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We don't belong to the same War

A Comparative Analysis of Media Coverage in Germany on the Syrian and Ukrainian War

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Master in International Studies (M.Sc.)

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ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon

October, 2023

Department of History

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Abstract

Global migration and refugee flows have increased sharply in recent years, particularly as a result of the conflicts in Syria and Ukraine, which subsequently forced the European Union (EU) to act. However, the EU's response has been unequal, leading to accusations of double standards.

With a comparative analysis of the Syrian and Ukrainian war, this thesis aims to examine how these conflicts are portrayed in the media, focusing on specific aspects and refugee portrayals. To this end, a qualitative content analysis of news articles from Deutsche Welle at selected time periods was conducted. For better comparability, the results were quantified.

The findings indicate that the media coverage of the Syrian conflict only increased when it directly affected the European Union. In contrast, the Ukrainian conflict received extensive media attention which was accompanied by additional insights from politicians and experts in the field. Syrian refugees were portrayed as a threat to national security, while Ukrainian refugees were described as part of the European community. This highlights how proximity and cultural factors play a role in shaping news and public perceptions of refugees. Emphasizing the need for balanced reporting that provides a holistic picture of conflicts and advocates for all refugees equally.

Keywords:

Syrian Conflict, Ukrainian Conflict, Refugees, Media Coverage, Media Portrayal, European Union

Resumo

A migração global e os fluxos de refugiados aumentaram drasticamente nos últimos anos, principalmente como resultado dos conflitos na Síria e na Ucrânia, que posteriormente forçaram a União Europeia (UE) a agir. No entanto, a resposta da UE tem sido diferente, levando a acusações de duplos padrões.

Com uma análise comparativa da guerra da Síria e da Ucrânia, esta tese tem como objetivo examinar a forma como esses conflitos são retratados na mídia, com foco em aspectos específicos e retratos de refugiados. Para isso, foi realizada uma análise qualitativa de conteúdo de artigos de notícias da Deutsche Welle em períodos de tempo selecionados. Para melhor comparabilidade, os resultados foram quantificados.

As descobertas indicam que a cobertura da mídia sobre o conflito sírio só aumentou quando ele afetou diretamente a União Europeia. Em contraste, o conflito ucraniano recebeu grande atenção da mídia, que foi acompanhada por informações adicionais de políticos e especialistas na área. Os refugiados sírios foram retratados como uma ameaça à segurança nacional, enquanto os refugiados ucranianos foram descritos como parte da comunidade europeia. Isso demonstra como a proximidade e os fatores culturais influenciam as notícias e as percepções de refugiados por parte do público. Ressaltando a necessidade de reportagens diversificadas que forneçam uma visão holística dos conflitos e advoguem por todos os refugiados igualmente.

Palavras-chave:

Conflito na Síria, Conflito na Ucrânia, Refugiados, Cobertura Mediática, Representação Mediática, União Europeia

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1. Introduction

Most people in the world have had the experience of leaving the place where they grew up. Maybe they will only move as far as the next village or city. But for some people, they will need to leave their country entirely – sometimes for a short time, but sometimes forever. (Amnesty International, n.d.)

With the beginning of the civil war in Syria in March 2011 global migration and refugee flows grew significantly. In the search for protection, the EU and especially Germany became a crucial and preferred refugee destination (Worbs et al., 2019). The so-called refugee crisis intensified in early 2022 with the Russian invasion of Ukraine, becoming one of the largest crises in the history of the European Union (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2023).

Although both conflicts led to extreme refugee flows and suffering, they received varying levels of support from the European Union (EU). Twelve years after the civil war in Syria began, approximately one million Syrian refugees have been granted protection, in contrast to the more than four million Ukrainian refugees who have already found refuge within the EU (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2023; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2021). As a result of the EU's increased assistance for European refugees, accusations of double standards have arisen (Venturi & Vallianatou, 2022).

While the EU plays a pivotal role in managing these conflicts, the media also play a crucial role in shaping public opinion and perception (Burkart, 2003; Eberl et al., 2018). The media, in this context, assume an integrative function, particularly important for ethnic minorities seeking refuge (Bonfadelli & Moser, 2007). This underscores the importance of analyzing media coverage, especially in relation to refugees and violent conflicts.

Numerous studies have explored media coverage of the Syrian war and the framing of Syrian refugees (Douai et al., 2022). Several studies even compare media portrayal in the largest host countries and examine the extent to which media present war and refugees (Fengler et al., 2020). Given the recent nature of the Ukraine invasion, there has been very little research conducted on this topic. Therefore, this thesis aims to conduct a comparative analysis of the Syrian and Ukrainian conflict and highlight how media narratives evolve over time and influence the perception of refugees.

The following research questions guide this thesis:

Research Question 1: How did the media coverage on the Syrian and Ukrainian conflict differ in the years 2011 and 2015?

Research Question 2: How did the media coverage on the Syrian conflicts differ in the years 2015 and 2022?

The research questions 1 and 2 are to be answered with the sub-questions a and b:

a: What are the main topics emphasized in the media coverage?

b: What frames are employed in reference to the refugees?

By comparing the years 2011 and 2015 this thesis offers an insight into the media portrayal of the conflict when it first broke out and was mostly limited to Syria, and when an influx of refugees reached European soil. The second research question aims to compare the Syrian conflict in 2015 and the Ukrainian conflict in 2022, both of which had a direct impact on the EU and led to a high influx of refugees, allowing for a better comparison.

The analysis is conducted on news articles from the German global broadcaster *Deutsche Welle*. It allows for the analysis of both a German and international media outlet. Germany is of particular interest due to its substantial refugee population, which includes both Syrians and Ukrainians (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2023). Furthermore, the international dimension of this issue is crucial for our analysis.

This thesis is divided in six sections. First operational concepts are defined followed by a literature review. This section provides an insight into media dynamics with a focus on the communication of conflicts. Additionally, the origins, dynamics, and impacts of both conflicts are explained and compared. Within the theoretical framework relevant concepts are introduced in relation to the research focus. Subsequently, the methodological procedure is outlined and the most important results are presented. Finally, the results are discussed, and recommendations for future research are provided.

2. Defining Operational Concepts

In the following section, the terms migration, migrant and refugee are defined and distinguished from each other. This is important since these terms are often used synonymously. Furthermore, for better comprehension and contextualization, the concept of media is explained, and additional information about the media outlet Deutsche Welle is provided.

2.1 Conceptualizing Migration, Migrant and Refugee

Since the terms refugee and migrant are often used simultaneously, it is important to define these terms individually. For a better comprehension, it is also necessary to define the term migration. In accordance with the International Organization for Migration (n.d.), Migration is “the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State“. Following this definition, refugees and migrants belong to the same general group. However, they differ in terms of their migration motives. According to Article 1A (2) of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, a refugee is a person “owing to the well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (...)”. Migrants, on the contrary, leave their homeland voluntarily in search for better economic conditions (International Rescue Committee (IRC), 2019).

2.2 Conceptualizing the Term Media

Due to the complexity and dynamic of the media system, there is no uniform definition of the term media. According to Schweiger (2007) a distinction between mass media and individual media can be drawn. However, with the ongoing development and digitalization of the media system, a differentiation has become increasingly difficult (Beck, 2015). A commonly used definition of mass communication originates from Gerhard Maletzke. Thereby mass communication refers to any form of communication where statements are conveyed indirectly and unilaterally to a dispersed audience by technical means of distribution (Maletzke, 1963). Examples include radio, television, newspapers, magazines and online platforms. Individual media, in contrary, are technical means that enable two-way communication between individuals and/or smaller groups without the spatial and temporal presence of the communication partner (Schweiger, 2007).

2.3 Deutsche Welle

Deutsche Welle (DW) is a German global broadcaster and independent media outlet which provides quality journalism that fosters cross-cultural exchange between different cultures and peoples. The media organization distributes content through television, radio and online platforms in a total of 32 languages, while focusing on a variety of topics. The areas of interest range from freedom and human rights to environmental protection. Despite access being censored in countries where press freedom remains an issue, Deutsche Welle was able to reach 291 million user contacts weekly in 2022 (DW, n.d.). The following thesis examines the media reporting on the Syrian and Ukrainian war in Deutsche Welle's online news.

3. Literature Review

The following section delves into relevant academic literature to provide an insight on the evolution of the media environment and the communication of conflicts. Additionally, an overview of the Syrian and Ukrainian conflicts is provided and relevant information is outlined.

3.1 Evolution of Media Structures and the Current Media Environment

In the early stages, national and local businesses within their respective countries held the majority of the media ownership (Barnett, 2004). However, over the last decades the structure has shifted, particularly in the wake of globalization (McChesney, 2001; Barnett, 2004). In general, the impacts of globalization can be both positive and negative. Globalization creates constant competition that increases productivity and challenges companies to continuously evolve. It offers innovation in a variety of sectors ranging from agriculture to information technology. Additionally, the exchange with other countries leads to a greater awareness and understanding of foreign cultures. In contrast, an international market dominated by multinational corporations has emerged directed by multinational corporations, while displacing domestic companies (Albarran, 2010). The globalization of the media was driven by the liberalization of the trade market and the process of deregulation (Barnett, 2004). Companies started to reach beyond their domestic borders, establish headquarters in other countries, engage with consumers in other nations and establish international cooperation's. Large conglomerates, usually referred to as multinational media corporations, are generally the driving force behind the globalization of the media. They are focused on efficiency and profit and generate most of their revenue from the sale of media content and advertising. Especially developed nations experienced an increased deregulation, liberalization and privatization of the media sector and particularly the media ownership, while other regions of the world like the Middle East experienced an increased regulation and therefore limitation of the media sector (Albarran, 2010).

Moreover, technology is also considered to be a driving force for change within the media and communication sector (Shapiro & Varian, 1999). Rapid advances led to a shift from analog to digital technology (Barnett, 2004). Before, access was more restricted, and content was under greater control. In the digital world, with the rising of the internet and other digital platforms, this has become nearly impossible. These so-called "new media" took over traditional mass media such as print and broadcast. Traditional media are one-way mass communication outlets that provide information and entertainment to a widely dispersed audience, while the new media are considered to be two-way mass communication tools that

allow for greater interaction between the audience and the content producers. Additionally, new media allow users to generate as well as transmit contents. Also, for companies the new media show to have some benefits over traditional media, which are centralized, restricted by the government and require high investments and resources. In contrast, the new media are decentralized, harder to control by the state and require a much lower investment (Rajendran & Thesinghraj, 2014). The freedom that came to users with the Internet quickly gained popularity. People were now able to consume media content that is not regulated by the state or other agencies (Rosenstiel, 2005). This indicates that the audience itself and their changed demand were also a driving force for a transformation within the media and communication sector. The audience is no longer viewed as a mass entity but as individuals with different ethnicities, demographic backgrounds and lifestyles (Albarran, 2010).

In summary the exponential growth of digital content and platforms including social media sites, the ongoing globalization process, market fragmentation, and the ever-changing consumption patterns of media users are leading to increased competition in the media and communications industry. In the traditional media world, which was characterized by high entry barriers, the supply of media was limited and accordingly the consumer demand high. In the digital media world, however, the entry barriers are low, and the number of media companies continues to rise. Nevertheless, the majority of the media industry is still controlled by a few large corporations (Evens, 2018).

3.2 Conflict Communication in the Network Society

The technological shift initiated the information age and led to the establishment of today's network society. The concept of the network society goes back to the sociologist Manuel Castells and can provide an explanation of how conflicts are communicated in today's society. In a network society, the social structure consists of networks driven by information and communication technologies. Networks are an entity of interconnected nodes that can receive and process information. The totality of nodes is indispensable for the functioning of the network, although they are assigned different levels of importance. Furthermore, networks are able to process information streams between the nodes and overcome physical as well as temporal barriers. With the progressive development of communication technologies, networks were able to incorporate new actors and content into the process of social organization, all without the interference of power centers (Castells, 2004).

The network society's communication is arranged around and integrated by a broad system of electronic media and characterized by networking, flexibility, and volatile symbolic

communication. The media constitute of a large variety of channels of communication, with increasing interactivity. They represent a diverse range of cultures and social groups and communicate with specific audiences. The media system is also defined by the increasing independence of viewers who have access to the Internet and can consume selected content (Castells, 2004). The new potential for communication has crucial implications. The Internet in particular offers the possibility of exchanging information and opinions. There is no longer a one-sided mass communication that preselects what users get to hear or see (Castells, 2004). This new dynamic means that media are becoming a public space that is particularly important for politics (Volkmer, 2003). In a network society, however, not only political relationships but also social and economic ones are shaped by networking (Castells, 2004).

Particularly social media is used for self-expression and political interference. Users are able to share and spread information and enable collective action like social movements. Moreover, social networks help individuals or groups to mobilize others, coordinate actions and raise funds while bypassing mainstream media (Castells, 2015; Zeitzoff, 2017). Especially the younger generation uses social media to express their discontent and call for change in different sectors (Castells, 2015). A recent and wide spread social movement that had a strong influence on the political order was the so-called Arab Spring. The uprising started in Tunisia in the year 2010, with protest against the dictatorship of Ben Ali. Images of protestors were quickly disseminated on various social media platforms and received international media attention (Aday et al., 2012). In addition to playing a part in the political unrest in Iraq, Libya, and the Syrian Civil War, the protests directly contributed to the overthrow leaders in Tunisia and Egypt (Zeitzoff, 2017). In contrary, the internet and social media platforms have also facilitated it for governments to identify and monitor protests (Morozov, 2012).

Overall, the use of digital media reveals a wide range of advantages and disadvantages. As mentioned earlier, social media among other benefits gives a voice to individuals and especially to marginalized groups and is of great advantage in mobilizing people with the same interests. Experts also highlight the potential for democracy movements and civic engagement. In addition, grievances can quickly attract media attention and become the focus of social and political discourse. But at the same time, new technological possibilities pave the way for the rapid spread of misinformation and the manipulation of public opinion. People get stuck in their communication bubbles, their information is filtered according to their preferences and interests and can easily be misused by political actors and ultimately influence elections (Wetzlmaier, 2022).

3.3 The War in Syria

In early 2011, a series of protests spread across North Africa and the Middle East, crossing national borders and sparking what would later be known as the Arab Spring. The protests focused on the overthrow or reform of authoritarian regimes and garnered the attention of the international media (Rosiny, 2011). Inspired by the dynamic and success of the protests, a movement of peaceful demonstrations emerged in the Syrian city of Daraa in March 2011. The Syrian government reacted quickly. Detentions and shootings later led to a violent escalation (Ford, 2019). The protests quickly expanded across the country and turned into a widespread uprising against the regime of Bashar al-Assad, ultimately resulting in a violent civil war (Zisser, 2017).

The war in Syria centers around an ongoing conflict between regime supporters and regime opponents. To counteract the Syrian regime, small local rebel militias emerged and have in some cases grown into larger coalitions. The most powerful is currently the “Army of Conquest” (Jaysh al-Fatah) alliance in the northwest of the country, which was formed in March 2015 (Salloum et al., 2016). Another opposition group that emerged early was the “Free Syrian Army”. The army was formed by thousands of deserted Syrian soldiers demanding the fall of Assad (Schulte von Drach, 2018).

It quickly becomes apparent that ethnic-religious aspects also play a crucial role. Assad, as many other leaders in the army and the ruling party, is an Alawite. The Alawites are close to the Shiites and therefore to the Shiite regime in Iran. The majority of the Syrian population in contrary is of the Sunni faith and for this reason critical of the government and Shiite groups within Syria. The Shiite minorities on the other hand feel threatened by the Sunnis and support the regime under Assad (Schulte von Drach, 2018).

Throughout time, the government resorted to increasingly violent measures who had a severe impact on the civilian population and lead to a high mortality and flight rate. This increased violence led to the radicalization of the rebel forces (Asseburg & Wimmen, 2012). A new religiously motivated terror group, the al-Nusra Front, came to the forefront and claimed responsibility for a series of attacks against Syrian forces. Initially, the terrorist organization belonged to al-Qaeda but later joined the so-called Islamic State (IS) (Schulte von Drach, 2018). Whilst Assad's supporters and opponents are concerned about who will rule Syria, the IS aims to abolish Syria. The terror group wants to conquer its own territories and establish a transnational caliphate (Salloum et al., 2016).

Particularly from 2015 onward, external actors have increasingly supported the opposing parties with the goal to assert their own interests in the region. As a result, the internal power

struggle has taken on the character of a proxy war in which international, regional and subnational conflicts are carried out (Asseburg & Wimmen, 2012). In this context, three levels can be identified. At the top level, the conflict between the United States and Russia can be situated. On the second level, the conflict between Sunni and Shiite regional powers can be classified, with Saudi Arabia and Iran leading the way. Sunni groups, supported by the U.S. and Sunni regional powers, as well as Shiite groups, which receive support from Iran and Russia, are the most important proxies on the ground and can be listed in the third level (Oğuz & Çelik, 2018).

International support for the regime comes primarily from Iran and Russia, which are pursuing to maintain and strengthen their power in Syria. While Iran is equipping the Assad government with fighters, Russia is supporting the fight with money and weapons. The United States, the Gulf states and Turkey are considered to be international opponents of Assad. The Gulf states seek to defeat Assad and bring Islamist Syrian rebels to power and are even supplying radical groups with money and weapons. Turkey in contrary wants to create an autonomous Kurdish region near the Turkish border in Syria. The U.S. initially intended to clear the way for a new pro-Western government and a transition to democracy (Salloum et al., 2016). With the emergence of the terrorist jihadist militia (DAESH), their primary goal shifted and they joined forces with Western and Gulf states in the war against terror (Oğuz & Çelik, 2018).

3.4 The War in Ukraine

On February 24, 2022, Russian troops entered Ukraine and started a war that prevails until this day (Nüssel, 2023). Yet this conflict dates back to the time of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, also called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was founded in 1922 and consisted of 15 Social Republics ranging from the Baltic to the Caucasus and Central Asia and occupying an area of 22 million square kilometers. The USSR was considered the largest and one of the most diverse states (Pipes et al., 2023). During this time Ukraine was considered a fundamental cornerstone. Second to Russia, it was the most powerful and populous republic and housed the Black Sea Fleet, nuclear weapons, and much of the agricultural and military assets (Masters, 2023). According to historians, one event during this period was fundamental for the development of this conflict. In 1954, marking the 300th anniversary of the unification of Ukraine and Russia, then Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev transferred the Crimean Peninsula from the Socialist Republic of Russia to the Republic of Ukraine (Hunter, 2022). The newly gained independence brought Ukraine closer to the

European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). While this development was welcomed by the more nationalistic Ukrainian-speaking population, the Russian-speaking community in the east of the country favored a closer relationship with Russia. In 2014, after a disputed referendum, however, Russia annexed the Crimea, marking the first time since World War II that a European state occupied another state (Masters, 2023). Since many citizens feel culturally connected to Russia, the decision to join the Russian Federation was welcomed by many Crimeans. In contrary, this move was widely condemned by the international community. The interim government in Kiev rejected the referendum, and the U.S. and EU imposed penalties and travel bans on Russian members of parliament. Nevertheless, on March 21, Putin signed the annexation treaty, formalizing Crimea's union with Russia (Kryzhanivsky et al., 2023).

Russia's annexation of Crimea had a far-reaching impact on the entire region and led to conflicts not only in Crimea, but also in eastern Ukraine, particularly in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions (Fischer, 2019). Separatist movements emerged, as a large part of the population also feels culturally, historically and politically connected to Russia (*Eastern Ukraine: A Dangerous Winter*, 2014). The conflict quickly intensified and claimed thousands of lives. The Minsk agreements of 2014 and 2015, which were originally intended to secure peace and regulate the return of these areas to Ukraine, have been violated several times and have not led to any far-reaching improvements (Fischer, 2019).

Eight years after the invasion, Russia launched an offensive war against Ukraine. All of these events have led to the expansion and strengthening of the United States and NATO armed forces. These efforts are intended to protect Europe against possible attacks coming from Russia (*Great Power Competition: Implications for Defense—Issues for Congress*, 2023).

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 is now considered one of the most violent conflict in Europe since World War II. So far there are many explanations why the attack took place. According to some analysts, Russia's invasion might be the result of Moscow's anger towards the NATO and its expansion within the region of the former Soviet Union. Putin, as well as other Russian politicians accused the US and NATO of breaking former agreements. Other experts stated that Russia was afraid that Ukraine could develop into a western democracy and would therefore undermine his power. In fact, this would prevent any attempt to rebuild a Russian sphere of influence in Europe (Masters, 2023). Since the beginning of the invasion, all attempts to end the war through negotiations have failed. International mediation efforts, such as those by Turkey, have also been unsuccessful. Russia is still working toward its ultimate goals, which include demilitarizing Ukraine and changing the system and elites (Nüssel, 2023).

In August Ukraine launched a counteroffensive against Russian military forces and regained some smaller areas (Masters, 2023). However, due to massive devastation and the destruction of civilian infrastructure, many people in Ukraine continue to be unable to meet their basic needs - including the provision of food, water and medicine. In total, one third of the Ukrainian population was forced to flee. This accounts today as the largest displacement crisis in the world. While five million people are refugees within the country, over eight million people are now living in European countries (*Humanitäre Krise in der Ukraine*, 2023).

3.5 Media Coverage of the War in Ukraine and Syria

This conflict in Syria quickly became the most pressing issue in international affairs and dominated the headlines of international media. For this research work the focus lays particularly on the Western media discourse. Researchers found a similar approach to Syria throughout a variety of news platforms of Western countries. By constructing a certain image of the war, the West underpinned its cultural power in Syria. In addition, people's religious orientation was a recurring characteristic of news media coverage, reflecting the still dominant Christian and Eurocentric worldview of Western countries. Moreover, the focus was primarily on the Arab countries that failed to end the war, rather than on the other nations that contributed to the continuation of the conflict (Zhao, 2019).

At the beginning of the uprisings in Syria, the image conveyed in the media was of people fighting for freedom and democracy. Children and female refugees were the subject of intense media attention, with a focus on their greater vulnerability (Alhayek, 2014; Zhao, 2019). Images and videos of children in particular received considerable media attention and spread quickly, especially on social media. Although these images evoked sympathy, Islamophobia continued to spread (Zhao, 2019).

