Double Standards or Equal Treatment?

The Framing of Refugees in German Newspapers

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Abstract

The following thesis discusses the differences in the framing of the 2022 Ukrainian refugee movements and the 2015 Syrian movements. Migration is not only a main topic which policy makers and governance stakeholders have to deal with but is further prevalent in public discourse. When Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022, the Ukrainian refugees could legally cross the European borders without any registration and application for visa or asylum. Seven years before, the situation was different. Popular media plays a major role in agenda setting and forming the public discourse, which is why this thesis aims to answer the research question by analyzing the frames German newspapers used for both events. This will be done with the help of a content analysis as well as of a framing analysis. Articles of four different German newspapers, which are selected by circulation and ideological stance, serve as data for the analysis. The research reveals that the framing of the Ukrainian refugees in 2022 is done more positively than for the Syrian refugees in 2015. Further, a different use of words to support the framing has been worked out. The findings disclose, that there is a double standard applied in covering different refugee groups.

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1 Introduction

After the start of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the politics of war and armed conflict were the predominant topics in the European news. Not only solving the conflict itself but also managing its possible consequences - especially the problem of forced displacement - once again became an urgent challenge for European foreign policy. Four weeks after the invasion started, 3,5 million people had fled the country and the European Union has at the time expected up to seven million to arrive in the following weeks (Rasche, 2022, 1). Europe has been a popular safe haven for people fleeing from conflict and persecution before. Regarding this, 2015 was a drastic year, where about 911.000 refugees and migrants arrived and over 3.500 lost their lives trying to get to Europe (Spindler, 2015). A difference between the two events is, that in 2015, most of the refugees came from Syria, a middle east country, torn by civil war since 2011. In 2022 the refugees are Europeans, from Ukraine, neighbors of the European Union. The asylum-seekers were immediately granted free passage at the borders of EU member-states. The European Union countries have been strikingly welcoming by giving the Ukrainian people immediate protection status (Rasche, 2022, 1). In 2015, the EU's external policy was different. Despite being obliged to grant a fair process following the non-refoulment principle, countries like Hungary built a fence to keep the refugees away (Spindler, 2015). Consequently, many humans lost their lives trying to apply for asylum in Europe.

Germany was a preferred destination for refugees in 2015 and it is again in 2022. This makes Germany one of the major countries in the European Union dealing with refugees and thus may make an interesting case to study. In August 2022, the number of refugees trying to reach Germany was so large, that Angela Merkel – in cooperation with the Austrian chancellor Faymann – decided to open the borders. This decision has been taken to prevent a humanitarian crisis in Europe, after Hungary and other eastern European states started to build fences and evict refugees. In consequence, Germany had by far the most applications for asylum in Europe in the next years (Engler, 2019).

Since discourses have an impact on public policies (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004), such as questions of immigration and border control, this thesis proposes to examine how the topics of forced displacement and migration are discussed in the public sphere. Within this public sphere, communication plays a crucial role in forming political preferences and policies. Newspapers are the medium utilized for the communication of news. They highly influence public discourse and its political outcomes, they reflect public opinion as societal mirrors and

vice versa take part in shaping it (Ban et al., 2019). Especially for a comparison of refugees in public debates, the question arises if there might be differences in the framing of the Ukrainian and Syrian refugees. Therefore, this thesis asks the following question:

How different is the framing of the 2022 Ukrainian refugee movements in contrast to the Syrian refugee movements in 2015 in German popular media?

To answer this question systematically, it is further partitioned into three sub-questions.

RQ1: What is the dominant framing of the 2015 Syrian refugee movements?
RQ2: What is the dominant framing of the 2022 Ukrainian refugee movements?
RQ3: How different is the framing of the Syrian refugees in contrast to the Ukrainian Refugees?

The last question aims to merge both former and is exactly the question this work aims to answer at the end.

Answering the research question is necessary to cover this highly scientifically and societally relevant topic and thereby contribute to the broader discourse on migration and migration policies. Analyzing the consequences of forced displacement and migration is required because it can influence how we solve policy problems. Immigration is a constant phenomenon, which will not vanish in the next years. Solely the climate disaster will force a massive amount of people to leave their homes in the future (Piguet et al., 2011). Thus, it is important to understand refugee policies now, to be prepared for further challenges in the future. Especially the method of framing analysis reveals what the agenda setting looks like and can prepare further improvements. Moreover, the topic is of incredible current relevance. The war broke out in February 2022, only four months ago. For this reason, there is a gap in research that needs to be filled. Since the media and especially their framing is influencing the preference building and the political evaluation of their consumers, it is also a very relevant topic (Druckman, 2011). Concluding, next to the societal relevance, the gap in research is aimed to be covered up and therefore shows the scientific relevance. New findings further contribute to the scientific discourse. There is no research about the media coverage of Ukrainian refugees in 2022 yet, which is why this thesis aims to bring new and policy-relevant information about frames and framing to the scientific world.

The data for analyzing the framing is compiled from German newspapers. Since I live in Germany and am a native speaker of German, there already is existing background

knowledge on different sorts of media, newspapers, and discourses. To answer the research question extensively, a qualitative content analysis of the German newspaper articles will be conducted. Therefore, different publications of "Welt", "Bild", "Die Zeit" and „Taz. Die Tageszeitung" will be analyzed and compared. The theoretical framework for doing so will be provided by various works of scholars in the research field of framing, which is presented in the following pages.

As a next step, the relevant theory for conducting the research will be shown. Therefore, I will provide sufficient theoretical background on framing and framing analysis. This will be followed by a review of similar research and a thematic background to framing and public policies.

2 Frames and Framing Analysis

Framing is a construct that meets a lot of different scientific disciplines. Communication science, psychology, sociology as well as political science scholars use the concept of framing. Therefore, a huge number of theories have been developed to explain and apply the concept of framing. In this paper, there is an emphasis on political science and political communication-related theories.

2.1 In General

The concept of framing can be found in many situations of politics and policymaking. It refers to the formation of preferences. It describes how and in which dimensions one bases his or her evaluations of a specific topic or object (Druckman, 2011, 6).

Erving Goffman (1974) states, that humans classify and interpret every experience in their lives, to make sense of them. It allows us to put different identifications and perceptions into an order, which then is called the frame. Further, D'Angelo (2018, 23) specifies: "Framing signifies the structuring power of context in situations and settings in which people produce and exchange messages". In Communication, especially in popular media, it "enables journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely [and to] package the information for efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin, 1980, 7).

The extensive definition of frames needs to put different dimensions together. On the one hand, authors like Gitlin (1980) define frames without considering the operationalization of them. Here, the emphasis is on the basic definition, considering frames as "principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of a little tacit theory about what exists, what

happens and what matters" (Gitlin, 1980, 143). On the other hand, some authors define the frame regarding the conceptualization of such. Including, that frames function as remedies for making moral judgments or defining problems (Metthes, 2009). Thus, an integrated definition of frames that could be proposed is: In social science, frames are theoretical concepts that are used to highlight perceptions of reality. These are perspectives of individuals which emphasize what matters to them. If the frames are identified, they are used to make judgements and to communicate the perception of what matters.

2.2 Migration

In the case of framing of newspapers on migration issues, it means the process of how the newspaper evaluates an event or occasion, and hence what they publish and how they publish it. So, framing could also be explained as emphasizing one of multiple outcomes or opinions (Druckman, 2011, 6). In news, frames serve as a suggestion on how to interpret the given issue. This suggestion is being made for the consumers of the news. So, if a certain newspaper identifies itself as conservative, having conservative readers, it will most likely conservatively frame different events and issues. With the help of these frames, the newspapers and the authors can shape the belief and the perception of the given issues. Thus, speaking about the refugee crisis and migration policies, the framing of these topics in the media can have a huge influence on the public perception of it (Druckman, 2011). Therefore, frames can have an impact on the agenda setting, the policy making as well as the sentiment of a group of people. One further has to ask: Why is the research of frames relevant for political science? What impact can outcomes of framing analysis have?

Political events, like conflicts and the arrival of refugees, are spread via media and political statements. So, newspapers have the task to spread information to the public. Here, the definition of frames shows, that media does not only neutrally publish pure information but applies frames to the information. This leads to the fact, that political events are displayed differently, and therefore the perception of them differs across society. Tewksbury and Scheufele (2019) contextualize the effects of framing in news into two subcategories: persuasion and agenda-setting.

The former refers to the fact that frames influence attitudes in one direction. Therefore, analyzing the framing of different refugees can provide answers about how people were influenced, and how situations following the events – in this case 2015 and 2022 – came into being.

Migration is a highly discussed and emotionalized political issue. Thus, looking at the framing of newspapers regarding the topic may give information on how different arguments materialized. This leads to the second effect, agenda-setting. Nelson et al. (1997) show, that alternative frames have an impact on how the consumers prioritized different values relative to an issue. So, the priorities of the newspapers lead to different priorities of the readers. If there is only reporting about refugees coming to Germany, but not about the reasons and backgrounds of that, the perception of the refugees in the society reversely influences agenda setting and policy making around migration. It is about making information accessible, and if that doesn't happen, the consumer cannot make use of the information, because they don't have it. Due to this, the framing can have an agenda-setting effect because emphasizing one perspective neglects the accessibility of the other perspective. Through frames, news can set an agenda and influence and alter judgements of the consumers (Tewksbury and Scheufele, 2019).

