies have focused on both print and digital media, often in a comparative approach (Holzberg et al., 2018). What has, however, been missing thus far is an in-depth analysis of comparatively left-leaning media outlets. Selecting the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* not only addressed this gap, but was also a suitable fit due to its relevance in the German media landscape as one of the most highly circulated weekly newspapers. Four time frames - two for Syrian and Ukrainian refugees each - were chosen based on a consideration of the salience of the news coverage and events that impacted discourse at the time. Guided by CDA and Frame Analysis, an initial overview of a large, preliminary set of articles was followed by a close reading of a selection of a total of 26 articles. The analysis examined how the use of frames and language constructed refugees as deserving or undeserving. In a final comparison between both groups, similarities and differences between the groups were discussed and evaluated in the context of the notion of selective solidarity.

In the following, I will give a comprehensive overview of the methodological foundations and the concrete steps the conduct of the analysis followed. I begin with a detailed discussion of Fairclough's (1995) CDA, Frame Analysis according to Goffman (1974) and Entman (1993), and how these are integrated with theoretical insights from chapter two. Subsequently, I detail how data was collected for the analysis and which principles this process followed. Next, I explain how this data was treated for analysis following Fairclough's (2001) suggestions. Lastly, I will reflect on my own position as a researcher vis-a-vis the research and the limitations of my approach.

3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis & Framing

3.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

The research presented in this thesis relies heavily on the conceptualisation of Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1997, 1995, 2000, 2001), which is supplemented with a Framing Analysis that follows Erving Goffman (1974) and Robert Entman (1993). In the following, I describe these approaches and how they are combined to inform the design of this research. Subsequently, I operationalise theoretical concepts introduced in chapter and outline how they are incorporated in the analytical framework of this research. At this point, it needs to be emphasised that Fairclough's framework is an exhaustive toolbox for CDA from which some parts are indispensable for any given application of CDA, while others may be adopted or neglected. The following is not a comprehensive look at all of what

Fairclough's approach has to offer, but, for the sake of clarity, a focused discussion of the aspects that will be of relevance for the purpose of the analysis in this thesis.

Critical Discourse Analysis as a theory, method, and field of study emerged in the late 1980's, merging Critical Linguistics with fields of inquiry such as Social Theory and Critical Theory, among others. It was advanced by its most prominent figureheads, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun van Dijk, who all represented different schools of CDA - the British, the Viennese, and the Dutch, respectively (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). They share a social constructivist epistemological approach, a perspective on the production of knowledge which posits that knowledge and reality are not fixed and objectively observable but constructed through social practices (Fairclough, 2008, p. 15). CDA, in this sense, is concerned with uncovering how language is employed to produce and reproduce social relations of power. In Wodak's (1995; 1997) words, it is used to investigate "structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control" (Wodak, 1995, p. 204) by studying "real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form" (Wodak, 1997, p. 173). The purpose of CDA, it can be summarised, is thus to analyse texts, the manner in which they are produced and consumed, and the social and historical contexts within which they are situated in order to lay bare underlying dynamics of power within social relations.

The method developed by Fairclough (1995) is, according to Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000), arguably the most comprehensive framework. According to him, CDA is dialectical, transdisciplinary, and can be conceptualised along a three level model. In Fairclough's work, the word discourse is employed in two distinct ways. In the first instance, he refers to texts, for example, the social practice of language. Such texts are not limited to written or spoken words, but include other "cultural artefacts [...] [such as] a picture, a building, or a piece of music" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4) - in short, any instance of symbolic interaction. This kind of discourse Fairclough also calls *semiosis*. The second instance of discourse is understood as a constituent of a particular social perspective, such as refugee discourse or domestic policy discourse (Fairclough, 2001). The elements under analysis that make up the whole of the social process - semiosis, discourse, and others such as "social relations, power, institutions, beliefs and cultural values" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 163) are in a dialectical relationship to each other. This means that they are "in part semiotic [...] [and] internalize semiosis without being reducible to it" (p. 163). Or, put simply: a text is shaped by its social context and vice versa.

CDA, according to Fairclough (2001), is inherently transdisciplinary. This does not merely refer to its origins but more so to the way in which it is applied in research. In his eyes, CDA offers a flexible general method which can, however, not readily be applied without a theoretical integration which he calls the "process of constructing [...] [the research] object" (p. 167). The method of CDA must, therefore, be combined with a theoretical framework through which the phenomenon under investigation can be understood.

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Figure 1: Three-Level Framework (Fairclough, 1995)
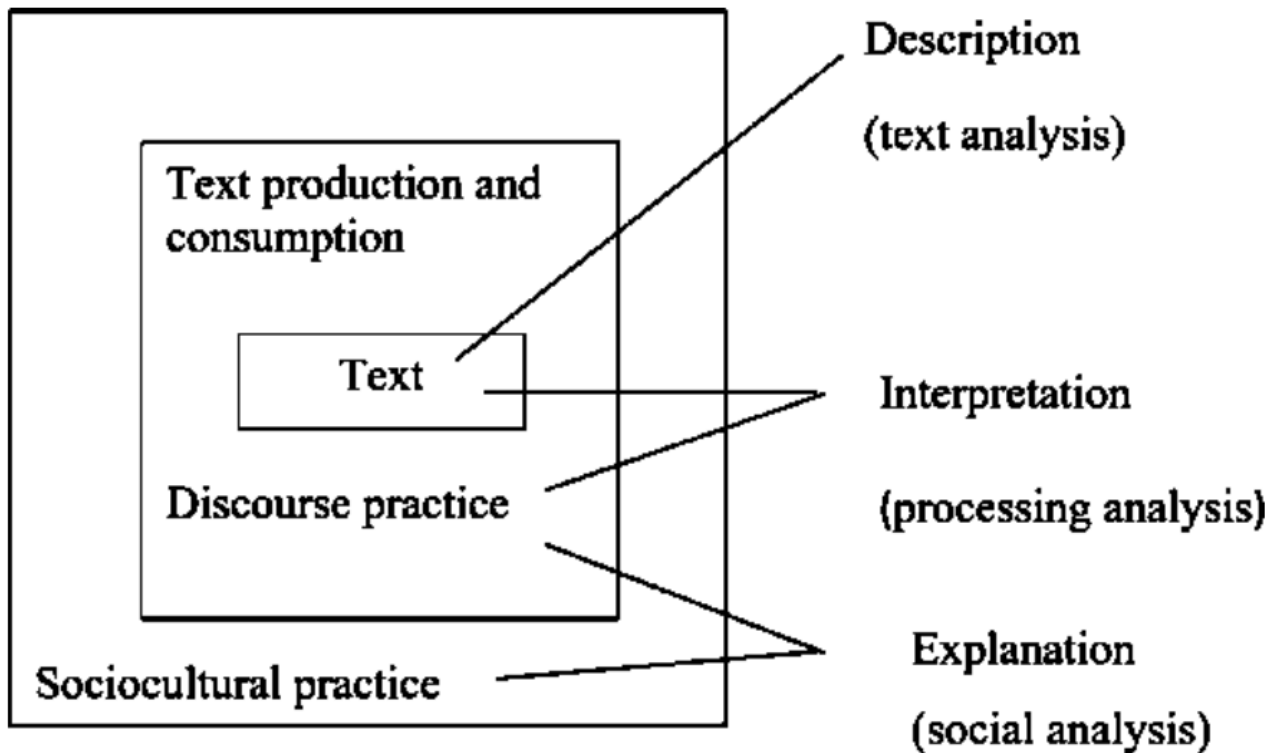
At the core of Fairclough's (1995) approach to CDA is a three-level framework spanning the micro level (text), the meso level (discourse practices), and the macro level (sociocultural practice). According to him, "Discourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is seen as simultaneously (i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice at a number of levels; in the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organization, and at a societal level" (p. 97) (see *Figure 1*). While a CDA usually investigates all three levels of discourse, the particular emphasis within and across the levels is determined by the specific requirements of the research design and case study at hand. At the first level, analysis is primarily concerned with the text itself, its linguistic features, arguments, genre, and structure (Fairclough, 1995). After establishing the genre of text and discourse, he explains, one can move to adopting more specific categories of linguistic analysis. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) cite choices and patterns in the vocabulary (i.e., wording, metaphor), grammar (i.e., transivity, modality), cohesion (i.e., conjunction, schemata), and structure (i.e., episoding, turn-taking system)" (p. 448) as the possible targets of analysis. This serves the purpose of providing an understanding of the contents of a text and how they are conveyed, and establishing the position and attitude of the author with respect to the subject at hand. At the second level, the analysis turns towards the discursive practices by focusing on how a text "is produced, circulated, distributed, [and] consumed in society" (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000, p. 448). Following Fairclough (1995), of particular interest are discourse processes, institutional processes, and interpretative processes. These categories are concerned with the established "rules" of how a given text is produced and consumed, editorial processes revolving around questions such as who gets to author a text or who gets quoted, and the manner in which an audience

interprets a text, respectively. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) further stress the importance of intertextuality which is, generally speaking, the manner in which a text refers to other texts. This could be done by immediately quoting or more subtly referencing a text. Overall, the meso level serves a key purpose in the dialectical relationship between the three levels of CDA by mediating between micro and macro levels, and informs us about the circumstances of production and consumption. At the third level, analysis is dedicated to social practices which, according to Fairclough (1995), revolve around hegemony and ideology. This means moving beyond the discursive elements - the text and its production and consumption - towards non-discursive elements such as social structures or communicative events. In doing so, we understand the constant power struggles around belief-systems - ideologies - and who gets to define them - hegemony - as an interrelated, i.e., dialectical, process of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). This macro view of discourse lays bare the large-scale social, cultural, historical, and economic context within which texts are embedded and shows how, when conceived through CDA, the largest and the smallest scales mutually shape each other and, ultimately, produce our social reality.

3.2.2. Frame Analysis

Although, in line with the dialectical nature of discursive and sociocultural practices in CDA, Frame Analysis relates to all levels of CDA, it is particularly interlinked with its macro level. While both methods can be applied on their own, they are closely related and, according to Omrow (2018), "no undertaking of CDA is complete without a reference to frame analysis" (p. 15). As an analytical concept, the origins of Framing Analysis are within the fields of sociology and psychology, and its initial formalisation is generally attributed to Erving Goffman (1974). He understands frames as "schemata of interpretation" which help us make sense of "events - at least social ones - and our subjective involvement in them" (p. 10). Similarly, Robert Entman (1993) describes frames as representations of our perceived reality that usually include a "problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p. 52). By paying attention to which information is included, emphasised, or omitted in a given text, we understand how a subject is framed. According to Omrow (2018), Frame Analysis matches particularly well with CDA as it helps investigate "how discursive practices are situated in matrices of hegemonic power [...] by understanding frames as mechanisms of hegemonic control employed by the powerful" (p. 15). Using Frame Analysis in combination with a CDA allows a comprehensive analysis of how different frames are constructed and disseminated through discursive and social practices with the goal of perpetuating or challenging certain social structures of power, ideology, and hegemony.

3.3. Operationalisation of Theory

Having established the conceptual underpinnings of the design for this research, I will move on to detailing how these concepts will be used in conjunction with theoretical insights from chapter two to conduct the analysis. In essence, the application of theory in the analysis is done in two distinct steps. In the first, theories

of othering and deservingness are operationalised into six different frames. The use of these frames and their discursive dimensions will be investigated in four separate case studies with regard to how they construct (un-)deservingness of particular refugee groups. In the second, the notion of selective solidarity serves as a lens through which differences between the constructed deservingness of the different refugee groups can be made sense of.

The six analytical frames that were derived from the review of scholarship on the concepts of racialised othering and deservingness are *humanitarian*, *legal*, *cultural differences*, *othering*, *economic*, and *security*. Each frame has a distinct set of characteristics which the coding process followed. Humanitarian frames are associated with depictions of individuals or groups as relatable and worthy of empathy and compassion, and the underlying ethical and moral considerations (Welfens, 2023). Legal frames revolve around the role of legal dimensions of asylum, such as the particular status a person is assigned in the asylum system (Ravn et al, 2020). Frames of cultural difference are concerned with the compatibility or lack thereof between two separate cultural groups and relates to aspects such as language, religion, values, ethics, or ideologies (Welfens, 2023). Othering frames are marked by the construction of a divide between an 'us' and a 'them' that is usually built upon Orientalist tropes of a civilised, enlightened group that is in opposition to an uncivilised, backwards one. It is important to note that the frames of cultural differences and othering have a degree of overlap and that cultural differences are often used discursively as a proxy for race (Popovic & Welfens, 2025). Economic frames revolve around questions of work and employment, the government's budget and its social services, or the overall impact of a subject on the economic well-being of an actor or entity (Welfens, 2023). Lastly, security frames with domestic and foreign security, threats to individuals, entities, or constructed communities, and the role of the executive branch (Welfens, 2023).

The frames allow for an initial analysis of the depiction of refugees in *Die Zeit,* and, in conjunction with the three-level CDA framework, provide a foundation from which to establish how a refugee group is constructed as deserving or undeserving at a given point. Deservingness is understood as the construction of who is considered worthy of rights, access to resources, or solidarity. It is not constituted by given qualities, but rather a socially and politically negotiated judgement, which depends on the particular circumstances. However, in previous research, notions of humanitarianism, securitisation, and integration prospects (Welfens, 2023) as well as legal, economic, and moral considerations (Ravn et al., 2020) have been regarded as crucial for the construction and perception of deservingness.

The concept of selective solidarity serves to understand why groups are framed differently at different times and why some are considered more deserving than others. It highlights the procedural nature of solidarity and its fluctuation over time. Above all, however, it stresses the unequal, non-universal distribution of solidarity: who receives solidarity is often discursively constructed (Paré, 2022).

3.4. Data Collection

While studies comparable to the one presented in this thesis have already established the framing of and discourse on refugees' deservingness in politics (Popovic & Welfens, 2025) as well as in conservative and right-leaning tabloids (Holzberg et al., 2018), none have investigated a media outlet that is perceived as left-leaning in depth. For this reason, a comprehensive analysis of the print edition of *Die Zeit* was chosen to address this gap in the existing literature. *Die Zeit* is one of the most-read weekly newspapers in Germany; it is generally considered progressive and left-leaning and is geared towards an academic audience (Maurer & Reinemann, 2006). It is published on a weekly basis every Thursday and, in the years relevant for this analysis, had a circulation of 511.806 (2015), 504.331 (2016), and 623.133 (2022) (Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V., 2025). While in 2015 and 2016 *Bild am Sonntag* had a higher circulation than *Die Zeit*, by 2022 *Die Zeit* had surpassed *Bild am Sonntag*, making it the weekly newspaper with the highest circulation in Germany at the time (Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern e.V., 2025).

Table 1: Overview Selected Articles

	Total	**Preselection**	**Close Reading**
September 2015	72	16	8
January 2016	78	16	7
March 2022	91	10	6
Sept./Oct. 2022	40	10	5

The initial search for articles was done via the subscription-based online version of the weekly edition of *Die Zeit* (not to be confused with its subscription-based online version of online-only articles) using keyword queries. The set of keywords used for all cases was "Geflüchtete", "Flüchtlinge", "Flucht", "Flüchtlingskrise", "Migration", "Immigration", "Immigrant*innen", "Asyl", "Syrien", "Ukraine". From here, a first impression of the overall tone and amount of coverage on Syrian and Ukrainian refugees across different years was established. In combination with the knowledge of specific events that drove coverage of the respective refugee groups, timeframes relevant for analysis were continuously narrowed down until a set of four one-month periods emerged, two for each group: September 2015; January 2016; March 2022; and

September/October 2022[3]. The four events around which this selection was based were (1) the initial arrival of Syrian refugees in Germany and a pivotal speech delivered by then-chancellor Angela Merkel in the end of August 2015; (2) incidents of mass violence during the 2015 New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne that sparked a moral panic towards Arab men; (3) the outbreak Russian invasion of Ukraine and subsequent activation of the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) in February 2022; and (4) a reproachful statement by chancellor candidate Friedrich Merz regarding Ukrainian refugees in the end of September 2022, indicating a shift in the public and political discourse. Once the timeframes were set, a complete overview of all articles that were considered relevant following the keyword queries was established separately for each month (see Appendices A; B; C; D). Through a combination of an initial coding of headlines described in more detail in the following section and an immersion in the data set, a preliminary selection of articles for close reading was made: for September 2016, 16 articles; for January 2016, 16 articles; for March 2022, 10 articles; and for September/October 2022, 10 articles. The final selection of articles followed a methodological principle used in CDA called theoretical saturation (Saunders et al., 2018). Following this principle, a dataset is complete and further addition is unnecessary if new data would not provide any additional, relevant insights with regard to the research question. Thus, a final sample of articles emerged as a function of conducting the analysis (that will be detailed in the next chapter), which can be seen in *Table 1*. In line with Saunders et al. (2018), the goal was not to have a sample of articles for each case study that was of equal size, but the different sample sizes are rather a result of following the principle of theoretical saturation, as well as the different frequencies at which *Die Zeit* published articles relevant to the research in the respective timeframes.

3.5. Data Analysis

In order to provide a comprehensive answer to the research question as well as each sub-question, the analysis commenced in three distinct steps, where one step is informed by the results generated from the previous step. The first step established a general overview of the complete datasets of all four case studies by analysing headlines and basic data such as number, length, and genre of articles. It served the purpose of identifying dominant frames as well as trends within and across case studies, as well as aiding the selection of articles for close reading. The second step entailed an analysis of texts selected for close reading guided by CDA and Frame Analysis. It provided insights into the question of how discursive and sociocultural practices produced frames that cast refugee groups as deserving or undeserving. In the final step, the comparison of the results from steps one and two were compared to identify similarities and differences between the reporting on the two groups. This comparison provided a perspective on how and why solidarity towards refugee groups can be enacted in a selective manner.

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[3] Again, a timeframe of four weeks, during which four editions were published, was chosen in autumn 2022. In this case, however, instead of selecting one whole month, I considered it more reasonable to select the last September edition and the following three October editions based on the development of the discourse.

All analysis conducted for this thesis was done in German. This decision was made not only for practical reasons since an accurate translation of all articles would have been disproportionately ressource-intensive. Moreso, this choice was made in order to assure that no linguistic nuance in the texts under investigation was lost - a crucial aspect of CDA. As a native German speaker, I am adequately equipped to perform an analysis of German text. All citations in this thesis made from newspaper articles from my dataset are my own translations. Most citations are presented only in their English translation, whereas some words or phrases that have a particular discursive significance in their specific wording are quoted in their original German version before a translation is provided.

The datasets used for the initial analysis of article headlines and other basic information related to the articles were based on the keyword queries within the four selected timeframes. These came out to 72 articles in September 2015, 78 articles in January 2016, 91 articles in March 2022, and 40 articles in September/October 2022 for a total of 281 articles. The article headlines were deductively coded for their use of the six frames operationalised in section 3.3.: humanitarian; legal; security; cultural, othering; economic. To accommodate the difference in the cases between the Syrian and the Ukrainian group, further differentiation for the humanitarian, cultural, othering, and economic frames was added to indicate whether the frame was used with a positive or negative connotation and which group the frame referred to. This produced a total of eight frames for the Syrian group and ten for the Ukrainian group. Further, the articles were coded for their length, distinguishing between short (<500 words), medium (<1000 words), and long articles (>1000 words). Lastly, articles were classified according to the section of the newspaper in which they were published. This first analytical step served as a precursor to the major parts of the analysis carried out in steps two and three. It indicated broad trends in attitudes towards the two groups, from what perspective they were reported on, how many resources were put towards this reporting, and how these different metrics changed over time. Finally, this overview provided a basis from which to draw on for the preliminary selection of the articles for the close-reading in step two.