As the refugee crisis reached European ground in 2015, news reporting became more intense. In Germany for example, studies have shown that the initially positive attitude towards refugees shifted over the course of the year (Maurer et al., 2021). Reporting became increasingly negative after the German government's decision to accept refugees and after reports on the incident during New Year's Eve became public. Overall, the media emphasized the potential dangers associated with high immigration rather than the opportunities it offers. Accordingly, the media portrayed the number of refugees as high, the reception capacities in Germany as low, and the public's opinion toward refugees as negative (Maurer et al., 2021). By associating Syrian refugees with crimes, such as murder or terrorism, a feeling of threat emerged and let host states question their security and social order (Zhao, 2019). Moreover, it

is predominantly those in power, such as politicians, who speak out to reinforce the stigmatization of refugees as a security threat. Also, refugees are demarcated and portrayed as the other. This distance supports stereotypical xenophobic fears and constructs a society of exclusion (Dykstra, 2016).

In their research work on the coverage of the Syrian Conflict in international media, Ganie and Khalid (2021) identified dominant frames in news stories and editorials of international newspapers. One of the most highlighted frames was the Chemical Attack. Western media blamed Assad and his regime to attack and kill civilians. By manifesting the frame War Crimes Assad was again hold responsible for his actions. In setting these frames and speaking out against Assad, the US intervention in Syria was legitimized. The researchers called this the Intervention Frame. While the focus was set on this frames, other important topics like mortality, refuges, displacement, water crisis, education, health and many more were minimal or non-existing in news stories (Ganie & Khalid, 2021).

In comparison to the war in Syria little research has been done on media coverage of the conflict in Ukraine since this is a recent development. A comprehensive insight is provided by the study of McCann et al. (2023), which examines and compares media coverage on the conflict in Ukraine and Syria in a number of European publications in 2015 and 2022.

Overall, the media associated Syrian refugees more often with threat and danger than Ukrainian refugees. Publications of the year 2015, focused more on the violent act itself than on the overall situation. A contextualization was more frequently used when referring to Ukrainian refugees. Furthermore, coverage of the year 2015 focused on the health risks that could occur due to the refugee crisis, while in 2022 the focus laid on elevating the health situation for Ukrainian refugees. Moreover, a discussion about the legitimacy of asylum-seekers was more dominant during the Syrian refugee crisis than the Ukrainian crisis. Overall, it is clear that media coverage differs with respect to these two refugee groups. Broadly speaking, the media coverage of Syrian refugees reveals a more pessimistic narrative. According to the authors, race, gender dynamics, geographical proximity and socioeconomic changes play a significant role in shaping these contrasting narratives (McCann et al., 2023).

However, to gather and spread news in conflict zones is very difficult. In the course of the Syrian conflict, social media has been given a fundamental role. With the help of the internet, journalist are able to report about events while maintaining some sort of anonymity. These security measures lead to questions regarding the authenticity and accuracy of sources. Overall, the importance of citizen journalism increased. They attempt to document, above all, the resistance in Syria and represent the Syrian population. Thereby they are one of the view

bridges between Syria and the outside world, especially since journalists are not allowed to enter the country anymore (Al-TaHER, 2013).

4. Theoretical Framework

The following section situates this work within the concept of existing research and serves as a theoretical framework.

4.1 Field of Research

The present work is situated within the realm of communication science, specifically focusing on media content research. A classification of this area of research in relation to other fields of study is provided by the communication model of Lasswell (1948). The model is based on the question: “Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect?” (Lasswell, 1948). Therefore, media content research aims to analyze the content created by the communicator and transmitted through the communication channel.

The term media content refers to both the physical messages, such as newspaper articles, television programs, radio broadcasts, texts, images or sounds, as well as to the symbolic meanings conveyed by them. The main objective of media content analysis is to describe the media reality and based on the findings explain why the reality is the way it is (Bonfadelli, 2002). In the words of McQuail (2010) and from the perspective of mass communicators, media content reveals potential effects mass media can have on the audience, whether the effect is intended or unintended.

Media content analysis became a research field of interest for various sectors. Among important approaches are the agenda-setting, framing and gatekeeping-theory. In the following section these theories will be discussed, particularly with regard to the influence of media in conflict situations.

4.2 How Media influences the Perception of Conflicts

Mass communication research provides extensive results on the impact of media and can draw on substantial findings (see Bonfadelli & Friemel, 2015; Schenk, 2007). To this day, there is no coherent definition of the term media effect. Nevertheless, concepts emerged that are still widely used and prevail to this day. According to the researcher Maletzke (1981), media effects refer to all changes in individuals as well as in society that follow from mass communication or arise from the existence of mass media. Graber (1993) provides a similar but more detailed definition and sees media effects as any changes to an individual's psychological states, cognitions, motives, attitudes, behavior, or behavioral intentions that can be linked to the consumption of mediated information. With the advent of the modern mass press and broadcasting, new complexes of action emerged, such as advertising, public relations and

propaganda, which sought to influence society. Especially during the First World War, the media gained great importance as a means of propaganda. At that time, the media were considered to be omnipotent and their effectiveness outstanding. Researchers established the Stimulus-Response-Model. According to this model, a carefully designed stimulus reaches every individual in society through the mass media. In addition, everyone perceives the stimuli in the same way and an identical reaction is achieved (Schenk, 2007). In today's research, this approach is no longer valid and has been replaced by more recent findings. An explanation for the devaluation of the media effect is provided by the dissonance theory. Scholars argue that people mostly engage with media content that corresponds to their preconceptions. Accordingly, media content is perceived with different intensity and interpreted differently. However, individuals do not need to be exposed to media content to have an effect on them. Direct, personal conversations are much more likely to influence individuals' opinions, attitudes and actions than the reception of media content. This is a relatively well-established finding in research referred to as opinion-leading. Despite the relativization of their effectiveness, media shouldn't be seen as ineffective. Especially media with a far-reaching audience must be seen as powerful influencers of our society. Overall, the power of the media consists primarily in transmitting knowledge on a variety of topics and not in the immediate change of attitudes and behavior (Burkart, 2003). Accordingly, mass media, and especially news agencies, have a crucial role in communicating issues (McCombs, 2011). They provide information to people about matters that are beyond their scope of vision or, as Walter Lippmann (1922) describes it, the media are our primary source of information and what we believe to know about the world is mostly conveyed through the media. Since the late 1960s, this concept is referred to as Agenda-Setting. An agenda is a list of subjects, contentious issues, and events that are ranked in order of priority at a particular time (Jäckel, 2011). The so-called Chapel Hill study by McCombs and Shaw (1972) is a significant work that is still applicable today. According to McCombs and Shaw's agenda-setting hypothesis: „ the mass media may have little influence on the direction or intensity of attitudes, it is hypothesized that the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes towards the political issues.“ (1972, p. 177). The study aims to foresee if an agenda-setting process might be possible. For this they intended to analyze whether people's perceptions of a topic's relevance are influenced by its position in the mass media. They started by examining the agenda of the media and the public and subsequently compare them. If the rankings are congruent, there is evidence that the mass media contributes to the construction of reality of the audience. The sample consisted of voters, who have not made a final decision yet. It was

assumed that those who have already made a voting decision will be less likely to follow the ranking of the media and will therefore be resistant to various forms of influence (Jäckel, 2011). The Chapel Hill study showed that the correlation between the two agendas is high, and an agenda-setting function of the mass media is evident. Moreover, the data suggest that cognitive effects are more relevant than selective perception. However, the authors also emphasize that the existence of an agenda-setting function of the mass media is not proven by the correlations. They simply intended to investigate whether an agenda-setting effect can be expected in society (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

The former agenda-setting approach dates back to a time when the traditional mass media were the central source of information. Over the years the media landscape and the way stories are created and spread changed fundamentally. Especially the internet and digitalization made it necessary to rethink the concept. The original hypothesis has been extended by a series of constructs, models and new theories (Gleich, 2019).

According to a various number of researchers, the media's agenda-setting, occurs on three levels. The first level is about a direct influence of the media on the audience agenda. moreover, it is assumed that the audience only deals with a small number of topics at any given time (Guo & McCombs, 2015). The work of Kim, Scheufele and Shanahan (2002) suggests that media not only influence the agenda but also draws attention to particular attributes. By emphasizing certain attributes, the media tells the audience how to think about a certain issue. This is called the attribute agenda-setting function of the mass media and is the second level (Kim et al., 2002). The third level tries to explain the media landscape in a fast-evolving media environment and is referred to as the network agenda-setting. This concept implies that topics in the media are interconnected like networks. Therefore, individuals are influenced by information complexes and create based on that an integrated picture of the issue (Guo & McCombs, 2015).

In order to explain the effect that media can have on the attitude and behavior of individuals, the agenda-setting concept has been complemented by theories from the field of communication science and psychology. Accordingly, issues or topics that are repeatedly covered in the media are more likely to influence individuals' opinions. This effect is known as priming effect and is based on the principle of accessibility. Therefore, in order to form a judgment, people draw mainly on information that is easily accessible (Gleich, 2019).

But the media do not solely select topics but also assign them different importance and thus add a framework. Framing research originated from the observation that media also decide from which perspective a topic is treated and which aspects of the topic are emphasized or

neglected (Bonfadelli & Marr, 2008). In the words of Entman (1993): „to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” (p. 529). Additionally, a distinction between media and audience frames is made. Media frames in particular, are seen as a central idea or plot that gives meaning to an ongoing series of events (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). In contrary, audience frames are: „mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information.” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). This shows that neither media organizations and journalists nor recipients are able to perceive the world comprehensively in its complexity, and frames therefore fulfill an important function in the reduction of complexity, but also in the enforcement of interest-driven ideas on reality. This is evident, for example, in social conflicts, where there are usually different ideas on causes and solutions, but also on the moral evaluation of a social problem (Bonfadelli & Marr, 2008). An early and important research called “Processing the News. How People Tame the Information Tide” was conducted by Graber (1984). The study is based on 21 qualitative interviews and focuses on the processes of information selection and information processing during news reception. Furthermore, it focuses on the effects this has on the recipients' knowledge and perceptions (Graber, 1984, as cited in Brosius & Unkel, 2016). In the internet age the underlying research interest of how people cope with the flood of information is more relevant than ever (Brosius & Unkel, 2016). According to Graber frames determine which information is perceived, absorbed and processed. Secondly, they help to evaluate and classify this new information in existing knowledge structures, thus avoiding making the cognitive effort to create new structures. Thirdly, they speed up the processing of incomplete information by filling information gaps based on prior knowledge stored in the frame. Lastly, they aid in decision making and problem solving by highlighting possible scenarios and alternative actions. Frames therefore regulate the selection of information and its incorporation into memory (Graber, 1984, as cited in Brosius & Unkel, 2016).

The number of violent conflicts and wars increased massively in recent years. According to Wallensteen (2015) a conflict is “a social situation in which a minimum of two actors strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources” (p. 17-18). As mentioned before most conflicts take place away from the public's direct experience and are therefore shaped by media reporting (Quandt et al., 2014). Accordingly, the reporting of war has a massive influence on the understanding, interpretation and evaluation of the conflict (Jungblut, 2020). The Gatekeeping Theory addresses this issue and explores why some events

are covered by the media while others are not part of the news agenda. According to the Gatekeeping Theory the media organization is divided into different sections. Each section represents an activity of news production and is separated by gates. The gatekeepers decide which information is taken into consideration (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). The decisions of the gatekeepers are based on a number of forces that can be divided in five analytical levels: characteristics of the individual journalist, routines and practices within the media organization, the organizational structures and the influence of social institutions and systems on the news production process. These forces are not independent from one another and require a holistic approach (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

In addition to the various forces that influence reporting, it is crucial in war reporting to question where the information comes from. A small percentage of the information that reaches media organizations originated from investigative journalism and first-hand experiences of journalists. Whereas most of the information comes from the outside (Wolfsfeld, 2013). For this reason, journalist and media organizations rely on the perspective and opinion of other stakeholders and actors, who often describe events in line with their personal view of the conflict (Jungblut, 2020).

In order to identify more patterns when it comes conflict reporting, Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2017) compared the domestic and international media coverage of six ongoing conflicts. Overall, the focus of attention centers around negativity and therefore on escalation, disruptions and violent events. Peaceful events and de-escalation do not meet the criteria and are characterized as non-news (Wolfsfeld, 2004). Not only do journalists pay more attention to violent events rather than peaceful events, but they also tend to focus on the negative aspects of an event, even if it was originally not of negative nature (Camaj, 2010; Pauly, 2009). After the initial situation subsides, events appear only sporadically in the media and the further course remains undocumented (Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2017; Jakobsen, 2000). Moreover, a difference between international and domestic media can be noted. Peaks of attention in foreign news coverage usually coincide with major conflicts, while domestic news coverage tends to cover the conflict even before violent escalations. Besides, minor escalations occur mainly in local, but seldom in foreign news (Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2017).

Lastly, there are indications that conflict reporting is characterized by ethnocentrism (Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2017). As Gans (1975) points out, journalists are often biased towards other groups and, accordingly, tend to rely on in-group sources that align with their views and values. This counteracts peaceful regulations and can lead to the constitution of negative stereotypes towards out-groups (Entman, 1991).

4.3 Factors Influencing International Discourse on Refugees

In the realm of domestic and global communication, media coverage is expected to be balanced. Balanced coverage implies presenting different actors, issues and viewpoints while maintaining an unbiased stance (Starkey, 2007). However, reaching this ideal proves to be complicated, as a variety of external factors like geopolitical dynamics, geographical proximity and political affiliations have a considerable impact in influencing media narratives (Maurer et al., 2022).

With immigration becoming an important topic in the political environment, conservative parties have shown to be more prone in adopting restrictive policies and therefore limiting immigration (McKeever, 2020). This is evident in a study on media coverage of the refugee crisis in Germany and the UK. Even though both countries were ruled by conservative parties, differences in their handling of the immigration crisis are noticeable (Maurer et al., 2022). In comparison to the UK, the German ruling party took a more supportive stance towards the acceptance of refugees. According to McKeever (2020), this shift is driven by a pro-European attitude and welcoming culture of the political elite. The British government in contrary, abide to its conservative and traditional views and did everything in its power to limit immigration, including closing its borders (Bale, 2013). According to the indexing theory by Bennett (2016) the opinion of the political elites is reflected in the media coverage of the respective country. Moreover, the geographical position also had an impact on the country's policies. Due to its location, German politicians had to handle the high numbers of refugees trying to reach Europe (Maurer et al., 2022). According to the news value theory, geographical proximity is a decisive news factor (Johnson-Cartee, 2005).

Overall, German media reported more frequently and positive about the refugee crisis than media outlets in the UK. Furthermore, Germany treated the refugee crisis as a domestic issue, whereas the UK treated the same topic as foreign politics, emphasizing their distance towards the events (Maurer et al., 2022).

Within the studies of international communication, scholars found other cultural factors that influence media coverage and news flow. One of the factors is language. Therefore, countries are more likely to cover events of other countries, when they share a common language (Sakurai, 2017). Moreover, Östgaard (1965) argues, that cultural proximity exerts a more significant influence on international news, than geographical proximity. Therefore, news that reflect the own cultural background, are more likely to be covered in the media.

These cultural factors are closely linked to the issues of Eurocentrism and Islamophobia. Eurocentrism assumes the superiority of Europe, or more precisely Western Europe.

Eurocentric view tends to foreground European cultures and perspectives and view other cultures as less relevant (Pokhrel, 2011). The belief in the supremacy of the West was challenged by a number of events, which formed the foundation for the development of Islam. It was perceived as a threat to Western identity (Sayyid, 2004). Especially since 9/11 took place and was widely covered by international media, Islamophobia intensified. Islamophobia describes the fear, prejudice, discrimination, or hatred directed toward Muslims and Islam as a religion (Ogan et al., 2013). The link between Eurocentrism and Islamophobia in international communication shows how cultural beliefs can influence the way information is presented.

These factors are linked to broader issues in international communication and media governance, that already called in the 1970s for a new world and information communication order (NWICO). The international information system reinforced the gap between North and South. Inequalities were found especially in technological development and led to a strong dependence of developing countries. Moreover, the West controlled the main international information channels and determined the image conveyed of other nations. Furthermore, the information system was characterized by a vertical instead of a horizontal flow. Accordingly, information is transferred from the global North to countries of the Global South, and a nature of dominance in information distribution is supported. In 1979, an international commission was established with the aim of addressing and combating inequality in the realm of international communication. The new world information communication order pursued several goals, including combating media monopolies, promoting cultural diversity, freedom of press and information, strengthening the information independence of developing countries, and creating a more balanced global flow of information. This led to discussions and negotiations, especially in international organizations such as UNESCO and the United Nations. Western nations, especially the United States, strongly opposed the NWICO initiative. They argued that the new international communication order could compromise their freedom of opinion and expression. Resistance from the West and internal disagreements weakened the movement and resulted in it not being implemented (Thussu, 2000). This showcases the power of the western media in shaping the narrative and global opinion on critical issues like the refugee crisis. The media discourse around refugees aligns with their perspective and political interests. Moreover, the given power imbalance between the global North and South limits developing countries from shaping the public discourse around their own people. The new world information communication order was a chance to counteract this imbalance. But the Western concerns about potential drawbacks compelled it to perpetuate the disadvantages faced by other nations (Thussu, 2000).

4.4 Journalistic Selection Criteria

As mentioned before, there are a variety of factors that influence how news are composed. One factor is the news value. The news value theory discusses the criteria and factors that media outlets consider when selecting news articles. Non-professional factors including personal preferences of journalists, the political orientation of the media organization or social forces are not taken into account (Kepplinger, 2008). The term news value was first introduced by Lippmann (1922) and further developed by Östgaard, and Galting and Ruge in 1965 (Kepplinger, 2008).

According to the Two-Component Theory of news selection, any intentional choice to select an object is determined by two factors: the attributes of the object and the criteria employed for the selection. Therefore, the nature of a news story and the selection criteria of a journalist, can result in different selections. If decision-makers do not have specific selection criteria or the attributes of the objects are similar, it results in a random selection (Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006).

The term newsworthiness refers to the likelihood of a news story to be elected for publication, whereas the attributes that influence the selection of news stories are referred to as news factors (Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006). Galtung and Ruge (1965) developed a catalog with 12 news factors. One of the mentioned factors is frequency and refers to the time-span the events takes to develop. If the event and medium frequency match, the news story has a higher probability to be selected for publication. Therefore, a short-term event, is more likely to be published within a daily or weekly newspaper rather than a monthly magazine. Another news factor is related to elites. Accordingly, if a news story is centered around elite nations or individuals, it is considered to be more newsworthy. Apart from elites, personification is seen as a problematic news factor since events are traced back to the behavior and actions of individuals and not of social forces. Also, the factor negativity plays a crucial role in news selection. Therefore, negative news stories are more likely to be published than positive stories. The authors offer a number of potential explanations one being that negative events are more unpredictable and therefore rather garner attention. Another important news factor is meaningfulness. In this case the news story has to be relevant to the recipient, either due to cultural or personal proximity (Galtung & Ruge, 1965).

Even though the news value theory has become an important field of research, some questions remain open. One question for example concentrates on the difference of news values between countries and cultures. Furthermore, it is not fully evident in how far news values

change in the course of time and to what extent news stories and news factors correlate (Kepplinger, 2008).

5. Methodology

After providing an overview of relevant academic literature and theoretical concepts, the following section explains the individual steps of data collection and analysis. Finally, the quality criteria of qualitative research are outlined and discussed in relation to the current research.

5.1 Overview

The research questions were addressed using a qualitative content analysis by Mayring. This method allows for detailed statements based on a very small sample (Brosius et al., 2016). The openness of this procedure also enables to capture new perspectives (Hussy et al., 2013). This is particularly important, given the limited prior exploration of this topic.

In total, 75 articles were analyzed, and relevant data was assigned to a content-analytical category system and subcategories were formed. Additionally, the qualitative data was complemented by a quantitative analysis. In contrast to qualitative methods, which are characterized by an interpretative approach, quantitative research focuses on numerical data (Röbken & Wetzels, 2019). The combination of qualitative and quantitative data within a research project, is referred to as mixed methods. Researchers are able to build on the advantages of qualitative as well as quantitative research and mitigate the limitations of each method (Scammon et al., 2013). This approach allowed for a more comprehensive analysis of the data and helped to identify key topics and narratives in Deutsche Welle's media coverage.

5.2 Sampling

The research material was extracted from Deutsche Welle's Foreign News online archive (full list in Appendix, table 13). To access articles, a keyword was required. To ensure the relevance of all articles to the study, the keywords *Syria War* and *Ukraine War* were chosen. Both terms were identified as the most commonly used search terms following references to Syria and Ukraine. Additional to a keyword, specific time frames were defined. Initially, each time frame was set at three months. However, in the case of the Syrian conflict in 2011, only 17 articles on this topic were published by Deutsche Welle. Consequently, the time frame was extended to six months.

The starting points for each conflict were determined as follows: the Syrian conflict began on March 11, 2011, with protests reaching the Syrian city of Daraa. For the year 2015, establishing a specific starting date was challenging, as there is no official date for when

refugees first reached European soil. However, due to a significant surge in numbers during the late summer, August 15 was chosen as a starting point.

The research period of the Ukraine conflict began with Russia's invasion on February 24, 2022. From August 15, 2015, to February 15, 2016, a total of 845 articles related to the Syrian conflict were published, including six photo galleries and eight audio files. In contrast, the majority of articles about the Ukraine conflict were published from February 24, 2022, to August 24, 2022, totaling 1582 articles, 30 photo galleries, 55 audio files, and 134 videos.

To ensure the random selection of all articles, a random number generator was used. A random sampling avoids the risk of systematic bias due to an arbitrary selection (Akremi, 2019).

This generator randomized numbers for each time frame, and articles were chosen accordingly. For example, the number one denoted the most recent article within the selected time frame. Once the articles were selected, their contents were copied, and PDFs for each article were created.

5.3 Analysis

The category system was developed using an inductive approach, with randomly selected articles serving as the primary units of analysis. The categories employed in this study were derived directly from the research questions. Initially, the responses were paraphrased, and subsequently, synthesized into subcategories. Paraphrasing was selectively applied, primarily to condense lengthy text sections into concise, content-focused descriptions, following the guidelines set by Mayring (2015).

To investigate the research questions 1a, 1b, 2a and 2b, a table was created for each article. Even if a subcategory was mentioned multiple times within the same table, it was counted only once. This allowed for an assessment of the frequency of specific topics and frames across each time period. Within a table, the repetition of the same subcategory was noted only when its content was analytically relevant, ensuring that each instance added meaningful information to the analysis.