2.3 Public Policy

Frames do not only guide individuals to classify a specific issue but further can be applied in political and governance-related agenda setting and communication. Frames and framing in public policy studies have been widely introduced by Schön and Rein in their works "Reframing Policy Discourse" (1993) and "Frame Reflection" (1994). Their contribution to frame research puts a focus on how the frames can lead to policy controversies and how the discourse on public policy issues can be changed and influenced through frames. The first issue arises due to conflicting frames. Thus, these frames can be used by politicians, all kinds of policy stakeholders, and other political actors to support their policy positions (Rein and Schön, 2013). In the case of this thesis, the assumptions can be extended to the framing by different media stakeholders. Any position towards a specific policy - for instance welcoming refugees and opening the borders – can be supported using frames to influence the policy controversy. Van Hulst and Yanow (2016) refer on the policy framing theory by Rein and Schön, stating that frames are sense-making tools for policy-relevant actors. Using language as well as making sense of uncertain situations with the employment of frames leads to proposing for the own conception of a policy (Hulst and Yanow 2016). This process happens through the confrontation with other frames, where the frame which performs the best is portrayed to be the best way of solving the given problem. In the case of migration policies, a policy controversy could be closing borders against opening borders. When a newspaper frames the

refugees to be a security threat, the policy outcome would be closed borders. When framing them to need humanitarian help, the policy outcome would be open borders. So, various constructs of refugees can be built, which then result in different perceptions and policy outcomes.

In this thesis, the frames are aimed to be identified and compared with the help of the previously mentioned theoretical concepts. Especially analyzing ways in which the newspapers use narratives of refugees to have an impact on policy making will be fruitful to first identify the frames and second conduct successful research to answer the research question. It is expected that the two events will be framed differently and that the newspapers and represented people have diverging policy proposals. Additionally, next to the application of frames, letting various people speak, for example, politicians or refugees, will be used for agenda setting. The differentiation is not only expected between 2015 and 2022 but also between the four newspapers which have contradictory political-ideological backgrounds and agendas.

Concluding, frames create narratives that are assigned by the stakeholders of the media. These narratives directly influence public policies, as Jones and McBeth (2010) as well as van Hulst and Yanow (2016), and Rein and Schön (2013) propose. Further, media discourse and their framing and agenda setting can shape public opinion. Therefore, conducting a frame analysis of newspapers to compare two different refugee groups can bring fruitful insights for political science. To answer the research question of this bachelor thesis, framing serves as a key concept. Deriving from that, a suitable methodical framework is used. The concept of framing analysis is explained in the next section.

3 Research Design and Methods

The research question addressed in this thesis is: *How different is the framing of the 2022 Ukrainian refugee movements in contrast to the Syrian refugee movements in 2015 in German popular media*? A frame analysis in combination with a content analysis will be deployed to answer that question. In the following, first the structure of the thesis, the research design and the data collection are presented, to continue with the methods and coding. Finally, the identification of the frames as well as the frames itself are explained.

3.1 Research Design and Data Collection

Using solely a quantitative content analysis as conducted by Godefroidt et al. (2016) does not provide an in-depth analysis of the frames but puts more emphasis on the reliability of the data

set for the analysis of the general content. Thus, to perform an extensive analysis of frames, a combination of a content analysis and a frame analysis will be feasible to answer the research question of this paper.

Therefore, Pan and Kosicki (1993) provide an approach in their article about a frame analysis of news discourse. They propose to develop conventional content analysis further and concentrate on the framing. Therefore, they start with the collection of the data to then identify the different frames that were used. With the help of qualitative content analysis, one can conceptualize the structure of the news articles and can then identify various frames.

This paper will also conduct such a frame analysis. Therefore, the first step will be data collection. Various newspapers from Germany will be analyzed. The selection of them happens with respect to their popularity, and their political background, just as Liu (2021) as well as Sik and Simonovits (2019) did in their research. Thus, "Die Welt" and "Bild" will be analyzed respresenting the conservative/right-leaning newspapers. Furthermore, "Bild" is extremely populist and has the highest sales figures in Germany (Die Zeitungen, 2012), making it one of the most important newspapers to examine. "Die Welt" on the other hand concentrates on well-researched, lengthy articles for an educated readership. Additionally, "Die Zeit" is one of the most popular liberal news media and "Taz. Die Tageszeitung" represents alternative-left ideologies (Anhäuser, 2017). Five articles per event, so from 2015 for the Syrian refugee crisis and from 2022 for the Ukrainian refugee crisis will be analysed for each of the newspapers. For both parts, only articles published in the first four weeks after the emergence will be covered. Concluding, 40 articles from four different German newspapers – which were selected by ideology and popularity - will be analysed. These 40 articles are partitioned into the two events which are scrutinized in this research. Therefore, an overall of 20 articles about Syrian refugees in 2015 and 20 articles about Ukrainian refugees in 2022 will be collected. Further, only online articles will be used, as Sik and Simonovits (2019) propose in their research. They may be online versions of print articles or exclusively online publications. To find relevant articles, reasonable keywords will be used for the data collection, like Godefroidt et al. (2016), Sik and Simonovits (2019), and Liu (2021) did in their research progress. The keywords are as follows: "Flüchtlinge", "Asyl". "Flucht", "Migration", "Geflüchtete", "Asylanten", "Ukraine", "Syrien".

In the following step the frames need to be identified. This will be conducted through a qualitative content analysis. According to the Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods (2008), this is: "the intellectual process of categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and

relationships between variables or themes." Here the relevant content – in this case the textual content in the articles – found through the keywords will be analyzed for a further selection and better overview of the data. Kuckartz (2019) proposes to conduct the qualitative content analysis in two phases. First, the text needs to be classified into categories and general codes. The second phase then continues with in-depth coding.

For the next part of this research, a coding scheme must be compiled. "A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/ or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based visual data" (Saldaña, 2016). In this thesis, the coding scheme will consist of the beforehand identified frames. Further, the frames will be partitioned into different subcodes, which then simultaneously serve as subframes. These will always be positive, negative, and undecided, as well as further ones if it is identified as necessary during the qualitative text analysis. Positive and negative subframes are coded to later analyze the implications of the frame use, as well as the results for policy making.

After the completion of the coding scheme, the different frames will be coded and analyzed. Pan and Kosicki (1993) provide a sufficient method to analyze the frames in depth. Further, Merolla et al. (2013) propose how labeling of refugees influences the public perception, which will be used for the analysis as well.

Afterwards, the frames are aimed to be compared, since this paper is a comparative analysis and the events of 2015 and 2022 are expected to have been framed differently. Godefroidt et al. (2016) conducted a comparative framing analysis as well. In their findings, the different national newspapers had essential disparities in applying frames. Here, only one newspaper per country was examined, which leads to representation weaknesses. The research of Liu (2021) in combination with Chong and Druckman (2007) provides extensive methodological background which can be used. Nonetheless, this paper will conduct new, and both scientifically and societally relevant research, especially since the topic is very recent and has not been covered yet. To conduct a well-ordered analysis of the articles and to keep an overview of all 40 of them, the qualitative content analysis program "Atlas.ti" will be used. With the help of this analytical tool, especially the coding can be done sophistically.

3.2 Methods

As suggested by Matthes (2009), the analysis conducted is text-based and non-quantitative, so a relatively small sample is used. The frames will be described in-depth, with quotations and

examples. This is having the advantage that the content and framing can be discussed intensively, with the theoretical background instead of statistically with computer-assisted data, where the coder did not read the entirety of data. During the process of identifying the frames, some of them were extracted inductively, while others were extracted deductively.

The method used in the thesis derives from Pan and Kosicki (1993) as well as Merolla et al (2013). The first offered a structed way to conduct framing analysis, which was earlier explained in the research design part. The latter provide a method to analyze not only the frames itself but the meaning of words, which will also be applied in this thesis. The method of Pan and Kosicki will be further extended by the works of Van Hulst and Yanow (2016) as well as Rein and Schön (2013). Both add an public policy related viewpoint to the communication science charged viewpoint of frames and the analysis of frames. After the relevant frames were coded in form of a qualitative content analysis as proposed by Kuckartz (2019) the analysis will be conducted. Here, first the retrieved frames for the Syrian refugee coverage of 2015 will be processed and later the retrieved frames for the 2022 coverage. In detail, the implications for policy making by the government as well as for the perception of the refugees by the society will be worked out. This specific method of analysis is aimed to be conducted for each frame, in order to compare the frames and their implications for governance.

3.2 Coding

The coding of the frames happens in a mixed methods approach. To identify the frames, the retrieved data – 40 articles – is coded openly. Therefore, an inductive approach is applied. Text passages where the refugees are given a value or categorized in any way are marked (Kandkar, 2009). After having all the marked quotations, a pattern of framing can be worked out. Thus, frames were identified in this way. Further, for the sake of the intercoder reliability similar research are drawn for comparison. With the help of that, identified frames can be approved. If the frames are fixed, the closed coding will be applied deductively. Finally, the frames are represented as codes, which are assigned to the relevant quotations of the articles. The exact process of the identification of the frames will be presented in the following.