The second analytical step began with a preliminary selection of 16 articles for September 2016, 16 articles for January 2016, 10 articles for March 2022, and 10 articles for September/October 2022. Throughout the course of this analytical step, they were narrowed down to a final total of eight, seven, six, and five articles, respectively. Coding of the articles was done through two distinct yet intertwined processes of coding. One process coded articles deductively along the lines of operationalised theory to identify the use of framing. The other applied the three-level CDA framework of Fairclough (1995). When conducting a CDA, Fairclough (2001) explains, "'steps' or 'stages' in the methodology [...] are not interpreted in a mechanical way" (p. 167). This means that no set order must be followed in the execution of the analysis but rather, in keeping with its dialectical nature, steps can be conducted in an iterative back-and-forth between steps as well as simultaneously. Applied to the analysis for this thesis, this meant starting out with an initial round of coding that focused on establishing the use of frames within all texts. With regard to the three-level framework, this meant focusing on the sociocultural level at first. Once this first impression was established, the focus shifted to analysis of semiosis as well as discursive practices. For the analysis of semiosis,

particular attention was paid to the use of figurative language, choice in vocabulary, argumentation, appeals to authority, and syntax. The analysis of discursive practices had a focus on editorial choices such as who gets to author articles, which people and texts are cited (intertextuality), which article genres were employed, and what is absent from texts, as well as how these choices influenced the readers' consumption and reception. In line with Fairclough's (2001) suggestions, these categorical choices were not predetermined but gradually emerged from an immersion in the data through the process of analysis. At this stage, coding usually took place simultaneously at all three analytical levels. Gradually, connections were drawn between the levels, and their dialectical relationships were established. Eventually, a point of theoretical saturation (Saunders et al., 2018) was reached, at which sufficient data had been gathered and analysed to provide comprehensive answers to the research question and at which further addition of articles yielded no new insights. Subsequently, the analysis of each case was organised into a coherent structure. While Fairclough (2001) suggests that the order of his three-level framework is useful to establish an order for "writing a paper - other [...] factors will affect the order in which one presents one's analysis" (p. 167). Following this recommendation, the structure of the presentation of the analysis is grouped by frames. Each of the four case studies follows a unique order that emerged from the analytical process. Here, the discursive construction of the frames is discussed in the context of the three-level model, exploring their interrelated and dialectical nature. Despite their individually somewhat different structures, consistency and comparability between the cases are ensured due to the rigorous adherence to the analytical methods previously laid out. After their presentation, the two cases from each the Syrian and the Ukrainian group are compared, in order to understand how the framing of each group in *Die Zeit* may have changed over the course of time and what this effect had on the construction of their deservingness.

The third and last step of the analysis presents a final comparison between the results from the Syrian and the Ukrainian group. This chapter highlights the differences and similarities in reporting between the two groups and contextualises them within the theoretical framework. Here, insights about framing, deservingness, and their changes over time are discussed in the context of the notion of selective solidarity.

3.6. Limitations & Positionality

Relative to quantitative methods, the use of qualitative methods, such as CDA, for analysis moves the individual researcher more into the centre of attention. As a highly subjective and selective method, individual positionality, personal biases, and other factors come into play when reflecting upon the quality of the research that has been conducted. Therefore, it is imperative to centre these aspects and discuss questions concerning the reliability, generalisability, and validity of the research (Mason, 2018).

To begin, it is important to acknowledge that any qualitative research is, according to Fairclough (2013), a subjective endeavour as it requires the granular interpretation of, in this case, text through the researcher. This absence of objective truths is inherent to constructivist epistemic notions common to CDA. The researcher is never outside and unaffected by the discourse they are analysing, Wodak and Meyer (2001)

explain. As a German citizen, I personally lived through the events and reporting that are at the centre of this thesis. My analysis is therefore coloured by my biases acquired by being 'inside' the relevant discourses on refugees in Germany. Further, CDA, by its nature, is problem-driven and focuses on social wrongs (Fairclough, 2001), which implies the existence of a normative evaluation of discursive and sociocultural processes not only during the analysis but even before it is conducted in order to identify said problems and social wrongs. In my specific case, I identified the racialised othering and selective solidarity in discourses around refugees as a problem worthy of detailed analysis. In acknowledging my personal positionality and biases, and considering its narrow and specific scope, it is fair to conclude that the research at hand may not lend itself to wider generalisability.

Despite these limitations, this research does, however, still make a valuable contribution and adheres to standards of validity and reliability. Generally, I attempted to make the process of this research as transparent as possible by detailing all steps, the rationale and decisions that accompanied them, and supplementing all claims and arguments with substantial (textual) evidence. By following a rigorous methodological process that was guided by existing approaches of CDA and Framing Analysis, and the conceptualisation of adequate concepts, I ensured that my research was "observing, identifying or 'measuring'" (Mason, 2018, p. 39) what set out to - essentially the key criterion for validity in research. While qualitative research does not offer the processes of "standardization of research "instruments" and "tools"" (p. 39), reliability can be demonstrated by providing evidence that the analysis was "thorough, careful, honest and accurate" (p. 188). By not making a claim about having generated a perfectly reproducible, objectively 'true' result, but rather one that is reasonable and has internal cohesion, accuracy in the analytical process is achieved. This criterion is fulfilled in this thesis by supplementing the analysis with a detailed description and reasoning for all steps and underlying choices and ample evidence for all conclusions that are drawn from it.

4. Analysis

4.1 Headlines & Article Meta Data

The analysis of headlines of all articles related to the refugees from Syria and Ukraine, respectively, provided an overview of trends in reporting across the different time frames, which is summarised in *Table 2* and *Table 3*. It allows me to draw conclusions about resources that were put towards the subject, the perspectives from which they were discussed, how they were framed, and, finally, how these all changed over time, and compare between the two groups.

The number of total articles published per month on Syrian refugees remains relatively stable across September 2015 and January 2016 at 72 and 78 pieces each. Initial reporting on Ukrainian refugees received even more attention at 91 articles published in March of 2022, but dropped to less than half in September and

October of the same year at only 40. The distribution of shares of short, medium, and long articles is relatively balanced in September 2015 (23; 20; 29) and remains at a comparative level in the January 2016 editions (28; 25; 25). In contrast, reporting on Ukrainian refugees skews quite heavily towards long format articles in both March 2022 (12; 31; 48) and September/October 2022 (7; 6; 25) despite the significant drop in total articles. Articles appeared on the title page six and seven times in September 2015 and January 2016, respectively, compared to eight times in March 2022 and five times in September/October 2022. The distribution of article totals, article length, and number of title stories across the four months indicates an outstanding initial interest in both Syrian and Ukrainian, with the most attention reserved for the latter group. The comparative drop in attention for Ukrainian refugees, however, is a stark contrast to the sustained scope of the coverage of Syrian refugees. While this difference is certainly owed, in part, to the New Year's Eve events that dominated the January 2016 coverage, it may also be rooted in additional differences in attitudes towards the respective groups that will be further addressed in the upcoming chapters. Despite the drop in total articles, Ukrainian refugees are consistently reported on in much more detail than Syrian refugees, as indicated by the comparatively much greater share of long articles. These may indicate underlying editorial interests to provide more detail about one group, to give the reader the chance to know the people from a group better, and make it easier to relate to them and vice versa.

Table 2: Summary Articles on Syrian Refugees Coded

		September 2015	**January 2016**
Total		72	78
Length	Short	23	28
	Medium	20	25
	Long	29	25
Frames	Humanitarian	22	4
	Legal	10	10
	Security POS	7	1
	Security NEG	23	49
	Cultural Differences	18	28
	Othering	21	24
	Economic POS	10	2
	Economic NEG	5	10

Table 3: Summary Articles on Ukrainian Refugees Coded

		March 2022	**Sept./Oct. 2022**

Total		91	40
Length	Short	12	7
	Medium	31	6
	Long	48	25
Frames	Humanitarian UKR	21	5
	Humanitarian RUS	4	2
	Legal	0	0
	Security UKR	0	4
	Security RUS	53	24
	Cultural Differences	8	4
	Other UKR	4	1
	Othering RUS	35	11
	Economic POS	5	4
	Economic NEG	19	1

The framing of Syrian refugees in September 2015 was mixed insofar as it portrayed them both in positive and negative terms. On one hand, the humanitarian, legal, economic, and positive security frames were used to cast them as people deserving of receiving shelter in Germany. On the other, cultural and othering frames were employed to portray Syrian refugees as (too) different from German society and culture, while negative security frames and economic frames created the impression of an outright threat. Reporting in January 2016 saw a clear shift towards frames with negative associations towards Syrian refugees. While the use of the legal frame remained at the same rate, the humanitarian and positive economic frames were barely present anymore. In comparison, cultural and othering frames saw slight upticks, and negative economic and security frames saw a noticeable increase. When read in the context of the 2015 New Year's Eve events, the perspective on Syrian refugees subsequent to these events notably shifted. They were no longer primarily portrayed as deserving refugees but as immediate threats to the security and economy of German individuals and the country as a whole. Ukrainian refugees are primarily framed in humanitarian terms and in opposition to a Russian threat to Germany's security and economy across March 2022 and September/October 2022. In March 2022, frames that painted Ukrainians in humanitarian terms (21) were dominant alongside frames that painted Russia as a security (53) and economic (19) threat as well as the 'other' (35). On occasion, the economic benefits of Ukrainian refugees (5) were portrayed and the Russian population humanised (4). While Ukrainians continued to be framed through a humanitarian lens in September/October 2022, the frequency became much lower (5). Similarly, frames portraying Russia as an economic threat were almost entirely absent (1). The only frames that remained consistent in their frequency

were those casting Russia as a security threat (24) and the 'other' (11). The use of frames in March 2022 and September/October 2022 serves two principal purposes: it portrays the Ukrainian refugees as relatable and it pits them against a common enemy, Russia, which in turn allows for the formation of a shared sense of identity, ultimately painting them as deserving refugees. When comparing the framing of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, a number of differences emerge. While the overall framing of the former shifts from rather positive to overwhelmingly negative, the latter are consistently framed in a positive light. Another striking difference is the construction of a shared sense of identity with Ukrainian refugees that is nearly entirely absent with Syrian refugees. Where Ukrainians are absorbed into an 'us' that stands opposed to a Russian 'them', Syrians are cast as 'the other' in relation to Germany. It is also worth noting that Russia was not only responsible for the displacement of Ukrainian refugees but also played a vital role in that of Syrian refugees. Nonetheless, they find no mention in article headlines from September 2015 and January 2016.

Overall, the initial comparison of coverage on the Syrian and Ukrainian refugees indicates some similarities and, perhaps more notably, differences. Both share an initially positive reception, which is turned on its head in the case of Syrian refugees in January 2016, whereas Ukrainian framing remains, largely, positive despite some challenges. The attention paid to Syrian refugees is very high across both case studies, while it drops significantly for Ukrainian refugees in September/October 2022, after being initially very high in March 2022. This stands in contrast to the comparatively longer formats in reporting used for Ukrainian refugees in comparison to Syrian refugees. These first insights serve as an initial overview of reporting on Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. The following chapter presents the results of close-reading of the selected articles and a final comparison of the two groups.

4.2. Syrian Refugees

4.2.1 September 2015

In the four *Die Zeit* issues published in September 2015, we are confronted with an overall rather deserving figure of the Syrian refugee. This is supported by the heavy use of humanitarian and economic frames. While these can be considered the dominant shaping forces of the discourse around the deservingness of Syrian refugees at the time, they are, nevertheless, contrasted by a combination of frames that cast doubt on the optimism they convey. A combination of othering, security, and economic frames challenges the figure of a benevolent refugee deserving of Germany's shelter.

4.2.1.1 The Deserving Syrian Refugee: Humanitarian, Economic, and Solidarity Frames

If one seeks to find a point of departure from which to understand German media discourse around Syrian refugees and their deservingness in 2015, starting with the country's "Mutti"[4] appears appropriate. In a sense, this discourse, as much as anything, is influenced by a single person and three words uttered in an August 31st press conference. Merkel or her credo - "Wir schaffen das" ("We can do it") - are not necessarily quoted in every article reviewed from September 2015, yet they appear to be ever-present, hovering over the discourse. It is, essentially, the key intertextual reference point for Syrian refugee discourse without requiring frequent explicit mention. The decisive and positive outlook transported by her statement is integral for the two main frames through which Syrian refugees' deservingness is constructed. It is part of the narrative of national redemption that is, in this context, key to the humanitarian frame. Likewise, it helps frame taking on refugees as both economically feasible and beneficial due to Germany's fiscal preparedness. That is not to say it is all about her. As will be detailed in the following chapter, there are other actors who impact the framing of the discourse, individual and institutional alike. They construct arguments around moral imperatives, national identity, and economic opportunities, and delineate the criteria for solidarity. These arguments are presented across different genres of newspaper articles and supported by the deliberate use of language.

The construction of the humanitarian frame in the reporting on Syrian refugees follows two distinct yet interrelated considerations. The first revolves around the perception of Syrian refugees as worthy of our "empathy" (Schnabel, 2015, p. 55) while the second deals with the self-image of Germans. It is, however, notable that the former is much rarer than the latter and that said empathy is, if brought up, usually always done so in conjunction with a reference to German people or their positive economic potential. An example of this is van Randow's (2015) "They mean us!" title story which immediately addresses the reader - a rare use of such engaging, active language with regard to Syrian refugees - and describes them as "new citizens" who reached their "country of desire" and had to "pay lots of money" (van Randow, 2015, p.1) to get here. This is a fairly humanising depiction of Syrian refugees, employing emotionally charged language such as "country of desire", with whom the reader is supposed to empathise. But even this glowing portrayal of Syrian refugees is connected to a positive self-image of Germans who, when seeing the refugees, according to the author, more than anything saw their own reflection as "vulnerable humans" (p. 1). While comparatively subtle in this article, the imagining of the German people as a generous and empathetic one is consistent across articles and connected to notions of redemption for its sins. This is arguably best exemplified in Schnabel's (2015) article "Coalition of Empathy" that starts with an enumeration of historical events that are perceived as central to German national identity such as "the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 [...] [and] the football world cup 2006" (p. 33) to which he promptly adds the "summer of 2015" (p. 33) - a metaphor that was synonymous with the arrival of Syrian refugees in Germany. Using this enumeration and

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[4]Over her sixteen years as German chancellor, Merkel acquired the nickname "Mutti" ("Mommy"), which sympathetically cast her as, essentially, the patron of Germany - the country's "Mutti".

figurative language, the author weaves a narrative of national identity that is forged around compassion, into which Germany's supposedly selfless act of accepting refugees is integrated. There is, however, a somewhat unspoken premise in this and other articles that construct this narrative. This premise is hinted at, for example, when Schnabel declares that "mass-emotions used to be suspect to Germans for a long time" (p. 33). While not stating it outright, this will most likely be interpreted by German readers as a reference to Germany's past of national socialism. When coupled with the self-adulation of various authors who depict German people as naturally empathetic, the understanding of the humanitarian frame shifts. In a sense, the humanisation of Syrian refugees is more about the Germans' humanisation of themselves. To a degree, this can be interpreted in a Kantian sense, in the way that refugees become means to the German end of redeeming themselves from their own wrongdoings and overhauling their self-image by performing empathy towards and accepting Syrian refugees into their country. Thereby, the reception of Syrian refugees is not only framed as economically but also morally transactional.

The notion of redemption is, however, not only present in reflections on the past but also in a less cynical manner in reflections on the present. The dossier by Friedrich (2015), for example, discusses the role of Germany's armament of all war parties in Syria in a rather sober tone without explicit integration into narratives of national identity. Proclaiming that Syrians "flee from German rifles and rockets" (p. 15), it nonetheless appeals to the reader's sense of guilt (assuming they identify with Germany) and also creates an implicit dilemma between humanitarian considerations and economic ones. In comparison to the majority of other articles, Friedrich's does not strike a sensationalist tone and conveys a more nuanced message, but still perpetuates the same frame construction where empathy for Syrians is inextricably linked to Germany's reckoning with itself.

A standout among the articles in September 2015 is Avanessian's, which is essentially the only one that voices a comprehensive systemic critique of power. Although being a highly political article that provides a relevant counter-weight to the other reporting, it is notably buried far back in the paper on page 42 of the *Feuilleton* section. The author critiques the lack of actual humanisation of Syrian refugees for their own sake - not unlike what has been described in this analysis thus far - and challenges the idealised self-image of Germans as an empathetic people on their path to redemption. To convey his points, he flips the often-used metaphor of "Menschenschwärme" (p. 42) or "swarms of people" - usually reserved for fear-mongering towards refugees - and turns it into "Herrenmenschenschwärme" (p. 42), a neologism that roughly translates to "swarms of people of the master race". This neologism confronts the reader with the reality that a growing number of "concerned citizens" (p. 42) have started acting out their right-wing beliefs, expressing themselves, for example, by "burning down refugee shelters" (p. 42) at an increasing rate. Avenassian also uses irony when criticising "Christian and social discourses" (p. 42) that supposedly drive the answer to the question whether refugees deserve shelter when, in fact, the answer to these questions is, more often than not, driven by self-interest. Overall, the author offers a rare and sharply critical perspective on the deservingness discourse on displaced people.

This self-interest in the framing of Syrian refugees as a people deserving of shelter in Germany is also visible in the employment of the economic frame. While at some points, there is consideration as to how Syrian refugees can benefit economically from being in Germany, the main concern revolves around the inverse: how can the Syrian refugees benefit the German economy? A reference to the former can be found in an article by van Radow (2015), who proclaims that Syrian refugees will be able to benefit from the wealth of the German government. This reference to Syrian refugees, as is often the case, is immediately connected to one of German self-adulation, since these benefits are only available due to the "government balancing its budget so intelligently" (p. 1). His focus, however, quickly shifts towards their benefit for German society when he poses the rhetorical question whether its people have already realised how lucky they currently are. After "ruminating over the question of how it should address its demographic problem of an ageing society" (p. 1) - which, at its core, is understood as an economic one - Germany is now handed its solution "more through luck than good judgement" (p. 1). Using the metaphor of a "ruminating" country and the idiom "mehr Glück als Verstand" - "more luck than good judgement" - Germany is painted as a benevolent, bumbling fool that is forced into its luck. Any benefits that may be generated are portrayed as entirely incidental and by no means associated with any calculations and pre-meditated agenda.

This depiction stands in stark contrast to the framing of Syrian refugees as economic resources across most articles. This perspective is perfectly encapsulated in Leggewie's (2015) statement that employing refugees is the first step towards their integration" (p. 13). This declaration foregoes discussions about their humanity and other, possibly more important, considerations for their integration and reduces them to their ability to perform labour. Moreover, this portrayal of wage labour as a process to integrate into society perfectly illustrates Welfen's (2023) point of how cultural fit and economic potential are often indistinguishably intertwined in the deservingness discourse. By emphasising neoliberal ideals such as productivity and self-sufficiency, a lack of cultural similarities does not rule out integration prospects and thus, does not become an obstacle in an overall deserving impression. The perception of the Syrian refugee as a human resource is reinforced by Kingst (2015), who emphasises that many refugees are "well educated and ambitious [and] exactly what the German economy puts its hopes into" (p. 4), creating a rare association of Syrian refugees with positively connoted adjectives. This supposedly positive attribution exemplifies what Holzberg et al. (2018) call the framing of refugees as an "embodied economic opportunity" (p. 543). While seemingly positive, this form of economic framing paints the deservingness of Syrian refugees as a matter of economic contribution. The conditionality clearly reveals a differentiation between an in- and an outgroup (Holzberg et al., 2018). Rudzio (2015), too, makes use of a striking juxtaposition in his headline, writing that "Many Asylum Seekers are Looking for a Job - and German Businesses for Additional Labourers". Besides reducing Syrian refugees to their ability to labour again, this creates a clear, rhetorical connection between the two groups, underscoring both the supposed benefit to both sides as well as an implicit expectation towards them to perform labour.