Table 5.1: Illustration of Paraphrasing and Subcategories in the 2015 Syrian Conflict

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B1	Germany is set to receive a record number of asylum seekers this year - at least 650,000. As communities struggle to accommodate them, some have begun to question the country's asylum policies.	German communities struggle to accommodate hugh numbers of asylum seekers. .	Refugee Crisis
B1	In the dreary waiting area of a small charity in an impoverished neighborhood in Cairo, Faida quietly explained how she made ends meet: She survived on handouts from friendly neighbors and mosques and the occasional food voucher supplied by international donors, the gaunt 44-year-old Syrian refugee, told DW. Her eldest son, she added, did odd jobs whenever he could find one, "but when I need medicine I have to sell furniture or clothes."	A 44-year-old Syrian refugee in Cairo relies on neighbors, mosques, and occasional food vouchers from international donors to survive, resorting to selling furniture or clothes for medicine.	Personal Story

Source: Self-created (detailed version in Appendix, Table 3)

The category system was adjusted and revised after every five articles. For reasons of simplification, subcategories with similar content were merged together. For example, human rights and human rights activism were merged together to the subcategory human rights.

Within this topic, all positive actions related to human rights were included. Negative actions that restricted human rights were categorized as human rights violations. Anchor examples and coding rules were not necessary since the thesis was conducted by a single person.

Research question 1a was investigated using the categories C1 (Topics Syria Conflict 2011) and C2 (Topics Syria Conflict 2015). Research question 1b involved categories related to how refugees were framed in this conflicts (C4: Frames Syria Conflict 2011; C5: Frames Syria Conflict 2015). The research question 2b was addressed with the help of the categories C2 (Topics Syria Conflict 2015) and C3 (Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022), while 2c was explored with C5 (Frames Syria Conflict 2015) and C6 (Frames Ukraine Conflict 2022). Each article was assigned a label based on its respective time frame, such as A1 to A25 for the first time period, B1 to B25 for the subsequent period, and C1 to C25 for articles related to the Ukraine War.

5.4 Quality Criteria

Quality criteria serve as standards which assess the quality of research results. In order to evaluate the quality of a qualitative research an argumentative discussion and the provision of evidence is necessary (Mayring, 2016). Mayring outlines several general quality criteria for qualitative research. In the following, the four most essential criteria are examined in more detail. The entire research process must be accurately documented, including theoretical considerations and methodological procedures, also referred to as procedural documentation. This is ensured in this thesis through a comprehensive description of the research methodology. The step-by-step execution of each stage is presented through diagrams. All relevant documents and illustrations are included in the appendix to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of the research process. Furthermore, qualitative assessments of interpretive passages must be grounded in theoretical underpinnings, follow a logical argumentation, and be internally coherent. This is called rigorous interpretation validity and ensured by establishing connections to the theory in the results and discussion sections. The criterium consistency in contrary requires a systematic approach of the research process (Mayring, 2016). In the present research work, the necessary quotations were paraphrased in each interview and the characteristics and subcategories were formed according to the same procedure and rules. Moreover, the criteria communicative validation involves discussing the results with a team or consulting with the participants. In qualitative research, participants are not just data suppliers but thinking subjects with a breadth of expertise (Mayring, 2016). However, this criterion poses

limitations in the current research, as it was conducted by a single researcher, precluding consultation with other team members.

6. Presentation of Results

Research Question 1: How did the media coverage on the Syrian conflict differ in the years 2011 and 2015?

As previously indicated (see chapter 1), two sub-questions are employed to address the first research question. For a better differentiation, the periods are examined individually, followed by a brief comparison of their differences and similarities.

The following table focuses on the first sub-question and presents key topics published by Deutsche Welle in 2011 in relation to the conflict in Syria. A complete list can be found in the appendix.

Table 6.1: Topic Selection and Frequency in the 2011 Syrian Conflict

Topics	Frequency
War Crime	18
Assad Regime	12
Diplomacy and Peace Efforts	12
Political Dynamic	11
Human Rights Violation	10
Protest	10
International Involvement	09
No International Involvement	08
Human Rights	08
Military Development	05
Press Freedom	04
Media Coverage	04

Source: Self-created (detailed version in Appendix, Table 2)

At the beginning of the assessment period, Deutsche Welle frequently reported on the Arab spring, including the surge of protests in Syria. In the course of time, the topic was addressed only sporadically, and the reporting focused on political dynamics, interventions and resulting consequences. In total the protests were discussed in 40 percent of the articles. Media coverage primarily highlighted the dissatisfaction of the Syrian population, who stood up against the regime in pursuit of democratic future and freedom of expression. Concurrently, the Assad regime tried to suppress the protests:

Syria's repressive leadership has come under heavy pressure as it tries to stifle growing protests among its population with a brutal crackdown. The opposition, which is calling for democratic reforms, is centered in the southern city of Deraa, close to the border with Jordan. (Peters, 2011)

Particularly, the government was considered responsible and faced criticism from both national and international opponents. However, there was initial hope placed in Assad's regime:

Much now depends on how al-Assad deals with the escalating protests in Syria. His government has already announced a series of reforms, including a salary increase for public workers, greater freedom for the news media and political parties and a reconsideration of the emergency rule that has been in place for 48 years. (Peters, 2011)

This shifted after the conflict escalated into a civil war and the regime was accused of war crimes. Overall, the topic of war crimes was discussed in 72 percent of the articles. Within the media coverage, the government's actions are portrayed as particularly violent:

As Syrians prepared on Saturday to bury at least 12 people fatally shot by security forces during Friday demonstrations, government troops stormed a town near the Turkish border on Saturday, where they burned houses and arrested 70 people, witnesses said. (Harman, 2011)

The regimes brutal tactics were evident in the military development of the conflict, as soldiers resorted to weapons and violence to combat uprisings. Additionally, the political dynamics surrounding this conflict constituted a frequent topic in Deutsche Welle's reporting, comprising 44 percent of the articles. Within this context, the reporting primarily revolved around key players such as Hezbollah, Russia, China, and Turkey. While the Syrian army received support from Russian troops and paramilitary groups such as Hezbollah, Turkey faced accusations of primarily pursuing financial interests in Syria. In contrast, no information was provided about the actors who are supporting the rebels.

On an international level, Deutsche Welle reported on the United States' calls for an end to the Syrian conflict and its support of the protesters. Furthermore, the Security Council employed sanctions alongside military measures to stop the conflict and safeguard the rights of the people affected. Nevertheless, this plan faced criticism from Russia and China. Besides

international involvement, 48 percent of the articles also covered Diplomacy and Peace Efforts. This encompasses all international initiatives related to peace and proposals that do not involve military intervention. As a result, Syria faced sanctions primarily imposed by the USA, the EU and the UN.

Besides international involvement, the lack of involvement by major international powers is addressed in 32 percent of the news articles. Here, Russia's opposition to a resolution in the United Nations Security Council is seen as a barrier. While the UN had limited power, NATO faced criticism for not providing sufficient support to the Syrian population, despite its support for neighboring countries. Throughout the reporting, it is also evident that, concerning human rights, human rights violations are mentioned more frequently than human rights activism or general reports on the humanitarian situation. This underscores the brutality with which the government acted against the protesters. Furthermore, some articles discussing human rights, make references to UN agreements UN and its member states' responsibility to protect people in need. Additionally, it is reported that the EU and US were expected to take measures to protect human rights but had not yet complied.

The limited press freedom and media coverage during this time was briefly addressed, highlighting the challenges of reporting in authoritarian systems and war zones, especially for independent media outlets.

The following table displays the most important and frequent topics discussed in the media coverage of the Syrian war in 2015.

Table 6.2: Topic Selection and Frequency in the 2015 Syrian Conflict

Topics	Frequency
Refugee Crisis	16
Refugee Crisis Management	13
Border Control	12
Terrorism	12
Civil War	12
Military Development	06
Personal Story	06
War Crime	06
International Involvement	04
Diplomacy and Peace Efforts	04
Assad Regime	04

Source: Self-created (detailed version in Appendix, Table 10)

In Deutsche Welle's media reporting in 2015, the refugee crisis was a focal point in 64 percent of the articles, addressing the challenges faced by host countries dealing with a significant influx of refugees. Germany, in particular, as one of the main host countries, struggled to accommodate the high number of asylum seekers. However, the management of this crisis was also a significant subject during the examined period. Alongside discussions about aid funding and hosting refugees, the crisis management of the crisis also encompassed debates about stricter asylum policies and the deportation of refugees who were perceived to pose a threat:

Some federal politicians meanwhile have come out in favor of ever more restrictive asylum policies: Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier (Social Democratic Party, SPD) this weekend said he favored faster deportations of those denied asylum, while Interior Minister Thomas de Maiziere from Chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats (CDU) recently said he was in favor of non-cash benefits for refugees. (Conrad, 2015)

While Merkel chose to keep borders open, other countries implemented stricter border controls. Following the attacks in Paris, the French government declared a state of emergency and temporarily closed its borders. These attacks were categorized as acts of terrorism, resulting in the loss of over 120 lives. Overall, terrorism was a topic discussed in 48 percent of the news articles, with a primary focus on the activities of the Islamic State. Additionally, the ongoing

conflict within Syria during that period was often referred to as a civil war and was the subject of 48 percent of the examined articles. Military developments within this civil war and the resulting war crimes were each discussed in 24 percent of the news articles:

More than 250,000 people have died in Syria's four-year civil war, while millions have been displaced by the violence. The conflict began as an uprising against the rule of President Bashar al-Assad in 2011 but has since escalated into a multisided war. ("Islamic States," 2015)

In addition, individuals who had been impacted by the civil war had the opportunity to share their own personal stories in 24 percent of the articles. They recounted not only the hardships they faced in Syria, such as living in poor conditions or being held captive by the Islamic State, but also described the dangers they faced during their journey to Europe:

One of these women is Lea. She does not want to use her real name in public, but also doesn't want to keep her story to herself any longer. She was held captive by "IS" for two months and 16 days. (Wassermann, 2015)

International involvement primarily focused on combating the Islamic State by deploying soldiers or launching airstrikes. However, these efforts were unable to halt the IS's advance. Additionally, discussions about mandates to counterterrorism and peace efforts only appeared in 24 percent of the news articles.

In summary, a comparison of the two periods reveals both similarities and differences. In 2011, the focus was on the Arab Spring Revolutions, mainly highlighting the protests in Syria and the actions of the Assad regime. This period shed light on the regime's brutality in suppressing the protests. However, due to the influx of refugees in 2015, Deutsche Welle extensively covered the refugee crisis and its management. With refugees being portrayed as a potential security threat, topics such as border control and terrorism came to the forefront.

In 2011, the conflict was primarily confined to Syria, with limited impact on Europe. Consequently, these issues were not yet discussed. In contrast, by 2015, the conflict had escalated, and it was predominantly referred to as a civil war. Efforts to resolve the conflict, either diplomatically or through external intervention, were extensively debated in 2011, with a strong focus on ending the conflict and addressing human rights violations. Criticism was directed towards the lack of international intervention to protect the population.

In 2015, the media’s primary focus shifted to the refugee crisis and the European response to the influx, resulting in reduced coverage of international involvement, diplomacy and peace efforts. Additionally personal stories of refugees were featured. Despite these differences, both periods highlighted the brutality of the conflicts. The Assad regime was held accountable for violently suppressing the Syrian population, committing war crimes and combating democracy efforts.

Furthermore, in both time frames, the international community’s commitment to Syria was limited. In 2011, Turkey pursued its own economic interest in Syria, while Russia intervened Security Council’s resolution. NATO and the UN also faced criticism for their limited support. In 2015, several European countries adopted restrictive asylum policies and stringent border controls, demonstrating limited support for those in need.

Framing Refugees

In the following, the results for the second sub-question are presented (see chapter 1). First each time period is presented individually followed by a comparison.

In the first time period, refugees were only mentioned in 16 percent of the news articles. In all of these articles, refugees were portrayed as victims of the war:

In Bdama, a town which has been providing food and supplies to several thousand Syrians who have fled the violence in frontier villages, witnesses said troops backed by tanks were burning crops and that residents were afraid to bring food to refugees. (Harman, 2015)

In one article, refugees were also framed as a burden to the developing countries they sought for protection. In this context, the term *burden* is explicitly used.

Table 6.3: Frames and Frequency in the 2015 Syrian Conflict

Frames	Frequency
Victims of the War	9
Challenge	9
Threat to National Security	7
Victims of Crisis Management	6
Threat to Economy	1

Source: Self-created (detailed version in Appendix, Table 10)

In 2015 Deutsche Welle addressed refugees in 84 percent of its news articles. The news coverage primarily portrayed refugees as victims of the civil war, resulting in the death and displacement of many Syrians:

Germany, which is preparing to receive a record 800,000 asylum applications this year, has eased the asylum application procedure for Syrians fleeing the country's brutal civil war - a decision especially praised by the US president. The surge in migrants seeking refuge from conflict or poverty in the Middle East, Africa and Asia has confronted Europe with its highest refugee numbers since World War II. (“Obama praises Merkel,” 2015)

Moreover, refugees are viewed as a challenge for host countries, as they have to manage a strong influx of asylum seekers and provide essential services such as medical assistance and housing.

Another recurring frame is the *Threat Frame*, which consists of two sub-frames: *Threat to National Security* and *Threat to Economy*. The *Threat to Economy* sub-frame discusses the financial strain posed by a large number of refugees. However, refugees are predominantly described as a potential threat to the national security of their host country and associated with terrorism.

Additionally, refugees are often portrayed as victims of Western crisis management, where restrictive border access and refugee policies have resulted in the loss of many lives:

This week, Croatia became the latest flashpoint in the migrant crisis, after thousands of people were blocked from crossing into Hungary, which over the past two months has become a major route into Europe. (...) A five-year-old girl, who was retrieved unconscious by Greek coast guards from the sea off the island of Lesbos, died in hospital on Saturday. (“Hungary’s migrant row,” 2015)

Research Question 2: How did the media coverage on the Syrian and Ukraine conflict differ in the years 2015 and 2022?

To address the second research question, two sub-questions are also employed. Given that the Syrian conflict has been previously discussed, the following section will shift the focus to the coverage of the Ukraine conflict and provide a comparative analysis.

The following table showcases the most important topics published by Deutsche Welle in 2022 in relation to the Ukraine conflict. A complete list can be found in the appendix.

Table 6.4: Topic Selection and Frequency in the 2022 Ukrainian Conflict

Topics	Frequency
Russian Invasion	22
Integration	09
Humanitarian Aid	08
Refugee Crisis	08
Food Crisis	08
Economic Crisis	08
Personal Story	07
Political Dynamic	07
Pandemic	06
International Involvement	06
Military Development	05
Energy Crisis	05
Diplomacy and Peace Efforts	05
War Crime	04
Inequality	04
Climate Change	04

Source: Self-created (detailed version in Appendix, Table 6)

Over the entire research duration, a wide range of topics were discussed. Russia's invasion of Ukraine was the subject of discussion in 88 percent of the articles and therefore by far the topic receiving the most media attention. Consequently, when referring to the conflict in Ukraine, it was linked to Russia. Furthermore, Russia's invasion and brutality had forced millions to flee their homes and called for the help of the European community. In order to help Ukraine, the European Commission recommended Ukraine's accession to the European Union. These integration efforts, along with other measures, were discussed in 36 percent of the news articles. Additionally, neighboring countries extended their support. In Germany, for instance, thousands of refugees were officially registered, a faster immigration process was implemented, and the EU granted refugee protection for up to three years.

As refugee numbers continued to rise, the topic of humanitarian aid was also discussed in 32 percent of the examined articles. To provide humanitarian assistance, organizations were established:

The Council of the European Union, which represent the bloc's 27 individual member states, has agreed to send €1 billion (\$1 billion) in financial aid to Ukraine as Russia's invasion intensifies. It will be provided in the form of loans, building on an initial €1.2 billion loan package from February. (“EU greenlights €1 billion,” 2022)

Furthermore, international involvement was also evident in the provision of weapons and military support. Additionally, attempts to alleviate the situation through diplomatic talks and sanctions were recurring topics Deutsche Welle’s media coverage. The EU imposed economic sanctions against Russia and considered Russia’s blockade of exports a war crime. In total, 16 percent of the articles accused Russia of war crimes and highlighted their violent actions towards Ukrainian citizens.

In addition to the refugee crisis, Russians invasion was also perceived as a catalyst for food and economic crises. These topics were addressed in 32 percent of the articles. Consequently, Russia’s invasion had a spillover effect not only on other European countries but also on Africa, where prices reached a new highs, potentially leading to a global food crisis. It was argued that, in addition to the ongoing conflict, COVID-19, climate change and energy shortages had a negative impact, contributing to inflation.

Besides Russia's violent actions, the resulting global impacts, and the intervention attempts by the EU and other political parties, Deutsche Welle also covered personal stories of affected Ukrainians in 28 percent of the articles. Alongside personal accounts from Ukrainian refugees, individuals who had escaped from the Middle East also provide commentary on the unequal treatment of refugees:

Still, compared to previous waves of migration to Germany, Ukrainians benefit from a more streamlined administrative process in Germany, which allows them to find work, move around freely, find housing and apply for benefits. It's a marked difference from the experience of refugees who came in 2015 from the Middle East. (Larson, 2022)

Overall, in both conflicts, international parties attempted to exert influence, although more aid was provided in the Ukraine conflict. This difference is also noticeable in coverage of the Syrian conflict, where the issue of non-involvement is more prominent, despite the recurring discussion of violence in the Syrian conflict.

Another distinction can be observed in the management of the refugee crisis. Syrian refugees were associated with terrorism and faced strict refugee policies and border controls.

In many European countries, they were denied entry and forced to stay in refugee camps. In the case of Ukrainian refugees, the emphasis laid on facilitating the migration process and enhancing integration in the host countries.

Overall, the European Union's response to the refugee crisis has been unequal, displaying greater generosity towards Ukrainian refugees. Additionally, the coverage of the Ukraine conflict included numerous images of those affected, as well as embedded videos providing further information about the conflict. In this instance, the focus was on portraits of individuals, as opposed to group photos seen in news articles on the Syrian conflict. In contrast to the Syrian conflict, articles about the Ukraine conflict were published in multiple languages, reaching a wider audience.

Framing Refugees

Table 6.5: Frames and Frequency in the 2022 Ukrainian Conflict

Frames	Frequency
Victims of the War	5
Victims of Crisis Management	3
In-group	2

Source: Self-created (detailed version in Appendix, Table 12)

In the news coverage of 2022 Ukrainian refugees were mainly framed as victims of the Russian invasion. In order to escape the armed conflict, they were forced to flee the country. However, certain age groups of men were not allowed to leave. Besides being framed as victims of the war, refugees were also described as *Victims of the Crisis Management*. In personal stories Ukrainian refugees expressed their discontent on insufficient housing and poor job prospects:

Andrii's sister is struggling to find work in Germany and is "very frustrated." Although she speaks fluent English, she has not been able to find a job in her field of search engine optimization due to a lack of open positions for English speakers. (Larson, 2022)

Nonetheless, Ukrainian refugees were seen as part of the European community, benefiting from an easier migration process and greater solidarity. This is described as *In-Group frame*:

Still, compared to previous waves of migration to Germany, Ukrainians benefit from a more streamlined administrative process in Germany, which allows them to find work,

move around freely, find housing and apply for benefits. It's a marked difference from the experience of refugees who came in 2015 from the Middle East. (Larson, 2022)

In comparison to the framing of Syrian refugees in 2015 both similarities as well as differences emerge. In both cases refugees were primarily framed as *Victims of the War*, having experienced violence and being forced to flee their homelands. Additionally, both Syrian and Ukrainian refugees were portrayed as victims of inadequate crisis management.

Ukrainian refugees initially benefited from an easy immigration process, but they later encountered limited job prospects due to language barriers. In contrast, Syrian refugees faced a stricter asylum process, with some being denied entry or even deported. The influx of Syrian refugees was often perceived as *Challenge* or even burden to their host countries. In addition, Syrian refugees were portrayed as potential *Threats to National Security and Economy*. Ukrainian refugees, in contrary, were neither portrayed as a challenge nor a threat. They were regarded as integral members of the European family and enjoyed an easier administrative process.

7. Discussion

Media outlets provide information and convey knowledge on a variety of topics (Burkart, 2003). They are often the sole point of contact between recipients and a multitude of events, such as the conflicts in Syria and Ukraine. Therefore, media coverage plays a pivotal role in the understanding and interpretation of these conflicts (Quandt et al., 2014). This study aimed to compare the reporting of the Syrian and Ukraine conflicts by conducting a qualitative and quantitative content analysis of Deutsche Welle's news articles. In the following section, the two research questions are discussed in the context of the theoretical foundation of this thesis and drawing upon the results of the sub-questions.

Research Question 1: How did the media coverage on the Syrian conflict differ in the years 2011 and 2015?

Overall, the main focus during these research periods laid on different topics. Reporting's of the Syrian conflict in the year 2011 focused mainly on protests in Syria and the violent response of the Assad regime. This period was marked by the brutality of this conflict, which quickly turned into a civil war. While efforts to address the conflict were widely debated, criticism for the absence of direct intervention to protect the population was expressed. NATO and the UN also faced criticism for their limited support. The importance of negativity as a news factor becomes evident during this period. Most frequently, war crimes and the government's use of violence are the focal points of discussion. Already Galtung and Ruge (1965) stated that negative stories are more likely to be published than positive stories.

Over time, the conflict escalated and turned into a civil war. In 2015 the conflict was not confined to Syria anymore. The spillover on Europe was evident in the media coverage. Topics such as the refugee crisis and crisis management dominated the news. Additionally, in 2015, significantly more articles about the Syrian conflict were published. This affirms that geographic proximity is also of decisive news value (Johnson-Cartee, 2005).

Furthermore, the focus shifted away from the impact of the conflict on the Syrian population, to the implications for host countries. Restrictive asylum policies, and border controls, demonstrated their limited support for Syrian refugees. Nonetheless, this did not apply to all European countries. Germany, for instance, opened their borders and welcomed a large influx of asylum seekers. According to McKeever (2020), the German ruling party took a supportive stance toward accepting refugees compared to neighboring countries.