3.4 Identification of the Frames

In the first step, possible frames were withdrawn from similar research on refugees or migration media coverage. These frames were tested deductively. Beginning with economic, ethnicity

and security frames, which were used by Lawlor and Tolley (2017) and citizenship as well as services frames which were used by Wallace (2018). The latter two were adjusted to German media and renamed to legality frame (instead of citizenship) and welfare frame (instead of services). While scrutinizing the articles and testing the given frames by other researchers, a thematic analysis for new frames was conducted simultaneously. Thus, the additional frames and subcodes for the frames were extracted inductively. As a result, another four main frames were found, namely the capacity, demographics, humanitarian/ moral and integration frames, which are marked as original in Table 1.

Additionally, the use of the language by the various newspapers was analyzed since the connotation and the use of words has a huge impact on the readers perception of the issue and supports the narrative building by the authors (van Hulst and Yanow, 2013). In the process of reading the articles and coding the given frames, further frames and subcodes for the frames were extracted inductively. In this paper, the linguistic frame is treated differently than the other frames because it does not describe the content used to frame, but the words and language. Thus, first the nine frames which were analyzed, and afterward the linguistic frame will be explained and presented. During the identification of new frames and the deductive confirmation of the frames from existing literature, each of them was divided up into different subcodes.

Table 1 Identification of Frames

Frames	Origin	Meaning
Capacity	Original	Possibility of giving shelter, ressources in the welcoming country
Demographics	Original	Males or females, children and elderly
Economic	Lawlor and Tolley (2017), Liu (2021)	Impact on the economy, economic consequences of welcoming refugees
Ethnicity	Lawlor and Tolley (2017)	Cultural differences and ethnical background
Humanitarian/ Moral	Original	Need for humanitarian help & willingness to help of the receiving society

Integration	Original	Willingness to assimilate of the refugees & chances of positive or negative integration
Legality	Wallace (2018)	Legal status of the refugees
Security	Lawlor and Tolley (2017), Douai et al. (2022), Liu (2021)	Security threats when taking in the refugees
Welfare	Wallace (2018), Lawlor and Tolley (2017)	Use of state servcies, impact on welfare system
Linguistic	Original	Use of words and connotations to frame

The capacity frame contains information about the general capacity to take in more people as well as the possibility of giving shelter. It includes positively connotated content, such as that refugees will not take needed space away or that sufficient capacity is available. Further, there is a negative subcode, when newspapers state that needed capacity is taken away or that the amount of asylum seekers is too much, and that Germany is not able to provide sufficient space. The undecided subcode contains neutral information, mostly official numbers of expected refugees. Additionally, the subcode shelter is applied when the content is solely about where they will live, places to sleep and general issues of accommodation. An example for the negative capacity frame is: "Germany is able to give many people a new home, but not for all." (Anda, 2015).

The demographics frame is split into two different subframes, "men" on the one hand, and "women, children and elderly" on the other. It was used for the analysis because gender and age have a huge impact on the expectation and perception of asylum seekers. It is heavily connected to issues of security and acceptance in the receiving society. There is a tenendecy to depict male refugees as criminals, rapists or even terrorists, while women, children and elderly are perceived to be harmless and in need of help (see Rettberg and Gajjala 2015). Here, the coding is less about connotations and inherited meaning of phrases, but solely about the use of the word's men or women, children and elderly.

The economic frame is used to point out which economic consequences Germany faces, if they grant asylum-seekers refuge. It was partitioned into three different parts: positive,

negative, and undecided. The positive economic frame mostly supports the narrative that refugees will have a positive impact on the economy. This is described with a boost for the economy through a newly gained labor force. Further, some articles state that Germany is rich and thus able to afford taking in refugees without huge negative consequences. This is also coded as a positive economic frame. An example for such a frame is: "The economy needs more skilled workers and for the securing of our prosperity do we need – depending on calculation – between 300.000 and 500.000 migrants per year." (Göring-Eckhardt, 2015). The negative economic frame is coded when newspapers point out the costs, say that refugees will negatively affect the economy or that poor people in Germany will suffer more because of the arrival of refugees. "Undecided" is coded when they state dry facts or implement economic issue which are neither positively nor negatively related to refugees.

The ethnicity frame is of special importance in this thesis, since the research question aims to answer the differences in the framing of two refugees groups with different ethnicity. Therefore, the coding of that frame is applied when the articles refer to the national, ethnical, and cultural features. The first subframe is cultural differences, which includes all parts where any cultural differences are pointed out. This might be because of place or nation of birth, religion, cultural habits or even phenotypes. Later in the analysis, it must be taken into regard that this frame is more towards a negative agenda-setting, since it often implicates that integration will be harder to deliver or that the asylum seekers are different to Germans and the others. If the opposite is found in the articles, it is coded as a positive ethnicity frame, which implicates that the refugees are very similar to Germans or that they are Europeans which share the same culture. The negative subframe is applied when the content is explicitly negative towards the ethnicity. Further, there are the subframes "non-Syrians" and "non-Ukrainians", which are used by the newspapers to point out that there are different ethnicities in the groups of asylum-seekers. In the Ukrainian case, it is about exchange students and people with other backgrounds which lived in the Ukraine when the conflict escalated. In the Syrian case, it is about other Arabic and African refugees, which made their way to Europe alongside Syrian refugees. This is used positively as well as negatively. Finally, "undecided" is coded when it is about information of refugees, which is not necessarily valued, but more likely positive. An example which illustrates the ethnicity frame "non-Ukrainians" is: "Smugglers are taking advantage of the Ukraine war and the open borders to run their rotten business - smuggling refugees from Africa to us via Ukraine, for example." (Schneider 2022).

The humanitarian frame is distinguished into "negative", "positive", "undecided" and "willingness to help". In general, it is used to highlight either the need of humanitarian aid,

which is coded as positive, or to show the work of the volunteers and the efforts of the society to help, which will be coded as willingness to help. Further, there is the negative subframe which is not applied in any article, and the undecided subframe where the article suggests ways of humanitarian action but does not necessarily value it. "The EU stands united to save lives" (Jakob 2022) serves as an example for the humanitarian willingness to help frame.

The issue of integration is framed as well. Here, the willingness of refugees to integrate into the German society is the positive framing, the narrative that they will not integrate because of various reason and that they will build up a parallel society is used for the negative framing. The citation "Reem Alabali-Radovan (SPD), the Federal Government Commissioner for Refugees and Integration, called for 'rapid access to the labor market and integration courses.'" (Jakob 2022) is an example for the undecided subframe, where either neutral facts or advice and possible opportunities are coded into.

The legality frame is used when newspapers point out the asylum status, the background of the flight or other legally relevant aspects. When it is used positively articles appeal for giving opportunities of legal escape routes to Europe or state that refugees are legally in Germany, and everything is according to applicable law. The negative code is applied on content about illegal migration, fake passports, or statements about how people should seek asylum in countries other than Germany, as the country is claimed to not be responsible. The undecided subframe will be applied if neutral facts or thoughts about changing the legislation are presented. An example for a legality negative frame is: " […] Syrian men who came illegally across the Mediterranean and the Balkan route this year." (Helberg 2015).

A lot of the public discourse in 2015 was about possible security threats arising from the increased number of refugees (Bewarder, 2020). It treats the frames where possible security threats coming with the asylum-seekers are mentioned. The security frame was partitioned into four different subframes. Negative framing is coded when the newspapers shed negative light on refugees in terms of security issues in general, other than terrorism, crime or registration. The latter is another subframe solely about the registration of asylum-seekers in the receiving countries. The registration process is intertwined with security concerns, because it is supposed to filter out possible terrorists or criminals. It further relates to the legality frame, but mainly inherits the desire for security. Additionally, terrorism and crime will be used as a subframe when articles state that refugees bring possible threats of terrorism or crime, for instance: "And what is the truth about the fear that there could be terrorists among the refugees? "In a few individual cases, there are vague indications of possible links to Islamism," is the statement from Rhineland-Palatinate." (Hosan 2015). Positive security frames can be found if it is

highlighted that the refugees do not bring any threats. The undecided subframe will be used for every statement which does not fit any of the other categories.

Finally, information and comments about the impact of the refugees on the welfare system, and how they will claim state services is coded as the welfare frame. It is strongly connected to the economic frame since all the welfare system services, such as providing accommodation or financial support are inherently related to economic issues. In Germany, these measures are part of the "Asylbewerberleistungsgestez". The welfare frame is again partitioned into "positive", "negative", and "undecided". The first is coded if a positive impact is highlighted, for example refugees, who are working and paying taxes in Germany, which then positively affects the welfare system. The negative framing happens when newspaper state that asylum-seeker often end up without any work and thus be a burden to the welfare state. It is also applied when there is content about problems with accommodation or the assumption that refugees will be in charge that poor people get jealous and this will lead to a clash in the society, like Anda (2015) says: "How do you want to prevent a struggle for housing, jobs and social benefits in the medium term between those who have little and the refugees?". The undecided subframe is coded when facts which neither have a positive nor a negative connotation are displayed.