Although at times the economic benefits that Syrian refugees might gain from being in Germany are part of the consideration, positive economic frames are primarily preoccupied with their ability to labour and

how this might benefit German society. Similarly, the humanitarian framing of Syrian refugees revolves more around narratives of German self-adulation, emphasising the Germans' empathy and willingness to redeem themselves, rather than the humanity and thus deservingness of those fleeing the Syrian war. Nonetheless, there is a strong sense of deservingness of Syrian refugees that is conveyed in the articles, albeit based around questions of German self-interest first, and questions around the humanity and suffering of Syrian refugees second.

4.2.1.2. The Syrian Refugee as a Potential Threat: Othering, Security, and Economic Frames

The framing of Syrian refugees in September 2015 as deserving is contrasted with a combination of more negatively connoted frames that convey the impression of a looming threat associated with their presence. They are cast as culturally different 'others' separate from the German people who may pose an economic and, more than anything, a domestic security threat. These frames do, basically, function on their own, but one can also observe certain connections between them. While the cultural differences serve as a foundation for and are intricately interwoven with the process of othering, they both contribute to the construction of Syrian refugees as a security threat. If one were to reduce the combined effects of these frames on the reader into one word, it would be fearmongering.

The interplay of cultural and othering frames is perfectly encapsulated in a comparison van Randow (2015) makes between previous groups who sought refuge in Germany in the postbellum period and the current one, proclaiming that previous groups "were culturally more similar to the established residents [...] [whereas] today's are not" (p. 1). The previous mass displacement described by the author refers to the predominantly inner-European mobility after World War II. This juxtaposition, without citing any concrete arguments or evidence, invites the reader to fill in the blanks as to what actually makes Syrian refugees different. In the German discourse on migration, culture is often used as a proxy for race (Popovic & Welfens, 2025). While citing cultural differences, the Syrian refugees are implicitly racially othered, as they stand in opposition to the German people as well as the supposedly culturally more similar groups it was previously able to absorb. In a different passage, the author draws a further distinction between the groups, othering Syrian refugees by painting an image of a civilised Occident - Germany - as opposed to an uncivilised Orient - Syria. He states that the latter will inevitably "bring ways of life that will create friction, as well as antisemitism, patriarchy, homophobia" (van Randow, 2015, p. 1), whereas "Germans have recently changed their attitude towards these issues, making conflict inevitable" (van Randow, 2015, p. 1). Syrians are presented as a somewhat homogenous group that represents cultural values incompatible with the German people, who have long overcome such attitudes. This contrast is supported linguistically by the use of the metaphor of "friction", underlining the differentiation between the groups, and implies the latent threat of escalation.

This implied latent threat is made more explicit in the use of the security frame. Building upon the construction of cultural differences and the Syrian refugee as the 'other' in opposition to a German 'us', a

variety of concrete threats to the security of individuals and the country alike are directly associated with Syrians. While van Randow's (2015) ominous-sounding euphemism that accepting Syrian refugees will "not just be fun and games" (p. 1) remains deliberately vague yet menacing, other authors are more blunt in their approach. An article by Hosan (2015) asks - equal parts concerned and provocative - the question: "Do More Refugees Lead to More Violence?" (p. 7). Having drawn the audience in with this rhetorical question, Hosan immediately delivers his not-so-covert response: "Sixteen wounded, one damaged refugee shelter, and a perplexed country - the record of a violent eruption among refugees in Thuringia last week. Approximately 20 men had attacked another man after he had allegedly ripped a page from a Koran." (p. 7). Although the author provides no straight "yes" or "no" response to his own question, he does so by rhetorically constructing an implicit chain of causality. Listing the record of damages incurred from the incident, he begins - as is common journalistic practice - by listing damage to persons ("sixteen wounded"), followed by damage to property ("damaged refugee shelter"). This list is, however, concluded by a reference to the "perplexed country" (p. 7) - directly implying that Germany as a whole, likewise, took damage. By linking the incitement of the altercation to damage to a Koran, the culprits are, without spelling it out, associated with Muslim faith. This leads the reader towards several conclusions. Muslims are culturally different people whose backwards ways suggest a violent disposition and, overall, the possibility of a general incompatibility with German culture. Although neither the words Muslim nor Syria are mentioned, the context of the rhetorical question in the headline and mentioning of the Koran allow the reader to draw immediate links. As a result, Syrian refugees and Muslims as a whole are associated with a threat to Germans on an individual level as well as to their society as a whole.

The security threats that Syrian refugees supposedly pose for Germany do, however, extend to facets other than immediate violence as well. In an article by three authors, who, interestingly, chose to stay anonymous by publishing under acronyms (AK, MK, & PED, 2015), the suspicion is sown as to whether all those claim to be from Syria actually are. The article employs a rhetorical 'trick' - or, in other words, disregards standards of journalistic reporting - to sway readers' emotions at the beginning of the article, summoning a threat that is not real (in the suggested dimensions). To this end, the authority of a Syrian refugee (who are rarely quoted and whose perspective is rarely directly heard) is (ab)used by quoting him saying that "honestly, only ten or twelve percent of those who are here are actually Syrian" (p. 6). The authors know this figure is completely false, but confront us with it at the opening of the article nonetheless. Further down in the article, an unnamed governmental agency confirms, however, that around 75% of refugees are, indeed, from Syria. This reporting, which is bordering on journalistic malpractice, becomes even more sinister when considering the role of the Syrian refugee quoted in this article in the context of reporting on them more broadly. *Die Zeit* usually tends to speak about Syrian refugees; however, rarely lets them speak and allows the reader to see things from their perspective. One of the few times they do, it is to use the person's perceived authority on the subject, to perpetuate a completely false figure in order to stoke fear about the very group that the person belongs to. As a result, Syrian refugees, who are portrayed as the only deserving refugees, are, nonetheless, framed as a security risk and a group towards which low trust and suspicion are warranted.

The framing of Syrian refugees as a security threat is also reflected in the choice of language used across the articles. Their arrival in Germany as well as the challenges it poses are described as a "Zustrom" ("inflow") and "Unbekanntes Gelände" ("uncharted territory") (van Rudow, 2015, p. 1). These metaphors associate Syrian refugees with imagery of nature and invoke the impression of an unstoppable process that carries uncertainty and yet unknown challenges. The refugees themselves are depicted as a "swarm" (Avenassion, 2015, p. 42) and described as "masses" (Leggewie, 2015, p. 13). This choice in language not only portrays them as something that is uniform and devoid of individuality, re-enforcing othering frames, but also as uncontrollable. These linguistic choices reflect an overall reductive and dehumanising discourse on Syrian refugees, which resembles what is already established in the literature (Eberl et al., 2018).

In order to understand how the frames are constructed discursively, arguments and language do not paint the entire picture. Instead, it is imperative to analyse who gets to speak and to what effect. Out of the eight articles chosen for this analysis, not a single one was penned by a female author only[5]. Only one article, with a total of fourteen authors, has authorship attributed to two women. Otherwise, the perspective of female authors appears to be entirely absent. The editorial reasons for this remain subject to speculation, but paint an imbalanced picture. Another striking editorial decision is the relative lack of Syrian voices and perspectives among the reporting. Rarely are they quoted in articles, and even rarer are articles that are written as human interest stories, which would let us relate to and understand Syrian refugees as human beings. Instead, they are more often spoken about or, as demonstrated earlier, their discursive authority may even be used for an author's agenda. This supports the portrayal of Syrian refugees as the 'other' onto whom various threats to the German people can be projected.

When considering the intertextuality of the articles, there appears to be a struggle between different authorities who get quoted and referenced to help us make sense of the situation and propose solutions to it. Perhaps most importantly, there is a push and pull between those who advocate for non-carceral solutions to address the perceived problems of security and those who prefer carceral solutions. The first side is represented by social workers, academics, and other researchers, as well as non-governmental organisations. They advocate for measures to integrate Syrian refugees actively, by offering opportunities to get to know the German language and culture (Klingst, 2015, p. 4). More than anything, however, they consider employment as the most sensible option. Once again, this illustrates, how in terms of migrant deservingness, cultural fit and economic potential are merged into one category of integration prospects (as proposed by Welfens, 2023). The second side is represented by actors associated with the security apparatus, primarily in the form of the German police, but on occasion Frontex as well, and provides us with carceral solutions to perceived security problems. In light of the aforementioned security frames, these authority choices do not come as a surprise: while securitisation discourse mobilises symbolic and linguistic tools to create the impression of an exceptional threat, it also generates the need for urgent political action (Balzacq, 2010). Thereby, securitisation combines the discursive establishment of a threat with suggestions of how to politically

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[5]The ascription of genders to authors represents my speculative assumptions based on the common interpretation of the respective person's name. Despite the speculative approach, I am confident that the interpretations, nevertheless, represent overall trends adequately.

manage that very threat (Balzacq et al., 2015). The discursive role of the police appears particularly pivotal and, therefore, warrants a closer look.

In half of the articles analysed, police play a key role in providing the reader with an understanding of the issue, acting as the authority that gets cited to make sense of a situation, and provide us with a solution to it (AK et al., 2015; Hosan, 2015; Klingst, 2015; Wefing, 2015). While this perspective is sometimes contrasted with some of the aforementioned authority figures, they are clearly the dominant discursive authority figures in September 2015, contributing to the establishment of a securitisation discourse. An article written by Wefing and published on *Die Zeit*'s front page titled "Strong Troop: [...] Incredible what Police are Currently Doing" praises German police work and centers their role in the management of Syrian refugees going forward. The article begins with an anaphor - four consecutive sentences starting with the word "usually" (p. 1) - to underscore the unprecedented nature of the situation. This is done to set up the author's praise of the police and, more importantly, the calls Wefing makes for a strong executive branch to be ready and equipped to take on all the threats - be they cultural, economic, security-related - that are to come from Syrian refugees. He demands a German state that is "slim but strong" (p. 1). As a seeming oxymoron, this metaphor expresses his discontent with the government and political solutions and advocates for a well-funded police with wide-ranging competencies. The implication of this call for strength insinuates the existence of a threat that requires resisting. Syrian refugees are clearly built up as a risk throughout the article, framed as an economic, cultural, and security threat that requires police to protect individuals and the country as a whole. Similar sentiments are echoed throughout other articles, where a supposedly weak legislative branch is contrasted with (the need for) a strong executive branch and the implication that the latter is required to maintain order in the face of the former's failures. Demands for a strong police force are generally considered rather conservative and right-wing positions, and their presence is noticeable in a supposedly left-leaning newspaper. The demand is, however, one of various reproduced with increasing frequency and scope throughout the month of September 2015. They usually follow a similar pattern in which an author briefly dismisses their support of such positions before or after laying them out in considerable detail. In the month's last edition, Leggewie (2015), for example, observes a metaphorical "mood swing" (p. 15) in the German discourse on Syrian refugees. He goes on to perpetuate said change by quoting two right-wing politicians, both being concerned with the country's ability to maintain order and security in the face of "different notions of the role of women, freedom of speech, homosexuality, and environmental protection in society" (p. 13), to which he merely responds "Stimmt" - "Correct". In another article, Bittner et al. (2015) pose a rhetorical question that normalises similar security concerns, asking: "But who among us does not catch themselves occasionally feeling scared and hoping something might be done about this with barbed wire?" (p. 2). This question directly addresses the reader and invites them to explore their 'true' feelings towards Syrian refugees and immediately connects solutions to these fears with the image of barbed wire, which can be read as bolstering of border security or, more broadly, as carceral and violent solutions to the perceived problem. This produces a rhetorical normalisation of comparatively right-wing positions and makes them more suitable for mass-consumption. This is not only relevant against the backdrop of *Die Zeit's* supposedly left-leaning outlook, but is important to understand the development of

negative connoted frames, such as security, economic, or othering. These talking points and the fearmongering of right-wing politicians are, essentially, what stokes the fire of these frames and helps them grow in relevance and popularity.

The frames that revolve around the cultural differences, othering, and economic and security threats are, in September 2015, not the predominant frames through which Syrian refugees are portrayed. Instead, displaced Syrians are, first and foremost, portrayed as a people deserving of refuge in Germany - mostly for reasons of self-interest but under the guise of altruistic motives. These positively connoted frames of humanitarianism and economic considerations paint Germany as an empathetic people, but are, upon closer inspection, driven more by calculations of how Germany can benefit from Syrian refugees than vice versa. Nonetheless, they convey a rather positive attitude towards them. The increasing employment of negatively connoted frames over the course of the month can, however, be seen as a challenge to this establishment of deservingness.

4.2.2. <u>January 2016</u>

The beginning of the year 2016 marked a drastic change in discourse around Syrian refugees. As reporting on the new year's incident in Cologne dominated reporting in *Die Zeit*, framing shifted from the positive humanitarian and economic frames to negatively connoted cultural, othering, and security frames. Merkel's paradigm of welcoming Syrian refugees to Germany was called into question, along with the status of Syrian refugees as deserving of protection, residence, and social participation.

4.2.2.1. The End of the Deserving Refugee: Humanitarian and Economic Frames

Articles that employ humanitarian and economic frames are considerably scarce in the reporting in January 2016. They are present in only two articles - one a human interest story about a Syrian refugee's integration into German society, the other one essentially a eulogy for Merkel's political agenda of welcoming Syrian refugees. Although they each pursue different objectives, they have in common an unmistakable indication that the positive framing of Syrian refugees as deserving is coming to an end.

A human interest story written by Kummert (p. 67) represents the rare exception of an article that humanises Syrian refugees and gives them a voice by actually letting them speak for themselves. The article follows Rateb Hanafi on his journey of integration and portrays him as a well-meaning, benevolent, and naive person as the sub-heading illustrates: "He marvels at paperwork and punctuality, but loves Käsespätzle and colleagues" (p. 67). It juxtaposes aspects of German life that are foreign to him but, nonetheless appear to spark an almost child-like wonder in him - "paperwork and punctuality" - with two signifiers of his willingness to adapt to and integrate into German society - "Käsespätzle and colleagues", indicating his openness to local culture in the form of cuisine and a positive attitude towards work. Rateb is further depicted as a person who wants to reciprocate and "give something back to this country" (p. 67) for receiving

asylum. This portrayal of him as the ideal refugee - disciplined, integrated, harmless, and with no signs of Muslim or Arab otherness - paints him, and by proxy Syrian refugees as a group, as deserving of acceptance into German society. The contents of the article are, however, contrasted by three editorial choices. First, the article is buried deep in the newspaper on page 67 - a clear indication of a lack of interest in promoting positive frames for Syrian refugees. Second, it was stated that the article was supposed to mark the start of a series that followed Rateb and other Syrian refugees on their integration endeavours. The decision to discontinue the series (no further articles in this series were found in subsequent editions), again, suggests a sunken interest to employ humanitarian frames. Third, the main headline, "Rateb wants to pay taxes now" makes sense in light of the portrayal of a grateful person on his path to integration, but also leaves room for a much more negative reading. It insinuates that Syrian refugees usually do not pay taxes - so unusual that it is worthy of note in a headline. This reading not only contrasts the article's narrative of integration with one of considerable cultural differences but also paints the majority of refugees as a potential economic threat. In spite of the article's humanising contents, the editorial choices that accompany it indicate a shift in discourse away from humanitarian frames and towards those with negative connotations.

This shift becomes even more pronounced in the article "Will She Jump?" (Krupa & Ulrich, 2016), in which Merkel (as the titular "she") is heavily criticised for her handling of Syrian refugees. The authors concede that her "Willkommenskultur" (p. 3) , which was at the heart of the humanitarian and economic frames, had seemingly reasonable arguments supporting it. They recount that Germany would stand to economically benefit, had a moral imperative to help, and had even made good experiences with Turkish immigrants. The "Willkommenskultur" is, nonetheless, deemed "irrational" and "naive" (p. 3) and primarily borne of guilt. Germans are portrayed as "suffering from their own past" (p. 3) - basically, victims who overcompensated for a perceived flaw. This interpretation is perfectly summed up in the authors' use of the rather macabre metaphor "Basically, from Auschwitz to Munich" (p. 3). The shock-value in this image appears to have the intention of instilling in the reader how unreasonable this line of thinking is. The role of guilt and lack of rational thought is further accentuated in the chiasm "You can get the woman out of the parsonage, but you can't get the parsonage out of the woman." (p. 3). Replacing the boxing allegory in the old adage "You can get the boxer out of the ghetto, but you can't get the ghetto out of the boxer" (p. 3), with one that makes reference to Merkel's childhood as the daughter of a pastor, the authors go on to reason that her decisions regarding Syrian refugees were borne out of a reflex, an impulsive "outbreak of compassion" (p. 3) that was not founded in rational thinking.

The departure from the humanitarian and positive economic frame seems to mark the end of a representation of Syrian refugees that paints them as deserving. While articles that actually humanise them silently vanish from the pages of *Die Zeit*, others lay out why these perspectives are no longer justifiable. The greatest share of reporting, instead, moves into frames that emphasise cultural differences, othering, and security threats that are represented by Syrian refugees. Circling back to the theoretical considerations, this shift perfectly illustrates the problematic aspects of humanitarian reason in political contexts. Instead of being grounded in political rights, humanitarianism grants deservingness according to perceived victimhood

(Fassin, 2011). Perceptions of victimhood, however, can change, once certain standards or expectations - such as innocence - are no longer fulfilled (Fassin, 2011). When the perception of migrant deservingness is based on humanitarian reason rather than political rights, behaviour that seemingly does not match the expected norms of victimhood can result in decreasing perceptions of deservingness, as reflected above.

4.2.2.2. The Syrian Refugee as an Active Threat: Security, Othering, and Cultural Frames

As the frames that had initially humanised Syrian refugees basically diminished in January 2016, the discourse shifted significantly towards a combination of frames that cast them as a foreign and uncivilised threat. Frames that emphasise cultural differences, as well as othering frames, worked hand in hand with frames that paint Syrian refugees as threats to domestic security. Throughout the month, reporting on the incidents in Cologne during New Year's Eve dominated all editions of *Die Zeit*, with Syrian refugees at the centre of the discussion. Almost each edition had a front page story that employed the aforementioned negative frames for Syrian refugees. At the time, there were, however, few established facts about the actual perpetrators other than vague references to "North African and Arab backgrounds" (Agarwala & Klingst, p. 7). In fact, as the investigations unfolded over the ensuing months and years, Syrians were among a large pool of suspects but not among those who stood trial (Polizei Köln, 2018). They had, as it turned out long after the reporting under investigation took place, little to nothing to do with the events. Nonetheless, the manner in which discourse was framed inextricably linked Syrian refugees to the New Year's Eve incidents in the minds of the audience.

Most articles from the month of January 2016 try to strike a tone of objectivity, conveying a sense of being outside the discourse, not within and actively shaping it. This 'view from nowhere' that is meant to underscore the paper's impartiality stands in strong contrast to the actual reporting. This is illustrated in an article by Wefing (2016), which begins with him declaring that "there exists no direct connection between Cologne and Munich" (p. 1). He uses the cities of Cologne and Munich as synecdoches for the New Year's incidents and the arrival of Syrian refugees, respectively, implying that he will not jump to any conclusions. Shortly after, he writes "again a train station, but four months later. First Munich, now Cologne." (p. 1). In this instance, the train station serves as the metaphor to let the reader make the connection between the two events, followed by an even clearer, outright link between the associated cities. Although claiming not to intend to associate Syrian refugees with the incidents, Wefing (2016) writes three different sentences that insinuate a causality between the two, all within the very first paragraph of his article. Whatever his stated intention, the connection is, at this point, firmly established in the reader's mind, framing the Syrian refugees as at least partially responsible for the violence in Cologne. Firmly entrenching this connection, regardless of factual evidence, is a crucial step on which much of the framing of Syrian refugees in January 2016 rests, and can be found in other articles as well (Krupa & Ulrich, 2016; Argawala, 2016). An incident for which, at this point in time, no culprit has definitively been identified becomes about the framing of refugees.