In comparison to 2011, in the year 2015, Deutsche Welle reported about personal stories of Syrian refugees. However, reports were not only positive. Most often, refugees were portrayed in a negative light and perceived as a threat to both national security and the economy

of the host country. In 2011, Syrian refugees were not yet seen as a threat to national security, and the issue of terrorism was only briefly mentioned during that time. However, in 2015, terrorism became a recurring theme in the reporting. This shift may be related to the rise in Islamophobia following terrorist-related events (Ogan et al., 2013). When not presented as a threat, refugees were considered victims of war or crisis management. By framing refugees as a challenge, it became evident that host countries shifted their focus away from the refugees and primarily focused on their own situation. Compared to 2015, in 2011 refugees were mostly framed as victims of civil war.

Research Question 2: How did the media coverage on the Syrian and Ukraine conflict differ in the years 2015 and 2022?

In general, there were significant differences observed. International actors attempted to exert influence on both conflicts, with humanitarian aid primarily directed towards Ukrainian refugees. The focus on the Ukraine conflict, center around the Russian invasion, while in 2015, the Syrian conflict was dominated by the refugee crisis. Both conflicts involved discussions on crisis management, but with different approaches. Syrian refugees were associated with terrorism, particularly the Islamic State and faced stricter asylum policies and border closures. In contrast, crisis management for Ukrainian refugees focused exclusively on measures to facilitate integration. Overall, the European Union's response to the refugee crisis has been unequal, displaying greater generosity towards Ukrainian refugees.

When comparing the number of published articles, the Ukraine invasion received more attention than the Syrian conflict. Additionally, Deutsche Welle provided supplementary information in form of videos and translated articles into various languages to reach a broader audience.

Differences were also identified in implied frames. Both Syrian and Ukrainian refugees were portrayed as *victims of the war* and their respective crisis management situations. Personal stories of Ukrainian refugees often highlighted their limited job prospects and long-term housing offers. Their problems differ significantly from those of Syrian refugees, who must first grant asylum. Furthermore, Syrian refugees were portrayed as a potential threat for national security, while Ukrainian refugees were welcomed as part of the European community and described within an *In-group* frame.

Overall, Ukraine's cultural and geographical proximity to the EU enhanced its news value, leading to extensive coverage of the conflict (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Johnson-Cartee, 2005). Furthermore, the concept of Eurocentrism provides a possible explanation for the unequal treatment of the two conflicts. Accordingly, European cultures are viewed as superior, while

other cultures are perceived as less relevant (Pokhrel, 2011). Ukraine is primarily a Christian country, similar to many countries within the European Union, whereas the Syrian population, is predominantly Muslim and therefore viewed as less relatable.

7.1 Limitations

The content analysis enabled for new insights in the media's coverage of conflicts. Despite the small sample size, the qualitative study allowed detailed findings (Brosius et al., 2016). However, due to the small sample size, results are not generalizable and only address the research questions at hand. Since results are not applicable outside of the context of this study, external validity is limited. Nevertheless, they do reveal trends in the media coverage of the conflicts in Syria and Ukraine.

Additionally, challenges were encountered in precisely assigning text passages to specific themes. To address this issue, the analysis was conducted by a single coder. However, this can promote subjective interpretations, and a second opinion would be important to ensure inter-coder reliability.

Furthermore, the results are based solely on the examination of Deutsche Welle over a limited time period. Therefore, the statements are limited by these factors. Recommendations to address this are discussed in section 7.2.

Additionally, the conflicts and especially refugees are examined from the perspective of the Global North. Reporting in war zones is extremely difficult and dangerous. This showcases the power of Western media in shaping the narrative and global opinion on refugees and the limited power of those directly affected (Thussu, 2000). Moreover, only a small number of articles deal with the topic of refugees. This limits the validity of the framing within the context of the study.

7.2 Conclusion and Further Research

This study highlights the importance of media coverage in shaping the public's understanding of the conflicts in Syria and Ukraine, as media outlets often serve as the primary and sole source of information for recipients (Quandt et al., 2014).

The research aims to compare these conflicts and shed light on their similarities as well as their disparities. By employing both qualitative and quantitative content analyses on news articles of Deutsche Welle and drawing back on the theoretical foundation of this thesis, the following insights were gained:

The Syrian conflict of 2011 was portrayed as extremely brutal. It continuously violated the human rights of the Syrian population. By addressing war crimes, negativity proved to be an important news factor. Despite the brutality of this conflict, international intervention remained limited.

By 2015 the conflict evolved into a civil war, forcing millions to flee their homes. The spillover effects on Europe became the focal point of media coverage, revealing different attitudes among the European community. With the conflict now reaching Europe, media coverage intensified and shows the importance of the news value *geographical proximity*.

The biggest difference can be noticed when comparing the Syrian and the Ukrainian conflict, with the European Union displaying greater generosity towards Ukrainian refugees. Syrian refugees were portrayed as a threat to national security while Ukrainian refugees received expressions of solidarity and were described as an *in-group* of the European community. Ukraine's geographical and cultural proximity led to extensive media coverage, highlighting the still persistent concept of eurocentrism.

While this thesis focuses on the media coverage of the Syrian and Ukrainian conflicts, it does not analyze the direct impact media narratives have on lives of refugees. Therefore, it would be valuable to conduct qualitative interviews and explore the impact of news coverage on the personal experiences of refugees. As this study focuses only on articles from Deutsche Welle, a cross-media or even cross-country comparison, could provide valuable insights into broader media dynamics and shifting narratives. Furthermore research in this field, focuses mainly on countries with similar media systems. In order to gain a broader view on the European discourse on this topic, a comparison between countries with significant differences in regard to their media systems would be essential.

Research within this topic area is of great relevance and sheds light on how refugees are perceived. It highlights the need for balanced reporting that provides a holistic picture of conflicts and advocates for all refugees equally. Despite cultural or geographical differences, it is essential to recognize that all individuals deserve acceptance and respect. It is important to learn from previous mistakes, since these are not the first conflicts and certainly will not be the last.

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Appendix

A Tables

Table 1: Paraphrasing and Subcategories in the 2011 Syrian Conflict

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A1	Syria's repressive leadership has come under heavy pressure as it tries to stifle growing protests among its population with a brutal crackdown. The opposition, which is calling for democratic reforms, is centered in the southern city of Deraa, close to the border with Jordan.	Growing protests, calling for democracy in Syria exert pressure on the government	Protest
A1	The Syrian government says six people were killed, local hospital authorities speak of 25 dead government opponents while the opposition insists hundreds of people have died in recent weeks.	People were killed.	War Crime
A1	Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, a close ally of Iran, is a key strategic player in the Middle East.		Assad Regime
A1	An additional factor is that much power is concentrated in the hands of al-Assad's minority Alawi sect. The Shiite minority holds all the important posts in	Power Relations within the Assad Regime	Assad Regime

	<p>the ruling Baath party, military the intelligence and secret service, to the resentment of many in the Sunni majority community.</p>		
A1	<p>Andre Bank points out that the alliance between Damascus and Tehran was a product of the late 1970s and early 1980s meant to dampen the influence of then Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.</p> <p>Saddam Hussein had attacked Iran a year after the Islamic Revolution in 1979 and triggered a war between the two countries. Hafiz al-Assad firmly threw his weight behind Tehran in order to weaken his Iraqi arch rival from the pan-Arabic Baath party.</p>	<p>The alliance between Damascus and Tehran aimed to counter Saddam Hussein's influence following his attack on Iran.</p>	<p>Assad Regime</p>

A1	<p>Much now depends on how al-Assad deals with the escalating protests in Syria. His government has already announced a series of reforms, including a salary increase for public workers, greater freedom for the news media and political parties and a reconsideration of the emergency rule that has been in place for 48 years.</p>	<p>The situation is depending on the handling by the Assad Regime and further developments implemented by the regime.</p>	Assad Regime
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Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A2	<p>His initial reactions to the democracy movement in Libya, however, were completely different. When the Libyan people took to the streets against their detested regime, Erdogan remained conspicuously reserved for a long time.</p> <p>One main reason is surely the close economic times between Libya and Turkey. Turkish companies for years have been building factories, roads,</p>	<p>Erdogan's personal and economic interest in Libya.</p>	International Involvement

	housing and shopping malls in the North African country.		
A2	Turkey and Syria have enjoyed several years of strengthened diplomatic and economic ties		Political Dynamic
A2	In economic terms, an unstable Syria is a catastrophe for Turkey because it is more closely tied to its neighboring country than it is to Libya. For years, the common economic ties have been growing.	Turkey has an economic interest in Syria.	International Involvement
A2	"Turkey wants change smoothly and not chaotically in Syria," Dincer said. "If the Syrian leadership around President Assad on its part succeeds in implementing reforms in the country, a transition can take place without it culminating in unrest like in Libya."	Turkey wants to implement reforms in Syria.	Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A3	US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton walked headlong into	Hilary Clinton called Assad a reformer and justified the US not	No International Involvement

	a quagmire last week, when she publicly suggested that Syria's president Bashar al-Assad was a "reformer." The remark, made during a television interview, was given as one reason for America's decision not to get involved in Syria in the same way it has in Libya.	intervening in the conflict.	
A3	"In the case of Libya there was very quickly a challenge in terms of civil resistance, of people picking up weapons and fighting the regime. In Syria it is different."		Protest
A3	Given the country's religious and ethnic riches, there is scope for just such violence. Some commentators say it is an understanding of that very volatility which has prevented the Syrian protest movement from gaining the kind of momentum that could force change.	Religious and ethnic diversity is a breeding ground for violent conflicts	Cultural Diversity
A3	The Obama administration has called on Damascus to rein in its forces	Obama administration calls on Damascus to rein in and is urged by	International Involvement

	<p>which are believed to have killed more than 150 people in recent weeks, but Republican Senator John McCain and Independent Senator Joe Lieberman have urged him to back protesters.</p>	<p>senator to support protesters.</p>	
A3	<p>One of the arguments in favor of stepping in to help regime opponents is that an end to Bashar al-Assad's 10-year rule would rob Iran of its closest ally in the region.</p>	<p>End the decade long regime of Assad</p>	<p>Assad Regime</p>
A3	<p>And that, in turn, would put a stop to Damascus supplying weapons to Hezbollah and Hamas, and aiding the flow of foreign fighters into Iraq.</p>		<p>Military Development</p>
A3	<p>"Who would end up taking the blows?" he asked. "It would be the same people who are on the streets now, and I don't think anyone can take responsibility for them dying by the dozens if not hundreds."</p>	<p>The Syrian population would be the victims.</p>	<p>War Crime</p>

A3	"When you rise up against a regime with a grim record of human rights, it takes courage and you feel isolated, you want to hear support for the plight of people who want more freedom and political and human rights," he said.	Human rights violations by the Assad Regime	Human Rights Violation
A3	Al-Zabaidi told Deutsche Welle that as far as she could tell, Syrian protesters are happy for the Western powers to keep their distance, but that they would like to see more support from their Arab neighbors.	Non-Involvement of Western powers and Arab neighboring countries.	No International Involvement
A3	Compared to press coverage of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, the movement in Syria has received very little attention, even from intellectual leftist publications in the region.	Almost no media coverage of the conflict in Syria so far.	Media Coverage
A3	While NATO continues its mission to protect Libyan civilians, protesters in Syria are left to their own devices.	No help and involvement in Syria.	No International Involvement

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A4	The situation is worsening in Syria, as more protesters are being killed.	Protestors are being killed.	War Crime
A4	Bashar al-Assad's regime in Syria is fighting for survival - and leaving a bloody trail in its wake.		Assad Regime
A4	Soldiers have attacked protesting citizens, and demonstrators have been brutally mowed down.		Military Development
A4	Soldiers have attacked protesting citizens, and demonstrators have been brutally mowed down.		Human Rights Violation
A4	Under duress, the regime has shown its true face: It will step over the bodies of its own people if that's what it takes to remain in power.	Brutality of Assad Regime.	Assad Regime
A4	They set snipers to shoot at citizens, then then lay the blame on		War Crime

	Islamists or foreign agents.		
A4	They refuse to allow independent media to enter the country. And in their own media, they blatantly fan the flames of the public's fear of religious wars.		Press Freedom
A4	The international community should not stand by quietly and merely observe the events in Syria. But in fact, the means at their disposal are limited. Given the as-yet unsuccessful military operation in Libya, the powers-that-be in Syria have little fear of a concerted international action in their own country. And to date, sanctions haven't had a meaningful effect on the regime either.	Efforts to end the violent conflict have not been successful.	Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A5	As the UN mulls sanctions against Damascus, Syrian troops are continuing their crackdown on	UN sanctions against the regime.	Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

	anti-government protests.		
A5	As the UN mulls sanctions against Damascus, Syrian troops are continuing their crackdown on anti-government protests.	Anti-government protests continue.	Protest
A5	In the last few days there have been reports of several politicians resigning and turning their back on the regime in protest against the violent crackdown.	Politicians turn their back on the regime and their actions.	Assad Regime
A5	I think that, at this point, going to the United Nations Security Council is the right thing to do. It will give a clear signal to the people of Syria that the world is watching what is happening there.	Involvement of the United Nations Security Council is expected to have an impact.	International Involvement
A5	The ball is actually in the court of the neighboring countries and the Arab League: in particular Egypt, Saudi Arabia, but also the big neighbor Turkey.		International Involvement

A5	I think over the next few days we will see more bloodshed in Syria.		War Crime
A5	But what we will probably also see are more political moves and also moves and changes within the army.	National involvement of politicians.	Assad Regime
A5	But what we will probably also see are more political moves and also moves and changes within the army.		Military Development

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A6	With NATO airstrikes against Colonel Muammar Gadhafi's forces entering a second month with no solution to the conflict in sight, the international community appears reluctant to apply the same rules to the developing crisis in Syria as it has in Libya.	International community is reluctant in applying same measures in Syria.	No International Involvement
A6	A draft statement condemning the	Violent measures of the regime were	Assad Regime

	<p>crackdown and urging restraint by the Damascus government was circulated to the member nations of the UN Security Council this week by a number of European countries but it was rejected after Russia, China and Lebanon opposed the text which they said constituted "outside interference in Arab countries that could be a threat to peace.</p>	<p>condemned by several European countries.</p>	
A6	<p>A draft statement condemning the crackdown and urging restraint by the Damascus government was circulated to the member nations of the UN Security Council this week by a number of European countries but it was rejected after Russia, China and Lebanon opposed the text which they said constituted "outside interference in Arab countries that could be a threat to peace.</p>	<p>Violent measures of the regime were condemned by several European countries.</p>	<p>War Crime</p>
A6	<p>A draft statement condemning the crackdown and</p>	<p>Request was rejected after Russia, China and Lebanon seeing</p>	<p>No International Involvement</p>

	<p>urging restraint by the Damascus government was circulated to the member nations of the UN Security Council this week by a number of European countries but it was rejected after Russia, China and Lebanon opposed the text which they said constituted "outside interference in Arab countries that could be a threat to peace.</p>	<p>an interference in the conflict as a threat to peace.</p>	
A6	<p>The UN chooses to talk rather than deploy warplanes to Syria.</p>		<p>No International Involvement</p>
A6	<p>Russia and China have become increasingly critical of the Libyan intervention which they believe aims to oust Gadhafi and have similar reservations concerning any interference in Syria.</p>	<p>Involvement in Libya and Syria criticized by Russia and China.</p>	<p>Diplomacy and Peace Efforts</p>
A6	<p>Many, specifically the United States, see Assad's regime as a necessary evil; a government that prevents a potentially explosive sectarian situation getting out</p>	<p>Brutality of Assads Regime. Potential of the conflict to spread even more.</p>	<p>Assad Regime</p>

	hand by keeping it tightly gripped in an iron glove. Assad's removal could ignite a conflict within Syria's borders which has the potential to spread well beyond them.		
A6	"Syria is in a more critical geo-strategic spot than Libya, especially considering it shares a border with Israel, so there's greater fear of the potential regional repercussions of regime breakdown there," Steffen Hertog said.	Syria is in a critical geo-strategic position and intervention is critical.	No International Involvement
A6	Syria also has a well-trained army backed by Russian-built missiles and combat aircraft, and suspected chemical weapons, making any military intervention much more hazardous than that aimed at crippling Gadhafi's already brittle and poorly equipped armed forces.	Syria is supported by Russia and is suspected of chemical weapons.	Political Dynamic

A6	<p>Syria also has a well-trained army backed by Russian-built missiles and combat aircraft, and suspected chemical weapons, making any military intervention much more hazardous than that aimed at crippling Gadhafi's already brittle and poorly equipped armed forces.</p>	<p>Syria is supported by Russia and is suspected of chemical weapons.</p>	War Crime
A6	<p>There is also the question of what the international community stands to gain from intervening in Syria. Its oil industry is minuscule in comparison to Libya's and its geographical position means that it plays no part in stemming the flow of illegal immigrants into Europe, a role Gadhafi was willing to play in return for support from reluctant allies in the EU.</p> <p>The situation remains, experts say, that the international community considers that it has</p>	<p>International community would not gain anything from intervening in Syria.</p>	No International Involvement

	more to lose than to gain by intervening in Syria.		
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Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A7	On the eve of its 50th anniversary, Amnesty International (AI) has applauded the growing demands for freedom and justice across the Middle East and North Africa.		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts
A7	"People are rejecting fear," said AI's Secretary General Salil Shetty. "Courageous people, led largely by youth, are standing up and speaking out in the face of bullets, beatings, tear gas and tanks."	People are protesting for their rights	Protest
A7	"People are rejecting fear," said AI's Secretary General Salil Shetty. "Courageous people, led largely by youth, are standing up and speaking out in the face of bullets, beatings, tear gas and tanks."	Protestors are being harmed.	War Crime
A7	Yet despite these developments,		Human Rights Violation

	freedom of expression was still under attack across the world.		
A7	The governments in Libya, Syria, Bahrain and Yemen have shown how far they are willing to go in order to stay in power by beating, maiming or killing peaceful protestors, AI said.		War Crime
A7	The use of the Internet and social media in opposing repressive governments showed that information was a source of power, he said.		Social Media
A7	"Germany, the EU and the US have to call on the Egyptian interim government and military council to take consistent concrete steps to improve the protection of human rights," said Wolfgang Grenz, Amnesty International's deputy secretary general for Germany.	EU and US are called to take steps in order to protect human rights.	No International Involvement
A7	"Germany, the EU and the US have to call on the Egyptian interim government and	EU and US are called to take steps in order to protect human rights.	Human Rights

	<p>military council to take consistent concrete steps to improve the protection of human rights," said Wolfgang Grenz, Amnesty International's deputy secretary general for Germany.</p>		
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Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A8	<p>But as popular uprisings have rapidly spread from one Arab country to another, the Security Council has become the focal point of international efforts to adopt common positions on crises that impact global stability.</p>	<p>Uprisings spread over Arab countries.</p>	Protest
A8	<p>But as popular uprisings have rapidly spread from one Arab country to another, the Security Council has become the focal point of international efforts to adopt common positions on crises that impact global stability.</p>	<p>International Involvement in neighboring countries</p>	International Involvement
A8	<p>The council has demonstrated itself</p>	<p>Security Council uses military force</p>	International Involvement

	willing and capable - under the right political circumstances - of using military force and economic sanctions in order to enforce international law and human rights.	and economic sanctions to enforce human rights.	
A8	In the case of Iraq, the UN Security Council ultimately came to an impasse when the US and UK pressed for a second resolution to mandate force in order to coerce Saddam Hussein to comply with weapons inspectors.	US and UK press for a new resolution in Iraq.	International Involvement
A8	Although the UN proved unable to reach a consensus in the case of Iraq, the recent popular uprisings in the Arab world have pressured the veto-wielding Security Council members to adopt more consistent positions on intervention and human rights.	Uprising in the Arab World pressured Security Council members to adopt more consistent positions on human rights.	Protest
A8	Although the UN proved unable to	Uprising in the Arab World pressured	Human Rights

	reach a consensus in the case of Iraq, the recent popular uprisings in the Arab world have pressured the veto-wielding Security Council members to adopt more consistent positions on intervention and human rights.	Security Council members to adopt more consistent positions on human rights.	
A8	When the uprising in Libya degenerated into violence as leader Moammar Gadhafi's forces marched on the opposition-stronghold of Benghazi, the Security Council authorized the use of force to protect civilians	Uprisings in Libya led Security Council to authorize violence in order to protect civilians.	International Involvement
A8	"The verbage coming from Gadhafi and some of his supporters in calling protesters cockroaches and saying they'd go house to house searching for these people - it just sounded as if he was preparing for a bloodbath in Benghazi and	Concerns arose that Gadhafi's words hinted at a violent crackdown in Benghazi.	Political Dynamic

	elsewhere," Luck said.		
A8	Already in crisis mode from Libya, the Security Council began to take a more aggressive stance toward the simmering conflict in the West African country of Ivory Coast.	Security Council takes a more aggressive stance in Ivory Coast.	International Involvement
A8	As fighting between the internationally recognized presidential election winner Alassane Ouattara and incumbent Laurent Gbagbo intensified around the main city, Abidjan, the UN called on its peacekeepers to eliminate Gbagbo's heavy weapons.	International Intervention by the UN in Ivory Coast.	International Involvement
A8	According to Fröhlich, the UN-sanctioned interventions in Libya and Ivory Coast have bolstered the Security Council after the Iraq crisis and given concrete political meaning to the concept of protecting civilians,	UN taking action in Libya and Ivory Coast made the Security Council stronger and showed how to protect regular people, which was not done often before.	International Involvement

	a measure passed by the UN General Assembly in 2005 but rarely put into practice.		
A8	Fröhlich argues that the Security Council's increasing use of the International Criminal Court to investigate war crimes, as in the case of Libya, is forging a new understanding of the value assigned to protecting civilians and has made preventing war crimes a central aim of the international community	New understanding of protecting civilians and preventing war crimes.	Human Rights
A8	Fröhlich argues that the Security Council's increasing use of the International Criminal Court to investigate war crimes, as in the case of Libya, is forging a new understanding of the value assigned to protecting civilians and has made preventing war crimes a central aim of the international community	New understanding of protecting civilians and preventing war crimes.	War Crime

A8	Although protecting civilians and preventing war crimes have become a serious priority for the UN in Ivory Coast and Libya, the Security Council has proven - up to this point - either unwilling or unable to address the government crackdown on peaceful protesters in Syria.	UN has proven to be unwilling or unable to intervene in Syria.	No International Involvement
A8	The Syrian military has deployed armor against protesters.		War Crime

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A9	Although the Arab world has traditionally lagged behind the global trend toward greater democracy, a liberal revolution that began in Tunisia has put monarchies and dictators throughout the region on the defensive.	Liberal revolution that began in Tunisia and spread over the Arab world demanding democracy.	Protest
A9	When protesters took to the streets in the tiny Gulf kingdom of	Military intervention to prevent the fall of the royal family.	International Involvement