The linguistic framing must be analyzed differently than the other frames in this research. Here, the frame is not used to highlight a specific part of the topic (see Druckman, 2011) but more about making moral judgements (see Metthes, 2009, 350) with the help of language. Instead of entire sentences or opinions, single words or small word groups with a specific connotation will be coded. An example for negative linguistic framing would be the word "Flüchtlingswelle" (English: wave of refugees) which implies that there is a mass of asylum-seekers which cannot be stopped. A wave in this context is meant to signal that the country or society will be overrun. The word "Flüchtling" (English: refugee) can have a neutral, negative as well as positive connotation (see Amin 2019, 217), which is why it was not coded. The word "Geflüchtete" (no direct translation) does not have any negative connotation attached. Rather, it symbolizes that the person did not flee voluntarily but was forced. It can be used as a neutral term (see Amin, 2019, 219). If it comes to framing of refugees in newspapers, the term "Geflüchtete" implies a positive, politically correct, and sensitive designation. The author then wants to highlight that the people need help because of the forced displacement. Thus, it will be coded with a positive linguistic framing.

4 Findings

In the following, the findings which are retrieved after applying the frames to the different articles are presented. In order to do this systematically, it is split into the two events, 2015 and 2022, and done individually for the newspapers.

4.1 Framing of the Syrian Refugees

In order to analyze the framing of the Syrian Refugees in 2015, for each of the four newspapers five articles were scrutinized. The timespan of the publishment of the articles was selected to be from 18/08/2015 to 18/09/2015. Different to the Ukrainian refugees' movements, there was no clear starting date of arrival in Europe. The Syrian civil war started in 2011. Four years later, in 2014 around 6.5 million Syrians were displaced within the country and an estimated number of 3 million people fled into the neighboring countries (Thibos, 2014, 3). Thus, in the first four years, there were barley any Syrian refugees coming to Germany. They rather moved within the country or fled into the neighboring countries, which represents a difference from the Ukrainian refugee movements. In the year 2015, Syrian mobility towards Europe started to grow in number. The dramatic conditions in the reception camps in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey increased the mobility along the new Balkan route, which became a popular way for asylum-seekers to reach Europe. This led to the construction of border fences in Hungary. The German Ministry for Migration and Refugees published, that Syrian refugees will be registered even if they have been registered in another EU member state before, which means the de facto suspension of the Dublin system (Herbert and Schönhagen, 2020) This led to an immense increase of Syrian asylum-seekers trying to reach Germany. On the 2nd of September, the death of Alan Kurdi set off a huge media representation of the refugees. Further, on the 4th of September, the German chancellor Merkel announced in cooperation with the Austrian chancellor, that the borders will be opened (Herbert and Schönhagen, 2020). So, based on these major events, the time period for the newspaper analysis could be determined.

4.1.1 BILD

BILD, the newspaper with the highest circulation which is regularly and extensively reprehended by the German press council (see Brandt, 2020) used 27 Frames in their articles. The frame which was used the most is the positive humanitarian frame. Seven times, the need

for help and the bad situation of the asylum seekers were emphasized. They highlight that the war in Syria is the worst humanitarian crisis since World War II (see Schippmann, 2015). That puts a positive connotation towards the refugees on the coverage. BILD implies with the use of the frame that the asylum-seekers flee from war, which boosts the acceptance by the German population regarding the reception of the refugees. For governance issues, it means that Germany should move towards welcoming the refugees, so that they are safe. Further, with the willingness to help by the society, various regulations for doing so would be possible. The second most used frame is the negative capacity frame, where they often highlight that: "Germany can offer home to many people, but not all." (see Anda 2015) as well as that too many refugees coming to Germany to offer them sufficient welfare services and shelter – both subframes were used two times. This implies that there is a need for filtering the refugees by the need of help, which must be conducted by the responsible control bodies of the state. Two articles which were published in the beginning of September 2015 were predominately positive, with the main focus on the humanitarian need, while the three later published articles still contained the humanitarian frame but tended more to the negative capacity frame. The very pro-asylum attitude changed after a few weeks when the number of arriving as well as expected refugees increased. They do not let any refugees speak, instead, in a positive article they interview a member of the NGO Pro-Asyl and in the more negative tending articles they interview politicians. All in all, despite stating that there is not enough space, BILD appeals for humanity and frames the Syrian refugees positively. It must be said that the articles are relatively short, with about 400 – 700 words in average.

4.1.2 Taz

For "Ttaz, die Tageszeitung", which is published for a more left leaning readership, 19 frames were detected. The most used one is the legality frame, with one positive and 5 negative codings. All of these negative frames are in detail expressions about the illegal status of these refugees as well as the escape routes which are illegal. While putting this on the agenda may shed negative light on the refugees for people who believe in the European judiciary systems, they mostly state this as an information about the current situation and why the whole process of fleeing from war to Europe is hard. With the help of the positive legality frame, Kühl (2015) demands legal escape routes to Europe, so that the refugees do no spend money for human traffickers or die on the Mediterranean sea. The humanitarian frame is used the same amount, with four of them being positive and two about the willingness to help by the German society.

Thus, governance is expected and requested to improve the legal status of the refugees, in Germany and especially in form of EU regulations. The article "Das große Geben" by Asmuth (2015) highlights the humanitarian help and the extensive care of arriving refugees by volunteers, which frames the asylum-seekers positively since most of the population is willing to welcome them. Further, most of the articles mention that there is a severe humanitarian disaster in Syria as well as on Balkan route. The article "Wer zahlt für die Betten und den Arzt" by Herrmann (2015) solely indicates the costs of refugees, while it is simultaneously highlighted that Germany is able to afford it. Overall, it must be said that they do not extensively report about the refugees, but more about the situation in Syria and facts of the war. They emphasize the need for asylum and for legal ways to Europe but often mention that the asylum-seekers are illegal refugees. Most of the articles are comments by the authors about the current situation, without citing or interviewing anyone. Nonetheless, they tell stories of the refugees and tell their names, for example Abou Adnan, a surgeon from Syria who fled to Germany. That results in a more positive attitude towards the refugees because they are framed as normal people, having a story and a name instead of being the anonymous "others" (Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017).

All in all, the framing of the refugees predominantly positive. There is a demand for opening the borders, which is supported by the humanitarian framing and telling stories of the asylum-seekers.

4.1.3 Die Welt

Welt, a newspaper from the same publishing house like BILD, is a conservative, liberal leaning paper with more extensive and sophisticated articles for an academic readership. Here, 38 frames were detected. The articles are comparatively abundant, with between 800 and 3500 words. The most used frame is the ethnicity frame, where they present the "cultural differences" four times, two times "undecided" and once "positive". Emphasizing the cultural differences results in a very negative light on the refugees. Here, narratives like Muslims having a low willingness to assimilate because they are so different, or that Europe is having a problem with Muslim migrants are published. Especially the article by Wergin (2015) must be described as negative framing, where negative economic consequences, the cultural differences as well as negative integration frames are combined with negative linguistic framing, which will be analyzed later in this paper. Welt further frames the asylum-seekers extensively as security threats, especially pointing out terrorism. They also write about how the refugees are

accepted in Germany, where they come to the result that a lot of people have prejudices towards them. Often, these narratives are presented without commenting and clearing the prejudices or wrong information, like "At Lidl they [the refugees] are allowed to steal now, for up to fifty euro" (Büscher, 2015). Further, when speaking about the asylum-seeker, it is always them, the others, without letting them speak or telling their names and stories. This portrays them as different, leading to a negative narrative. This othering will not spark empathy in the readership. "Die Welt" cites exclusively politicians, like the German Minister of Interior De Maizière or local majors. One article publishes a story of two journalists who tried to get fake Syrian passports to check if alleged Syrians are "real" ones or if they can just sneak into Europe. That story spreads negative framing, from legality to security. Here, the narrative that the German society must be alerted and that Syrian refugees might be criminals is expressed. Finally, the negative welfare frames – four in number – point out as well.

All in all, the newspaper "Die Welt" has an extraordinarily negative coverage of the refugees, with 23 negative subframes and only four positive ones.

4.1.4 Die Zeit

The newspaper "Die Zeit" is – different from the others – a weekly newspaper. The readership is mostly educated and have the status of well-earners. The aim is to offer professionally researched and extensive articles about important social processes, which take time to read (Preisliste, 2020). The articles are decent in size, with between 500 and 1800 words. As one of two newspapers, Zeit states next to Taz that refugees will have a positive effect on the German economy. "Germany is in need of 300.000 to 500.000 Migrants" (Göring-Eckardt, 2015) to ensure the prosperity. Further, they frame the refugees as relatively well educated: "half of them [refugees] have at least a skilled worker degree or are even academic" (Loos, 2015). The most used frame here is the undecided integration frame. They apply it rather positively than negatively, with the aim to appeal for a new legal basis since refugees are not allowed to work in the first three months or even longer. However, it is important for a successful integration to be able to work. Negatively, Zeit used the terrorism/ crime security frame three times. Because of that, the readers may get the perception that there are great security issues with welcoming Syrian refugees in Germany. Nonetheless, it is expressed that this can be an issue, but is rather unlikely to happen. Another frequently used frame is the humanitarian/ moral one. The willingness to help is framed four times, in articles were humanitarian and NGO workers get to speak about their experiences while helping. Three times, the need for help and the severe

situation in Syria is pointed out with the help of the positive humanitarian frame. In the article "Wer, wenn nicht wir" by Gabriel (2015) mentions the escape story of a Syrian Family, which generates a more positive framing because of an emotional connection to the story.