In the reporting about the incidents and Syrian refugees, the employed frames bring into focus supposed cultural differences - or, rather, Syrian's cultural backwardness - and draw clear distinctions between a German "us" and a Syrian "them". German society is, as Wefing (2016) sums up the situation in January 2016, "confronted with something disturbingly new" (p. 1). This disturbing new phenomenon is described as "hordes of young men" (p. 1) who "invaded our homes" (p. 1). Simultaneously referencing the unidentified perpetrators from New Year's Eve and Syrian refugees, who, it was firmly established prior, are somewhat synonymous, the author employs metaphors that invoke the image of a barbarian invasion. Thereby, Syrian refugees are painted as backwards people who stand in clear opposition to the German people.

The racialised dimension of othering goes from rather implicit in Wefing's (2016) to more explicit in Argawala's (2016) article. The opening lines to his article "The Nightmare" read: "Arab men who grope German women" (p. 2). The juxtaposition of the two groups reinforces the othering frame by drawing clear distinctions between the two groups that are supported by cultural and racialised implications. In the article, the perpetrators remain faceless, male "strangers" (p. 2), whereas the reader is presented with a detailed description of a female victim: "Westerkamp, 18, bright blonde hair, pierced nose" (p. 2). The description evokes the image of a vulnerable white woman and plays into racially motivated tropes that have been used for centuries to stoke fear against racialised men - also referred to as racialised masculinities (Korac, 2020). Through her lived experience as a victim, her authority in recounting the events serves as the foundation for the construction of the dichotomy between a vulnerable and threatened 'us' and a faceless, foreign 'them'. That is, until she is confronted with the question whether she is "supposed to be against refugees now" (p. 2) - implying the premise of a non-existent dilemma that all (male) refugees are latent threats. When Westerkamp denies, the author immediately refutes her assessment, claiming that it is "of course a problem" (p. 2). It is telling how the person who is built up as worthy of protection and support from the German people, for the author's argumentative purposes, is immediately dropped when their perspective no longer serves the author. Lending credence to the account of an eyewitness only when it is convenient for their own narrative highlights editorial choices *Die Zeit* makes. Their deliberate and selective use of the authority of those they cite is primarily used to construct their frames of meaning.

Where descriptions of Syrian refugees remain deliberately vague in most articles, the front page article with the title "Who is the Arab Man?" (Ulrich, 2016, p. 1) fills this void. The author promises a progressive, post-colonial engagement with the subject, urges the reader not to resort to stereotyping, and replies "not really" (p. 1) to his own rhetorical question whether "one can even write about »the« Arab man" (p. 1). Nonetheless, Ulrich goes on to write about »the« Arab man in excruciating detail, confirming a variety of stereotypes and using outdated, orientalist language such as "Muselmann" ("mussulman") and "Arabien" ("arabia") (p. 3). Although the article does not refer to Syrian refugees in particular, the intertextual knowledge of the audience of discourse around New Year's Eve and Syrian refugees makes Arabs synonymous with Syrian refugees and, thus, contributes to their framing. Similar to other articles, Arabs and Germans are constructed as opposing poles. The Germans are portrayed as particularly vulnerable people

who are enlightened but still suffering from their own sins of the past. This vulnerability is exposed to the culturally unenlightened, backwards Arab people who are depicted as "instinct-driven" (p. 3) and, essentially, less human. Referencing "dress-codes for Arab women" (p. 3), Ulrich concludes that Arab men are "likely to succumb to their animal nature when seeing only the slightest bit of female skin" (p. 3). This dehumanising depiction of Arab men, by proxy, frames them as so culturally different in contrast to Germans that their entire humanity is called into question. The author tries to lend the claims in his article credibility not only by framing it as an educated, post-colonial perspective on the matter but also by trying to position himself as outside the discourse. Referencing discourse on Arab people as something that is only happening "in the media" (p. 3), he does not acknowledge himself as an active contributor to it and positions himself as an unbiased, objective observer. Such means of bolstering the perceived reliability of their claims is fairly common among *Die Zeit's* authors, but particularly prominent in Ulrich's article.

While the framing of Syrian refugees as an uncivilised other carries with it an ever-present, threatening undertone, the explicit threat they allegedly pose to Germans and Germany as a whole is transported in a particularly impressive manner in the choice of vocabulary and imagery that is attached to the group. Besides racially-charged, dehumanising language, natural catastrophes, or war, otherwise negatively connected images are frequently conjured up. The events during 2015's New Year's Eve in Cologne are described as "terror in the streets" (Wefing, 2016, p. 1) and a "hunt for women" (Wefing, 2016, p. 1). The perpetrators are linked with uncontrollable acts of violence that ascribe to them a perception of women as sub-human, when the reader considers hunting an activity that is reserved for game and animals. The arrival of refugees - already firmly established as a cause for the incidents in *Die Zeit's* reporting - is described as a metaphorical "wave of immigration" (p. 1), associating the event with untamable natural forces that are threatening Germany. The overall situation is, for example, described as a "nightmare" in a heading (Argawala, 2016, p. 2), imploring the German people to wake up to the threat it is facing. The most notable term, however, is probably Wefing's use of "Flüchtlingskrise" - "refugee crisis" - a term that became discourse-shaping and synonymous with the arrival of Syrian refugees in Germany. It frames the arrival as a problem: a threat that requires a response.

The understanding of this crisis is usually mediated by German police, who are, likewise, usually presented as the primary solution to it. It is notable that the individuals and institutions who are referenced and quoted as authority figures in January 2016 are primarily those who align with frames with cultural differences, othering, and security - such as victims, "concerned citizens", politicians, and, first and foremost, police. Rarely are experts from academia or NGOs mentioned; the voices of Syrian refugees are almost entirely absent. In short, advocacy for Syrian refugees is almost non-existent. Instead, those who construct them as a problem or a threat are the ones who get heard. Across the articles, the perspective of the police is ubiquitous and calls for "a well-equipped police force" (Wefing, 2016, p. 1) to mitigate the perceived threat are frequent. Police authority is, for example, employed to support a claim about heightened potential for violence against women in migrant communities. A police woman - who unites the triple authority of being with the police, a woman, and the daughter of migrants - confirms the suggestion based on her personal,

anecdotal experience (Wefing, 2016, p. 1). In a report on a demonstration, the exchange between a participant and a police officer is cited: ""Down there in Arabia, the n***** stone each other to death, no wonder they act the same over here." he says - "They only know violence." (Argawala, 2016, p. 2). The police officer looks away and responds: "Today, this place is completely safe."" (Argawala, 2016, p. 2). The exchange and the manner in which it is framed in the article are interesting for several reasons. Once again, police are our window into the situation and are presented as the solution to the perceived problem by providing security. Further, right-wing ideology remains not only unopposed by the police (who literally look away) but by the author as well. The claims about violent Arabs are presented in the article without direct opposition and the word n***** appears uncensored in the article, clearly providing a platform for racist terminology and ideologies. As the security frame is re-enforced by frequently presenting police as the perspective on and solution to the arrival of Syrian refugees, *Die Zeit* also legitimises right-wing talking points that further exacerbate the stoking of fear and hate towards them.

In January 2016, reporting by *Die Zeit* is heavily biased towards negative representations of Syrian refugees. Despite the lack of any substantial evidence, the New Year's Eve incidents in Cologne are deliberately associated with Syrian refugees who are, henceforth, framed as a culturally different other who poses a significant threat to the security of German individuals and the country as a whole. They call into question whether Syrian refugees are still deserving of empathy and protection. Following *Die Zeit's* framing, they have proven themselves to be too different from the German people to whom they essentially stand in opposition and pose a threat due to their uncivilised ways.

4.2.3. From September 2015 to January 2016: Changes in Constructions of Deservingness

The events that transpired during New Year's Eve 2015 in Cologne mark *a*, if not *the*, pivotal point for the framing of Syrian refugees in *Die Zeit*. In a span of four months, it moves from the deserving refugee and *Willkommenskultur* (culture of welcoming) to the undeserving refugee and *Flüchtlingskrise* (refugee crisis). At the surface, Syrian refugees are initially painted as deserving due to the geopolitical context of the displacement, which creates a moral imperative to help and offers Germany an opportunity to put their empathy on display. Looking deeper, German self-interest appears to be more central for considerations of deservingness, revealing that prospects of benefitting economically and integrating the acceptance of Syrian refugees into a national myth of redemption as the driving forces. Once the New Year's Eve incidents create a moral panic around Syrian refugees, they are framed as threats incompatible with German society and, thus, undeserving of support and protection. The common denominator between both September 2015 and January 2016 appears to be that whether Syrian refugees are framed as deserving revolves primarily around the perceived burden they place on German society. Instead of adhering to the legal framework that defines who qualifies as a refugee (and should, thus, be deserving of protection), it is framed as a cost-benefit analysis driven by culture, economics, and domestic security. As such, any framing of deservingness or undeservingness of Syrian refugees is dehumanising by default, as it does not prioritise their humanity, legal

rights, and the circumstances of their displacement. Instead, it is absorbed into a discourse in which humanity can be granted or stripped away merely based on what the results of the current cost-benefit analysis are.

At its core, the reporting of *Die Zeit* on Syrian refugees is all about the German people. How do they benefit? How are they burdened? How do they perceive and feel about themselves? In September 2015, when opportunity seemed to arrive with the Syrian refugees, they portray themselves as altruistic people who have overcome their own short-comings. When the tide shifted in January 2016 and a moral panic was created around Syrian refugees, German people were suddenly cast as victims, blinded to the danger the refugees posed by their own overzealousness to reckon with their past wrongdoings and, basically, forced into adopting right-wing talking points into mainstream discourse. The Syrian refugees appear as a pawn in a game of German self-interest in which deservingness is constructed based on the perceived benefits or burden they seem to pose.

4.3 Ukrainian Refugees

More than six years later, during which the issue of migration remained a hot topic in political, public, and media discourse, another era of mass displacement with millions of displaced people entering the European Union began. In the following part of the analysis, the German media discourse on the deservingness of Ukrainian refugees[6] at two points in time is analysed.

4.3.1 March 2022

The selection of articles in the four *Die Zeit* editions following the Russian invasion of Ukraine on the 24th of February 2022 show a strikingly high salience of the issue at stake. Notable is the prominence of factual, informative ways of reporting, complemented with a variety of humanitarian frames. This is reflected in the type of texts: in this time, an outstanding share of articles are war reports, published in both the *Politics* and the *Economics* section of the newspapers. Another striking feature is the prominent presence of extensive human interest stories, published in the *Feuilleton* and *Dossier* sections. In line with this, humanitarian frames clearly dominate the direct discourse on displaced Ukrainians, in which Ukrainians are portrayed as a part of the collective European imaginary and thereby as deserving based on belonging and identity. The rare use of concerned economic frames is implemented in a calm and rebutted manner, intertwined with invoking the moral imperative to handle this state of exception jointly and as a united 'West'. Overall, an inclusive yet tense-due-to-circumstances atmosphere is mediated. In accordance, security and othering frames are almost exclusively employed to portray Russia as a common enemy, while sometimes additionally being used in

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[6] In English, the term 'refugee' is associated with a certain legal status and refers to displaced people whose asylum application was accepted by a state. Following this definition, displaced Ukrainians are not regarded as refugees, as they do not file for asylum. However, this differentiation gets lost in translation: the German term 'Flüchtlinge' or 'Geflüchtete' roughly translates to "those fleeing" and does not have the same legal significance - it is much more commonly used for all displaced people. German media tend to use the term refugees interchangeably with displaced people, asylum applicants, and legally recognised refugees. Thus, during the analysis, this thesis uses the term refugee also for displaced Ukrainians.

direct comparisons to non-Ukrainian refugees and asylum seekers. The concept of a common enemy and the construction of an exceptional status among refugees support the identity-based inclusion of Ukrainians by building an 'other' to be pitted against that 'us'. This contrast completes a balanced impression of a truly deserving sub-group of displaced people. In the following, the construction of the Ukrainian refugee as part of 'us' as well as the employment of security and othering frames to create the opposing 'them' are analysed.

4.3.1.1 The Ukrainian Refugee as One of 'Us': Humanitarian Frames

Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the reporting on Ukrainian refugees in March 2022 is the extensive use of humanitarian frames, which are reflected in the types of texts, the contents, the authorities referenced, as well as the language used. When examining the text genre, next to the numerous human interest stories (some of which being as long as three pages), outstanding is also a multipage photo series about Ukrainian refugees arriving in Germany. Although analysing the photographic content is beyond the scope of this thesis, this unusual format is worth mentioning, as it introduces a wide range of people in detail through both images and text. This clearly reflects the priority of providing a platform for the nuanced portrayal of different individuals. Other formats of first-hand accounts have similar effects: Ukrainians are introduced individually, emphasising that they are people first and refugees second, while often stressing both suffering and resistance.

In many cases, Ukrainians are portrayed as inspirational and overwhelmingly positive, as symbolically expressed in the article title "Never have I seen so much love! How the people in Kiev cheer me up" (Petrowskaja, 2022, p. 57). Another significant pattern in the articles centering individuals is the different incorporation of gender identities. While many articles that emphasise vulnerability and the hardship of the displacement revolve around the suffering of Ukrainian women, articles on the resistance and courage of the Ukrainian people focus on male individuals. This can be observed in very direct ways or more subtly: for example, next to multiple close-ups on Ukrainian mothers fleeing the war, an explicit reference was made to bombings in the immediate proximity of a hospital, stressing the hospital's name "Children's Hospital for the Protection of Motherhood and Children" (Petrowskaja, 2022, p. 57), closely followed by a tribute to Ukrainian men protecting the sovereignty of their country. Thereby, while clearly adhering to gender norms, a notable effect is the feminisation of the suffering, aligning with typical Western expectations (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2018) and "European readings of violence and suffering" (Varatharajah & Hilal, 2024). Stressing the vulnerability of those displaced by war helps to convey an impression of an ideal victim, thus encouraging perceptions of deservingness. Moreover, the discursive gender dynamic reaffirms the impression of patriotic, heroic, and courageous Ukrainian men, who not only protect their own country, but Europe as a whole.

Additionally, the overall compassionate way of reporting, often expressing sympathy, adds another layer to humanitarian frames. The language chosen engages the reader on an emotional level, often appealing to the audience to put themselves into the position of those affected. Passages such as "Poor Ukrainians! It

breaks your heart when you see…" (Di Lorenzo, 2022, p. 1) followed by vivid descriptions of people leaving Ukraine and families being torn apart, moreover, evoke a very detailed visual representation of the situation, thereby drawing the reader in, encouraging reflection and empathy. This is complemented by a large amount of rhetorical questions posed across all texts. Again, the reader is put in the position of those facing displacement, which increases emotional resonance by making the audience feel affected personally.

Without exception, all individuals are presented in very relatable and positive ways, which is also reflected in the language chosen. Lots of texts employ active language, making the actors visible and stressing a sense of agency while simultaneously creating a dynamic situation, helping to convey the urgency of a situation. This is accompanied by many reflections on how strongly German citizens support the newly arriving Ukrainians. While still evoking an impression of self-adulation, this time, however, the reflections on German supportiveness have another layer. It seems that the reporting is not just a matter of portraying German willingness to help, but actually providing information material on how to help. This is best exemplified by an entire help-manual, explaining to citizens how to support Ukrainians in the best ways possible. The manual starts by asking "Is it sufficient to donate money? And clothing, and canned goods? Perhaps clearing out the guest room?" (Allmeier et al., 2022, S. 65). Therefore, not only a high level of commitment and willingness to help on behalf of the reader is assumed, but simultaneously the article demonstrates how good intentions might not be sufficient in this case, and lists actions that are actually helpful.

Moreover, humanitarian frames are also employed in the political interpretation of the events. Many articles stress how Germany, too, is affected by the war, and portray both Ukraine and Germany as a part of a larger 'us'. Statements like "At the moment, we are all Ukrainians!" (Di Lorenzo, 2022, p. 1) or "We are going through these hardships together" (Ladurner, Middelhof & Theile, 2022, p. 2) clearly construct a common identity. These emotional appeals are often placed in rather factual war reports, centering politicians, military, and academic experts as authorities through whom we look at the situation. This gives additional legitimacy to the claims, causing the reader to regard the constructed common identity as a given fact rather than a discursive and affective element. When merging Ukrainians and Germans into the common identity of a unified 'West', welcoming Ukrainian war refugees becomes a moral imperative. Thereby, displaced Ukrainians are not only humanised and portrayed as deserving of compassion by appealing to empathy, but supporting Ukraine is additionally framed as politically inevitable as well as reciprocal.

Another way to examine the construction of a relatable and thus deserving figure of the Ukrainian refugee is to take a closer look at what is absent. Most strikingly, the police as an authority is entirely lacking; not a single article reports on the situation from the perspective of the police or mentions the police as a reference point. The absence of the previously dominant police perspective suggests a more peaceful, less worrying situation, well in control without violent interventions. This implies law-abiding and orderly Ukrainians, who 'just like us' do not deviate from the law or cause any interruption of the public order. In a similar vein, there are no calls for a stronger state, but the state is consistently portrayed in a calm and controlling manner. In general, barely any accounts focus on the impact of Ukrainian refugees in Germany:

articles focus on the war, Germany's involvement in the war, the arrival of individuals and the hardship they face, the heroic defense of Ukraine, but not so much on how to incorporate millions of refugees. Economic frames also stand out through absence; if present, economic implications neither portray the incorporation of displaced Ukrainians as a threatening welfare crisis, nor as an "embodied economic opportunity" (Holzberg et al., 2018, p. 543). This implicitly contributes to the humanitarian framing, because neither a dilemma between humanitarian and economic concerns is created, nor must economic potential be attributed to Ukrainians to portray them as deserving. In line with Gebauer's (2023) findings, moreover, serious doubts or counter-narratives are not reflected in the articles, presenting the dominant supportive narrative as the only existing one. In sum, the combination of what is presented and - in a complementary manner - what is not, presents an overall positive, relatable, and personable impression of heroic Ukrainians, who are yet battered by fate.

4.3.1.2 The Ukrainian Refugee as 'Not Them': Security & Othering Frames

The creation of the figure of the Ukrainian refugee as 'one of us' is completed by the creation of a 'them' as a counterpart. This contrast is established in two ways, namely by the creation of Russia as a common enemy and through the (discursive) distinction between displaced Ukrainians compared to other refugees.

"Germany and the war: How can we defend ourselves?" (Di Lorenzo, 2022, p. 1) is the large heading on the title page of the first *Die Zeit* edition in March 2022. The belonging article is quite representative for the war reports from March 2022, setting the tone for descriptions of a joint defense against an outside attack, while framing the war as a security threat for Europe as a whole. The aggressor, Russia, is introduced as the personified evil: "An anonymous and faceless army is sweeping through Ukraine, not even collecting its own dead, but leaving them by the roadside like rubbish." (Petrowskaja, 2022, p. 57). By creating disturbing and vivid images and highlighting the brutality of the situation, descriptions like this elicit feelings of horror and shock, while clearly condemning the cruelty of the opponent. In that way, a security frame is clearly established, portraying 'them' - the opponents - as a serious and horrible threat. Moreover, the emphasis on the malicious and cold acts of 'them' emphasises the 'barbarian' and uncivilised character of the enemy, creating a dichotomy between the progressive 'West' as opposed to a backwards 'East'. This villainisation of Russia, as well as the construction of a binary, is further supported by the vocabulary employed, such as Russia "invades peoples and hunts down democratically elected representatives of Chechen killer gangs" (Di Lorenzo, 2022, p. 1). These quotes exemplify the use of othering frames by the extensive application of war-related imagery to underscore the brutal and 'barbarian' nature of the enemy, while further contrasting a morally inferior, dangerous 'East' from a victimised, democratic 'West'. The allegedly soft and humane character of the 'West' as opposed to the Eastern other is further elaborated on by portraying Germany as a remorseful victim of its own past, which has not suspected the Russian attack due to years of (geo)political submission and passivity. Here, two effects are achieved at the same time. First, Germans are portrayed as a civilised and empathetic people, being too naive to foresee

the violent acts of malicious others. Second, the argumentation serves as the basis for demanding a massive military build-up and armament, which is circled back to multiple times in the debate. The former contrast is further pushed to the extreme by phrasings such as "one would so much like to bring the light of peace into the world, if only there were the slightest indication that Vladimir Putin would be impressed by it" (Di Lorenzo, 2022, p. 1). While the metaphor used appears to be a symbol for hope and conflict resolution, it also carries clear missionary and Western supremacist undertones. The "light of peace" as a Christian symbol is carried into a supposedly dark and barbarian East, reflecting the historical missionary self-image of Christian, 'Western' culture. The sentence also conveys a subtle enlightenment association, where the superior so-called West tries to lecture values to an unteachable, resistant so-called East. Taken together, security and othering frames reinforce a binary moral order between a virtuous 'West' that needs to unite against an inferior, dangerous, and unredeemable 'East', but also implicitly legitimise political and military responses through a civilisational narrative.