	Bahrain, Saudi Arabia intervened militarily to prevent the fall of its neighboring royal family		
A9	When protesters took to the streets in the tiny Gulf kingdom of Bahrain, Saudi Arabia intervened militarily to prevent the fall of its neighboring royal family	Military intervention to prevent the fall of the royal family.	Military Development
A9	"What we're seeing in the Arab Spring is part of a global and historical trend toward people demanding their right to hold their governments accountable and this has spread globally," Goldstone said.	Demanding their right to hold their governments accountable.	Human Rights

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A10	Middle East expert Guido Steinberg told Deutsche Welle in an interview that Egypt and the Gulf States will play a pivotal role in determining whether political upheaval will	Egypt and Gulf States are expected to have an impact on the political situation in the Arab World.	Protest

	continue across the Arab world.		
A10	Deutsche Welle: The 'Arab Spring' is drawing to an end. Now, we're seeing events akin to civil war unfolding in Syria and Libya and there's no knowing how they will end.	Arab Spring Protests are evolving to a Civil War in Syria and Libya.	Civil War
A10	Until the 1970s, Egypt was a kind of leader in the Arab world in every respect.		Protest
A10	Overall, I think that the conflict in the Gulf region will become increasingly significant for three reasons: firstly, the importance of oil and gas reserves in the region will grow in the next years, adding an international dimension to the conflict. The US has great interest that nations such as Bahrain and Saudi Arabia remain stable.	Predictions for future developments of the Uprisings and political situation.	Protest
A10	It's likely to be a difficult and vast		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

	task. In other countries too, we must back reforms, support the opposition more strongly and listen more closely to what's happening in society.		
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Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A11	As Syrians prepared on Saturday to bury at least 12 people fatally shot by security forces during Friday demonstrations, government troops stormed a town near the Turkish border on Saturday, where they burned houses and arrested 70 people, witnesses said.	Civilians were shot by Security Forces. Government troops burned houses down and arrested 70 people.	War Crime
A11	As Syrians prepared on Saturday to bury at least 12 people fatally shot by security forces during Friday demonstrations, government troops stormed a town near the Turkish border on Saturday, where they burned houses	Civilians were shot by Security Forces. Government troops burned houses down and arrested 70 people.	Human Rights Violation

	and arrested 70 people, witnesses said.		
A11	Syrian troops and gunmen stormed a town near the Turkish border on Saturday, one day after at least 12 people were shot dead by government forces.		War Crime
A11	France and Germany have agreed to lobby for stronger sanctions.		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts
A11	Friday's protest was the largest since the unrest erupted as tens of thousands of people rallied across the country, defying President Bashar al-Assad's military crackdown		Protest
A11	Rights activists said protests broke out after Friday prayers as the army pressed its campaign against northern towns.		Human Rights
A11	Meanwhile, France and Germany have urged tougher EU	Syrian Regime accused of War Crimes and	War Crime

	sanctions against Syria, and the United States was considering war crimes charges against Damascus, an administration official said Friday.	sanctioned by the EU.	
A11	Syrian forces have killed more than 130 people and arrested over 2,000 in Jisr al-Shughour and surrounding villages over the last few days, according to the International Federation for Human Rights and the Damascus Center for Human Rights Studies.	130 people killed and 2000 people arrested by Syrian forces.	War Crime
A11	Accounts from activists and officials are difficult to confirm as the Syrian government has barred foreign journalists from the country.	Journalist banned from Syria.	Press Freedom

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A12	The attempts to suppress protest movements in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Syria and	Attempt to suppress freedom of opinion in Syria and other Arabic countries.	Human Rights Violation

	Bahrain are also prime examples of contempt of the fundamental human right to the freedom of opinion.		
A12	Demonstrators, journalists and writers are the first to feel the backlash that authorities unleash when a state restricts the right to the freedom of opinion.	Journalists aren't able to express their opinion.	Press freedom
A12	Twitter, Facebook and other social media offer platforms on which regimes can be criticized and protests can be organized.	Social Media is used to express the opinion of civilians.	Social Media
A12	At least 93 demonstrators who used Facebook to call for more political freedom and an end to corruption were arrested in Syria between March 8 and March 23.	Demonstrators arrested for calling for human rights on the platform Facebook.	Human Rights Violation
A12	Suppressing the right to the freedom of opinion always shows that words are powerful. The case	Freedom of opinion is suppressed due to its potential impact. This is demonstrated	Media Coverage

	<p>of Anna Politkovskaya, a Russian journalist who provided critical coverage of the Chechen War, makes this clear, as does the case of Liu Xiaobo, the Chinese initiator of the Charter 08 manifesto demanding political and legal reforms for China.</p>	<p>by a critical coverage of the Chechen War.</p>	
A12	<p>Both cases show that human rights activists need all the support they can get in their fight against oppression. Amnesty International has been speaking up for non-violent political prisoners for 50 years.</p>	<p>Importance of Human Rights Activism</p>	<p>Human Rights</p>
A12	<p>This called for the release of all prisoners incarcerated for merely expressing their political opinions.</p>		<p>Human Rights Violation</p>
A12	<p>Amnesty International started 267 urgent actions and published 252 further bits of information on</p>	<p>Amnesty International's urgent actions led to positive changes, including prisoner releases and the</p>	<p>Human Rights</p>

	urgent actions in 2010 alone. Roughly one third of them led to positive changes including the release of prisoners, more privileges for prisoners, the repeal of death sentences or even charges against those responsible for human rights abuses.	repeal of death sentences.	
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Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A13	Freedom of the press is crucial to revealing human rights abuses. It ensures that grievances can be discussed publicly.		Press Freedom
A13	If the regime in Egypt blocks cell phones one day, satellite television provides information and if there is no reception for Al Jazeera in Cairo another day, demonstrators on Tahrir Square tweet to each other.	New media enables participation of civilians.	Social Media

A13	But it's a different story altogether in Libya. In the areas where Moammar Gadhafi and his mercenaries engage in open war with insurgents and employ brutality against them, the freedom of the media is not sufficient to push through other democratic freedoms.	Regime in Libya imposes violence against people criticizing the regime.	Human Rights Violation
A13	But it's a different story altogether in Libya. In the areas where Moammar Gadhafi and his mercenaries engage in open war with insurgents and employ brutality against them, the freedom of the media is not sufficient to push through other democratic freedoms.	Regime in Libya imposes violence against people criticizing the regime	War Crime

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A14	Syrian President Bashar al-Assad delivered his first speech for two	Assad announces that there will be no reform.	Assad Regime

	<p>months Monday in which he stated that that there would be no reform in Syria until the “sabotage and chaos” which has rocked the country was over.</p>		
A14	<p>"I don't think there has been a single day when Syria has not been the target of plotting whether that be for geopolitical reasons or because of its political positions," he said.</p>		Political Dynamic
A14	<p>Assad also suggested that external forces and a small group of “saboteurs” were responsible for the unrest.</p>		Protest
A14	<p>As Assad addressed the Syrian people, EU foreign ministers were watching intently at their meeting in Luxembourg where a discussion on expanding sanctions against the al-Assad regime was high on the agenda.</p>		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

A14	As Luxembourg's foreign minister Jean Asselborn warned of a potential civil war in Syria, his German counterpart Guido Westerwelle called for a united international approach in response to the "images of inhumanity" and "cruelty" coming out of Syria, singling out the Russian opposition to a resolution in the United Nations Security Council as a barrier to consensus.	EU takes position to images of humanity and cruelty from Syria.	War Crime
A14	As Luxembourg's foreign minister Jean Asselborn warned of a potential civil war in Syria, his German counterpart Guido Westerwelle called for a united international approach in response to the "images of inhumanity" and "cruelty" coming out of Syria, singling out the	Russia's opposition to a resolution in the United Nations Security Council is a seen as a barrier.	No International Involvement

	Russian opposition to a resolution in the United Nations Security Council as a barrier to consensus.		
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Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A15	President Bashar al-Assad continues to forcibly put down demonstrators in Syria.		War Crime
A15	Muslims, Christians, Alawis, Druze and Ishmaelites: No other country in the Middle East, except perhaps for tiny Lebanon, has such a multiplicity of religious and ethnic groups.		Cultural Diversity
A15	According to its constitution, Syria is a secular state, and there is a powerful state-run economic sector.		Political Dynamic
A15	But the protests against the Assad regime could lead to religious and ethnic tensions, says Middle East expert		Protest

	Volker Perthes from the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin.		
A15	Alawis in particular should fear being targeted, since the Assad family itself is Alawi.		Assad Regime
A15	"Among Sunni Muslims, there is currently a trend that middle-class, well-educated people want to maintain the secular system," Perthes said.		Secularism
A15	"The Assad regime has been pragmatic. It didn't give Islamists much elbow room. And yet it cooperated well in terms of foreign policy with Hamas and Hezbollah. Any similar Islamist political tendencies (within Syria) were simply put down," he said.		Political Dynamic

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory

A16	Rafik Hariri's son Saad and his supporters, on the other hand, accuse Hezbollah of paralyzing Lebanon's political life out of fear of the Tribunal.		Political Dynamic
A16	But in Lebanese media, four names have been made public, including Mustafa Badreddine, a senior member of the Hezbollah movement.	Confidential Information leaked in Lebanese media.	Media Coverage
A16	"I can't rule out that Hezbollah could take action in order to support its ally Syria," he said.		Political Dynamic

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A17	But if the Syrian dictator were removed, it would have consequences, some potentially		Political Dynamic

	negative, for the entire Middle East.		
A17	But the Assad regime's crackdown on popular protests that have been going on in Syria since the spring has worn out American faith that dialogue with the Syrian leader is worthwhile		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts
A17	But the Assad regime's crackdown on popular protests that have been going on in Syria since the spring has worn out American faith that dialogue with the Syrian leader is worthwhile		Assad Regime
A17	Human rights groups think at least 1,400 civilians and 350 Syrian security forces have been killed since anti-government demonstrations across Syria began in mid-March.		War Crime
A17	Human rights groups think at least 1,400 civilians and 350 Syrian security		Human Rights

	forces have been killed since anti-government demonstrations across Syria began in mid-March.		
A17	"Syria is Iran's only essential ally and their foot in the door in the Arab world," Wimmen said.		Political Dynamic

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A18	There are more than 40 million refugees around the world today - men, women and children fleeing civil wars, violence and unrest, according to a new UN report. Most are refugees in their own countries.		Refugee Crisis
A18	The current famine situation in the Horn of Africa is driving 1,000 to 2,000 refugees per day from Somalia and Ethiopia into overcrowded refugee camps in northern Kenya.		Refugee Crisis
A18	The convention, which was approved	Rights of Refugees	Human Rights

	<p>at a Geneva conference on July 28, 1951, is binding for the 144 states which have ratified it. It states that refugees cannot be sent back to countries where their lives are endangered. It also guarantees certain rights, such as the right to safety, freedom of thought and religion and protection from torture.</p>		
A18	<p>"Because of more restrictive attitudes in relation to migration, because of security concerns, especially after 9/11, the truth is that borders are more often closed," he said. "Getting asylum in many parts of the developed world is also becoming more difficult. Even physical access to the territory is sometimes denied."</p>	<p>After 9/11 western countries are more reluctant to take in refugees and close their borders.</p>	<p>Terrorism</p>
A18	<p>"Because of more restrictive attitudes in relation to migration, because of security concerns,</p>	<p>After 9/11 western countries are more reluctant to take in refugees and close their borders.</p>	<p>Border Control</p>

	<p>especially after 9/11, the truth is that borders are more often closed," he said. "Getting asylum in many parts of the developed world is also becoming more difficult. Even physical access to the territory is sometimes denied."</p>		
A18	<p>In west Africa, the ongoing conflict in Ivory Coast has sent more than 180,000 refugees over the border into Liberia, which is also recovering from years of civil war.</p>		Civil War

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A19	<p>The statement of the UN Security Council, condemning the Syrian government's crackdown on protesters and human rights violations, has been approved by permanent council member Russia.</p>	<p>Un Security Council condemns Syrian governments violation of human rights.</p>	Human Rights Violation
A19	<p>The statement of the UN Security Council</p>	<p>Un Security Council condemns Syrian</p>	Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

	<p>Council, condemning the Syrian government's crackdown on protesters and human rights violations, has been approved by permanent council member Russia.</p>	<p>governments violation of human rights.</p>	
A19	<p>However, Moscow won't allow a UN resolution on Syria, neither now and nor in the future, argues Russian political analyst and president of the Polity Foundation Vyacheslav Nikonov.</p>	<p>No intervention expected from Russia.</p>	<p>No International Involvement</p>
A19	<p>According to Nikonov, Russia is concerned about the stability in the Middle East and fears that meddling in the Syrian conflict would lead to a civil war.</p>		<p>Political Dynamic</p>
A19	<p>As a consequence, Russia approved the statement of the UN Security Council, noted Erler and added that he believes that Moscow has realized now that Bashar al-</p>	<p>Assad is conducting a war against his own population.</p>	<p>War Crime</p>

	Assad who is conducting a war against his own people can not be partner for cooperation in the future.		
A19	As a consequence, Russia approved the statement of the UN Security Council, noted Erler and added that he believes that Moscow has realized now that Bashar al-Assad who is conducting a war against his own people can not be partner for cooperation in the future.	Assad is conducting a war against his own population.	Assad Regime

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A20	Turkey has been a longstanding friend and ally of Syria. But with the escalation in violence, Ankara has sent its foreign minister to have a serious talk with Damascus. The message appeared to fall flat.	Turkey has been an ally of Syria.	Political Dynamic

A20	Damascus faced a new level of international pressure on Tuesday as longtime ally Turkey sent Foreign Minister Ahmed Davutoglu to Damascus with the message that Ankara "has run out of patience."		International Involvement
A20	Davutoglu meet with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to press for an immediate end to the violent crackdown on protesters in one of the bloodiest of the recent upheavals sweeping the Arab world.	Protests turned into the bloodies upheavals in the Arab World.	Civil War
A20	According to rights groups, more than 2,000 people have been killed since protests calling for democratic reform and an end to Assad's 11-year rule began earlier this year.	Since the protests started, more than 2000 people have been killed.	War Crime
A20	According to rights groups, more than 2,000 people have been killed since protests calling for democratic reform and an end to Assad's		Assad Regime

	11-year rule began earlier this year.		
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Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A21	While Western leverage on the ground in Syria is limited, Europe, the US and the UN should at least state more clearly which side they are on in the conflict, writes H��l��ne Michou.	Western in Syria intervention is limited.	No International Involvement
A21	Increasingly violent repression from Assad's regime, a continued smear-campaign against the opposition, and the President's blatant lack of intention to implement long-promised reforms have all contributed to shifts in Syrian and international public opinion.	Repression by the Assad Regime.	Human Rights Violation

A21	Increasingly violent repression from Assad's regime, a continued smear-campaign against the opposition, and the President's blatant lack of intention to implement long-promised reforms have all contributed to shifts in Syrian and international public opinion.	Repression by the Assad Regime.	Assad Regime
A21	US and EU sanctions are an effective tool of Western public diplomacy, but their impact in this context is questionable		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A22	The EU leveled more sanctions against Syria, a day after US President Barack Obama called on Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad to step down.		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts
A22	The EU leveled more sanctions against Syria, a day after US President Barack Obama called on Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad to step down.		Assad Regime

A22	<p>Meanwhile, the United Nations has said it will send a humanitarian mission to Syria on Saturday to assess the situation on the ground, following calls by US and EU leaders for Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to step down.</p>	<p>United Nations wants to send a humanitarian mission to Syria.</p>	<p>International Involvement</p>
A22	<p>On Friday, at least 20 people were killed by Assad's forces, despite the Syrian leader's pledge to UN chief Ban Ki-moon on Thursday that the crackdown was over.</p>		<p>War Crime</p>
A22	<p>On Friday, at least 20 people were killed by Assad's forces, despite the Syrian leader's pledge to UN chief Ban Ki-moon on Thursday that the crackdown was over.</p>		<p>Assad Regime</p>
A22	<p>UN human rights chief Navi Pillay has said there were indications that the Syrian regime may have committed crimes against humanity in its</p>		<p>Human Rights Violation</p>

	crackdown on dissidents.		
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Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A23	"It all changed when NATO bombed Ghezaia and Kut - Gadhafi's positions down the valley," Kemal Azad, a fighter at Nalut's checkpoint, told Deutsche Welle.		International Involvement
A23	Heavy machine guns sit atop sand-camouflaged pickups and the rebels make sure everything is in working order.		Military Development
A23	With the eastern front of Brega and the one in Misrata in a stalemate for over two months, the Nafusa-based rebels have played a key role in the speedy move toward Tripoli.		Political Dynamic
A23	Deutsche Welle came across barely a handful of other media companies just a few weeks ago. But today Nafusa is	Media Coverage is possible again in Nafusa.	Media Coverage

	almost overrun by thousands of journalists who have been pouring in over the last five days.		
A23	Khan was referring to the kidnapping of four Italian journalists on Wednesday near Zawiya - a western region where Gadhafi's support still runs high.		War Crime

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A24	The leadership lashing has come from all sides. Germany's former chancellors, the conservative Helmut Kohl as well as the social democrat Helmut Schmidt have criticized what they consider a lack of European	Lack of European Leadership in times of a financial crisis.	Economic Crisis

	leadership in the face of the financial crisis from Chancellor Angela Merkel.		
A24	In Merkel's case, the prime examples for her alleged failure to lead is what critics call her inept, unprincipled and late response to the debt crisis in Europe and Germany's stance against military action in Libya, which critics charge isolated Berlin from its Western allies.	Critics fault Merkel for her response to the European debt crisis and Germany's stance on Libya, isolating it from Western allies.	Political Dynamic
A23	As for Obama, he is accused of essentially having been duped by Republicans in accepting a deeply flawed debt deal, having played a passive role instead of taking a strong stand against the dictators who are trying to crush their own people in Syria and Libya and most importantly of being totally absent on the most important issue for Americans, i.e. jobs.	Critics accuse Obama of accepting a flawed debt deal, not taking a strong stance on Syria and Libya, and neglecting the jobs issue.	No International Involvement

Category 1: Topics Syria Conflict 2011

	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A25	While it was the right decision to prevent a massacre in Benghazi, NATO's subsequent actions could harm future efforts to protect civilians.		International Involvement
A25	Upon closer inspection it leaves us with an unsettling paradox: it was the right decision of the Security Council to authorize "all necessary measures" to stop the mass killing of civilians in Benghazi and beyond.	Mass killing of civilians.	War Crime
A25	And indeed the resolutions 1970 and 1973 are historic in the sense that the Security Council (supported by the Arab League) for the first time makes explicit use of the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P), the fledgling international norm that UN members agreed to in 2005.		Human Rights
A25	Rather, all major powers should start a serious dialogue on the meaning of		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

	"responsibility to protect" and how to translate the principle into practice using the full toolbox of political and military measures.		
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Table 2: Topic Selection and Frequency in the 2011 Syrian Conflict

This table lists all subcategories of category 1 and helps to answer question 1a.

Subcategory (C1)	Frequency
C1.1 War Crime	18
C1.2 Assad Regime	12
C1.3 Diplomacy and Peace Efforts	12
C1.4 Political Dynamic	11
C1.5 Human Rights Violation	10
C1.6 Protest	10
C1.7 International Involvement	09
C1.8 No International Involvement	08
C1.9 Human Rights	08
C1.10 Military Development	05
C1.11 Press Freedom	04
C1.12 Media Coverage	04
C1.13 Social Media	03
C1.14 Civil War	03
C1.15 Cultural Diversity	02
C1.16 Refugee Crisis	01
C1.17 Terrorism	01
C1.18 Border Control	01
C1.19 Economic Crisis	01
C1.20 Secularism	01

Table 3: Paraphrasing and Subcategories in the Syrian Conflict 2015

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B1	Germany is set to receive a record number of asylum seekers this year - at least 650,000. As communities struggle to accommodate them, some have begun to question the country's asylum policies.	German communities struggle to accommodate high numbers of asylum seekers. .	Refugee Crisis
B1	In the dreary waiting area of a small charity in an impoverished neighborhood in Cairo, Faida quietly explained how she made ends meet: She survived on handouts from friendly neighbors and mosques and the occasional food voucher supplied by international donors, the gaunt 44-year-old Syrian refugee, told DW. Her eldest son, she added, did odd jobs whenever he could find one, "but when I need medicine I have to sell furniture or clothes."	A 44-year-old Syrian refugee in Cairo relies on neighbors, mosques, and occasional food vouchers from international donors to survive, resorting to selling furniture or clothes for medicine.	Personal Story

B1	<p>In the dreary waiting area of a small charity in an impoverished neighborhood in Cairo, Faida quietly explained how she made ends meet: She survived on handouts from friendly neighbors and mosques and the occasional food voucher supplied by international donors, the gaunt 44-year-old Syrian refugee, told DW. Her eldest son, she added, did odd jobs whenever he could find one, "but when I need medicine I have to sell furniture or clothes."</p>	<p>A 44-year-old Syrian refugee in Cairo relies on neighbors, mosques, and occasional food vouchers from international donors to survive, resorting to selling furniture or clothes for medicine.</p>	Humanitarian Aid
B1	<p>German Development Minister Gerd Müller (a member of the Christian Social Union CSU, the Bavarian sister party to the Christian Democrats) this week called on the EU to spend 10 billion euros to help the countries neighboring Syria deal with the refugee</p>	<p>German Development Minister Gerd Müller called for 10 billion euros to help neighboring countries manage the Syrian refugee crisis, stressing the importance of addressing the issue locally.</p>	Refugee Crisis Management

	<p>crisis. "If we don't solve the problems locally, the problems will come to us," he was quoted as saying by "Die Welt" newspaper on Monday.</p>		
B1	<p>But many are already heading to Germany: One in three asylum seekers who arrived last year in the EU sought asylum in Germany. According to media reports, Germany's Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) is set to release figures this week that forecast a record increase in asylum applications this year.</p>	<p>Record increase in asylum applications in the EU and especially Germany.</p>	<p>Refugee Crisis</p>
B1	<p>As cities and communities struggle to find housing for those waiting for their asylum application to be processed - many cities have had to resort to housing them in tents and military barracks - state authorities have been calling for greater financial aid</p>	<p>Cities are housing asylum seekers in tents and barracks due to processing delays. State authorities are seeking increased financial aid to manage the influx.</p>	<p>Humanitarian Aid</p>

	to cope with the influx.		
B1	Some federal politicians meanwhile have come out in favor of ever more restrictive asylum policies: Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier (Social Democratic Party, SPD) this weekend said he favored faster deportations of those denied asylum, while Interior Minister Thomas de Maiziere from Chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian Democrats (CDU) recently said he was in favor of non-cash benefits for refugees.	Federal politicians are pushing for stricter asylum policies, including faster deportations for denied asylum seekers and non-cash benefits for refugees.	Refugee Crisis Management