Concluding, the newspaper "Die Zeit" frames relatively positive, with an emphasis on positive economic and integration, as well as the need for refuge, but simultaneously allude to the possible security threats which sheds negative light on the asylum-seekers and produces anxiety in the German readership.

4.1.5 Findings in the 2015 Framing

In general, all papers but the Welt applied a rather positive than negative framing. With the exception of the Welt, every newspaper used a positively connotated - "positive" and "willingness to help" - humanitarian frame at least six times. The implications for governance vary by the different papers. While Taz especially demands policies for an establishment of legal escape routes, Bild emphasizes the need for humanitarian help, but with regulated border checks and an admission limit for the sake of capacity. The Zeit highlights the need of successful integration if refugees are welcomed, while framing them positive in form of the big necessity to welcome asylum-seekers because of the humanitarian issue. On the other hand, the dangers and security issues that come with welcoming them are illustrated. Especially the fear of terror and criminality shape the discourse. The articles published by Welt are very negatively framed. They stand out in contrast to the other newspapers. Focusing on terrorism and cultural differences, there is a clear goal of framing the discourse for policies to stop accepting refugees in Germany. Concluding, there is a mix of positive and negative framing of the Syrian refugees in 2015. There is a stark difference in the coverage of Welt to the other ones. Except for that, a consent to accept refugees but to strongly regulate and monitor the asylum seekers has been found in the analysis

Table 2 Frames and Subframes of the 2015 Coverage

		BildSyria 5 / 33	TazSyria 5 / 22	WeltSyria 5 / 46	ZeitSyria 5 / 37	Totals
capacity frame: neg	7	5		2		7
capacity frame: pos	1			1		1
capacity frame: shelter	4	2		1	1	4
capacity frame: Undecided	8	1	2	2	3	8
demographics: men	1			1		1
demographics: women children and elderly	2	2				2
economic frame: neg	6	1	1	3	1	6
economic frame: pos	7	1	3	1	2	7
economic frame: Undecided	4			1	3	4
ethnicity frame: cultural differences	6	1		4	1	6
ethnicity frame: neg	0					0
ethnicity frame: non-syrians	2	1		1		2
ethnicity frame: pos	1			1		1
ethnicity frame: Undecided	4			2	2	4
humanitarian/ moral frame: neg	0					0
humanitarian/ moral frame: pos	14	7	4		3	14
humanitarian/ moral frame: undecided	0					0
humanitarian/ moral frame: willingness to help	7	1	2		4	7
integration frame: neg	2	1		1		2
integration frame: pos	2		1	1		2
integration frame: Undecided	6				6	6
legality frame: neg	10		5	4	1	10
legality frame: pos	2	1	1			2
legality frame: Undecided	4	1		2	1	4
security frame: neg	3				3	3
security frame: pos	0					0
security frame: registration	0					0
security frame: terrorism/crime	8			5	3	8
security frame: Undecided	0					0
welfare frame: neg	6	2		4		6
welfare frame: pos	0					0
welfare frame: Undecided	2			1	1	2
Totals		27	19	38	35	119

 The identified frames were applied to the twenty articles, in two rounds of coding, like Kuckartz (2019) proposes. This was done in atlas.ti, a program for qualitative content analysis. Table 2 shows the document-code table, where every coded frame and subframe is shown as well as the distribution between the different newspapers.

4.2 Framing of the Ukrainian Refugees

The analysis of the framing of the Ukrainian refugees in 2015 was conducted with – just as in the Syrian case – a coding of twenty articles, five from each newspaper. The selection of the timespan was easier than for the reporting in 2015, because the war as well as the refugee's mobility to other European countries had a clear starting date. On 24th of February Russia started the military invasion into the Ukraine. Consequently, the Ukrainian refugee movement

started on this date. Therefore, the time period in within the articles were selected pans from 24/02/2022 to 24/03/2022.

4.2.1 Bild

"Bild" emphasizes the need for registration, warning of refugees who could pretend to be Ukrainian in order to enter Germany. This is reflected by the use of the combination of ethnicity frames and security frames. Overall, the coverage of the Ukrainian refugees is positive. The need for humanitarian aid as well as the willingness to help by the German society are displayed with the help of the four humanitarian frames. They further use the capacity frames, which are in this case not negative towards the asylum-seekers, but towards the regulation of the government. However, the focus is on the need for registration of the refugees. The articles state, that no one knows who is coming and "whether they are Ukrainians or refugees from other countries" (Das läuft, 2022) . The use of this framing results in a general distrust towards all asylum-seekers and is on the other hand a double standard. All in all, the relatively short articles – which contain 400 words in average – frame the issue in favor of the Ukrainian refugees, but alert that too much humanity leads to security issues. To do so, they cite a lot of politicians and further even published one article where Bild reporters drive to the Ukraine to get refugees to Germany by car.

4.2.2 Taz. Die Tageszeitung

The "Taz." puts the emphasis on the social inequality of not-Ukrainian looking people and exchange students as well as people with other nationalities which resided in the Ukraine and thus fled too. Each of the 5 articles stresses, that there is a different treatment of non-Ukrainian looking people at the borders. Especially African students have a hard time getting across the border to Poland. This result can be seen in table three, in form of the non-Ukrainian ethnicity frame, which is the most often used by the "Taz.". Further, the authors mention and critically assess that there are huge differences to 2015 in terms of legal aspects as well as the perception of the refugees in the society. The use of the capacity frame can mostly be explained by the aim to give information, since only one is negative and 6 are rather neutral. All in all, the coverage is very positive towards the Ukrainian refugees, while there is a strong governance demand that every ethnicity coming from the Ukraine must be treated equally. The articles are between 500 and 1000 words in length. Politicians, as well as humanitarian workers and

volunteers from the civilian population are represented. Ukrainians get the stage to present their stories and are even displayed with pictures as well as their names. Thus, the readership is able to empathize with the asylum-seekers who are not anonymous without stories anymore which results in a positive perception of the refugees as well as the willingness to help (Georgious and Zaborowski, 2017).

4.2.3 Die Welt

Here, the most used frame is the demographics women, children and elderly frame. Thus, it is often emphasized that the men do not come to Germany, but only the women and children. Just like Bild, Welt emphasizes a need of registration, so that possible security threats can be detected and that only Ukrainians get into the country. Therefore, the security registration frame was applied three times and the non-Ukrainians ethnicity frame four times. The latter is also used to show that exchange students and other immigrants, who are not Ukrainian nationals but lived there when the invasion started, are being discriminated. Further, it is positively framed that the Ukrainians are legal refugees, who do not need to apply for any visa or asylum but can just enter Germany and stay there for at least four months (Breyton, 2022). The reader is positively influenced and perceives the refugees as rightful then. Next to saying that it is only women and children, a differentiation to 2015 is done. With the help of sentences like: "Anyone who enters a train station these days when another train full of Ukrainian refugees arrives, will notice a big difference: almost all of them are women and children - in 2015, they were mostly young men of military age." The article "Herz zeigen und trotzdem genau hinsehen" applies the demographics frame, but also tells the readers that the Ukrainians are different than Syrians. In another article (Naber, 2022) a polish man is cited with: "You know, the polish people thought Ukrainians are coming […] but now we have people from all around the world". So, the framing tells that in the best case, only women and children which are from Europe are allowed to come, but not the others. Concluding, the Welt frames the Ukrainian refugees positively up to the point where they compare and prioritize Ukrainians to other refugees. Politicians, one refugee child and even an exchange student are cited.

4.2.4 Die Zeit

"Die Zeit" has applied the most frames out of all newspapers. The extensive use of the positive legality frame just confirms what the papers did before. Ukrainian refugees are allowed to enter
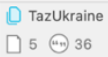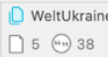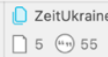
Germany without any registration, bureaucracy and do not need asylum or visa for the next 180 days. Thus, die Zeit emphasizes that all the people that are now coming to Germany are legal, which sheds positive light on the refugees. The second most used frame is the demographics frame women and children. Altogether six times the newspaper puts a focus on the gender and age of the refugees. Women and children are perceived less dangerous and particularly vulnerable and in need of humanitarian protection (see Turner, 2019). Therefore, the reader will be more likely be positive towards the asylum-seekers. The "undecided" capacity frame was used six times, which does not really value anything, but is more about giving information how many refugees fled out of the Ukraine. That could be interpreted negative but since the articles were published in the first four weeks of mobility, it is just about spreading facts. Further, a positive economic frame as well as welfare frame was applied, were they state that the refugees are allowed to work, which means that there will be positive impact for the welfare state and the economy. Like the other newspapers, Die Zeit applied a couple of positive and willingness to help humanitarian frames, which also results in positive framing of the arriving Ukrainians. The article "Nehmt alles, was ihr wollt" by Hannah Beitzer (2022) tells the story of the author, who worked as a volunteer at the Berlin central station when the refugees arrived. The stories of the Ukrainian families and their struggles triggers emotional connection to the asylum-seekers. It is a way of framing the refugees positively, resulting in the perception that they are people like us, in need of help. Additionally, the struggle of non-Ukrainians fleeing out of the country and their unequal treatment at the borders is denounced. In order to conduct their framing, Die Zeit cites and interviews labor market researchers, integration researchers, humanitarian workers and volunteers as well as Ukrainian refugees. All in all, the articles are positive towards the refugees and sometimes negative towards the governance in Germany, where they call for a better regulation of the issue for the sake of the asylum-seekers.