Othering frames furthermore serve to differentiate Ukrainians from displaced people of different origins. This is often done by giving a platform to citizens, resulting in outcomes like "Kaleta does not consider the thousands of people who were stranded at the Polish-Belarusian border last year, some of whom were from Afghanistan, to be refugees. 'In Poland, we call people like that K******.'"[7] (Kortas et al., 2022, p. 2). While *Die Zeit* not only offers a platform to an - again uncensored - racist term, it also uncritically mirrors the racialised dimension of who is regarded as a deserving refugee. Moreover, this perspective questions the legitimacy of non-European, racialised refugees, in line with the reductive, negative, and dehumanising discourse of the previous years (Eberl et al., 2018). The differentiation exemplified by the quote above thereby clearly reflects DeGenova's (2016) point of how some populations on the move are treated as unwanted, racial others, whose mobility is highly restricted. It moreover seems to support Varatharajah' & Hilal's (2024) claim that Europeans "empathise with Ukrainians because they can locate themselves within their bodies" (p. 214). Meanwhile, looking through a lens of *humanitarian reason* (Fassin, 2011), the declaration of one particular deserving group of refugees lets the asylum system appear compassionate and generous, while still excluding the majority of those in need of protection.

In sum, *Die Zeits*'s portrayal of Ukrainian refugees in March 2022 combined humanitarian and solidarity frames with security and othering narratives, constructing them as part of a virtuous Western 'us' in opposition to a barbaric Eastern 'them', while reinforcing racialised distinctions that positioned non-European refugees as less deserving.

4.3.2 September / October 2022

The following section presents the analysis of the discourse on Ukrainian refugees about half a year later, after the initial surprise had subsided and it had become evident that the war in Ukraine would continue. This

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[7] The term was not censored in the original article. However, as previously cited racist terminology, it is still censored in this thesis, as there is no need to reproduce a racial slur. The term in question is a derogatory word with colonial, racist origins, which is used in German to label people perceived as foreign. It essentialises and devalues, erasing individual identities and reinforcing stereotypes.

continuity is reflected in the newsworthiness of the Ukrainian situation, with a reduction to a total of 40 relevant articles matching the keywords (less than half than of those published in March 2022). Overall, the salience of the Ukrainian war and mass displacement in *Die Zeit* decreased drastically.

Besides the clear loss of relevance compared to the time immediately after the invasion, it stands out how the ratio of human interest stories diminishes. The remaining articles largely focus on political tactics and the state of war, which is underscored by their predominant publication in the *Politics* section. In addition to shifts in extent and format, there were also relevant changes in the content. Two discursive strands emerged, both of which appear contradictory at first glance. On the one hand, Ukrainian refugees are increasingly discursively merged into the general (anti-)immigration discourse, both in the form of similarities and differences. In that sense, there are intersections with economic, legal, and security frames, which were hardly imaginable in March. On the other hand, Ukrainians are still framed in humanitarian ways and often portrayed as the heroic defenders of Europe, resembling the humanitarian discourse in March. While both discursive strands coexist over the course of the four analysed editions, they occur in clearly separate formats.

4.3.2.1 Ukrainian Refugees as (N)one of 'Them'? Economic & Security Frames

Perhaps the best way to start this chapter is to quote Friedrich Merz's much-discussed labeling of Ukrainian refugees as "social tourists" (Middelhof et al., 2022, p. 1). This type of derogatory metaphor is new in relation to the immigration of Ukrainians, whose deservingness, to date, seemed out of question. Metaphorically speaking, the term 'tourism' implies the allegation of hedonistic opportunism. Moreover, the phrasing accuses Ukrainian refugees of abusing the German welfare state by accessing their (legal rights to) social benefits. Using populist rhetoric, Ukrainian refugees are portrayed as manipulative visitors who take advantage of the German hospitality and welfare system. This statement from an influential politician caused an outrageous reaction in both public and media discourse, which is reflected in the following *Die Zeit* editions. However, while this type of harsh accusation clashed with the general discourse on displaced Ukrainians and was met with resistance, it does appear to be an exaggeration of a hesitant but existing trend. While being categorically separated from the general debate on migration and asylum in early 2022, at this point, displaced Ukrainians are increasingly mentioned in relation to the same alleged problems as other asylum seekers and refugees. Nevertheless, as examined in the following, there remains a discursive separation of Ukrainians as opposed to other refugees, even though they are more and more discussed in the same context.

What immediately stands out from the selection of articles is the return of typical anti-immigration frames. I begin this analysis by examining the use of economic and security frames, which seem to be the most relevant discursive interface in generalisations drawn about all refugees. While Merz's phrasing of "social tourism" is immediately rendered as "enormously critiqued" in a front page article by Middelhof, Mondersohn, and Nejezchleba (2022, p. 1), the statement is introduced in a long format article titled "It is

getting packed! Politicians are warning of a new refugee crisis. How serious is the situation?" (p. 1). The article is introduced by listing quotes from other politicians, who are "concerned" about the feasibility of the increasing numbers of arriving refugees. The entire first section of the article is devoted to quotes from politicians stirring up fears about the economic and technical feasibility of the admission of refugees, supported by references to high, absolute numbers. The expressed "concern" is explicitly directed towards all incoming refugees, including the "992,517 Ukrainians, who arrived in Germany until September 2022" (Middelhof et al., 2022, p. 1). However, in the subsequent sentence, the "russische Angriffskrieg" ("Russian war of aggression") is mentioned as a reason for the mass displacement of Ukrainians. It seems like an attempt to put the still unusual negative economic and slightly threatening framing of displaced Ukrainians into perspective, while additionally providing a clear and unambiguous reason for Ukrainians to be there. Thus, despite the earlier construction of a latent danger posed by the high number of Ukrainian refugees, a reference is made to their role as victims in the war, which, in turn, contrasts humanitarian notions and security frames towards the Russian 'other'. The passage ends with an entirely relativising sentence, stating that "the asylum system, however, does not appear on the verge of collapse" (Middelhof et al., 2022, p. 1), quoting an unreferenced analysis by the German federal states. However, feelings of panic and overwhelm, as well as the idea of reaching economic and systemic limits, have already been established. This technique of extensive fearmongering, which is later refuted by a brief and seemingly insignificant portrayal of facts, is new in relation to Ukrainians. Overall, the security frame is back - not only nor explicitly with regard to displaced Ukrainians - but Ukrainians are increasingly discursively blended into a broader category of refugees.

The subtitle of another article is as follows: "Everyone learned something from the chaos of 2015. However, some of the falsehoods of German migration policy remain, including in dealing with Ukrainians" (Lau, 2022, p. 5). With a direct reference to 2015, the migration politics at that time are sharply criticised, this time directly including the handling of the mass displacement of Ukrainians. In this article, again, security and economic frames are mixed with regard to all refugees arriving in Germany. After describing German immigration politics as "loss of control", the author lists a series of potential security and economic risks, among others, "sexual violence", "terror attacks", as well as "welfare fraud" (Lau, 2022, p. 5). This reflects what Galantino (2022) and others call narratives of 'crimmigration', where migration and crime are described as one and the same issue, which needs to be resolved with a similar punitive approach. And indeed, in line with the theory, the author calls for a stronger state and more deportations. Furthermore, the author calls for stronger border protection and controls, and "that the state does not simply capitulate - as Angela Merkel did when she claimed at the time that borders could not be protected" (Lau, 2022, p. 5). In sum, textbook-style security frames are applied. Using frightening images, invoking fear of violence and fraud, and consequently calling for border protection, deportations, and a strong, controlling state, combines the creation of a threat with suggestions for managing that threat (Balzacq et al., 2015). While some explicit connections are made to the political handling of Ukrainian refugees, Lau (2022, p. 5) is not always clear about the particular target group of the claims and demands. In fact, however, the entire text works with security frames, while actively implying displaced Ukrainians in the title.

Linguistically speaking, the articles marked by economic and security frames are predominantly constructed in very factual and neutral vocabulary. This surface neutrality is, however, repeatedly interrupted by word choices that carry strong connotations of crisis and exceptionality. Terms such as "collapse" (Middelhof et al., 2022, p. 1) or "capitulate" (Lau, 2022, p. 5) employ metaphorical and hyperbolic imagery, suggesting structural breakdown. Phrases like "not yet out of control" (Middelhof et al., 2022, p. 1) or "loss of control" (Lau, 2022, p. 5) evoke feelings of instability, where control is imagined as a tangible resource slipping away. Similarly, the metaphor "blind spots in migration politics" (Lau, 2022, p. 5) implies hidden dangers that remain unaddressed and unreflected on. The occasional disruption of the otherwise neutral language with these very negatively charged, threatening word choices has two effects. First, the subtle insertion of such terms does not undermine the impression of the articles as fact-based war reports. Second, the negative connotations and imagery stand out even more when used rarely rather than in abundance. Beyond word choices, the use of in-text subheadings as neutral, information-seeking questions - such as "Why are the numbers rising so sharply?" or "How are these people accommodated?" (Middelhof et al., 2022, p. 1) activates presuppositions: they imply that the phenomena require explanation and possibly signal a problem. Moreover, these headings often lead into paragraphs that concern about hypothetical worst-case scenarios, before ending with a hedging-clause such as "there is no evidence" or "a detailed analysis shows that [...] is not the case" (Middelhof et al., 2022, p. 1). This discursive pattern employs ostensibly objective forms to slip in crisis narratives, subtly priming the audience for a perception of threat even in the absence of substantiating facts. This is supported by the authorities quoted: a platform is given to concerned politicians as well as migration experts. Thereby, the worries and threats are legitimised by those who represent the German people as well as specialists.

In sum, the almost exclusively humanitarian framing of Ukrainian refugees at the beginning of the war gives way to economic and security frames. While Ukrainians are still regarded as legitimate victims of war - often referred to as "Kriegsflüchtlinge" (war refugees) (Middelhof et al., 2022, p. 1; Lau, 2022, p. 5) - they are increasingly discursively associated with the same alleged problems as other refugees. Thereby, while still being portrayed as humanitarianly deserving, displaced Ukrainians are increasingly confronted with doubts of economic feasibility and blended into securitisation narratives.

4.3.2.2 Ukrainian Refugees as Defenders of Europe: Humanitarian Frames

In stark contrast to the association with economic and security frames stands the rather positive employment of humanitarian and legal frames. Despite appearing to a considerably lower extent, the use of humanitarian frames overall resembles March 2022, and is still prominent in multiple articles on the Ukrainian situation. An article titled "Imagine … Russian missiles striking Hamburg instead of Kiev. How would people talk about this war then?" (Bota, 2022, p. 4) perfectly exemplifies how Ukrainians are still portrayed as part of a Western 'us'. The author - a journalist who used to report from Kiev and is now based in Hamburg - describes a scenario in which the reader is put into the position of Ukrainians. (Besides, it is also notable how an entirely fictional article is published in the very beginning of the *Politics* section.) The title directly

addresses the reader using the imperative and appealing to their imagination. It continues to fully involve the audience and invites them to feel personally affected by the war by imagining Russia had invaded parts of Germany. It guides the reader through a variety of well-known places in Hamburg, directly comparing them to places of equivalent meaning in Kiev - all of which are described in vivid detail to make the situation even more relatable. When mentioning certain places, the author also warmly recalls events and memories, attributing (inter)personal meaning to the locations described: "This is where students meet, chat, kiss, and older men play chess. From here, I reported on Pride in 2016, a parade for gay, queer, and trans people." (Bota, 2022, p. 4). The first sentence creates scenarios conveying a sense of Ukrainians as 'just like us' by describing everyday situations that anyone can imagine and relate to. The latter stresses the supposed progressiveness of the Ukrainian people, clearly portraying Ukrainian values as progressive and 'Western'. Again, as often done at the beginning of the year, an 'us' is constructed, putting the reader in the position of Ukrainians, portrayed as their fellow European citizens. And again, a humanitarian frame is established through the construction of a common identity. In that sense, this is precisely what D'Souza (2024) refers to as the *trap of empathy*: the suffering of the Ukrainian people is made consumable for the German reader. Empathy for Ukrainians is evoked based on the construction of sameness through identity, as well as the expression and performance of suffering in a relatable way.

In terms of language, a frequently employed, recurring device is the use of rhetorical questions embedded in long, story-like articles. Passages such as "What words would we use to describe it? Attack? Cowardly act? Or perhaps the most powerful word in the arsenal: terror?" (Bota, 2022, p. 4) stylise texts in a way of personalising the reporting and involving the reader. These questions are not posed primarily to elicit answers, but to draw the reader into a narrative mode that requires reflection. Thereby, the reader becomes an active participant in an emotionally charged scenario while subtly shaping the interpretive horizon. Linguistically, this technique is closely tied to the use of highly detailed, almost novelistic descriptions. Phrasings such as "a black dot in the sky approaches at breakneck speed" (Kortas, 2022, p. 6) or "back there is the overpriced seafood restaurant, and the café with the sweetest cake, which is better not to share" (Bota, 2022, p. 4) are illustrative. These passages employ both vivid and sensationalising language that constructs a palpable sense of life for the reader. The choice of words creates visual, spatial, and even sensory impressions, making the experiences of Ukrainians relatable, lived experiences, which adds to the construction of an 'us'. Moreover, juxtapositions such as "War divides people into perpetrators and victims, but also into spectators who are kissed by fortune" (Bota, 2022, p. 4) confront the audience with the arbitrariness of their safety and create an impression of being privileged by not being directly involved in the war. The articles that mostly employ humanitarian frames, again, focus on Ukrainian individuals but also on the abstract Russian other. In a similar manner as in March, 'the West' is pitted against 'the East'.

Overall, humanitarian frames continue to foster empathy and a sense of shared identity, while contrasting an "us" against an "other". The combination of linguistics (rhetorical questions, narrative details, stylistic contrasts) and authorities (individuals) engages the reader on an affective level, transmits relatability, and implicitly reinforces perceptions of deservingness through empathy. In this way, the linguistic texture

itself participates in shaping how displacement and refugees are perceived: at once exceptional and ordinary, and especially worthy of compassion.

4.3.3 From March to September/October 2022: Changes in Constructions of Deservingness

In the early stages of the war, the deservingness attributed to displaced Ukrainians was discursively constructed through the creation of a common identity. Empathy and deservingness were framed around the idea of a war against Europe, situating Ukrainians not as distant others but as close members of the European community. This construction of deservingness was further reinforced by the reliance on a Russian 'other'. By establishing Russia as the antagonist, *Die Zeit* could clearly delineate a sense of a common 'us' and create a moral imperative to support those fleeing the war. The establishment of deservingness during this time was mainly achieved through humanitarian frames. Media coverage centred individuals, highlighting stories of violence and suffering, but also strength and perseverance. Moreover, there was a strong emphasis on the support of German citizens, who were portrayed as actively engaged in helping those displaced. In this context, there were virtually no serious doubts expressed regarding the legitimacy Ukrainian's access to protection and resources. Rather, the prevailing discourses framed Ukrainian citizens as heroic defenders of Europe. From a perspective of deservingness, this suggests that when Germans themselves felt threatened - as in March 2022, the war was portrayed as also endangering Germany - willingness to help was high, and the construction of deservingness was correspondingly elevated.

However, half a year later, the discursive framing underwent a notable shift. While Ukrainians continued to be acknowledged as deserving of protection, they increasingly became entangled in broader anti-immigration narratives. In this later phase, the discourse did not deny their deservingness outright but reframed it in ways that positioned Ukrainian refugees simultaneously as humanitarian individuals and increasingly part of the perceived anti-immigration problem. In other words, humanitarian frames persisted, but were later interwoven with narratives that linked displaced Ukrainians to the more general economic and security frames of migration and asylum.

This change suggests that the construction of deservingness is contingent on the perceived proximity of threat to the German society itself. When Germany was discursively constructed as a potential victim of war - as referenced in narratives in March 2022 - Ukrainians were consistently framed as highly deserving of protection and as a part of the European struggle. Once this sense of immediate threat receded, however, the discourse returned to more familiar anti-immigration narratives, which, while not stripping Ukrainians of their humanitarian claims, nonetheless incorporated them into broader portrayals of migration as a threat and burden to German society.

4.4. Comparison

4.4.1. <u>Framing Deservingness</u>

Initially, there appears to be a decent overlap in the manner in which Syrian and Ukrainian refugees are framed. As each group first arrives in Germany, they are both primarily portrayed as deserving of compassion and protection. The underlying frames, however, seem to be first and foremost the outcome of a calculation of German self-interest. In 2015, Syrian refugees appeared to offer the solution to a growing demographic and economic problem in German society by integrating them into the workforce. Additionally, the large-scale acceptance of refugees was outwardly portrayed as compassionate and altruistic, while integrated into a national mythos of a finally civilised people looking for betterment and redemption. Nonetheless, there were rarely attempts to construct a unified 'us': Syrian refugees were consistently culturally and racially othered and, in a figurative sense, kept at arm's length. In 2022, considerations around economic benefits existed, too, but the focus was primarily around the construction of a unified identity in which both Ukraine and Germany, or for that matter, the so-called West, were under attack by Russia. From this sense of unity and common threat followed an imperative to consider Ukrainians deserving, and providing protection was the least Germany could do to help fend off the threat. In the later time frames, January 2016 and September/October 2022, each group experienced a change in how they were framed and whether they were still considered deserving. Syrian refugees were, practically, stripped entirely of their previously established humanity. The German people, previously portrayed as strong, heroic, and selfless, were now cast as victims of both the Syrian refugees and their own compassion and naivety. Syrian refugees, according to the framing in reporting, had revealed themselves to be an uncivilised, backwards people from whom the German people needed to protect themselves. Any claims to be seen as deserving were, thus, forfeited. In contrast, Ukrainian refugees maintained their humanity and, most importantly, their integration into the shared identity based on their perceived usefulness. There were, however, shifts away from their purely exceptional position, employing more critical frames that addressed perceived economic and security problems, slowly merging the Ukrainian refugee discourse with the wider, more general anti-immigration discourse. In spite of these changes, Ukrainian refugees largely maintained their status as a deserving sub-group of displaced people.