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B2	US President Barack Obama spoke by phone with German Chancellor Angela Merkel about the recent refugee crisis and said he appreciates her recent decision to ease the asylum application		Refugee Crisis

	procedure for Syrians.		
B2	US President Barack Obama spoke by phone with German Chancellor Angela Merkel about the recent refugee crisis and said he appreciates her recent decision to ease the asylum application procedure for Syrians.		Refugee Crisis Management
B2	Germany, which is preparing to receive a record 800,000 asylum applications this year, has eased the asylum application procedure for Syrians fleeing the country's brutal civil war - a decision especially praised by the US president.	Germany is receiving record numbers of asylum applications since refugees are fleeing the violent civil war.	Civil War

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B3	If an application for asylum in Germany is rejected and a person is not recognized as a		Refugee Crisis Management

	refugee, he or she must leave Germany.		
B3	According to the European Dublin regulation, the first country of contact for migrants in the EU is responsible for processing asylum applications.		Refugee Crisis Management
B3	Many of these terms are often confused: refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. But they are not identical.		Refugee Crisis

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B4	The UN food agency says funding shortages have forced it to deny food vouchers to 229,000 Syrian refugees in Jordan. Experts say chronic harsh conditions, also in Lebanon and Turkey, are behind the exodus to Europe.	UN food agency had to deny food to 229 thousand of syrian refugees.	Humanitarian Aid
B4	"This is a crisis that has been brewing in the region for five years," said WFP spokesman Abeer		Refugee Crisis

	Etefa in Amman, Jordan's capital, referring to the refugee drama across southern Europe.		
B4	Jordan says it hosts 1.4 million fugitive Syrians. The United Nations puts the figure at 630,000.		Refugee Crisis
B4	Late on Friday, Britain and the United States said they would increase their humanitarian funding to victims of the Syrian conflict.		Refugee Crisis Management
B4	The UN estimates that since Syria's conflict erupted in 2011 more than four million Syrians have fled, mostly to Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt.		Civil War

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B5	In the second quarter of 2015, more than 210,000 first time asylum seekers have	High numbers of refugee seekers in 2015 and Germany being the number	Refugee Crisis

	applied in the EU, reported Eurostat. More than one out of three applied in Germany, also the country with the biggest backlog to process.	one destination country.	
B5	The data also showed that Hungary - criticized for its responses to the migrants' arrival like closing borders and building fences - was facing the largest influx when compared to population size.	Hungary closed their borders and build fences.	Border Control
B5	Europe is struggling to address its most challenging refugee crisis since World War II, with thousands of asylum seekers and migrants entering the EU daily.		Refugee Crisis Management

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B6	Croatia says it's forcing Hungary to accept more migrants while Budapest threatens to block Zagreb's Schengen accession. The two	Croatia and Hungary are in a dispute over the handling of border refugees, with Croatia pushing for Hungary to accept more migrants.	Refugee Crisis Management

	neighbors have come to blows over the fate of thousands of refugees at their borders.		
B6	Croatia says it's forcing Hungary to accept more migrants while Budapest threatens to block Zagreb's Schengen accession. The two neighbors have come to blows over the fate of thousands of refugees at their borders.	Croatia and Hungary are in a dispute over the handling of border refugees, with Croatia pushing for Hungary to accept more migrants.	Border Control
B6	This week, Croatia became the latest flashpoint in the migrant crisis, after thousands of people were blocked from crossing into Hungary, which over the past two months has become a major route into Europe.		Refugee Crisis
B6	On Tuesday, the Budapest government declared a state of emergency along its southern border with Serbia, after a 3.5-meter (11.5-foot) fence was completed along the 173 kilometer (110	Hungary declared a state of emergency on its Serbian border, closing most crossings and imposing penalties on illegal border crossings by refugees.	Border Control

	<p>mile) frontier. As well as closing most border crossings, it also enacted tough penalties for any refugees illegally smuggling themselves through the frontier.</p>		
B6	<p>On Saturday, Croatia vowed to continue sending refugees to its northern neighbor, amid a deepening row over how to handle the influx, mostly Syrians escaping civil war.</p>		Civil War
B6	<p>A five-year-old girl, who was retrieved unconscious by Greek coast guards from the sea off the island of Lesbos, died in hospital on Saturday.</p> <p>A coast guard spokesman said its rescue vessel had picked up 10 other migrants from the same boat, while one managed to swim ashore. Fourteen others are still missing.</p>	<p>Five year old girl was retrieved unconscious from the sea off the island of Lesbos. Ten other migrants were retrieved while fourteen are still missing.</p>	Personal Story

B6	<p>A five-year-old girl, who was retrieved unconscious by Greek coast guards from the sea off the island of Lesbos, died in hospital on Saturday.</p> <p>A coast guard spokesman said its rescue vessel had picked up 10 other migrants from the same boat, while one managed to swim ashore. Fourteen others are still missing.</p>	<p>Five year old girl was retrieved unconscious from the sea off the island of Lesbos. Ten other migrants were retrieved while fourteen are still missing.</p>	Refugee Crisis
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Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B7	<p>The 30-year-old is one of more than 2,000 refugees killed in the Mediterranean Sea. She had a binding love for one thing in particular: Bayern Munich. Fans had called for a mark of respect before the match on Tuesday.</p>		Personal Story
B7	<p>The 30-year-old is one of more than 2,000 refugees killed in the Mediterranean Sea. She had a binding love for one</p>		Refugee Crisis

	<p>thing in particular: Bayern Munich. Fans had called for a mark of respect before the match on Tuesday.</p>		
B7	<p>The 30-year- old is one of thousands of refugees to flee war- torn Syria and make the perilous journey to Europe.</p>		Civil War

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B8	<p>When Hungary sealed off its border and pepper-sprayed refugees who tried to push through, they headed west toward Croatia, an EU country but not one that has much to offer other than safe passage.</p>		Refugee Crisis Management
B8	<p>When Hungary sealed off its border and pepper-sprayed refugees who tried to push through, they headed west toward Croatia, an EU country but not one that has much to offer other than safe passage.</p>		Border Control

B8	<p>Since Croatia is not in the Schengen zone, the refugees and migrants have had to attempt crossing into Slovenia through yet another border in order to be just a few steps closer to their desired destination. For most that destination is Germany, which is expecting upwards of 800,000 asylum seekers this year.</p>	<p>Migrants have to cross borders to get to their desired destination. Germany is expected upwards 800 thousand refugees in 2015.</p>	Refugee Crisis
B8	<p>23-year-old Farook, an Iraqi refugee from Kirkuk, waited three days to cross into Slovenia. A college student studying dentistry, sectarian battles at home left him with no future except for war and death so he decided to make an attempt to reach Europe.</p>		Personal Story
B8	<p>She also criticized her government's somewhat disorganized response to the crisis. "There could have been more preparation. Our government ignored</p>	<p>Governmental disorganized response to the crisis.</p>	Refugee Crisis Management

	it until they couldn't anymore."		
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Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B9	Germany's parliament has approved roles for up to 950 German naval personnel in the EU's mission to foil boat smugglers off Libya.		Refugee Crisis Management
B9	The UN refugee agency says 700,000 migrants will cross the Mediterranean this year.		Refugee Crisis
B9	Formerly called EUNAVFOR, EU ministers on Monday renamed it Sophia after a baby girl born to a Somali migrant rescued recently by a German vessel.		Personal Story
B9	Almost 3,000, including children, have lost their lives in the perilous crossings alone this year.		Refugee Crisis

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B10	The Islamic State has reportedly overtaken		Terrorism

	al-Qaeda as the leading global extremist movement.		
B10	Comey said the US government had improved its methods in screening refugees from foreign countries to ensure they would not pose terrorism threats or other risks to the United States, but he added that there always were risks associated with welcoming migrants from a country experiencing strife.	Screening of refugees to ensure that they dont pose a threat to security.	Refugee Crisis Management

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B11	German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier will head to Iran, Saudi Arabia and Jordan for a four day visit starting on Friday evening to discuss regional security and the war in Syria.		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts
B11	"We must strive to help build bridges between Iran and Saudi Arabia so that it becomes		Civil War

	conceivable that in the end we can get all the regional partners we need at one table," he said on Wednesday, referring to the conflict in Syria.		
B11	Iran and Saudi Arabia are regional rivals on opposite sides of the conflict in Syria. Iran has backed the Assad regime and is deploying troops alongside Lebanese Hezbollah fighters as part of a ground campaign supporting by Russia air power to take back territory from rebels.	Iran and Saudi Arabia militarily support oppsing sides of the Syrian conflict	Military Development
B11	Iran and Saudi Arabia are regional rivals on opposite sides of the conflict in Syria. Iran has backed the Assad regime and is deploying troops alongside Lebanese Hezbollah fighters as part of a ground campaign supporting by Russia air power to take back territory from rebels.	Iran and Saudi Arabia support opposing sides in Syria's conflict.	Political Dynamic in the Middle East

	Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015		
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B12	Kidnapped and abused: The terror militia "Islamic State" (IS) has been brutalizing women from the minority Yazidi religious community.		Human Rights Violation
B12	Kidnapped and abused: The terror militia "Islamic State" (IS) has been brutalizing women from the minority Yazidi religious community.		Terrorism
B12	Kidnapped and abused: The terror militia "Islamic State" (IS) has been brutalizing women from the minority Yazidi religious community.		Human Rights Violation
B12	The fate of these traumatized women so shocked Baden-Wuerttemberg's State Premier Winfried Kretschmann that the Green party politician effectively created a special program singlehandedly: He	Programm in Germany who wants to bring 1000 woman, who have been abused by ISIS, to Germany and help them.	Human Rights Activism

	intends to bring up to 1,000 such women to Germany by year's end. And he is willing to commit 30 million euro (\$34 million) to the project.		
B12	One of these women is Lea. She does not want to use her real name in public, but also doesn't want to keep her story to herself any longer. She was held captive by "IS" for two months and 16 days. "Life," says the 22-year-old, "was hell. Even when we cried they just beat us. There was no food, and we were not allowed to wash ourselves. We prayed to God to let us die. But we couldn't. Each of us was taken by an IS member. They used violence against women that did not want to go: They broke their arms or crushed their skulls with guns."	Lea was held captive by the IS, beaten, denied food and basic human rights.	Personal Story
B12	Lea is a slight, delicate woman. Her eyebrows are	Facebook helps Lea to stay in contact with her family.	Social Media

	plucked and she holds a smartphone in her hand. She is on Facebook, that is how she maintains contact with her family: with her brother who is in a refugee camp in Dohuk in northern Iraq.		
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Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B13	The 'Islamic State' has reportedly seized a central Syrian town from government forces.		Terrorism
B13	The capture of Mahin, near a strategic road, marks a new effort from the jihadists to expand their presence in the country's center.		Political Dynamic in the Middle East
B13	The Observatory said the assault on Mahin began with suicide car bombs at government checkpoints, clearing the way for fighters to enter the city. Government soldiers were driven out. There were intense clashes on the	Car bombs were used at government checkpoints to facilitate the entry of fighters into Mahin, resulting in the expulsion of government soldiers and intense clashes.	Military Development

	outskirts of town and on the road to Sadad.		
B13	The Observatory said the assault on Mahin began with suicide car bombs at government checkpoints, clearing the way for fighters to enter the city. Government soldiers were driven out. There were intense clashes on the outskirts of town and on the road to Sadad.	Car bombs were used at government checkpoints to facilitate the entry of fighters into Mahin, resulting in the expulsion of government soldiers and intense clashes.	Civil War
B13	The IS advance on Sunday came despite Russian airstrikes against the militants in the region.		International Involvement
B13	More than 250,000 people have died in Syria's four-year civil war, while millions have been displaced by the violence. The conflict began as an uprising against the rule of President Bashar al-Assad in 2011 but has since escalated into a multisided war.		Civil War

B13	<p>More than 250,000 people have died in Syria's four-year civil war, while millions have been displaced by the violence. The conflict began as an uprising against the rule of President Bashar al-Assad in 2011 but has since escalated into a multisided war.</p>		War Crime
B13	<p>More than 250,000 people have died in Syria's four-year civil war, while millions have been displaced by the violence. The conflict began as an uprising against the rule of President Bashar al-Assad in 2011 but has since escalated into a multisided war.</p>		Protest
B13	<p>Diplomats from the US, Russia, Saudi Arabia and more than a dozen other nations met in Vienna this week for talks aimed to end the conflict and pave the way for a political solution in Syria.</p>		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

B13	Assad's government has often referred to armed opposition forces as "terrorists," and has blamed Saudi Arabia and Turkey for backing them. Russia's air campaign, which seeks to prop up Assad, has mainly targeted those same rebels, as well as IS militants.	Assads government refered to armed oppositions as terrorists.	Assad Regime
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Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B14	At least 120 people have been killed and 200 hurt, 80 seriously, in attacks striking several entertainment venues in Paris. President Francois Hollande has declared a state of emergency and sealed the country's borders.	120 people killed and over 200 hurt in attacks in Paris.	Terrorism
B14	French President Francois Hollande - who hurriedly left the stadium as reports of attacks began to filter in - convened an emergency cabinet meeting and declared	French President declared a state of emergency and closed the borders.	Border Control

	a state of emergency, giving security forces broad powers of arrest and sealing the land borders.		
B14	Some 1,500 troops were also mobilized.		Military Development
B14	More than 100 people were killed.		War Crime
B14	"I clearly heard them say, 'It's the fault of Hollande; it's the fault of your president - he should not have intervened in Syria.'		International Involvement
B14	The gunmen reportedly took hostages to prevent police from entering the venue. But after commandos stormed the theater at around 1 a.m. local time, the attackers detonated suicide vests, killing an additional five hostages and themselves.	Gunmen held people hostage and ended up killing five people including himself.	Human Rights Violation

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B15	In the wake of the Paris attacks, France		Terrorism

	has asked its European partners for military aid in the fight against Islamists.		
B15	In the wake of the Paris attacks, France has asked its European partners for military aid in the fight against Islamists.		Military Development

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B16	Eight people have been detained at Istanbul's main Ataturk airport, suspected of links to the "Islamic State" militant group.		Terrorism
B16	Turkey is a major transit route for the hundreds of thousands of migrants attempting to reach northern Europe, many of them fleeing the Syrian conflict. More than 2.2 million refugees are living in temporary camps close to the border with Syria.	Turkey is one of the main transit routes for migrants to reach Europe.	Refugee Crisis

B16	Turkey is a major transit route for the hundreds of thousands of migrants attempting to reach northern Europe, many of them fleeing the Syrian conflict. More than 2.2 million refugees are living in temporary camps close to the border with Syria.	Turkey is one of the main transit routes for migrants to reach Europe.	Civil War
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Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B17	Lawmakers have approved plans for Germany to take on a direct role in the fight against the 'Islamic State' group in Syria.	Plans to combat terrorism.	Terrorism
B17	Chancellor Angela Merkel's coalition used its majority in the Bundestag on Friday to approve the deployment of up to 1,200 soldiers against the jihadist IS under UN and EU collective security laws.	1200 soldiers are deployed to combat the jihadist IS.	International Involvement
B17	Chancellor Angela Merkel's coalition used its majority in the Bundestag on	1200 soldiers are deployed to combat the jihadist IS.	Military Development

	Friday to approve the deployment of up to 1,200 soldiers against the jihadist IS under UN and EU collective security laws.		
B17	The German mandate drafted by parliament's foreign affairs committee seeks "to prevent acts of terror" and would stay in effect until December 31, 2016.	Mandate to combat terrorism.	Diplomacy and Peace Regulations
B17	Since September 2014, the US has led a coalition of 64 western and Arab nations in airstrikes against IS sites across northern Syria and western Iraq.	Since 2014 the US led a coalition against the IS.	Terrorism
B17	Russia intervened from September this year, using leased bases in Syria's western coastal region of Latakia. Moscow has long allied itself with Syria's President Bashar al-Assad.	Russian has been an Allie of Assad for a long time.	Political Dynamic

B17	The attacks left 130 people dead and hundreds wounded.		War Crime
B17	Kiesewetter said parliament would later focus on longer-term aspects of Syria's civil war, which since 2011 has claimed 250,000 lives and displaced millions.		Civil War
B17	Kiesewetter said parliament would later focus on longer-term aspects of Syria's civil war, which since 2011 has claimed 250,000 lives and displaced millions.		Refugee Crisis
B17	<p>On Thursday, UN chief Ban Ki-moon said a third round of international talks aimed at ending the war was likely to be held New York on December 18.</p> <p>Vienna has already been the venue for two rounds of talks involving diplomats from 17 countries, trying to formulate a "roadmap" for Syria.</p>	International talks to end the civil war.	Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

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Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B18	The EU's migration commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos says states need not fear new plans to protect the external borders.		Border Control
B18	An enlarged agency will have the right to intervene at countries' borders during emergency situations, like during a sudden influx of refugees or a terror attack.		Refugee Crisis Management
B18	An enlarged agency will have the right to intervene at countries' borders during emergency situations, like during a sudden influx of refugees or a terror attack.		Terrorism
B18	During the two day EU summit in Brussels, the ongoing migration crisis is likely to dominate the agenda, even as Frontex reports that the number of refugees	Numbers of migrants reaching Europe are dropping.	Refugee Crisis

	traveling across water from Turkey to Greece has begun to drop		
B18	An estimated 2.1 million Syrian refugees have fled to Turkey due to the ongoing civil war.		Civil War
B18	EU Commissioner Avramopoulos also said Brussels was investigating reports that Turkey has been detaining, abusing and deporting refugees - some back to war-torn Syria.		Human Rights Violations

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B19	Police across Europe are on the lookout for Syrian and Iraqi passports seized Islamic State militants, German media have reported. Two Paris attack assailants may have used them to enter the EU.		Terrorism
B19	Separate reports last Monday said the number of migrants traveling to Germany	Reports about migrants traveling to Europa with fake Syrian passports.	Media Coverage

	with fake Syrian passports was at 8 percent far smaller than the Interior Ministry had once implied.		
B19	"Welt am Sonntag" quoted Fabrice Leggeri, who heads the EU's external border agency Frontex, as saying that "uncontrolled" migrant inflow into Europe "naturally represented a security risk."		Border Control

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B20	A human rights watchdog claims Russian airstrikes in Syria have indiscriminately hit civilians areas in what may amount to war crimes.		War Crime
B20	Since intervening in Syria to bolster the regime of President Bashar al-Assad, Russia has claimed that it is targeting "Islamic State" (IS) and other terrorist groups.		Assad Regime

B20	Since intervening in Syria to bolster the regime of President Bashar al-Assad, Russia has claimed that it is targeting "Islamic State" (IS) and other terrorist groups.		Terrorism
B20	Since intervening in Syria to bolster the regime of President Bashar al-Assad, Russia has claimed that it is targeting "Islamic State" (IS) and other terrorist groups.		International Involvement

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B21	Merkel and the CDU have said the number of refugees in Germany would be reduced through smart policies. But Germany's doors remain open despite the huge influx this year.	Germany's borders remain open for refugees.	Border Control
B21	Nearly 1.1 million refugees and migrants registered in Germany in 2015, a number five times more than last year,		Refugee Crisis

	Bavaria's social minister Emilia Müller said on Wednesday.		
B21	Merkel's CDU has opted for an open Germany, policies to strengthen EU borders and keep refugees in Turkey, while calling for Europe to embrace a distribution scheme that would help share the burden across EU member states.	Merkel opted for open borders and policies to keep refugees in Turkey and manage EU borders.	Refugee Crisis Management

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B22	The influx comes as fighting between government forces, Islamists and rebels intensifies in Syria.		Refugee Crisis
B22	Meanwhile, Syrian troops advanced towards Tal Rifaat, one of the last rebel strongholds in the Aleppo province, the Britain-based Syrian Observatory for Human Rights told AFP news agency.		Military Development
B22	On Sunday, the Turkish Deputy		Border Control

	Prime Minister Numan Kurtulmus said his country had "reached the limit of its capacity to absorb the refugees."		
B22	The EU has pledged 3 billion euros (\$3.35 billion) to Ankara to help house and care for refugees and to stem the flow of people entering Europe.		Refugee Crisis Management
B22	The EU has pledged 3 billion euros (\$3.35 billion) to Ankara to help house and care for refugees and to stem the flow of people entering Europe.		Humanitarian Aid
B22	More than 260,000 people have died in Syria since the war began in 2011, and President Bashar al-Assad's forces, now backed by Russian airstrikes, went on the offensive against rebels and IS militants.		Assad Regime
B22	More than 260,000 people have died in Syria since the war		War Crime

	began in 2011, and President Bashar al-Assad's forces, now backed by Russian airstrikes, went on the offensive against rebels and IS militants.		
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Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B23	The government in Ankara introduced visa restrictions on Friday for Syrians entering Turkey by air or sea in order to stem the flow of migrants from the war-torn country.		Border Control
B23	The policy had immediate effect, as nearly 400 Syrian refugees heading to Turkey via Lebanon spent the night at Beirut airport after the new Turkish visa regulations left them stranded.		Refugee Crisis
B23	More than 250,000 people are believed to have died in the Syrian conflict and an estimated 11 million have been driven from their homes, more than		War Crime

	half the pre-war population.		
B23	More than 250,000 people are believed to have died in the Syrian conflict and an estimated 11 million have been driven from their homes, more than half the pre-war population.	Estimated 11 million people had to leave their homes.	Civil War
B23	The Turkish official told DW that, "As long as Assad continues his massacres, the flow to Turkey from land borders will not end, and the Syrians will continue to move towards Europe unless they have hope to return to their homeland."	Assad's actions in the civil war will ensure that the war never ends.	Assad Regime

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B24	Macedonia has started constructing a second barbed-wire fence to deter people from entering the country illegally via Greece.		Border Control

B24	On Thursday, Austrian Foreign Minister Sebastian Kurz arrived in Sarajevo for the first leg of his official Balkan tour. He is expected to discuss the idea of sending an EU police and military mission to secure the border between Greece and Macedonia.		Refugee Crisis Management
B24	On that same day, Macedonia's Interior Ministry registered more than 2,800 refugees headed to Germany and Austria.		Refugee Crisis

Category 2: Topics Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Rephrase	Subcategory
B25	Dozens of civilians, soldiers and rebels have been killed since the Syrian regime launched its offensive in Aleppo.		Civil War
B25	"We have documented so far 89 civilians, including 23 children killed in Russian strikes in northern Aleppo and the city of Aleppo since the attack		War Crime

	started on February 1," Rami Abdel Rahman, head of the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, told reporters.		
B25	Around 274 militants, including members of the al-Qaeda-linked al-Nusra Front and other Islamist groups were also killed.		Terrorism
B25	According to the United Nations, over 30,000 people were amassed at Syria's Turkish border over the weekend.		Border Control

Table 4: Topic Selection and Frequency in the 2015 Syrian Conflict

This table lists all subcategories of category 2 and helps to answer question 1a and 2a.