4.2.5 Findings in the 2022 Framing

The framing of the Ukrainian refugees is dominated by the demographics frame, the capacity frame, the non-Ukrainian ethnicity frame as well as the positive legality frame. All the latter were used by every newspaper. The positive legality leads to an acknowledgement as rightful refugees, which must be given aid and capacity. At this point, both Axel Springer newspapers – Bild and Welt – advocate for stronger regulation of the refugees which cross the borders to Germany. In combination, the non-Ukrainian ethnicity frame and the security frame registration are applied for the sake of this demand to the government. "Zeit" and "Taz." do

not share this framing but rather demand for equal treatment at the borders, publishing stories about African nationals coming from the Ukraine, which had struggles to get out of the country. Thus, there is a dichotomous use of the ethnicity non-Ukrainian frame. The demographics women, children and elderly frame, which was applied 17 times in total frames the Ukrainian refugees as less dangerous and in need of protection (see Turner, 2019). Further, the integration frame which is used by all newspapers at least once entails the demand for preventive measures by the responsible authorities, so that the integration into the German society will be successful. Three out of four newspapers also mention that the Ukrainians predominantly will not burden the welfare system, instead they will impact it positively because they are allowed to work and do mostly not need reception centers. Concluding, the framing is done in a primarily positive manner by all the newspapers, which, nonetheless have different foci on government regulations that are needed.

Table 3 Frames and Subframes of the 2022 Coverage

		BildUkraine 5 31	TazUkraine 5 36	WeltUkraine 5 38	ZeitUkraine 5 55	Totals
capacity frame: neg	3	2	1			3
capacity frame: pos	0					0
capacity frame: shelter	5		2	1	2	5
capacity frame: Undecided	16	3	4	2	6	15
demogr: men	0					0
demogr: women and children elderly	17	3	2	6	6	17
economic frame: neg	2	1				1
economic frame: pos	2			1	1	2
economic frame: Undecided	2				2	2
ethnicity frame: cultural differences	0					0
ethnicity frame: neg	0					0
ethnicity frame: non-Ukrainians	16	5	5	4	2	16
ethnicity frame: pos	6		2	1	3	6
ethnicity frame: Undecided	3	1		1	1	3
humanitarian/ moral frame: neg	0					0
humanitarian/ moral frame: pos	6	2	1		3	6
humanitarian/ moral frame: undecided	2				1	1
humanitarian/ moral frame: willingness to help	9	2	3		3	8
integration frame: neg	0					0
integration frame: pos	2				2	2
integration frame: Undecided	8	1	1	3	3	8
legailty frame: neg	1			1		1
legailty frame: pos	13	1	1	3	7	12
legailty frame: Undecided	4	2	2			4
security frame: neg	3			2		2
security frame: pos	1				1	1
security frame: registration	8	4		3		7
security frame: terrorism/ crime	0					0
security frame: Undecided	0					0
welfare frame: neg	1	1				1
welfare frame: pos	4		2	1	1	4
welfare frame: Undecided	4		1		2	3
Totals		28	27	29	46	130

Again, the qualitative content analysis by Kuckartz (2019) have been applied. After two rounds of coding, the frames and subframes which are displayed in table 3 were retrieved.

5 Analysis

After presenting the framing by the various newspapers of the two events, the findings will now be analyzed and compared to answer the given research question. Therefore, first the differences and commonalities in the framing will be compared. Afterwards, the linguistics framing is aimed to be readopted and compared as well.

5.1 Comparison of the Frames

Figure 1 shows a comparison of the frames where the biggest disparities have been analyzed. Starting with the demographics frame, a huge difference can be observed. Out of the 3, there is one men subframe and two about women, children and elderly for the 2015 coverage. In 2022 on the other hand, all the 17 are the women, children and elderly subframes. This can be traced back to the fact, that the Ukrainian men in military age are not allowed to leave the country, explaining why the refuges are predominantly women, children and elderly. Nonetheless, the specific mention of women and children refugees does frame the discourse differently since they are perceived to be in higher need of protection as well as not being a security threat (Turner, 2019). Putting the women, children and elderly frame on the agenda will increase the acceptance of the asylum-seekers. Another difference within the framing of the two events can be observed by the humanitarian frame.

Within the humanitarian frame, the positive frame was applied 14 times in 2015 but just six times in 2022. The "Bild" newspaper is making the difference here, with applying it seven times in 2015. This can be traced back to the demand of welcoming the Syrian refugees, while it is not necessary to do so in 2022 since the borders are open and there is no restriction. For the other newspapers, the humanitarian frame was applied relatively similar for both events. Especially the willingness to help is balanced, which implies that the volunteers who support refugees did not differentiate between Ukrainians and Syrians. The economic frame has been applied 17 times in 2015 and just six times in 2022. The distribution between positive and negative is about equal for the Syrian refugees. So, the implications of that are not necessarily that the economic framing in 2015 was worse than in 2022, but that there was more need to talk about the economic impact. Seven years after the first event, the economic
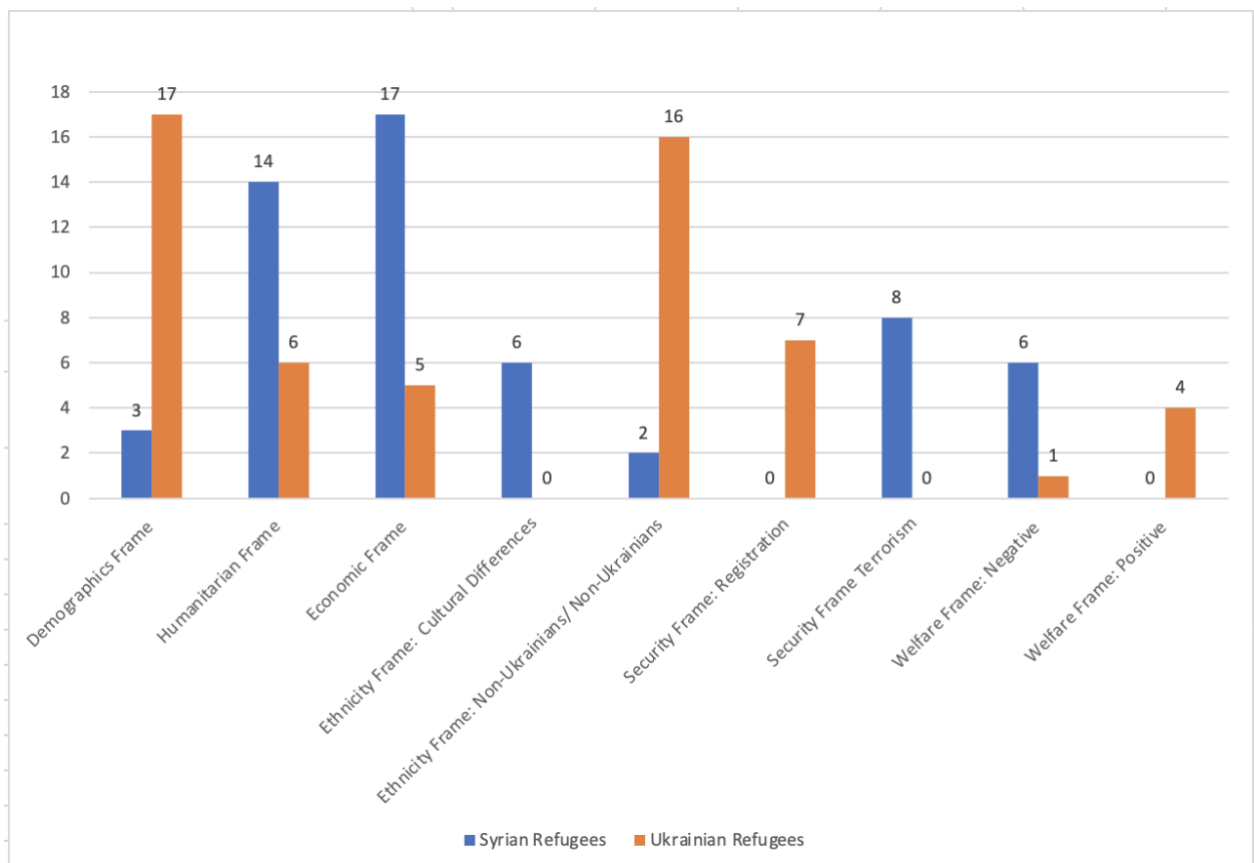
implications that come with welcoming refugees do not appear to be intensively important anymore. Another huge difference in the coverage of the two events is the use of the ethnicity cultural differences frame. While it was applied six times in 2015, now in 2022 not a single article makes use of the frame. The implication of that must be thought along integration issues. If a cultural difference is pointed out, there is the believe that the integration will not work on its own. Further, it can be used to demand not welcoming the refugees, because of the assumption that they will not fit into the German society. That is what "Die Welt" did, especially in the article "Einwanderung, zweiter Versuch" by Clemens Wergin (2015). Here, next to framing the refugees which flee from a war as "Einwanderer" – so migrants – in the title, the narrative is that muslim people do not integrate well in Germany. Concluding, the implication of that frame is a demand to not welcome more muslim refugees. In this case, the Syrian refugees are framed negative, while the Ukrainians are framed positive with the help of positive integration frames.