Especially when comparing the framing of the respective groups and their depictions of deserving refugees, the racialised dimension of these processes becomes apparent. Although rarely expressed outright, Mbembe (2003) explains, race is "the ever present shadow in Western political thought and practice" (p. 17). This is evident in the portrayal of both Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. Although both may be cast as deserving based on the accompanying circumstances, which primarily revolve around the question of whether and how Germany stands to benefit from them, there is an ever-present racial dimension that seems to mediate how far a group can be empathised with and accepted into the German 'us'. While cultural differences and other supposed factors of division and obstacles to assimilation are often cited for the erection of these figurative borders, these often serve as proxies for, essentially, racialised processes of othering (Popovic & Welfens, 2025). In addition to the overall uses and shifts of frames across the case

studies, other factors, such as the language employed or the people who got to speak in articles, reflected these processes, too. Dehumanising, orientalist language and imagery were ever-present in the reporting on Syrian refugees. Ukrainians were never described or referred to in comparable terms. Instead, these were reserved to build up the image of the common enemy, Russia. Notably, Syrian refugees were, almost exclusively, people about whom authors would report; rarely would they receive the opportunity to speak for themselves and tell their own stories. In their stead, sometimes experts, but mostly representatives from the legislative and executive branches of government, would speak about them. Reporting on Ukrainian refugees showed a quite different pattern, with a disproportionately larger share of Ukrainians who were allowed to speak and had their perspective centred. Further, it stood out that, in comparison to their ubiquity in writing on Syrian refugees, representatives from the executive branch, such as police, were almost entirely absent in the articles. Ukrainian voices were often complemented by (most seemingly well-meaning) experts, politicians, or social workers. These linguistic and discursive practices underscore the role of somewhat hidden processes of racialisation that are critical for (understanding) the framing of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees and their portrayal as deserving. The interplay of these processes is the key to understanding why solidarity is only given selectively in *Die Zeit's* reporting on Syrian and Ukrainian refugees.

4.4.2 <u>Selective Solidarity</u>

Public solidarity can be regarded as fundamentally attributed based on perceptions of deservingness (Van Oorschot, 2000; Zogata-Kusz et al., 2023). Recalling the criteria that public solidarity depends on, developed by Van Oorschot (2000) and extended by Zogata-Kusz, Öbrink-Hobzová & Cekiera (2023), - namely control, attitude, reciprocity, identity, need, and the constructed rationalisation of assistance - allows me to analyse how the discourse on deservingness en- or discourages *Die Zeit* readers' solidarity towards displaced people. While the discourse on Syrian refugees in September 2015 was marked by humanitarian frames, portraying Syrians as helpless victims, these frames fulfill the criteria of portraying people out of 'control' and in 'need' of support. Moreover, potential 'reciprocity' was primed by the use of positive economic frames, ticking another box. Lastly, also the hypothesis of 'constructed rationalisation of assistance' is fulfilled since supporting Syrian refugees, as a supposedly particularly distressed sub-group, rationalises the exclusion of other, presumably less vulnerable displaced people (i.e., so-called economic refugees), while maintaining a positive, supportive self-image of the state and its asylum system. As the attitude of Syrians towards the Germans - at that time - is not much reported on, the only criterion that clearly is not fulfilled is a common cultural 'identity'. Despite these two missing requirements (attitude and culture), for those reporting for *Die Zeit* it seems to be enough to construct an overall deserving picture of the figure of the Syrian refugee. Through a lens of deservingness, in September 2015, solidarity with Syrian refugees was frequently encouraged through humanitarian frames that emphasised victimhood and vulnerability, as well as the generosity of the Germans. When establishing the reader's empathy, *Die Zeit* highlighted the suffering of Syrians fleeing war and violence, presenting them as entirely passive victims in need of protection. And even more so, *Die Zeit* stressed the good and benevolent nature of the German

people, who willingly accept innocent - yet othered - victims in need. At the same time, deservingness was linked to the potential economic benefits of welcoming refugees, framing them as capable of contributing to Germany's labour market and demographic stability. In this case, the construction of empathy based on humanitarian frames, the German self-interest to redeem itself from a shameful past, and economic opportunism served as a mobiliser for notions of solidarity. Thereby, solidarity was constructed as something inherently transactional. On a moral level, Germany had the opportunity to improve its (self-)image through performing solidarity towards people in need. On an economic level, Germany had the chance to invest in its future: while solidarity with Syrians came with costs for the German state at first, economic frames served an expectation of returns at a later point. The humanitarian portrayal of vulnerability and need still served as a premise for the exchange, but the prospect of a 'win-win' scenario was omnipresent. Thereby, solidarity in the respective discourse was established, even though conditional. However, the equation changed after the violent incidents in Cologne. While not much changed about the Syrian situation regarding control and need, the employed frames to portray Syrian refugees shifted from humanitarian to security frames. Thereby, negative perceptions in the previously little-emphasised category of 'attitude' were primed by reports, emphasising how instead of gratitude, Syrian refugees encounter the German society with violence and crime. Moreover, a heavy increase in frames of cultural differences and othering shifted the reader's attention to the category of 'identity'. The stereotypical, negative, and derogatory reporting on what was framed as the 'Arab identity' guided the reader to a conclusion of the cultural incompatibility of Syrian refugees. Since now other factors, which are heavily negatively framed, and moreover interpretable as contradicting the previous expected benefits, are emphasised, a spirit of solidarity is no longer encouraged. On the contrary: *Die Zeit* presents the situation in January 2016 as if solidarity with Syrian refugees is no longer a safe option.

The establishment of solidarity based on deservingness appears to be quite different when looking at the Ukrainian mass displacement in 2022. Here, the dominance of humanitarian frames as well as the centering of a united Europe highlight the fulfillment of a common 'identity'. Moreover, the vivid and detailed reports on the situation in Europe clearly establish 'need' as well as the required lack of 'control' to be perceived as deserving of solidarity. Additionally, the construction of Russia as a common enemy for the whole so-called West, against which Ukrainians heroically defend 'us', conveys an immediate impression of 'reciprocity'. Lastly, the detailed human interest stories and portrayals of individuals create an impression of a grateful 'attitude' on behalf of Ukrainians, which might not even be required given their people's heroic efforts in the protection of Europe. Thereby, all criteria for the discursive creation of an impression of Ukrainian refugees as deserving of solidarity are fulfilled. Through the continuous focus of *Die Zeit* on narratives emphasising a common identity and enemy, the most significant pillar in the construction of the Ukrainian deservingness seems to be the commonality of Europeanness, as well as the threat posed by the Russian attacks. The foundation for solidarity is, in this case, not solely based on transactions, but on identity. Therefore, solidarity and support remain out of question, even when more negative economic or security frames arise in the course of 2022. In this case, as identity is the strong basis, solidarity seems unconditional. Moreover, the geopolitical component of Russia as a common enemy plays a role. According

to Dück, Weisner, and Thevenin (2025), this marks the shift of solidarity from a humanitarian principle to a geopolitical tool.

The contrast between the Syrian and Ukrainian cases illustrates how selective solidarity is discursively produced through hierarchies of deservingness. While Syrian refugees are initially portrayed through humanitarian and utilitarian frames, implications for solidarity remain fragile and transactional. As can be seen from the New Year's Eve incidents, the discourse on deservingness can change rapidly, and with the discourse also its implications for solidarity. This is not the case when notions of deservingness and solidarity are underpinned by a strong emphasis on European identity, cultural proximity, and geopolitical alignment against a common enemy. Identity-based notions of solidarity appear to be more robust than transactional ones. In sum, the comparison of the Syrian and Ukrainian cases of mass displacement clearly illustrates indications of selective solidarity.

5. Conclusion

In an attempt to build on and complement existing research on the media discourse on Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, I posed the following question: *How does the discourse on deservingness in the context of migration reflect processes of racialised othering and influence selective solidarity towards displaced people in Germany?* In order to provide a comprehensive answer to this question, I developed a set of sub-questions. First, how does the discourse in German print media frame Syrian and Ukrainian refugees as (un)deserving? Second, how do these frames evolve over time? Third, how does the framing of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees compare to each other, and how do these discourses express selective forms of solidarity? Answering these questions was approached by conducting a comparative case study between Syrian and Ukrainian refugees, focusing on the reporting at four different points in time between 2015 and 2022 in the left-leaning, weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*. The analysis was built on the foundation of a combination of Fairclough's (1995) CDA and Framing Analysis (Goffmann, 1974; Entman, 1993). The results were interpreted through a framework built around the concepts of *Racialised Othering, Deservingness*, and *Selective Solidarity*. A total of 281 articles served as an initial overview and point of departure for the in-depth analysis of 26 selected articles. They were analysed with regard to their linguistic, discursive, and sociocultural practices, and how these contributed to the articles' framing of refugees as (un)deserving. In a final comparison, the role of racialised othering and deservingness in *Die Zeit's* reporting served as the basis to understand how solidarity towards refugees is selectively employed.

Overall, the application of Critical Discourse and Frame Analysis helped unpack the various layers of how racialised othering and deservingness discourses contributed to the selective showing of solidarity towards Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. In *Die Zeit's* reporting, frames were employed to, generally speaking, cast the respective groups in a rather favourable or unfavourable light. This included frames that dealt with questions of economics, security, cultural difference, othering, or the refugees' humanity. Whether

a group was, at a given point, considered deserving or not, was related to two factors. First, whether their participation in German society was deemed a benefit to Germans. Second, whether they were considered part of a unified identity, an 'us' - or, at the very least, could conceivably be integrated into such an identity, or whether they were considered to be invariably part of a 'them' in opposition to which Germany defined its own identity. These considerations follow processes of racialised othering that become more apparent when the Syrian and Ukrainian case-studies are compared. With regard to Syrian refugees, there is initially a push and pull between, on the one hand, perceived benefits to Germany's economy and national self-mythologisation, and, on the other hand, questions about whether their cultural (and implied) racial otherness could be overcome. In September 2015, the perceived benefits prevailed, rendering Syrian refugees 'deserving' in the discourse overall. This status was, however, immediately retracted, when a moral panic around Syrian refugees ensued in January 2016, which cast them as irreconcilably different and inherently threatening due to their cultural and racial otherness. This change in framing stands in contrast to Ukrainian refugees, who were initially considered valuable for primarily strategic and ideological reasons in March 2022. In addition, they are cast as assimilable to German society due to their cultural (and implied racial) similarity. Contrary to Syrian refugees, they are not othered but at all points in time considered as part of a shared identity. Instead, Russia is continuously othered - the common enemy against which this shared identity is formed. As a result, when frames around Ukrainian refugees start to shift towards a more negative portrayal that raises (for example, economic and security concerns), Ukrainian refugees are not, unlike their Syrian counterparts, stripped of their humanity and perception as deserving refugees. These shifts in the use of frames and the attribution of deservingness to a group of refugees, in conclusion, drive the shifts of discursive and, ultimately, lived and expressed solidarity towards them. The relationship between Germans and Syrian refugees is, it has been demonstrated, a strictly transactional one from the German perspective. Syrian refugees are not constructed as having inherent qualities that make them worthy of solidarity. Their only inherent qualities, *Die Zeit* primarily promotes, are racial and cultural otherness. The expression of solidarity, thus, remains conditional. Once frames shift and Syrian refugees are portrayed as undeserving, solidarity, too, is withheld. This stands in contrast to Ukrainian refugees, since Germany and Ukraine are, essentially, military allies with aligned geopolitical goals for whom a shared identity was constructed around perceived cultural similarities. Solidarity appears to be given unconditionally and is not withheld when changes in frames occur. The construction of these frames of deservingness, othering, and selective solidarity is supported through the deliberate use of language, editorial choices, intertextuality, and other linguistic, discursive, and sociocultural practices. Their dialectical interplay creates a discourse around refugees in which notions of deservingness and solidarity are deployed purely on the basis of racialisation and the German self-interest.

As any other study, this thesis is subject to limitations that derive from its use of methods and theory. Being a method that relies on the analytical and interpretative faculties of the researcher, qualitative approaches such as CDA and Frame Analysis represent the subjective interpretations of the researcher mediated by a theoretical framework. CDA, as a theory and method, acknowledges the inherent biases any individual carries within them and the limitations this implies (Fairclough, 2013). My personal position as a

German citizen who lived through the events and consumed the reporting around which this study revolves, makes me an active participant in the discourses I investigate. By conducting research on them and producing a written thesis that problematises these discourses, I make further, deliberate contributions to them. As such, the results of this thesis are coloured by my own lived experience. These circumstances do, however, not invalidate them. As I have laid out in the method section, the application and detailed description of a rigorous methodology ensure its internal cohesion and consistency.

Additionally, the scope of the analysed dataset is an inherent limit to this thesis. While the selection of time frames and articles followed a transparent methodology and best practices that relied on multiple selection factors, other researchers may choose differently and arrive at different conclusions. Following Fairclough (2013), it is, however, an inherent feature of the method of CDA that a different scholar may make different decisions during the research process and, in combination with their own positionality, may arrive at different, yet no less valid conclusions. Bearing these limitations in mind, this thesis does, all things considered, make a valuable contribution to the fields of Critical Migration Studies, Critical Race Studies, and Media Studies.

This research follows in a line of scholarship that has addressed related questions with similar methodological and theoretical approaches. As such, it is necessary to outline in how far the insights gained from this research map onto those from previous studies. One of its main contributions lies in providing an in-depth look at representations of Syrian and Ukrainian refugees in a media outlet that is considered left-leaning but has, nonetheless, a high circulation. The findings in this thesis are, essentially, in line with those of others such as Holzberg et al. (2018) and Hofmann & Hameleers (2024). Regardless of supposed political orientation, media outlets employed comparatively similar frames in the reporting on Syrian and Ukrainian refugees. A novel contribution that this study makes is due to its use in CDA. Where previous studies had relied on content and frame analysis, the linguistic and discursive production of these frames had remained invisible. This thesis has shown how the deliberate use of language, editorial choices, intertextuality, and other factors influence the production and consumption of frames and how they are integrated into a dialectical process of perpetuating or challenging social structures of power.

Looking ahead, further scholarship is needed to see whether analyses conducted by other scholars and for other time frames confirm the findings of this thesis or whether they might produce contradictory ones. As armed conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East continue, so does the discourse on the perceived deservingness and expressed solidarity towards those displaced, as it is selectively given or withheld. Studies with similar foci to this thesis, thus, remain relevant in order to track and understand developments in the framing of these groups. As this study has shown, notions of deservingness and solidarity are often less driven by inherent qualities of the group they are attributed to, but rather the perception of the German people of themselves, often in opposition to these groups. Considering the rapid change in political discourse towards more right-wing positions, it stands to reason that such changes will affect who is constructed as a deserving refugee worthy of solidarity. In any case, going forward, scholarship on the representation of refugees in German media is likely to produce new insights and questions alike.

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7. Appendix

Appendix A: September 2015: Complete list of articles coded

Edition	Authors	Page	Section	Length	Heading	Sub-Heading	Humanitarian	Legal	Security	Cultural	Othering/Us Th	Economic
03.09.2015	Gero von Randow	1	Titelseite	short	Massenflucht nach Deutschland. Sie meinen uns/	Gut, dass die Bundesregierung so klug gehaushaltet hat. Je						
Insgesamt 18	Jan Ross	2	Politik	medium	Dunkler Stolz	Von Pegida bis Peking: Die unheimliche neue Karriere des						
	Marc Brost & He	4	*	long	"Alles muss sehr schnell gehen"	Wieviele Flüchtlinge kann Deutschland aufnehmen, wen soll			negative			
	Heinz Bude	5	*	medium	Der gute Mensch ist nicht dumm	In der Flüchtlingskrise erlebt Deutschland sein neues Somm						
	Martin Klingst	5	*	short	Sie wären gerne böse	Die Polizei hat sich an einem Video über Abschiebung vers			negative			
	Christoph Dieckn	6	*	long	Warum immer Sachsen?	Nirgendwo sonst in Deutschland machen sich Neonazis und						
	Bastian Hosan	7	*	medium	Die alte Angst	Führen mehr Flüchtlinge zu mehr Gewalt?			negative			
	Peter Dausend	9	*	short	Schokokisses	Joachim Hermann, Roberto Blanco und eine Farbe mit Mig						
	Kolja Rudzio	17	Wirtschaft	long	Heute Flüchtling, morgen Arbeitsloser?	Viele Asylbewerber suchen einen Job – und deutsche Firme						
	Elisabeth Niejah	18	*	short	Jobvermittler in die Heime	Wie Bundesarbeitsministerin Andrea Nahles mit Geld und						
	Georg Blume	23	*	long	Frankreich fällt aus	Präsident Hollande tritt aus dem Schatten der Bundeskanzle						
	Caterina Lobens	27	*	medium	Es trifft die Falschen	Europa will härter gegen Schlepper vorgehen – und schade			positive			
	Lydia Köckner	30	Wissen	medium	Allmacht durch Zerstörung	Was treibt den IS an, Kulturgüter zu vernichten? Ein Gespr						
	Jorna Mangold	39	Feuilleton	short	Die Grenzen des Sagbaren	Eva Herman wartet im Netz mit neuen Verschwörungstheo						
	Elisabeth von Th	40	*	medium	Fragen über Fragen	Lässt die Demokratie alle Fragen zu, oder kehrt sie manche						
	Peter Kümmel	41	*	long	Pssssst/	Der WDR hat eine Folge der Tatschow »Hart aber fair« aus						
	Arman Avanessi	42	*	long	Diese Menschenschwärme	Die Flüchtlingsströme stellen uns vor die Systemfrage: Der			negative			
	Moritz Rinke	53	*	short	Mit Merkels Hubschrauber über Sachsen	Wie mir't dünkte, ich sei Ethik- und Achtungsminister /						
10.09.2015	Tina Hildebrandt	1	Titelseite	short	Meines Moment	"Nicht fragen was mir geht, sondern fragen, was geht": Die						
Insgesamt 21	Jochen Bittner, A	2 & 3	Politik	very long	Willkommen! Und jetzt?	Wieviele Flüchtlinge auf dem Weg sind, was sie mit Europa						
	Ulrich Ladurner	4	*	long	Der letzte Schutz	Serbie will in die EU – auch deshalb hilft die Regierung des						
	Jochen Bittner	5	*	long	Fremd in Bullerbü	Passen ein moderner Sozialstaat und Einwanderung zuein			negative			
	Tina Hildebrandt	6	*	long	"Sie können mich ja gern fragen, was ich täte, wenn ic	Thilo Sarrazin löste 2010 mit seinem Buch eine große Integ			negative			
	Andrea Böhm	7	*	long	Mit Bomben und Chlorgas	Bald schon könnte der Krieg die Assad-Hochburgen erreich			positive			
	Michael Thuman	8	*	long	Das Prinzip ungefähr	In Europa gibt es unterschiedliche Vorstellungen von Verbin						
	Bernd Ulrich (u.a	9	*	short	Ein Appell an unsere politische Führung	Europäische Zeitungen fordern eine neue Flüchtlingspolitik						
	Josef Joffe	10	*	short	Das deutsche Wunder	Wieso öffnet das Land den Fremden die Tore und Herzen?						
	Peter Dausend	11	*	short	Weinglasexperte	Was ein Hauptstadtkorrespondent bei den Sommerfesten le						
	Henning Susseb	13,14&15	Dossier	very long	Marine Söder	Erdölrnt, er kumpelt, er twittert. Kein Politiker inszeniert sic						
	CST	16	Geschichte	short	Asylkritik	/						
	Fritz Schaap	19&20	Wirtschaft	long	Die Kinder von Berlin	Verbrechen bestimmen das Leben in dem westafrikanischer						
	Götz Hamann	24	*	short	Er kann es doch	Bei Bertelsmann hatte Rolf Buch keine Fortune. Aber jetzt d						
	Reinhard Loske	31	*	medium	Wohlstandsinsel in Gefahr	Nur wenn es auf dem Planeten zwischen armen und reiche			negative			
	Ulrich Schnabel	33	Wissen	long	Große Koalition des Mitgefühls	Massenhafte Emotionen galten in Deutschland lange als su						
	Tina Hildebrandt	35	*	long	"Man muss sich auch beherrschen"	Warum findet Gregor Gysi Liebe anstrengender als Hass? L						
	Slavoj Zizek	47	Feuilleton	long	Wenn die Utopie explodiert	Die Träume der Immigranten von einem freien Leben in Eur						
	Michael Krüger	59	*	medium	Mittagessen mit Hannah Arendt	Drei Monate im Paradies der Forschung: Meine Zeit an Wis						
	Malin Schulz	60	Glauben & Zweif	medium	Ein kurzes Erschaudern	Müssen wir wirklich wissen, wie ein totes Flüchtlingskind au			negative			
	Evelyn Finger	60	*	medium	Warum wir hinschauen müssen	Ohne den Anblick des Leidens gibt es kein Mitleid. Und ohn			positive			
17.09.2015	Heinrich Wefing	1	Titelseite	short	Starke Truppe	Demos, Grenzkontrollen, Schutz für Asylbewerber: Ungläub			positive			
Insgesamt 16	Khue Pham	1	Titelseite	short	Marke Hoffnung	Auch in Großbritannien eskaliert ein Unmer die Menschen						
	Tina Hildebrandt	2 & 3	Politik	very long	Im Auge des Orkans	Massenflucht nach Deutschland: So viel Risiko war noch nic			negative			
	Peter Dausend,	4 & 5	*	very long	An der Grentze	/			negative			
	Josef Joffe	6	*	long	"Dann verzweifeln Sie schon"	70.000 Flüchtlinge hat München in den vergangenen Tagen						
	AK, MK, PED	6	*	short	Gefälschte Papiere	Weil Syrer in Deutschland schnell Asyl bekommen, geben v			negative			
	Michael Thuman	7	*	medium	Schöne Grüße aus Moskau	Russische Panzer für Damaskus? Warum Wladimir Putin in						
	Haule Friedrichs	15	Dossier	long	Flucht vor deutschen Waffen	Aus Syrien fliehen Menschen auch vor deutschen Gewehre			positive			
	Georg Blume	24&25	Wirtschaft	long	"Franzosen lieben die Revolution"	Axa-Chef Henri de Castries über die Krise des europäische						
	Mark Schieritz	27	*	medium	"Sie wollen seinen Beitrag leistet"	Wolfgang Goebel, Personalvorstand bei McDonald's, über d						
	Kolja Rudzio	33	*	medium	Klimmerliche Bilanz	Trotz Mitgliederschwund und geschärfter Streiks wird verd						
	Peter Kümmel	43	Feuilleton	short	Irrlicht Deutschland	Können unsere Nachbarn uns endlich verraten, wer sie sind			negative			
	Oml Böhm	44	*	long	Unsere Bürger?	Wir wissen nicht mehr, welchen Status Flüchtlinge haben. H						
	Ingeborg Harms	45	*	long	Nostalgie des Mitgefühls	Die Flüchtlinge bringen aus ihren vormodernen Gesellschaft						
	Laura Brunner	63	Kulturnation	short	Mit Blumenerde und Ketchup	Ein Porträt des Regisseurs Gernot Grünwald, der das Thea						
	Anant Argawala	74	Chancen	medium	"Wir haben drei Bausteine beschlossen"	Bundesbildungsministerin Johanna Wanka verspricht den H						
24.09.2015	Jörg Lau	1	Titelseite	short	Letztes Gefecht	Jetzt wollen die Russen das Land beenden. Das klingt gut,						
Insgesamt 17	Stefan Schmitt	1	Titelseite	short	Richtiges Unwetter	Das Wetterphänomen El Niño kehrt mit großer Kraft zurück.						
	Matthias Geis &	3	Politik	long	Nicht mehr unsere Merkel	Die Union wächst – und ihr rechts: Mit ihrer Flüchtlingspo						
	Martin Klingst	4	*	medium	Gefährliche Langeweile	Junge muslimische Männer, die wochenlang unbeschäftigt			negative			
	Mariam Lau	5	*	long	Der Gott der Anderen	Deutschland wird islamischer werden. Welcher Islam dass se			positive			
	Christiane Grefe	11	*	long	So geht's nicht weiter	Der frühere Bundespräsident Horst Köhler über die Flüchtli						
	Josef Joffe	12	*	short	Drei Musketiere	Bizarres Bündnis: Die USA, Russland und der Iran retten As						
	Ulrich Ladurner	12	*	medium	Verdammte dieser Erde	Flüchtlinge sind nicht nur Opfer. Sie sind auch ein revolution						
	Claus Leggewie	13	*	medium	Notstand als Chance	Migration kann Europa aus seiner Müdigkeit holen						
	Elisabeth Niejah	25	Wirtschaft	long	Fünf Ideen gegen Sozialneid	Wie Deutschland Verteilungskämpfe zwischen Flüchtlingen						
	Claus Hecking	26	*	long	Wir lassen sie nicht untergehen	Warum der Pariser Gipfel den Durchbruch im Kampf gegen						
	Anne Kunze	30	*	short	Gabriel greift durch	Die Fleischkonzerne reagieren auf den politischen Druck un						
	Ruben Rehage	31	*	medium	Deutschland und die Flüchtlinge: Ran an die Arbeit	Konzernchefs versprechen reihenweise Praktika, Ausbildun						
	Petra Pinzler	31	*	medium	"Harmlos wie ein Kinderlied"	BDI-Geschäftsführer Markus Kerber möchte den Satz »Wir						
	Felix Rohrbeck	35	*	medium	Ein Zelt ist kein Zuhause	Viele Flüchtlinge werden nie bleiben. Hunde rtausende Woh			positive			
	Finis	57	Feuilleton	short	Das Letzte	/						
	Evelyn Finger	58	Glauben & Zweif	long	Gottes Blauhelm	Papst Franziskus fliegt nach Washington und zu den Verein						