Subcategory (C2)	Frequency
C2.1 Refugee Crisis	16
C2.2 Refugee Crisis Management	13
C2.3 Border Control	12
C2.4 Terrorism	12
C2.5 Civil War	12
C2.6 Military Development	06
C2.7 Personal Story	06
C2.8 War Crime	06
C2.9 International Involvement	04
C2.10 Diplomacy and Peace Efforts	04
C2.11 Assad Regime	04
C2.12 Humanitarian Aid	03
C2.13 Human Rights Violation	03
C2.14 Political Dynamic	02
C2.15 Human Rights	01
C2.16 Social Media	01
C2.17 Protest	01
C2.18 Media Coverage	01

Table 5: Paraphrasing and Subcategories in the 2022 Ukrainian Conflict

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C1	More than 4,000 children from Ukrainian orphanages and care homes have been evacuated to Poland to escape the war. Separated from their parents or abandoned, they're coming to terms with trauma.		Refugee Crisis
C1	But since Russia launched its invasion of Ukraine on February 24, they've been joined by dozens of young refugees who fled two care homes in the western Ukrainian town of Kovel.	Russia invaded Ukraine and led to the flight of many Ukrainian refugees.	Russian Invasion
C1	Kira is one of the oldest children in the group of Ukrainian refugees, old enough to help look after the smaller children alongside their guardian, Galina Jovik. The 50-year-old managing director of the orphanage in Kovel		Personal Story

	said evacuation was necessary, to keep the younger ones safe.		
C1	Their housing was organized by the NGO Happy Kids, which has been caring for orphans and foster families in Poland for 20 years. It also has an extensive network in Ukraine.	Housing provided to displaced children in Poland.	Humanitarian Aid

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C2	The annual meeting, which is set to end on Saturday, comes amid concerns that the war in Ukraine could spill over into neighboring Moldova, and that the blockage of grain exports could cause a food crisis in developing countries.		Russian Invasion
C2	German Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock said that this year's gathering was a "powerful sign of unity" for Ukraine		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

	— as well as Moldova.		
C2	In a statement in the afternoon, Baerbock said that "we're just seeing the tip of the iceberg" in the global food supply crisis, which is likely to worsen in the summer months when temperatures rise. She added that the G7 has a "special responsibility" to help developing nations.	G7 countries feel responsible for developing countries and a possible food crisis.	Humanitarian Aid
C2	Also attending the talks is the European Union's top diplomat, Josep Borrell, who announced another boost of military aid to Ukraine at the start of talks on Friday.		Military Development
C2	Also attending the talks is the European Union's top diplomat, Josep Borrell, who announced another boost of military aid to Ukraine at the start of talks on Friday.		International Involvement

C2	"It's very important at this time that we keep up the pressure on Russian President Vladimir Putin by supplying more weapons to Ukraine, by increasing the sanctions," Truss said on the sidelines of the talks.	Sanctions are meant to pressure Putin.	Diplomacy and Peace Efforts
C2	Richard Walker, DW's chief international correspondent said that the ministers will try to address a food price crisis exacerbated by millions of tons of grain that are currently blocked in Ukraine's ports. The grain exports are urgently needed in the Middle East and several African countries.	Ministers will address a food price crisis	Financial Crisis

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C3	The war in Ukraine is having a drastic impact on Africa. Prices for wheat, gas and gasoline are at record highs.		Financial Crisis

C3	The war in Ukraine is having a drastic impact on Africa. Prices for wheat, gas and gasoline are at record highs.		Russian Invasion
C3	In West Africa, the security situation is also hampering food supplies. For example, farmers could not cultivate their fields because of attacks by the terrorist organization Boko Haram.		Terrorism
C3	"This is an alarm signal for the world," Sidi said. "We are witnessing 27 million people in West Africa being affected by the worst food crisis in the past decade," he said, adding that the number could rise to 38 million people if nothing is done.	People in the Horn of Africa are affected by a big food crisis.	Food Crisis
C3	"We walked and walked, and my son was very thirsty and exhausted. He asked me many times: 'Mommy, water, mommy, water.' He started gasping, but there was not a drop	Because of the drought in the Horn of Africa more than 500 thousand people had to leave their homes, including an 8 year old boy.	Personal Story

	<p>of water I could give him," Idolo Mohamed told DW.</p> <p>The 8-year-old died upon arrival at the camp. He had been weakened from the journey and suffered from a severe cough.</p> <p>According to the WFP, more than 500,000 people left their homes this year alone because of the drought.</p>		
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Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C4	More children are likely to suffer from lethal undernutrition as the war in Ukraine threatens to deepen a global food crisis, the agency says.		Food Crisis
C4	The effects of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, as well as the impact of the coronavirus pandemic and ongoing damage due to climate change, are causing a "spiraling global food crisis," the UN		Russian Invasion

	agency for children warned.		
C4	The effects of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, as well as the impact of the coronavirus pandemic and ongoing damage due to climate change, are causing a "spiraling global food crisis," the UN agency for children warned.		Pandemic
C4	The effects of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, as well as the impact of the coronavirus pandemic and ongoing damage due to climate change, are causing a "spiraling global food crisis," the UN agency for children warned.		Climate Change
C4	The UN body urged governments to substantially increase their aid to help children in 23 "high burden" countries, and for funding to address		Humanitarian Aid

	the "immediate" needs of children.		
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Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C5	When Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24, 2022, it was the first large-scale war of aggression in Europe since World War II.		Russian Invasion
C5	Since the Russian invasion, some 6.8 million Ukrainians have fled their country, along with at least an additional 7.7 million internally displaced.		Refugee Crisis
C5	Some warn that the conflict, along with extreme weather due to climate change and pandemic-induced economic shock, is fueling a global food crisis.		Food Crisis
C5	Some warn that the conflict, along with extreme weather due to climate change and pandemic-induced economic		Pandemic

	shock, is fueling a global food crisis.		
C5	Some warn that the conflict, along with extreme weather due to climate change and pandemic-induced economic shock, is fueling a global food crisis.		Climate Change
C5	Shortages of both food and energy have played into a huge change in the lives of many since the Ukraine war started: Prices went up.		Economic Crisis
C5	Shortages of both food and energy have played into a huge change in the lives of many since the Ukraine war started: Prices went up.		Energy Crisis
C5	Russia's invasion of Ukraine has left its mark on geopolitics as well. Some experts expect a renewed split into East and West geopolitical and economic blocs, with Russia and China on one side and the EU	Russian invasion had an impact on the geopolitical situation.	Political Dynamic

	and US leading the other.		
C5	Key to NATO is Article 5, which spells out a principle of collective defense: If any member is attacked, this shall be considered an attack on all, with military retaliation to be meted out by each member.		International Involvement

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C6	An estimated 6 million refugees have poured out of Ukraine as they flee Russia's invasion.		Russian Invasion
C6	An estimated 6 million refugees have poured out of Ukraine as they flee Russia's invasion.		Refugee Crisis
C6	Now the Czech government hopes they might help ease chronic labor shortages there even if, at the moment, their impact is limited.		Economic Crisis

C6	The Czech Republic spent the years before the COVID-19 pandemic recruiting in spots such as Ukraine to help supplement a workforce struggling to keep pace with demand. Almost as soon as the pandemic receded, that hunt for extra workers resumed.		Pandemic
C6	Banking group Moneta is running a campaign targeting Ukrainian recruits for its IT and digital unit. The bank did not respond to questions on the topic when approached by DW so it's unclear how recruitment is going.		Integration
C6	"We now need to start integration," Munich argued. "The refugees will need housing and schooling. I'm not sure the government is ready. It's going to become very difficult."		Humanitarian Aid

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C7	At a UN General Assembly meeting, China and Russia explained their vetoes of a proposal that would have imposed new sanctions on North Korea.		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts
C7	The new meetings were approved at a consensus vote on April 26, the upshot of international frustration at veto-holder Russia shooting down a series of resolutions about its invasion of Ukraine.		Russian Invasion
C7	Five countries — the US, Britain, France, China and Russia — are permanent Security Council members and so can always veto proposals, while the other 10 rotating members enjoy the same power, but only when they are taking their turns on the Council.		Political Dynamic
C7	On Wednesday, the US raised questioned		Political Dynamic

	whether China and Russia had put their partnership above global security by vetoing more UN sanctions on North Korea.		
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Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C8	The UN Refugee Agency said this was the highest number of displaced people recorded since World War II.		Refugee Crisis
C8	Along with the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the crisis in Afghanistan was also one of the major events that contributed to the "dramatic milestone" of 100 million.		Russian Invasion
C8	The Ukraine war has created a food security crisis, which is set to force more people to flee their homes in poorer countries, said the UNHCR.		Food Crisis
C8	"If you have a food crisis on top of		Human Rights

	<p>everything I have described – war, human rights, climate – it will just accelerate the trends I've described in this report," Filippo Grandi told journalists earlier this week, describing the figures as "staggering."</p>		
C8	<p>"If you have a food crisis on top of everything I have described – war, human rights, climate – it will just accelerate the trends I've described in this report," Filippo Grandi told journalists earlier this week, describing the figures as "staggering."</p>		Climate Change
C8	<p>Grandi said the European Union's response to refugee crises has been "unequal." This is against the backdrop of the generosity with which Ukrainian refugees had been received, something Grandi would like to be</p>	<p>European Union's response to the refugee crisis has been unequal by showing more generosity towards Ukraine refugees.</p>	Integration

	afforded to all who seek refuge.		
C8	Grandi said the European Union's response to refugee crises has been "unequal." This is against the backdrop of the generosity with which Ukrainian refugees had been received, something Grandi would like to be afforded to all who seek refuge.	European Union's response to the refugee crisis has been unequal by showing more generosity towards Ukraine refugees.	Inequality
C8	He said the region has already faced years of droughts and floods, income inequality, poor healthcare and bad governance.		Economic Crisis

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C9	The EU's foreign policy chief Josep Borrell called Russia's blockade of key grain exports from Ukraine a "real war crime" on arrival at a EU foreign ministers meeting in Luxembourg on Monday.	Russia's blockade of grain exports from Ukraine are considered a war crime.	War Crime

C9	He accused Russia of weaponizing "the hunger of the people" and said Moscow would have to be held "accountable" for its actions.		Food Crisis
C9	German Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock said that Berlin will support Poland and Romania in adapting their rail networks to help bring the millions of tonnes of grain out of Ukraine.		International Involvement
C9	Baerbock added that Germany will host a conference on Friday on the question of securing food exports from Ukraine to "improve the humanitarian situation worldwide and to set global food security on a more stable footing."	Germany will host a conference in order to secure food exports.	Humanitarian Aid

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C10	Leaders of the European Union on Thursday decided to make Ukraine and Moldova official		Integration

	candidates for membership of the bloc.		
C10	The EU has been largely united in backing Ukraine since Russia invaded on February 24, adopting unprecedented economic sanctions against Moscow.		Russian Invasion
C10	The EU has been largely united in backing Ukraine since Russia invaded on February 24, adopting unprecedented economic sanctions against Moscow.		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C11	Amid record-high inflation and a Russian gas squeeze, the European Union is looking to diversify its energy sources to reduce demand.		Economic Crisis
C11	Amid record-high inflation and a Russian gas squeeze, the European Union		Energy Crisis

	is looking to diversify its energy sources to reduce demand.		
C11	The plan, to be laid out by the European Commission in the coming months, is necessary "in the face of the weaponization of gas by Russia," the conclusion of the two-day summit in Brussels read.	Russia weaponized Gas.	Political Dynamic
C11	The first day of the summit in Brussels ended with the leaders agreeing to grant Ukraine and Moldova official status as candidates for EU membership	Ukraine and Moldova receive status as candidates for EU membership.	Integration
C11	A spike in inflation and lagging economic growth across the world has been blamed on Russia's invasion of Ukraine.		Russian Invasion

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C12	The process has moved at record speed. Both		Russian Invasion

	countries only placed their bids for EU membership shortly after Russia's invasion of Ukraine in late February.		
C12	After the European Commission recommended that Ukraine be given candidate status on June 17, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy took to Twitter to welcome the "1st step on the EU membership path that'll certainly bring our victory closer."	Ukraine received candidate status on the EU membership.	Integration
C12	But that is a process usually requiring intense and often painful economic and political reform, and can take years— at times even more than a decade. Candidate status itself is no guarantee of entry.		Political Dynamic

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C13	The Council of the European Union, which represent the bloc's 27 individual		Humanitarian Aid

	member states, has agreed to send €1 billion (\$1 billion) in financial aid to Ukraine as Russia's invasion intensifies		
C13	The Council of the European Union, which represent the bloc's 27 individual member states, has agreed to send €1 billion (\$1 billion) in financial aid to Ukraine as Russia's invasion intensifies		Russian Invasion
C13	On the same day it announced the aid package, the European Commission, the bloc's executive arm, also said it had frozen the assets of sanctioned Russian individuals and entities to the tune of €13.8 billion.		International Involvement

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C14	Food prices soared beyond the reach of many, even before Russia's war in Ukraine choked		Russian Invasion

	grain supplies, a new report says.		
C14	Food prices soared beyond the reach of many, even before Russia's war in Ukraine choked grain supplies, a new report says.		Food Crisis
C14	The effects of climate change, COVID-19 and armed conflicts drove up the cost of basic goods.		Climate Change
C14	The effects of climate change, COVID-19 and armed conflicts drove up the cost of basic goods.		Pandemic

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C15	Anton (name has been changed) was a businessman in Ukraine. On February 24, he drove to the border with his wife and their two children to escape the Russian invasion. The trip, which usually takes only a few hours,	After Russia invaded the Ukraine, men between 18 and 60 were banned from leaving the country.	Russian Invasion

	<p>took them almost the entire day.</p> <p>But while they were still en route, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy banned men between the ages of 18 and 60 from leaving the country.</p>		
C15	<p>Anton (name has been changed) was a businessman in Ukraine. On February 24, he drove to the border with his wife and their two children to escape the Russian invasion. The trip, which usually takes only a few hours, took them almost the entire day.</p> <p>But while they were still en route, President Volodymyr Zelenskyy banned men between the ages of 18 and 60 from leaving the country.</p>	<p>After Russia invaded the Ukraine, men between 18 and 60 were banned from leaving the country.</p>	<p>Personal Story</p>
C15	<p>Social networks offer various tips. The Instagram account "Departure for</p>	<p>Instagram account shares information on how to enroll in a</p>	<p>Social Media</p>

	<p>Everyone" has more than 14,000 followers. Private chats share information on how to retroactively enroll in a Polish or other European university — showing a date before the start of the war — within ten days for €980.</p>	<p>Polish or other European university.</p>	
C15	<p>Poland and Germany have taken in the most refugees. Poland counted 3.6 million, including 432,000 men aged 18 to 60, between February 24 and June 7. In Germany, 867,214 refugees were registered from the end of February to June 19.</p>	<p>Poland and Germany have taken in most refugees since the Russian Invasion on February 24, 2023.</p>	<p>Refugee Crisis</p>
C15	<p>Dmytro Busanov, a lawyer from Kyiv, said that according to the constitution, restricting the right to leave Ukraine can only be regulated by law, which has not been done so far. He considers the current ban illegal.</p>	<p>Lawyer considers the ban as illegal.</p>	<p>Human Rights Violation</p>

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C16	It's highly questionable whether this will be enough to get a grip on inflation of 8.6% in the eurozone, especially since the main reasons for the price increases are beyond the control of the EU. Energy prices have risen because of strong demand following the pandemic, and also because of the Russian war against Ukraine.	Inflation in the eurozone, especially since energy prices rose, the pandemic and Russians invasion of Ukraine.	Economic crisis
C16	It's highly questionable whether this will be enough to get a grip on inflation of 8.6% in the eurozone, especially since the main reasons for the price increases are beyond the control of the EU. Energy prices have risen because of strong demand following the pandemic, and also because of the Russian war against Ukraine.	Inflation in the eurozone, especially since energy prices rose, the pandemic and Russians invasion of Ukraine.	Pandemic
C16	It's highly questionable whether this will be enough to get a grip on inflation of 8.6% in the	Inflation in the eurozone, especially since energy prices rose, the pandemic	Russian Invasion

	eurozone, especially since the main reasons for the price increases are beyond the control of the EU. Energy prices have risen because of strong demand following the pandemic, and also because of the Russian war against Ukraine.	and Russians invasion of Ukraine.	
C16	The end of the zero interest rate policy heralds the return of a specter that 10 years ago brought the eurozone to the brink of collapse: The vastly differing credit conditions of the member states.	Unequal credit conditions of member states.	Political Dynamic
C16	The end of the zero interest rate policy heralds the return of a specter that 10 years ago brought the eurozone to the brink of collapse: The vastly differing credit conditions of the member states.	Unequal credit conditions of member states.	Inequality

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C17	Germany hosts more than 900,000 Ukrainian refugees,		Refugee Crisis

	most of them women and children.		
C17	<p>"At first we hesitated to leave but then we realized it was too dangerous to stay," says Anastasia, who fled Ukraine along with her mother and her two younger brothers in March.</p> <p>She and her family were living in Sumy in eastern Ukraine, a city which saw heavy urban fighting in the six weeks after Russia launched war on Ukraine on February 24.</p>		Personal Story
C17	With Russian forces shelling evacuation convoys, they knew leaving would be a dangerous undertaking.		War Crime
C17	More than 900,000 Ukrainians were officially registered in Germany as of July 16.		Integration
C17	"Refugee forums on social networking platforms have been our salvation. We	Refugee forums on social media provide useful information for refugees.	Social Media

	found useful information there that helped us solve lots of problems we otherwise couldn't have solved," she says.		
C17	When Russia launched its war on Ukraine, the couple immediately fled the port city of Odesa in southwestern Ukraine where they were living.		Russian Invasion

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C18	Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov on Monday said that strikes on the Ukrainian main port city of Odesa "should not affect" grain exports.		Military Development
C18	"Our position is very simple. We signed an agreement with the UN and Turkey. If the sides guarantee security, the agreement will work. If they do not, it will not work," said Ukraine's Infrastructure Minister Oleksandr	Agreement between the UN and Turkey.	Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

	Kubrakov, who was part of the talks in Istanbul.		
C18	Lavrov made his remarks during his trip to Africa as Russia seeks to strengthen its ties to the region amid increasing isolation, largely placed on Moscow by the West due to the invasion of Ukraine.		Russian Invasion
C18	African leaders have hardly taken sides in regards to the war in Ukraine, although the blockade of Ukrainian grain exports has affected food security in the continent.	Blockade of grain exports affected food security in Africa.	Food Crisis

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C19	Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian refugees have arrived in Germany since the Russian invasion in February.		Russian Invasion
C19	Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian refugees		Refugee Crisis

	have arrived in Germany since the Russian invasion in February.		
C19	Under a European Union directive, refugees from Ukraine were granted protection status in the EU for up to three years — as well as access to health insurance and the labor market.		Integration
C19	Andrii Chekanov, a 34-year-old IT company product manager came to Germany before the war and experienced a relatively painless migration process. But his family has had a much more difficult time since they joined him in March.		Personal Story

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C20	The Turkish president is hoping to push diplomatic talks on the war in Ukraine during discussions with the Russian leader. Complicating these efforts is Recep Tayyip Erdogan's		Diplomacy and Peace Efforts

	planned military operation in Syria.		
C20	The Turkish president is hoping to push diplomatic talks on the war in Ukraine during discussions with the Russian leader. Complicating these efforts is Recep Tayyip Erdogan's planned military operation in Syria.		International Involvement
C20	The Turkish president is hoping to push diplomatic talks on the war in Ukraine during discussions with the Russian leader. Complicating these efforts is Recep Tayyip Erdogan's planned military operation in Syria.		Military Development
C20	"Despite the current regional and global challenges, the leaders reaffirmed their common will to further develop Russian-Turkish relations," the Kremlin said in a statement after the talks.	Leaders aim to develop Russian-Turkish relations.	Political Dynamic

C20	Following Friday's meeting, Erdogan and Putin agreed to "act jointly and in close coordination with each other in the fight against all terrorist organizations."		Terrorism
C20	Turkey, a member of NATO, has criticized Russia's invasion and provided Ukraine with arms, but it has broken with Western allies by not imposing sanctions on Russia.		Russian Invasion
C20	Turkey, a member of NATO, has criticized Russia's invasion and provided Ukraine with arms, but it has broken with Western allies by not imposing sanctions on Russia.		No International Involvement
C20	Amid a major economic crisis, with official inflation hitting nearly 80%, Turkey increasingly relies on Russia for trade and tourism.		Economic Crisis
C20	Amid a major economic crisis, with		Food Crisis

	official inflation hitting nearly 80%, Turkey increasingly relies on Russia for trade and tourism.		
C20	Erdogan and Putin also discussed natural gas imports to Turkey from Russia.		Energy Crisis

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C21	Ukrainian refugees in Germany can easily apply for a two-year residency permit, but the fast-track immigration process for Ukrainian nationals is not available for everyone who fled the war.		Integration
C21	When Marvin arrived in Dnipro, Ukraine, to begin his degree in civil engineering back in 2018, he felt like he was finally on track to achieving his dream. "I was so, so happy," he told DW. His mother wept tears of joy. "Because this was something that		Personal Story