Another difference can be detected by the ethnicity frame of non-Syrians and non-Ukrainians. Here, the demand to the government to take up registrations at the border to check if other people try to get across is depicted. That is synonymously the difference in the use of the security frame registration. In 2015 there was registration and thus no need for that demand, while in 2022 the borders are open for refugees to cross without the need of registration. The second implication of the ethnicity frame is that in 2022 the newspapers call attention to the inequal treatment of people who do not look like typical Ukrainians, which have a hard time getting out of the country. Syrian refugees, especially men are often perceived and displayed as dangerous (Gajjala and Rettberg 2015) which explains the disparity in the use of the security frame "terrorism/ crime". While Syrian refugees were framed six times, the coverage of the Ukrainian refugees does not have a single one. Here, newspapers call for heavy monitoring of the refugees in the country as well as for checking the incoming at the borders. Simultaneously, this leads to a negative perception in the population. The result is not only prejudices against the refugees but also the spread of fear. Therefore, " Die Zeit" further mentions that terrorism or crime because of refugees is rather uncommon and not expected. Nonetheless, in comparison to the Ukrainian refugee reporting, it is a far more negative framing.

The last difference can be found in the welfare frame. In 2015, there were six negative and only one positive, while in 2022 four positive and zero negative subframes were applied. Especially readers with a lower socio-economic status will be affected by that. If refugees are framed to have a positive impact on the welfare system, the perception will be rather pro-asylum. However, if they are portrayed to have a negative impact on the welfare system, the

result will be existential fear and competitive thoughts which lead to an anti-asylum attitude. The qualitative text analysis yielded further results of differentiation between 2015 and 2022, which were expressed in articles of the latter year. Büscher (2022) for instance specifies: "Nobody lost his passport to pretend to be a war refugee". In another article of "Die Welt", this citation can be found: "The relationship to war refugees from the Ukraine is different than it was to the Syrians in 2015. We see Ukrainians as our neighbors. They are Europeans – just like us." (Schwung, 2022). These statements are published to defend current regulations, which are different than in 2015. However, it further constitutes the notion of framing the Syrian refugees more negative than the Ukrainians. Additionally, some frames were used in a similar amount in both coverages. Especially the humanitarian frame "willingness to help" was used equally, which implies that the perceived responsibility to help has been the same in 2015 and 2022. All in all, the differences in framing are to the detriment of the Syrian refugees.

Figure 1 Comparison of the main Frames

5.2 Comparison of the linguistic framing

The linguistic framing analysis does not have a look on the agenda setting issue, but solely on the use of words. Table 4 and 5 show the distribution of the connotations negative and positive for both events, the fist about the Syrian refugee coverage and the second about the Ukrainian refugee coverage. For the 2015 articles, there were 17 positive and five negative frames detected. The Welt newspaper used 11 negatively framed words, like "Flüchtlingskrise", "Fluchtwelle" and "Fluchtmassen". All the words crisis, wave and mass imply either negative consequences or an unstoppable number of refugees trying to come to Germany. They do bring an unwelcoming attitude towards the refugees. Especially capacity wise, these words frame the refugees as being negative for the population and propose for a stop of admitting them. Zeit and Bild further frame the Syrian refugees as migrants one time, which renounces their war refugee status and leads to a lesser perception of need to grant asylum. There are 5 positive frames as well, which are nonetheless in comparison to the negative words outnumbered. In the 2022 coverage the results are different. Here, the linguistic framing is more balanced. However, there are more positive frames – 12 in number – while eight negative frames were applied. The latter were predominantly used by the Bild. The situation in their articles is described with the words of "Chaos", "fürchten" and "Flüchtlingswelle". Remarkably, the newspaper Welt changed their framing in contrast to 2015, and apply one negative frame instead of 11. The articles by Zeit especially used positive frames, like the word "Geflüchteter", where the status of war refugees is pointed out. Here, the possible assumption that the asylum-seekers fled voluntarily and were not forced is excluded (see Amin, 2019, 219). The other newspapers use words like "Kriegsflüchtlinge", which is directly translated to war refugees. Due to this, a demand for helping them is underscored. Further, it defends the actions taken by the European governments to open the borders and welcome all refugees from the Ukraine. All in all, it must be remarked that the Taz paper do not used a single negatively connotated words, while Bild and Welt used rather negative connotations for both refugees groups.

In comparison, the notion which was analyzed for the 9 main frames before is substantiated by the use of connotated words. In the 2015 coverage, the refugees were more strongly framed negative, while the refugees in 2022 were rather framed positive.

Table 4 Linguistic Framing of Syrian Refugees

	BildSyria ☐ 5 🔊 33	TazSyria ☐ 5 🔊 22	WeltSyria ☐ 5 🔊 46	ZeitSyria ☐ 5 🔊 37	Totals
◇ linguistic framing: negat... 🔊 17	4		11	2	17
◇ linguistic framing: positi... 🔊 5	1	2	1	1	5
Totals	5	2	12	3	22

Table 5 Linguistic Framing of Ukrainian Refugees

	BildUkraine ☐ 5 🔊 31	TazUkraine ☐ 5 🔊 36	WeltUkraine ☐ 5 🔊 38	ZeitUkraine ☐ 5 🔊 55	Totals
◇ linguistic framing: negat... 🔊 8	5		1	2	8
◇ linguistic framing: positi... 🔊 12	2	3	1	6	12
Totals	7	3	2	8	20

6 Results

With the help of the findings, the proposed research question and the sub questions can now finally be answered. Beginning with the first sub question, how the Syrian refugees are framed in German newspapers, some interesting results arise. Starting, the 2015 coverage of the newspapers is not uniform. Especially "Die Welt" applies a very negative framing, while the "Taz." applies rather positive framing towards the refugees. Surprisingly, "Bild" uses a lot of humanitarian frames and little negative ones. This was not expected at all since the newspaper is more conservative and ideologically rather right-leaning, which often results in anti-asylum attitudes. Nonetheless, the framing in this case appears to be more positive. All in all, the framing of the Syrian refugees happens to be slightly positive, but rather negative. Especially security frames and negative linguistic framing lead to an overall critical coverage. The second sub question, how the Ukrainian refugees are framed, can be answered more clearly. Here, the framing is unitarily positive towards the asylum-seekers. When security concerns are published, it is always about the fear that other than the Ukrainians come to Germany because of the open borders. There is an overall positive framing by all newspapers, which is further substantiated by a more positive use of words than for the articles in 2015. The third sub question, which simultaneously answers the research question asks for the differences in framing, As answered in the previous part, there are distinctions in the framing of Ukrainians and Syrians. Next to the extensive use of the women and children demographics frame in 2022, which was rarely applied in 2015, a big difference is analysed in the security framing. While the Ukrainians are not seen as criminals or terrorists a single time, German newspapers often warn about the dangers of terrorism which allegedly are increased when granting asylum to Syrian refugees. Further, in 2015 economic issues are framed to a greater extend, while Syrian

asylum-seekers are more often depicted as migrants, which denies the force of escape. Finally, answering the question it must be said that there is a different framing for Syrian refugees in 2015 in contrast to 2022, for Ukrainians. This difference means, that the former were framed more negative than the latter. Syrian refugees are depicted as being different to the Germans, while the Ukrainian refugees are framed as being "like us" and easy to integrate.

The newspapers further demanded different policy changes with the help of the framing. In 2015, the dominant appeal for change was the demand to close the borders, by "Die Welt" and the demand that other European countries must help Germany and welcome refugees as well, by all newspapers. In 2022, the main policy calls were the need for registration of the refugees by "Die Welt" and "Bild" as well as stopping inequal treatment of non-Ukrainians, by "Die Zeit" and especially by "Taz.".

7 Conclusion

After presenting the analysis and results, a discussion, the strengths and weaknesses of the thesis as well as recommendations for further research are aimed to be presented.
A possible reason for the differences in framing is that there are different policies by the governance for both events. While the Ukrainian refugees can come by train, without paying for a ticket, to start working instantly, all of that was not granted to the Syrian refugees in 2015. This is not only unfair but seems to be an unequal treatment based on nationality. The framing shows, that the popular media in Germany has different views on this topic. Nonetheless, the general notion of unequal treatment is displayed in the newspapers as well.

The methodological approach of this thesis has strengths as well as weaknesses which need to be discussed. Covering only newspapers as a resource of information may not be the most modern approach since agenda-setting and the forming of opinions also takes place on social media. Especially the younger generation is more likely not represented as a group of media consumers if only newspapers and no social media content is analyzed. Nonetheless, this thesis uses articles from conventional newspapers which are published online and thus are easily accessible via the internet. Another weakness is the amount of validity of the research since there is only a qualitative approach with a limited number of articles instead of a quantitative one, like Liu (2021) or Godefroidt et al. (2016) did. Another weakness is the time limit of one month coverage. While in September 2015 a rather positive attitude towards the refugees existed – mainly through events like mass drownings and the viral picture of the dead Syrian child Alan Kurdi – the mood tilted in November 2015, when the Paris terror attacks

took place. If one would choose this time span for the articles, there would most likely be different findings in framing. Strengths of the thesis are the qualitative, in-depth investigation of the articles and the inductive identification of relevant frames. This resulted in an analysis, which was perfectly tailored to answer the research question.