Appendix B: January 2016: Complete list of articles coded

Edition	Authors	Page	Section	Length	Heading	Sub-Heading	Humanitarian	Legal	Security	Cultural	Othering/ Us-The...	Economic
07.01.2016	Heinrich Wefing	1	Titelseite	short	Die Frauenjagd von Köln: Unter Sch...	Was in der Silvesternacht geschah, hat es in Deuts...			negative			
Insgesamt 18	Anant Agarwala	2	Politik	medium	Der Albtraum	Arabische Männer, die deutsche Frauen begrapsch...						
	Andrea Böhm	3	"	long	Die Rache Gottes	Der Konflikt zwischen Saudi-Arabien und dem Iran			war			
	Jochen Bittner	5	"	long	Im Reich der Rechtlosen	Nicht nur Polen verweigert der EU die Gefolgschaft						
	Ulrich Ladurner	6&7	"	long	Wer geht als Nächster?	Aus keiner afrikanischen Nation fliehen so viele Bü...						
	Jörg Lau	8	"	long	Möge die Macht mit dir sein!	Die Folgen der US-Politik stürzen den mittleren Ost...			war			
	Josef Joffe	10	"	short	Kulturkampf	Der Islam bekriegt nicht den Westen, sondern sich ...			negative			
	Elias Perabo	11	"	short	Pseudopazifisten	Mit ihrer einseitigen Kritik an westlichen Interventio...			war			
	CST	17	Geschichte	short	Wir Eingewanderten	Ohne Migranten keine deutsche Leitkultur						
	Elisabeth Niejahr	23	Wirtschaft	long	Weniger Hilfe für Ausländer?	Sozialleistungen für Flüchtlinge zu reduzieren wäre...						negative
	Helene Becker	36	Forschungswelten	medium	Flucht, Asyl, Migration: Angekommen...	/						
	Hans-Henning vo...	40	"	short	Hochschulen für Angewandte Wisse...	Die "hidden champions" des deutschen Wissensch...						
	Milo Rau	41	Feuilleton	long	Betroffenheit reicht nicht	Mitten in der Flüchtlingskatastrophe glauben wir no...			negative			
	Moritz von Uslar	50	"	short	Auf ein Frühstückseil mit Peter Maffa...	/						
	Tim Kummert	67	Chancen: Serie	medium	Rate will jetzt Steuern zahlen	Erwundert sich über Papierkram und Pünktlichkeit,...			war			positive
	Abdel Halim Qu...	54	Glauben & Zweifeln	medium	Die Erben des Propheten	Weil Mohammed keinen Nachfolger bestimmte, be...			war			
	Evelyn Finger	54	"	short	Die Heimat ist eine Falle	Drei Anschläge trafen kurz vor Silvester die Christe...			war			
	Martin Spiewak	67	Chancen	medium	"Es zählt, was wir im Kopf haben"	Auch ohne Zeugnisse dürfen sich Flüchtlinge an de...						
14.01.2016	Martin Schulz	1	Titelseite	short	Sexuelle Übergriffe: Mein Silvester...	Auch unsere Autorin wurde angegriffen. Doch zu de...			negative			
Insgesamt 19	Michael Thuman	1	"	short	Anschlag in der Türkei: Im Fadenkre...	Der grausame Terrorakt in Istanbul galt zum ersten...			war / terror			negative
	Özlem Topçu	2	Politik	medium	Mitten ins Herz	Der Terror in der Türkei trifft ein Land, das schon zu...			war / terror			
	Matthias Nass	3	"	short	Das Kalifat schlägt um sich	Nach Paris jetzt Istanbul: Weil der "Islamische Staa...			negative			
	Bernd Ulrich	3	"	long	Wer ist der arabische Mann? Wer fü...				negative			
	Mohamed Amjah...	4	"	long	"Ist doch niemand gestorben"	Die Spur der Verdächtigen aus der Silvesternacht f...			negative			
	Ahmet Toprak	5	"	short	Die Sache mit dem Sex	Ihre Freiheit stört seinen Ehrbegriff. Die Frau zu de...						
	Marc Brost & Tin...	6	"	medium	"Wir waren blauäugig"	Der CDU-Politiker Jens Spahn über Ehrlichkeit in d...		negative				
	Mohamed Amjah...	6	"	short	Die Enteierung des Vorurteils	Was ist an Klischees über den Araber dran?						
	Anant Agarwala...	7	"	medium	Was können wir jetzt tun? Zeigen, w...	Zu viele Nordafrikaner kommen zu einfach nach De...		negative				
	Josef Joffe	10	"	short	"Yes we can"?	Offene Grenzen verlangen offene Systeme, die Eur...						
	Andrea Böhm	10	"	medium	Rosinenbomber für Syrien	Das Assad-Regime hungert Tausende Menschen a...	?		war / negative			
	Thomas Carl Sch...	11	"	short	Verhandelt mit dem IS!	Die Friedensbewegung hat keine Idee zum Syrien...			war			
	Kai Biermann & ...	12	Recht & Unrecht	long	Hilfsspion Flüchtling	Wie deutsche Geheimdienste Asylbewerber anzufor...			positive			
	Christian Staas	17	Geschichte	short	Mit Sisyphos gegen die Nazis	Ermutigend und deprimierend: Das Buch »Mein Ka...						
	Jens Tönnemann	22	Wirtschaft	short	Ein gefährliches Spiel	Die neuen Passkontrollen in Skandinavien schaden...						negative
	Armin Nassehi	39	Feuilleton	long	Fatale Blicke	Wir müssen über die Kultur von Migranten spreche...			negative			
	Marie Schmidt	39	"	medium	Das Volk und sein ewig schwaches ...	Eine übergriffige Debatte: An der Reinheit des Frau...			negative			
	Petra Bahr	50	Glauben & Zweifeln	long	Die Angst vor der Wahrheit	Wir müssen über Religion reden: Wenn Hundertau...						
21.01.2016	Tina Hildebrandt	1	Titelseite	short	Merkel & die Flüchtlinge: Ab wann?	Wie lange hält die Kanzlerin die Krise und die Kritik...			negative			
Insgesamt 19	Adam Soboczyns...	1	"	short	Köln & Folgen: Bitte nicht stören	Woher kommt das Bedürfnis, jeden noch so handre...			negative			
	Elisabeth Niejahr	2	Politik	medium	Weck die Frau, die in dir steckt	Seit den sexuellen Übergriffen der Silvesternacht g...			negative			
	Matthias Geis	3	"	long	Nach dem Trotz	Populistisch reden und zugleich Populisten stigmat...						
	Marc Brost, Matt...	4	"	long	Fluchtreflexe	Angela Merkel hofft auf eine europäische Lösung d...						
	Daniel Erk	4	"	short	Er kann auch anders	Wolfgang Bosbach ist Angela Merkels schärfster K...						
	Martin Klingst	5	"	long	Ist das die Grenze, die wir wollen?	Marokko hindert Asylsuchende daran, Europa zu er...		negative				negative
	Özlem Topçu	7	"	medium	Wo sind ihre toten Kinder?	Im Südosten der Türkei herrscht Bürgerkrieg. Nun f...			war / terror			
	Josef Joffe	8	"	short	"Neusprech" neu	Gedankenkontrolle demokratisch: Die Tyrannei des ...			negative			
	Anne Kunze	11-13	Dossier	long	Die Spur des Piraten	In Bayern werden Fingerabdrücke eines Somaliers ...			negative			
	Michael Hüther	27	Wirtschaft	medium	Der unbemerkte Wandel	Das Land hat sich längst stärker verändert, als man...						red
	Reiner Klingholz	31	Wissen	long	Das Kraftwerk im Dorf	Afrika benötigt für seine Zukunft erneuerbare Energ...			negative			
	Iona Marglid	37	Feuilleton	long	Der Verlust der Mitte	Deutschland geht es wirtschaftlich bestens, aber da...			negative			negative
	Heinrich Wefing	37	"	short	Der Bruch der Verfassung	Hilft nur noch der Rechtsstaat, wenn die Demokratie...						
	Moritz von Uslar	38	"	medium	Hast du ein Problem?	Ein paar Notizen aus Köln, der prolligsten Stadt De...						
	Slawomir Sierak...	40	"	long	Pathetische Gesten	Polens neue Regierung hat viel gemein mit anderen...						
	Susanne Mayer	49	"	short	Männer! Helphelphelp	/						
	Wolfgang Thiele...	50	Glauben & Zweifeln	short	Scharia schlägt Menschenrechte	Wer vom muslimischen Glauben abfällt, wird in viele...			negative			
	Ahmet Toprak	63	Chancen	short	"Die Lehrerin hat mich ausgelacht"	Ahmet Toprak ist Professor der Erziehungswissens...						
28.01.2016	Caterina Lobens...	1	Titelseite	short	Sollte man mit der AfD reden?	Ja: Denn ein Boykott dieser Partei entspricht genau...						
Insgesamt 22	Elisabeth Niejahr	1	"	short	Sollte man mit der AfD reden?	Nein: Denn man macht nicht jeder Propaganda eine...						
	Tina Hildebrandt	2	Politik	long	Die Julia auf dem heißen Blechdach	Wahlkampferin Klöckner hält der Kanzlerin offiziell ...						
	Matthias Krupa & ...	3	"	long	Wird sie springen?	Viele in Europa halten Merkels Flüchtlingspolitik für...						
	Birgit Schönau	4	"	medium	Und plötzlich rebelliert er	Jahrelang ließ Europa Italien mit den Flüchtlingsst...						
	Khuê Pham	5	"	short	"Jetzt müssen andere Länder ran"	Lange nahm Schweden besonders viele Flüchtlinge...		negative				
	Christopher Cald...	5	"	medium	Selbst schuld! Merkels Alleingang	In ihrem Eifer hat die deutsche Kanzlerin ihren Part...			negative			
	Zoltan Niszelly	6	"	short	Lieber mehr Kinder	Ungarn sichert sich durch einen F...			negative			
	/	6	"	short	Bloß keine Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge!	Die Slowakei fürchtet eine starke muslimische Gem...			negative			negative
	/	6	"	short	"Sie hassen uns"	Polen warnt vor Flüchtlingen, die Europa zerstören ...			negative			
	Norbert Röttgen	7	"	long	Nicht schweigen!	Deutschland muss im Umgang mit Diktaturen wie S...						
	Dagmar Rosenfe...	8	"	medium	Deutschland extrem	Im Karneval regiert in weiten Teilen der Republik ein...						
	Marc Brost & Joc...	9	"	long	"Ich war nie zu spät"	Hans-Jochen Vogel wird 90. Ein Gespräch über Se...			negative			
	Anant Agarwala	9	"	short	Und plötzlich fällt ein Schuss	Im baden-württembergischen Wahlkampf attackier...						
	Andrea Böhm	10	"	medium	Soll der Westen in Lybien investiere...	/						
	Richard Arnold	11	"	medium	Schwarz-grün integriert	Eine Einwanderungsampel ist die Chance, sich ein...						red
	Anant Agarwala,	19	Wirtschaft	long	Was kostet die Angst?	Die Deutschen schwanken nach den Übergriffen vo...			negative			negative
	Michel Abdollahi	21	"	medium	Was ist mit deiner Angst, Migrant?	Alle reden über die verunsicherten Deutschen. Uns...			negative			
	Stefanie Kara & ...	21	"	medium	Was uns zittern lässt	Wann überschätzen, wann unterschätzen wir Gefar...			negative			
	Peter Kümmel	39	Feuilleton	long	Ihr Moment der Wahrheit	Szenen eines Abschieds: Rund um Angela Merkel r...						negative
	Jens Jessen	40	"	long	Das Flüchtlingsspiel	Ablenken, Täuschen, Kartenlesen: Scheinbe hafte...						
	Adam Soboczyns...	54	?	long	Oh Mann!	Warum haben sich die deutschen Männer in der Sil...						

Appendix C: March 2022: Complete list of articles coded

Edition	Authors	Page	Section	Length	Heading	Sub-Heading	Humanitarian	Legal	Security	Cultural	Othering/ Us Them	
28.09.2022	/	1	Titelseite	just a big heading	Putins Kalkül: Zu allem bereit?	Auf einmal ist der Einsatz von Atombombe			war		Russia	
insgesamt 10	Michael Thuman	2-3	Politik	medium	Moskaus Partysommer ist vorbei	Mit der Mobilmachung hat Wladimir Putin			war		Russia	
	Jörg Lau & Peter	2-3	"	medium	Putins neue Nukleardoktrin	Moskau droht nun unverhohlen mit Atomw			war		Russia	
	Holger Stark	2-3	"	medium	Hilfe, die zum Ziel führt	Als Teil der Zeitenwende liefert der BND			war			
	Simon Langema	4	"	long	Es kommt ein Schiff, geladen	Auf ein einziges Abkommen haben sich di			war			
	Alice Bota	5	"	long	"An meine Kinder kommen sie nicht ran"	Der Krieg erreicht die Mitte der russischen	Russian populati		war			
	P. Middelhof, A. N	10	"	long	Es wird voller	Politiker warnen vor einer neuen Flüchtlin			negative			
	Jochen Bittner &	12	"	long	Sollte Deutschland auch die Rückeroberung der	Und was, wenn die Ukraine mit westlichen			war			
	Martin Spiewak	35	Wissen	short	Unerledigte Hausaufgaben	Die Politik schafft es nicht, Kinder an Bre						
	Thea Dorn	47	Feuilleton	long	Mütter der Nation	Warum machen Frauen zunehmend bei d						
	Victor Jerofejew	49	"	long	Russland ohne Zukunft. Zukunft ohne Russland?	Viele liberale Gegner Putins träumen von			war		Russia	
06.10.2022	Michael Thuman	1	Titelseite	short	Krieg gegen die Ukraine: Verhandeln, ja - aber ni	Russland muss erst noch mehr verlieren			war		Russia	
insgesamt 7	Jörg Lau	6	Politik	long	Wenn Frauen den Krieg erklären	In der Debatte über Putins Angriffskrieg si			war			
	Jochen Bettner, A	7	"	long	Wie verwundbar sind wir?	Die Anschläge auf die Ostsee-Pipelines h			war			negative
	Wolfgang Uchati	13	Dossier	long	Und plötzlich alles anders	Warum auch ein Krieg eine Sternstunde s						
	Hans Woller	17	Geschichte	long	Rom oder Tod	Vor 100 Jahren griff Benito Mussolini in Ita						
	Lars Weisbrod	49	Feuilleton	long	Ist das noch links?	Herbst der Proteste: Was die Menschen a						
	Abdel-Hakim Ou	60	Glauben & Zweif	long	Das gefährliche Kopftuch	Im Iran wurde es zum Symbol der Angst v			negative		Muslim	
13.10.2022	Heinrich Wefing	1	Titelseite	short	Ukraine: Gegen die Angst	Putins größte Chance, den Krieg zu gewir			war		Russia	
insgesamt 12	Mark Schieritz	2	Politik	long	Wie wummsig ist der Wumms?	Die Gaspreisbremse steht. Die ZEIT hat a						
	Alice Bota	4	"	medium	Stell dir vor...	... die russischen Raketen schlügen in Ha	Ukrainians		war			
	Cathrin Gilbert	4	"	long	"Putin will leben"	Der ehemalige Geheimdienstoffizier Olexi			war		Russia	
	Michael Thuman	6	"	long	Die geprügelte Armee	Putins Truppe wird neuerdings auch in Ru	Russian populati		war			
	Mariam Lau	7	"	long	Lagerfeuer gesucht	Überall in Europa radikalisiert sich die bür						
	Matthias Krupa,	8	"	long	Deutschland landet gern sanft	Warum so viele EU-Länder wegen der En						red
	Andrea Böhm	10	"	long	Die Toten des Friedensnobelpreisträgers	Im Schatten des Ukraine-Konflikts wird in			war			
	Christian Staas	19	Geschichte	long	"Sie hatten Angst"	Am nuklearen Abgrund: Was die Kubakris			war			
	Timo Posselt	52	Feuilleton	short	Mit Kochvideos gegen das Böse	Einmal nicht aufgepasst, schickt einen der						
	Elisabeth von Th	53	"	short	Der Geerdete	Zum Tod von Bruno Latour, dem Vordenke						
	Evelyn Finger	58	Glauben & Zweif	short	Sind die Demos legitim?	Jörg Uhle-Wettler ist Domprediger in Mag						
20.10.2022	/	1	Titelseite	just a big heading	Fluchtpunkt Deutschland	1,2 Millionen Menschen haben in diesem J						
insgesamt 10	Volker Weiderma	1	"	short	Ukraine: Krieg und Frieden	Der Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchha			war		Russia	
	Paul Middelhof	4&5	Politik	long	»Ich habe den Tod gesehen«	Wieder wollen Tausende Menschen über d			positive and neg			
	Mariam Lau	5	"	medium	Nicht mehr Weltmeister	Aus dem Chaos von 2015 haben die etwa					Ukrainians	
	Olivia Kortas	6	"	long	Putin will, dass sie frieren	Russland greift die Stromversorgung der U	Ukrainians		war		Russia	
	Jochen Bittner &	10	"	long	Wird es schwieriger als 2015	Er ist Landrat von Bad Tölz, sie sitzt dort i						
	Cathrin Gilbert	28	Unterhaltung	long	»Man kann uns nicht brechen«	Erst Boxweltmeister, dann Nationalhelden	Ukrainians					
	Anant Agarwala	29-30	Wissen	long	Im toten Winkel	Das Ruhrgebiet ist der größte pädagogisc			negative			
	Serhij Zhadan	45	Feuilleton	long	»Ein Mensch mit einer Waffe hat eine völlig ander	Der diesjährige Friedenspreisträger Serhij			war			
	Tobias Timm	52	"	long	Kunst in Gefahr	Nicht nur in der Ukraine, auch in Deutschl			war			
	Marina Weisband	64	Entdecken	medium	Über die Politik der Nadelstiche	In der Ukraine war Stickerei Trost und Pro						