The findings fill the research gap of first, in depth-analysis of frames and second research about the framing of Ukrainian refugees. Since the topic is very recent, and the refugee movements from Ukraine started about four months ago, this thesis provides a good foundation for further research. Especially the inductively identified frames for the coverage of the refugees in newspapers can be further used. To generate new findings, future research can apply the frames in a quantitative framing analysis, where all relevant published newspaper articles are used and processed by the use of statistical programs. Further, a different time span can be applied, which will most likely generate new findings.

Practical implications are the policy advice which were proposed by the different newspapers. It shows that the implications of the framing are closely related to the ideological stance of the paper – for most of them. Surprisingly, "Bild" applied a different framing than expected, which shows that the overall public mood influences the coverage of certain topics. Further, there is a correlation between framing and the existing policies. When the policies were rather anti-asylum - in 2015 – the framing was as well. In 2022, when the policies were pro-Asylum, the framing of the refugees was more positive. Finally, the responsibility of media and the importance of a press codex are pointed out.

Concluding, this thesis was able to answer the given research question and to uncover the different framing and illustration of refugees in the German media.

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9 Appendix

Appendix A: Coding Scheme

Table Coding Scheme

Codes	Occurrence in total	Explanation
Capacity frame: neg	10	negative content about either to less spatial capacity or to many refugees
Capacity frame: pos	1	content about having the capacity to welcome the refugees
Capacity frame: shelter	9	Content about providing accommodation or the need of accommodation by the refugees
Capacity frame: undecided	23	everything related to accommodation, and spatial capacity without valuing
Demographics frame: men	1	if it is highlighted that the refugees are men
Demographics frame: women chldren and elderly	19	if it is highlighted that the refugees are women, children or elderly

Economic frame: neg	7	content about negative economic impact of the refugees/ negative economic consequences when welcoming refugees/ costs
Economic frame: pos	9	when refugees are displayed to boost the economy/ when stated that German economy is able to welcome refugees
Economic frame: undecided	6	every content related to the economic and refugees which is not valued
Ethnicity frame: cultural differences	6	when differences in the cultures of the refugees in contrast to the German/ European culture and identity are pointed out
Ethnicity frame: neg	0	negative content about the ethnicity of refugees
Ethnicity frame: non-Syrians/ Ukrainians	18	when there is content about other nationalities/ ethnicities which take part in the same refugee movements as Syrians or Ukrainians
Ethnicity frame: pos	7	when the cultural and ethnic identity of the refugees is depicted positively
Ethnicity frame: undecided	7	Every content related to ethnicities which is not valued
Humanitarian/ moral frame: neg	0	negative content about the need of help of the refugees/ no emergency in the country of origin
Humanitarian/ moral frame: pos	20	content about: humanitarian crisis in the country of origin/ moral obligations to help the refugees/ the need for aid
Humanitarian/ moral frame: undecided	1	every content related to the humanitarian situation which is not valued/ has no implications
Humanitarian/ moral frame: willingness to help	15	everything about the offer of help/ the welcoming situation in Germany/ volunteers
Integration frame: neg	2	integration is not possible/ refugees are not willing to assimilate
Integration frame: pos	4	integration is possible/ refugees are willing to assimilate

Integration frame: undecided	14	content about integration, but not valued towards the Syrian/ Ukrainian refugees
Legatilty frame: neg	11	content about the illegal status of the refugees
Legality frame: pos	14	legal status of the refugees/ lawfulness
Legality frame: undecided	8	everything related to legal status but not valued
Security frame: neg	5	negative consequences of welcoming refugees/ statements about refugees as security threats
Security frame: pos	1	statements that welcoming refugeees brings no security threats
Security frame: registration	7	content about the need of registration of the refugees
Security frame: terrorism/ crime	8	refugees are likely to be terrorists/ criminals, welcoming refugees increases danger of terrorism/ crime
Security frame: undecided	0	everything concerning security issues but not valued
Welfare frame: neg	7	everything related to the use of the welfare system, impact on the welfare system by the refugees/ state services
Welfare frame: pos	4	positive impact on the welfare system by refugees
Welfare frame: undecided	5	everything related to the welfare system but not valued
Linguistic frame: neg	25	use of word with a negative connotation
Linguistic frame: pos	17	use of words with a positive connotation
Differentiation between 2015/ 2022	21	when either different treatment of the two refugee groups is mentioned or analyzed in a frame

Appendix B: List of Figures and Tables

Appendix C: List of analyzed articles

Bild 2015:

- Schippmann, A. (2015, September 18). Unfassbares Grauen treibt weiter Millionen zur Flucht. *Bild.*

- Schippmann, A. (2015, Seeptember 2). Warum wollen alle nach Deutschland?. *Bild.*

- Anda, B. (2015, September 17). Wir können nicht allen Menschen eine Heimat sein. *Bild.*

- Buschkowsky. H. (2015, September 11). 6 Fehler, die die Politik jetzt nicht machen darf. *Bild.*

- Hat Bundeskanzlerin Merkel die Lage noch im Griff?. (2015, Septeember 14). *Bild.*

Taz. 2015:
- Leonhard, R. (2015, September 16). Zangen haben Hochkonjunktur. *Taz,* 3.
- Kühl, S. (2015, August 28). An- oder wegschubsen. *Taz,* 12.
- Herrmann, U. (2015, September 17). Wer zahlt für die Betten und den Arzt?. *Taz,* 3.
- Helberg, K. (2015, September 16). Ich nähme das nächste Flugzeug nach Syrien. *Taz,* 4.
- Asmuth, G. (2015, September 8). Das Große Geben. *Taz,* 1

Die Welt 2015:

- Wergin, C. (2015, September 5). Einwanderung, zweiter Versuch. *Die Welt,* 3.
- Europa schottet sich gegen Flüchtlinge ab. (2015, August 21). *Die Welt,* 1.
- Büscher, W. (2015, September 1). Die Guten, die Bösen und die Ängstlichen. *Die Welt,* 4.
- Brech, S. M. (2015, September 18). So einfach lässt sich ein syrischer Pass besorgen. *Die Welt,* 6.

- Bewarder, M. (2015, September 3). Flüchtlingskrise: Regierung schaltet in den Notmodus. *Die Welt,* 4.

Die Zeit 2015:

- Hosan, B. (2015, September 3). Die alte Angst. *Die Zeit,* 7.
- Göring-Eckardt, K. (2015, August 25). Die Regierung hat die Asylprobleme ignoriert. *Die Zeit.*
- Gabriel, S. (2015, August 27). Wer, wenn nicht wir. *Die Zeit,* 4.
- Faigle, P. (2015, August 18). Haben wir wirklich keinen Platz mehr in Deutschland?. *Die Zeit.*
- Biermann, K.; Geisler, A. (2015, September 22). Das Phantom des islamistischen Schläfers. *Die Zeit.*

Bild 2022:

- Schneider, F. (2022, March 16). Behörden schlagen Flüchtlingsalarm. *Bild*, 4.
- Hat Bundeskanzlerin Merkel die Lage noch im Griff?. (2015, Septeember 14). *Bild.*
- Ein Land auf der Flucht. (2022, March 8). *Bild*, 2.
- Das läuft jetzt (schon wieder) alle schief. (2022, March 17). *Bild*, 4.
- Beilke, D.; Deutschmann, M.; Fischer, T.; Trümper, E. (2022, March 15). Schaffen wir das?. *Bild*, 9.

Taz. 2022:

- Johnson, D. (2022, March 1). Europas Flüchtlingspolitik: Auf der Flucht sind nicht alle gleich. *Taz.*
- Jakob, C. (2022, March 4). EU nimmt Menschen aus der Ukraine auf: „Ein Paradigmenwechsel". *Taz.*
- Hillenbrand, K. (2022, March 20). Folgen des Ukrainekriegs: 220.000 Geflüchtete in Deutschland. *Taz.*
- Hahn, D. (2022, March 11). Flucht aus der Ukraine nach Polen: Das Leben im Transit. *Taz.*

- Frank, M. (2022, March 1). Ukrainische Flüchtlinge in Berlin: Willkommen erster Klasse. *Taz.*

Die Welt 2022:

- Schwung, G. (2022, March 22). Wiederholen sich die Zustände wie im Jahr 2015?. *Die Welt*, 4
- Peters, F.; Menkens, S. (2022, March 19). Alles auf Integration?. *Die Welt,* 6.
- Naber, I. (2022, March 2). Bei der Hilfe für Flüchtlinge gibt es eine klare Priorisierung. *Die Welt.*
- Büscher, W. (2022, March 19). Herz zeigen und trotzdem genau hinsehen. *Die Welt*, 27.
- Breyton, R. (2022, March 10). So läuft die Aufnahme der Kriegsflüchtlinge. *Die Welt*, 2.

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- Knaus, G. (2022, March 15). Wir brauchen eine neue Luftbrücke, sofort. *Die Zeit.*
- Jacobsen, L.; Roth, J. (2022, March 4). So werden die ukrainischen Flüchtlinge in der EU aufgenommen. *Die Zeit.*
- Gaul, S. (2022, March 2). Ein Willkommenssignal aus Brüssel. *Die Zeit.*
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