Appendix D: September/October 2022: Complete list of articles coded

Edition	Authors	Page	Section	Length	Heading	Sub-Heading	Humanitarian	Legal	Security	Cultural	Othering/ Us Them	Economic
02.03.2022	Giovanni Di Lorenzo	1	Titelseite	medium	Deutschland & der Krieg: Wie können wir h...	Von einem Tag auf den anderen scheint das L...	Human		war		-	negative
Insgesamt 27	Andrea Jeska	1		just a big heading	Wie können wir helfen?	Reichen Waffen, Sanktionen und Solidarität u...			war			
	Andrea Jeska	2	Politik	long	Wie lange hält Kiew durch?	Am Bahnhof drängen sich Familien mit Kinder...					Ukrainians vs. o...	
	Bernd Ulrich	3	"	long	Kann sie Putin bremsen?	Putins Gegenspielerin: Ursula von der Leyen						
	Simone Brunner	4	"	medium	Überlebt Selensky diesen Krieg?	/			war			
	Simon Langmann	4	"	short	Wie bereitet sich Litauen auf einen Angriff ...	/			war			
	Michael Thumann	5	"	short	Wie weit wird Putin gehen?				Russia		Russia	
	Michael Thumann	5	"	medium	Kippt die Stimmung in Russland?				Russia		Russia	
	Kai Biermann & Karsten P...	7	"	medium	Wer hat den Kreml gehackt?	»Wir als Aktivisten werden nicht tatenlos zuse...	Human		Russia		Russia	
	Peter Dausend, Ulrich Lad...	8	"	long	Kann die Nato sie verteidigen?	In seiner Militärdoktrin sieht Russland den Ein...			Russia		Russia	
	Olivia Kortas	10	"	medium	Was fürchtet Polen am meisten?				Russia			
	Xifan Yang	10	"	short	Auf wessen Seite steht China?							
	Manfred Sapper	11	"	medium	Ist Putins Politik wahnsinnig?	JA. Er ist getäuscht von seinem eigenen Welt...					Russia	
	Josef Joffe	11	"	medium	Ist Putins Politik wahnsinnig?	NEIN. Was der Kreml-Chef tut, ist scharf kalk...					Russia	
	Jochen Bittner & Stefan S...	12	"	long	Frieden schaffen doch mit Waffen?	Zwei Militärs und zwei Politiker streiten, warum...			war	cultural		
	Frank Bösch	21	Geschichte	long	Bedingt sanktionsbereit	Die deutsche Abhängigkeit vom russischen G...			Russia		Russia	
	Ingo Malcher, Kolja Rudzic...	23	Wirtschaft	long	Hart getroffen	Nur 48 Stunden nach Kriegsbeginn rissen bei...			war			negative
	Jochen Bittner	24	"	medium	Atomkraft? Einsteigen, bitte?!	Ließen sich die letzten drei deutschen Kernkra...						
	Ingo Dausend, Claas Tatje	24	"	short	Oligarchen? Wo der Rubel noch roll	Die EU verhängt neue Sanktionen gegen rus...			Russia		Russia	sanctions
	Hauke Friedrichs	24	"	medium	Rüstung: Plötzlich gewollt	Als Reaktion auf den Krieg in der Ukraine rüs...			war		Russia	positive
	Ingo Malcher & Lisa Nieha...	25	"	long	Der Finanzkrieg	Der Westen schneidet Russland von den welt...			war		Russia	negative
	Ivan Krastev	57	Feuilleton	long	Jetzt beginnt eine neue Geschichte	Die Zeit der sanften Macht ist vorbei. Stark si...	Human		war		Russia	
	Katja Petrowskaja	57	"	medium	»Nie habe ich so viel Liebe gesehen«	Wie die Menschen in Kiew mich aufmuntern	Human		war			
	Thomas Assheuer	58	"	medium	»Wer sagt denn, dass das Gute immer gew...	In Putins Weltbild ist Russland ein Reich des ...			Russia	cultural	Russia	
	Peter Neumann	58	"	medium	»Sieger ist nicht, wer die Schlachten gewin...	Der Krieg ist zurück in Europa. Ein Gespräch ...			war			
	Marina Weisband	61	"	medium	»Die Welt hat die Ukrainer kennengelernt. ...		Human					
	Maxim Biller	61	"	medium	Schon wieder die Russen	Geschichte wiederholt sich – aber nur, wenn ...					Russia	
	Evelyn Finger	70	Glauben & Zweif...	medium	Bei Bombenalarm in die Kathedralen	»Wir beten für de...			war			
10.03.2022	Matthias Nass	1	Titelseite	short	Machtpolitik: Putins Komplize	China steht im Ukraine-Krieg fest an der Seite...			war		Russia / China	
Insgesamt 23	Roman Pletter	1	"	short	Sanktionen: Frieden ist teuer	Deutschland unterstützt mit seinen Gas- und ...						sanctions
	Olivia Kortas, Caterina Lo...	2	Politik	long	Der Krieg weist dir den Weg	Millionen Menschen müssen die Ukraine ve...	Human					
	Cathrin Gilbert	3	"	long	»Wenn die Ukraine bei dir ist, fühlst du dic...	Präsident Wolodymyr Selenskyj spricht über s...			war		Russia	
	Jörg Lau, Petra Pinzler, M...	4	"	long	Die neuen Stufen der Eskalation	Die Ukraine fordert, dass der Westen den Dru...			war		Russia	sanctions
	Alice Bota, Michael Thuma...	5	"	long	»Ich will nicht, dass es je so kommt«	Swetlana Tichanowskaja spricht darüber, was ...					Russia	
	Peter Dausend, Robert Pa...	6&7	"	long	"What a day"	Waffen für die Ukraine, 100 Milliarden Euro fü...			war		Russia	neutral
	Heinrich August Winkler	8	"	long	Was Putin mit Hitler verbindet	Wie viele Autokraten und Diktatoren vor ihm h...					Russia	
	Martin Machowecz & Aug...	12	"	long	Lernt die Linke aus diesem Krieg?	Gregor Gysi und Bodo Ramelow stellen sich ...			war			
	Wolfgang Bauer	16&17	Dossier	long	Klew im Krieg	Eine Reise zu den Menschen in der ukrainisch...	Human		war			
	Andreas Kappeler	19	Geschichte	long	Der lange Weg zur Unabhängigkeit	Anders als Putin behauptet, wollen die Ukrain...					Russia	
	Lisa Niehaus, Kolja Rudzic	21	Wirtschaft	medium	Russlands letzter Kaufrausch	Leer gekaufte Läden, rasant steigende Preise...	Russian popula...		war			sanctions
	Roman Pletter & Marc Wid...	22	"	medium	Die Angst vor dem nächsten Winter	Russlands Präsident lässt bereits Exportverbo...					Russia	negative
	Andrea Böhm, Christiane ...	23	Wirtschaft	long	Brot und Kriege	Die Ukraine zählte bislang zu den größten We...					Russia	negative
	Matthias Lohre	33	Wissen	long	Die Bilder sind wieder da	Viele ältere Deutsche erinnert der Krieg in der...					Russia	
	Volker Weidermann	51	Feuilleton	long	Unsere Ohren waren verstopft	Die osteuropäischen Schriftstellerinnen und S...						
	Karl Schlögl	51	"	medium	Für eure und unsere Freiheit!	Lange war es bequemer, wegzusehen. Jetzt n...	Human		war			
	Andrej Kurkow	52	"	medium	Meine Flucht aus Kiew	Eine Schlüsselgeschichte, aufgeschrieben am...	Human		war			
	Christin Lemke-Matwey	54	"	medium	Die Russen kommen	Wie Putin auch meine Familiengeschichte trif...					Russia	
	Tobias Timm	55	"	medium	Der schöne Schein und das große Geld	Putin als Schirmherr einer deutschen Ausstell...					Russia	negative
	Evelyn Finger	62	Glauben & Zweif...	medium	"Den Krieg als heilig bezeichnen"	Warum heizt der Moskauer Patriarch Kyrill de...			war		Russia	
	Azza Karam	62	"	short	Ein Brief an Kyrill	Darum bitten wir den Patriarchen um ein Treff...	Human					
	Michael Allmaler, Laura Cwi...	65	Entdecken	long	Wie können wir helfen?	Überwältigend groß ist die Hilfsbereitschaft in...	Human					neutral
17.03.2022	/	1	Titelseite	just a big heading	Bis hierher? Und wie weiter?	Immer mehr Menschen fliehen aus der Ukrain...	Human		war		Russia / Ukraini...	
Insgesamt 23	Ulrich Ladurner, Paul Mido...	2	Politik	long	Diesmal besser?	Die Fluchtbewegung stellt Deutschland vor gig...					Ukrainians	
	Henning Sussebach	2	"	medium	"Wir können unser Land nicht verraten"	Mutter und Tochter flüchten aus der Ukraine n...	Human				Ukrainians	
	Paul Middelhof & Merlind ...	3	"	short	Schaffen Sie das, Herr Stamp?	Der NRW-Migrationsminister über die Unterbri...	Human					
	Jörg Lau & Michael Thuma...	4	"	medium	Diplomatie unter Feuer	Ukrainer und Russen reden miteinander – abe...			war			
	Samiha Shafy	4	"	medium	"Schon der Gedanke muss verbannt werde...	Der russische Rüstungsexperte Pavel Podvig ...			war		Russia	
	Wolfgang Bauer	5	"	long	"Wer befreit so etwas?"	Reste von Streubomben und die Angst vor de...			war			
	Halka Hinze	6	"	short	An der Bilderfront	/	Human		war			
	Xifan Yang	7	"	long	Grenzenlose Freundschaft?	China hält Distanz zum Westen – zu Russland ...					Russia / China	
	Petra Pinzler	10	"	medium	Frieden für den Frieden? Sind Appelle und ...	JA. Viele Einzelne können zusammen Großes ...			war			negative
	Jana Hensel	10	"	medium	Frieden für den Frieden? Sind Appelle und ...	NEIN. Es ist falsch, Verantwortung zu persona...			war			negative
	Marvin Ku	14&15	Dossier	long	Soll er kämpfen?	Ein Familienvater flieht aus der Ukraine nach ...	Human					
	Hauke Friedrichs	17	Geschichte	long	»Der erschütterndste Eindruck von Elend«	Putins Krieg gegen die Ukraine tobt auf den S...	Human		war		Russia	
	Hauke Friedrichs & Roma...	20	Wirtschaft	long	"Wir sind nachhaltig"	Der Chef des Rüstungsunternehmens Heckle...						red
	Jens Tönnesmann	21	"	long	SICHER	Der Krieg in der Ukraine wird von einer Schlac...			war			
	Christiane Grefe	30	Wissen	long	Kein Weg zurück	Der Krieg in der Ukraine bedroht die Versorgu...			war			negative
	Anna-Lena Scholz	31	"	long	Der Realist	Panzer, Kampfjets, Raketen – der Militärexper...			war			
	Jeanette Otta	34	"	long	»Muttersprache wäre schön«	Welchen Unterricht brauchen geflüchtete Kind...	Human					
	Adam Sobocynski	45	Feuilleton	medium	Den Himmel schließen?	Intellektuelle und Dichter diskutieren fatalerwe...			war			
	Alexander Estis	46	"	long	Alles stürzt in sich zusammen	Binnen kürzester Zeit hat sich das Leben für M...	Russian popula...		war			
	Andreas Reckwitz	47	"	long	Der Optimismus verbrennt	Der tiefe Schock des Westens über den Krieg ...				cultural		
	Anastasia Taylor-Lind	54	Fotografie	long	"Wir wollen wieder nach Hause"	Die britische Fotojournalistin Anastasia Taylor...	Human					
	Francesco Giammarco	61&62	Entdecken	long	Ist der Mann ein Opfer?	Die klassische Männlichkeit war eigentlich auf...			war		Russia	
	Florentin Schumacher	64	"	long	In Putins Visier	Die einzigen Atombomben auf deutschem Bod...			war		Russia	
24.03.2022	/	1	Titelseite	just a big heading	Was die Russen denken	Die einen vertrauen Putin. Die anderen packe...	Russian popula...					
Insgesamt 18	Anna Sauerbrey	1	"	short	Der russische Krieg: Lieber aufgeben?	Putin vernichtet Mariupol und zersetzt die Ukr... die Frage nach einer Kapitulation in die Irre			war		Russia	
	Merlind Theile	1	"	short	Nahrungsmittelkrise: Mehr als nur Luxus	Wegen des Krieges wird Getreide knapp. Abe...			war			negative
	Tina Hildebrandt & Heinric...	2	Politik	long	"So bitter ist die Lage"	Unternimmt die Bundesregierung genug, um d...			war		Russia	
	Tina Hildebrandt	3	"	long	Was hat sie uns hinterlassen?	Putins Angriff auf die Ukraine wirft ein neues L...			war		Russia	
	Bernd Ulrich	4	"	long	Sieben auf einen Streich	Atomstreben, Klimawandel, Corona, Krieg, Hu...			war			
	Kerstin Kohlenberg & Jörg...	6	"	long	"Wir werden keine Gebiete aufgeben"	Deutschland sollte sich vor einem Öl- und Ga...			war		Russia	negative
	Mariam Lau	7	"	long	Das neue Herz Europas	Die Polen waren vom Krieg weniger überrasc...						
	Stefan Schirmer & Marc W...	14	"	long	Mehr Windkraft um jeden Preis?	Nicht nur um jetzt Gas zu sparen, muss die E...						negative
	Jochen Bittner	15	"	long	Ist es Faschismus?	Wer Putins Regime nicht den passenden Nam...					Russia	
	Simone Brunner, Caterina ...	17-19	Dossier: Was die...	long	»Wir sind für den Frieden, aber nicht gege...	Eine Verkäuferin, die Putin verehrt. Ein Dichte...	Russian popula...					
	Mark Schieritz	23	Wirtschaft	long	Wie bezahlen wir das?	Die Katastrophen dieser Tage lassen sich nicht...						negative
	Thomas Fischermann	26	"	long	Der Midas von der Moskwa	Über Jahrzehnte hinweg hat Wladimir Putin ei...					Russia	red
	Dirk Asendorf	32	Wissen	medium	Rechnung mit Unbekannten	Mit fossilem Gas will sich Deutschland aus d...					Russia	
	Martin Spiewak	35	"	medium	Erfolg durch die Drehtür	Hunderttausende Kinder und Jugendliche aus ...				cultural	Ukrainians	
	Artur Weigandt	48	Feuilleton	medium	Hier tanzt der russische Staat einen Tanz m...	Sie nennen ihre Videos audiovisuellen Terrori...						
	Tobias Timm	48	"	short	Attacken auf die Kunst	Wie die ukrainischen Kulturgüter vor der ru...			war		Russia	
	Elisabeth von Thadden	49	"	long	Wärme pumpen	Der Krieg stellt die Frage nach der Widerstan...			war			red
	Evelyn Finger, Lisa Niehaus, ...	58	Glauben & Zweif...	long	Ab sofort dürfen jüdische Flüchtlinge aus d...		Human			cultural		

Appendix E: List of Articles for Close Reading

Author	Date	Title
Gero von Randow	09/2015	Sie meinen uns!
Bastian Hosan	09/2015	Die alte Angst: Führen mehr Flüchtlinge zu mehr Gewalt?
Armen Avanessian	09/2015	Diese Menschenschwärme
Jochen Bittner et al.	09/2015	Willkommen! Und jetzt?
Heinrich Wefing	09/2015	Starke Truppe
AK, MK, PED	09/2015	Gefälschte Papiere
Hauke Friedrichs	09/2015	Flucht vor deutschen Waffen
Claus Leggewie	09/2015	Notstand als Chance
Heinrich Wefing	01/2016	Die Frauenjagd von Köln: Unter Schock
Tim Kummert	01/2016	Rateb will jetzt Steuern zahlen
Anant Argawala	01/2016	Der Albtraum
Bernd Ulrich	01/2016	Wer ist der arabische Mann?
Anant Agarwala & Martin Klingst	01/2016	Was können wir jetzt tun? Zeigen, wo der Ausgang ist
Adam Sobozynski	01/2016	Köln & die Folgen: Bitte nicht stören
Matthias Krupa & Bernd Ulrich	01/2016	Wird sie springen?
Giovanni Di Lorenzo	03/2022	Wie können wir uns wehren?
Katja Petrowskaja	03/2022	"Nie habe ich so viel Liebe gesehen"
Olivia Kortas	03/2022	Der Krieg weist dir den Weg
Ulrich Ladurner	03/2022	Diesmal besser?
Henning Sussebach	03/2022	"Wir können unser Land nicht verraten"
Marvin Ku	03/2022	Georgy, 46, 3 Kinder. Soll er kämpfen?
P. Middelhof et al.	09-10/2022	Es wird voller
Alice Bota	09-10/2022	Stell dir vor…
Mariam Lau	09-10/2022	Nicht mehr Weltmeister
Olivia Kortas	09-10/2022	Putin will, dass sie frieren