	<p>seemed impossible." Having grown up in Sierra Leone with little money, Marvin had saved for years and battled through an expensive and lengthy visa process to get there.</p>		
C21	<p>This month, he was supposed to graduate. But after the war broke out in late February, and the bombing started in Dnipro, Marvin decided to flee.</p>		Russian Invasion
C21	<p>This month, he was supposed to graduate. But after the war broke out in late February, and the bombing started in Dnipro, Marvin decided to flee.</p>		War Crime
C21	<p>"The German government seems to purposely forget the fact that the war did not differentiate between who gets affected and who doesn't," said Xavier, a 25-year-old Nigerian who was in his first semester of a</p>		Inequality

	law degree in Kharkiv.		
C21	Twenty-year-old medical student Ikem said returning to Nigeria was not an option, and that the country was not safe. "Lots of ritual killings and lots of kidnappings and lots of crime, it's really hard. If you take me right now and put me back in Nigeria, I don't know where I would be. There's no future at all."	High rate of violence, killing and crime in Nigeria.	Human Rights Violation

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C22	On March 3, Lesyia was one of the first 43 Ukrainian women to arrive in Cologne on a bus chartered by the aid organization Blue and Yellow Cross (Blau-Gelbes-Kreuz).		Humanitarian Aid
C22	But the current debate in Germany over higher gas prices, which is increasingly crowding out the suffering in Ukraine in the headlines, is		Energy Crisis

	beginning to cause sleepless nights again.		
C22	But if hard figures are a measure of Germany's solidarity with Ukraine, the numbers are impressive: more than 915,000 Ukrainians are now registered in Germany.		Refugee Crisis
C22	Private and non-governmental initiatives such as "Unterkunft Ukraine" also report impressive numbers: the grassroots organization has so far been able to arrange just under 44,000 beds for Ukrainian refugees.		Humanitarian Aid
C22	It also has another demand that was frequently heard during the COVID-19 pandemic: "We need flexible, digital solutions that simplify the whole thing instead of stacks of paperwork."		Pandemic

C22	A 10-kilogram Rescue Pack contains bandages for first aid, hemostatic medicines to help prevent bleeding, and tourniquets: enough for a doctor in the field to save the lives of five victims of shelling.		Humanitarian Aid
C22	Lesyia, who was planning to launch an IT start-up in her hometown between Lviv and Kyiv shortly before the war began, does not have the feeling that solidarity with Ukrainian refugees has waned — on the contrary.		Integration

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C23	German Chancellor Olaf Scholz has told reporters Russia's invasion of Ukraine is the biggest current crisis.		Russian Invasion
C23	Scholz said that Germany had broken with the tradition of not supplying weapons to conflict		International Involvement

	zones by delivering arms to Ukraine to help it fight the Russian invading forces.		
C23	Turning to domestic concerns, the chancellor said his government wanted to provide relief to all sectors of society in view of rising energy prices.		Energy Crisis
C23	He called the planned package of tax-reduction measures by Finance Minister Christian Lindner "very helpful" in this regard, and said pensioners and students would also receive help.		Economic Crisis

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C24	Hodges, a former general in the US army and commander-in-chief of US forces in Europe, told DW that there are signs that Russia's army is weakening following explosions at Russia's airfield on	There are signs of Russia's weakening military due to explosions at a Crimean airfield and Ukrainian artillery strikes on Russian-occupied areas.	Military Development

	<p>the Crimean Peninsula and Ukrainian artillery hits on dozens of ammunition depots and commando units in Russian-occupied areas.</p>		
C24	<p>"I am disappointed that Germany has not provided more," Hodges said. "To be a leader, respected by everybody for its moral authority, as well as its economic power, Germany has to be seen as helping Ukraine defeat Russia," he added.</p>		No International Involvement
C24	<p>If Ukraine's allies follow through with their support, Hodges said, the Russian forces can be pushed back by the end of 2022 to where they were before the invasion on February 24.</p>		Political Dynamic
C24	<p>"The Kremlin is counting on the US losing interest because of inflation</p>		Economic Crisis

	and its own domestic challenges and midterm elections," Hodges said.		
C24	But, Hodges said, Russia's only option for escalation is to use a nuclear weapon, and he considers that extremely unlikely. He said there were no Ukrainian targets for Russian nuclear missiles that "would change the battlefield favorably for them."		War Crime

Category 3: Topics Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C25	A fighter with the National Guard, a Kyiv-bas and a refugee from Mariupol tell DW what they've gone through, since Russia invaded Ukraine.		Russian Invasion
C25	"Before the war, I worked as a translator in a successful IT company. I already held the rank of junior lieutenant, since in college I had	"I was working as a translator before the war but joined local defense efforts when the conflict suddenly reached my city on February 24, due to concerns about	Personal Story

	<p>specialized to be a military translator. Just like many Kyiv residents, for the last eight years, the war in Donbas [ongoing conflict since 2014 between pro-Russian separatists and Ukrainian forces in Donetsk and Luhansk regions] seemed far away; I was not overly concerned with what was happening that far east.</p> <p>And then, the morning of February 24, I heard the air raid sirens and the rumble of Russian rockets exploding. ... On social media, I saw posts about the threat of Russian forces entering my city and other posts about forming impromptu resistance units. This is when I went out to the street and joined the guys who were digging trenches and building a checkpoint. Territorial defense forces gave us guns while we were on duty, and we would</p>	<p>Russian forces entering the area. I participated in building defenses and received guns while on duty.“</p>	
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	go home to sleep during breaks.		
C25	We went through a weeklong training at a military training center and immediately got the order to deploy east.		Military Development
C25	Right now, I feel exhausted, emotionally burned-out. I was only able to go back to painting in recent weeks, but there is nobody to sell pictures to in Ukraine right now; some of the wealthy people have left, and the others are helping the fight, so there is no money to be made anymore. I live entirely off the help of my child and my friends. Everything I raise goes to buy what is necessary for the army. It is saving many lives over there."	Wealthy people were able to leave Ukraine and others are involved in the fight.	Inequality
C25	We will never go back to Russian occupation. The worst thing is that the occupiers took away people's freedom.		Human Rights Violation

Table 6: Topic Selection and Frequency in the 2022 Ukrainian Conflict

This table lists all subcategories of category 3 and helps to answer question 2a.

Subcategory (C3)	Frequency
C3.1 Russian Invasion	22
C3.2 Integration	09
C3.3 Humanitarian Aid	08
C3.4 Refugee Crisis	08
C3.5 Food Crisis	08
C3.6 Economic Crisis	08
C3.7 Personal Story	07
C3.8 Political Dynamic	07
C3.9 Pandemic	06
C3.10 International Involvement	06
C3.11 Military Development	05
C3.12 Energy Crisis	05
C3.13 Diplomacy and Peace Efforts	05
C3.14 War Crime	04
C3.15 Inequality	04
C3.16 Climate Change	04
C3.17 Human Rights Violation	03
C3.18 Financial Crisis	02
C3.19 Terrorism	02
C3.20 No International Intervention	02
C3.21 Human Rights	01

Table 7: Paraphrasing and Subcategories: Refugee Frames in the 2011 Syrian Conflict

Category 4: Frames Syria Conflict 2011			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
A11	In Bdama, a town which has been providing food and supplies to several thousand Syrians who have fled the violence in frontier villages, witnesses said troops backed by tanks were burning crops and that residents were afraid to bring food to refugees.	Syrians fled from violence to Bdama in Syria.	Victims of the War
A17	Tens of thousands have already fled Syria into Turkey.		Victims of the War
A18	There are more than 40 million refugees around the world today - men, women and children fleeing civil wars, violence and unrest, according to a new UN report. Most are refugees in their own countries.		Victims of the War
A18	"The truth is that if there is a burden, and I don't like to use that word, but if there is an exercise of responsibility in refugee protection, it	Refugees are seen as a responsibility / burden for developing countries.	Challenge

	is essentially assumed by the countries in the developing world," Guterres said.		
A23	"It all changed when NATO bombed Ghezaia and Kut - Gadhafi's positions down the valley," Kemal Azad, a fighter at Nalut's checkpoint, told Deutsche Welle. "We've had electricity back for a week, oil supply has been resumed and a lot of refugees have returned for Ramadan," he added.	NATO's intervention helped refugees in need to return to their homes.	Victims of the War

Table 8: Frames and Frequency in the 2011 Syrian Conflict

This table list all subcategories and therefore frames used by the media. These subcategories are relevant to answer question 1b.

Subcategory (C4)	Frequency
C4.1 Victims of the War	04
C4.2 Challenge	01

Table 9: Paraphrasing and Subcategories: Refugee Frames in the 2015 Syrian Conflict

Category 5: Frames Syria Conflict 2015			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
B1	Germany is set to receive a record number of asylum seekers this year - at least 650,000. As communities struggle to accommodate them, some have begun to question the country's asylum policies.	Communities struggle to accommodate high numbers of refugees.	Challenge
B1	It's possible that Faida and her family may soon join the many refugees fleeing the war and upheaval in the Middle East and move on from the neighboring countries which are increasingly struggling to provide the tens of thousands of refugees with adequate care.	Refugees have to flee the war.	Victims of the War
B2	Germany, which is preparing to receive a record 800,000 asylum applications this year, has eased the asylum application	Syrian refugees are fleeing the brutal civil war.	Victims of the War

	<p>procedure for Syrians fleeing the country's brutal civil war - a decision especially praised by the US president.</p>		
B2	<p>The surge in migrants seeking refuge from conflict or poverty in the Middle East, Africa and Asia has confronted Europe with its highest refugee numbers since World War II.</p>		Challenge
B4	<p>The UN food agency says funding shortages have forced it to deny food vouchers to 229,000 Syrian refugees in Jordan. Experts say chronic harsh conditions, also in Lebanon and Turkey, are behind the exodus to Europe.</p>	<p>UN food agency had to deny food to 229 thousand of syrian refugees.</p>	Victims of Crisis Management
B4	<p>"This is a crisis that has been brewing in the region for five years," said WFP spokesman Abeer Etefa in Amman, Jordan's capital, referring to the</p>		Challenge

	refugee drama across southern Europe.		
B4	Refugee camps housed only 10 percent of the Syrians. The rest were scattered, living mostly in shelters that lacked sanitation. A further 10 percent were homeless.		Victims of Crisis Management
B5	Europe is struggling to address its most challenging refugee crisis since World War II, with thousands of asylum seekers and migrants entering the EU daily.	Europe struggles to handle high numbers of asylum seekers.	Challenge
B6	Meanwhile, Budapest has called up 500 reservists to help deal with "crisis caused by the illegal migrants", according to a Defense Ministry statement. The voluntary force is expected to fill in for active-duty soldiers, thousands of whom have been deployed to the border in recent days.		Threat to National Security

B6	<p>A five-year-old girl, who was retrieved unconscious by Greek coast guards from the sea off the island of Lesbos, died in hospital on Saturday.</p> <p>A coast guard spokesman said its rescue vessel had picked up 10 other migrants from the same boat, while one managed to swim ashore. Fourteen others are still missing.</p>	<p>Five year old girl was retrieved unconscious from the sea off the island of Lesbos. Ten other migrants were retrieved while fourteen are still missing.</p>	Victims of Crisis Management
B6	<p>The government in Zagreb complained it was being swamped, having seen close to 21,000 new arrivals since Wednesday.</p>		Challenge
B6	<p>The two neighbors have come to blows over the fate of thousands of refugees at their borders.</p>		Challenge
B7	<p>The 30-year-old is one of thousands of refugees to flee war-torn Syria and make the perilous journey to Europe. Along with her sister Mary,</p>	<p>Syrian woman and her sister Mary drown on the crossing between Turkey and Greece.</p>	Victims of Crisis Management

	Nawf drowned Sunday on the crossing between Turkey and Greece in the Mediterranean Sea.		
B8	13-year-old Sami, who asked not to reveal his real name due to fear about the safety of his family members back in Syria, is traveling with his older brother.		Victims of the War
B8	While EU-wide meetings are held to find a solution, an unprecedented number of refugees continues to pour into Europe.		Challenge
B9	Since May, German naval ships have picked up some 7,200 refugees from flimsy and sinking boats in the Mediterranean, including migrants from Nigeria and Sierra Leone.	Since May 7200 refugees were rescued from sinking boats.	Victims of Crisis Management
B9	Almost 3,000, including children, have lost their lives in the perilous		Victims of Crisis Management

	crossings alone this year.		
B10	Comey said the US government had improved its methods in screening refugees from foreign countries to ensure they would not pose terrorism threats or other risks to the United States, but he added that there always were risks associated with welcoming migrants from a country experiencing strife.	Screening of refugees to prevent terrorist attacks.	Threat to National Security
B12	"Women who were in the hands of IS, were able to free themselves and are now in need of protection. Which means those who exhibit traumatic disorder or other sicknesses stemming from their captivity." However, he finds the job of selecting those to be helped very difficult.	Women were abused and held captive by the IS.	Victims of the War
B12	"There are roughly 120,000 people in need of psychosocial and medical help there.		Challenge

B13	<p>More than 250,000 people have died in Syria's four-year civil war, while millions have been displaced by the violence. The conflict began as an uprising against the rule of President Bashar al-Assad in 2011 but has since escalated into a multisided war.</p>		Victims of the War
B16	<p>The eight men arrested late on Tuesday had arrived in Istanbul on a flight from Casablanca, Morocco, Turkey's state-run Anadolu news agency said.</p> <p>They were detained on suspicion of having links to the "Islamic State" (IS) militant group.</p> <p>They told criminal profiling teams at the airport they would be staying at a hotel in Istanbul for a vacation, but officials found no evidence of their booking.</p> <p>Citing police sources, Anadolu said the authorities</p>	<p>Eight men from Morocco were arrested in Turkey and are believed to belong to the IS. Germany is believed to be their destination.</p> <p>Authorities believe that the suspects are pretending to be refugees.</p> <p>Concerns about jihadist involvement have grown when a Syrian passport was found at the Paris attack scene.</p>	Threat to National Security

	<p>found a drawing on one of those detained, outlining a plan to get to Germany by bus, boat and train.</p> <p>The hand-drawn picture showed the route from Turkey to Germany, via Greece, Serbia and Hungary.</p> <p>Authorities believe that the suspects may have been planning to head to Europe, posing as refugees.</p> <p>Fears that jihadists had been planning such a move have increased after the discovery of a</p> <p>Syrian passport, registered in the Greek island of Leros, at the scene of one of last Friday's attacks on Paris.</p>		
B17	<p>Kiesewetter said parliament would later focus on longer-term aspects of Syria's civil war, which since 2011 has claimed 250,000 lives and displaced millions.</p>		Victims of the War

B18	<p>Afterwards, she expressed confidence that Turkey would continue to bring about a sharp reduction in the number of illegal migrants entering the EU.</p>		Threat to National Security
B18	<p>In his interview with DW, he said: "We are here to protect and defend the rights of the asylum seekers and the ones in need of our protection. Let's hope this has not happened. If it has, it is against what we believe in and what we stand for in Europe."</p>	<p>Their responsibility lies in defending the rights of asylum seekers and the ones in need of protection.</p>	Victims of Crisis Management
B19	<p>Police across Europe are on the lookout for Syrian and Iraqi passports seized Islamic State militants, German media have reported. Two Paris attack assailants may have used them to enter the EU.</p>		Threat to National Security
B19	<p>"Welt am Sonntag" quoted Fabrice Leggeri, who heads the EU's external border agency</p>		Threat to National Security

	Frontex, as saying that "uncontrolled" migrant inflow into Europe "naturally represented a security risk."		
B20	"Some Russian air strikes appear to have directly attacked civilians or civilian objects by striking residential areas with no evident military target, and even medical facilities, resulting in deaths and injuries to civilians. Such attacks may amount to war crimes," said Philip Luther, Director of the Middle East and North Africa Program at Amnesty International.	Russia is accused of attacking civilians or civilians objects and therefore committed war crimes.	Victims of the War
B21	On Wednesday the CSU put forward a controversial proposal to turn back refugees without documents or passports. So far the CDU has shot down the idea, despite rising concern in Europe over jihadists infiltrating among	Even though concerns in Europa over terrorist attacks are rising, a proposal to deny entry to refugees without documents was rejected.	Threat to national Security

	refugees to carry out terrorist attacks.		
B21	The cost of hosting refugees in Germany, many of which may stay permanently, is estimated at some 17 billion euros (\$18.5 billion) next year.		Threat to Economy
B21	The refugee influx has tested housing, education and social services as authorities scramble to register and integrate refugees.		Challenge
B22	At least 366 people lost their lives while to reach Europe, the report added.		Victims of Crisis Management
B23	More than 250,000 people are believed to have died in the Syrian conflict and an estimated 11 million have been driven from their homes, more than half the pre-war population.		Victims of the War
B24	On that same day, Macedonia's Interior Ministry registered more than 2,800 refugees headed to		Challenge

	Germany and Austria. One-third of them were children.		
B24	"The idea is to send a message to migrants that there is a double fence, so give up crossing illegally," a senior army official told the AFP news agency.		Threat to National Security
B25	Violence in Aleppo has forced tens of thousands of civilians to flee the region and seek refuge in Turkey. According to the United Nations, over 30,000 people were amassed at Syria's Turkish border over the weekend.		Victims of the War

Table 10: Frames and Frequency in the 2015 Syrian Conflict

This table list all subcategories and therefore frames used by the media. These subcategories are relevant to answer question 1b and 2b.

Subcategory C5)	Frequency
C5.1 Victims of the War	9
C5.2 Challenge	9
C5.3 Threat to National Security	7
C5.4 Victims of Crisis Management	6
C5.5 Threat to Economy	1

Table 11: Paraphrasing and Subcategories: Refugee Frames in the 2022 Ukrainian Conflict

Category 6: Frames Ukraine Conflict 2022			
	Original Text	Paraphrase	Subcategory
C1	More than 4,000 children from Ukrainian orphanages and care homes have been evacuated to Poland to escape the war. Separated from their parents or abandoned, they're coming to terms with trauma.		Victims of the War
C6	An estimated 6 million refugees have poured out of Ukraine as they flee Russia's invasion.		Victims of the War

C10	<p>"Today the EU is sending a message of solidarity to the people of Ukraine that you belong to the European family, that you belong to the EU... and you will get candidate status," Irish Prime Minister Micheal Martin said as he arrived at the summit.</p>		In-Group
C15	<p>That meant Anton's wife and children were allowed to leave for the EU, while he stayed behind — and immediately began to look for ways to reunite with them. "Duty to the family had priority," Anton said. He drove to a village on the border with Romania, aiming to cross the Tisza River. "We were several men. But locals betrayed us and we were caught.</p>	<p>Families are separated because men are not allowed to leave the Ukraine.</p>	Victims of the War
C17	<p>"Honestly, we're scared to go back and sit on a powder keg in Sumy, Russian rockets could strike it at any time. But we'd really like to go</p>		Victims of the War

	home as soon as possible."		
C19	<p>Still, compared to previous waves of migration to Germany, Ukrainians benefit from a more streamlined administrative process in Germany, which allows them to find work, move around freely, find housing and apply for benefits.</p> <p>It's a marked difference from the experience of refugees who came in 2015 from the Middle East.</p>		In-Group
C19	<p>Andrii's sister is struggling to find work in Germany and is "very frustrated." Although she speaks fluent English, she has not been able to find a job in her field of search engine optimization due to a lack of open positions for English speakers.</p>		Victims of Crisis Management

C22	<p>"Certain districts, such as Mettmann or the district of Potsdam, have now also issued a freeze on admissions. This means that even if private accommodation could be arranged, the refugees cannot take it and have to return to their overcrowded communal shelters in order to be entitled to state support," a spokeswoman for Unterkunft Ukraine said.</p>		Victims of Crisis Management
C25	<p>It has been six months since Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Many Ukrainians have taken up arms against the aggressor. Millions of refugees, mostly women and children, were forced to flee the country.</p>		Victims of the War
C25	<p>"It's hard to build a life in Germany; everything is taking a very long time. We still live in a hotel, because we can't find an apartment, despite sending out dozens</p>		Victims of Crisis Management

	of applications every day.“		
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Table 12: Frames and Frequency in the 2022 Ukraine Conflict

This table list all subcategories and therefore frames used by the media. These subcategories are relevant to answer question 2b.

Subcategory (C6)	Frequency
C6.1 Victims of the War	5
C6.2 Victims of Crisis Management	3
C6.3 In-Group	2

Table 13: News Articles Deutsche Welle

Abbreviation	Date	Title
A1	March 25, 2011	New dangers
A2	April 6, 2011	Fickle foreign policy
A3	April 7, 2011	US and Syria
A4	April 26, 2011	Little recourse
A5	April 27, 2011	Toppling Assad
A6	April 29, 2011	Double standards?
A7	May 13, 2011	Historic change
A8	May 15, 2011	Active role
A9	June 14, 2011	Arab democracy
A10	June 16, 2011	Short on strategy
A11	June 18, 2011	Political uprising
A12	June, 20, 2011	Freedom of opinion
A13	June 20, 2011	Freedom of the press
A14	June 20, 2011	Defiant president speaks
A15	July 6, 2011	Collateral damage
A16	July 12, 2011	Fears of escalation

A17	July 13, 2011	Syrian Unrest
A18	July 28, 2011	UN refugee convention
A19	August 5, 2011	Subtle shift
A20	August 9, 2011	Pressuring Assad
A21	August 15, 2011	Verbal pressure
A22	August 19, 2011	Pressure on Assad
A23	August 26, 2011	Looking ahead
A24	September 5, 2011	International leaders
A25	September 8, 2011	Libyan paradox
B1	August 18, 2015	Scramble to accommodate refugees
B2	August 27, 2015	Obama praises Merkel for taking in Syrians
B3	August 28, 2015	Asylum seeker, migrant, refugee
B4	September 5, 2015	Refugee warnings unheeded, says UN
B5	September 18, 2015	In EU asylum applicants jump to 213,000
B6	September 19, 2015	Hungary's migrant row with Croatia worsens
B7	September 22, 2015	Mia San Nawf
B8	September 24, 2015	Refugees in Croatia
B9	October 1, 2015	Germany to join EU anti-smuggler mission
B10	October 8, 2015	Threat of Islamic State surpasses al-Qaeda
B11	October 14, 2015	FM Steinmeier to head to Middle East
B12	October 15, 2015	Kidnapped by 'IS'
B13	November 1, 2015	'Islamic State' expands territory in central Syria

B14	November 14, 2015	String of deadly attacks leaves Paris reeling
B15	November 17, 2015	Germany army support for France
B16	November 18, 2015	Turkey arrests IS suspects
B17	December 4, 2015	Germany anti-IS mission approved
B18	December 17, 2015	EU border force won't threaten national sovereignty
B19	December 20, 2015	IS captured thousands of passports
B20	December 23, 2015	Russian strikes 'kill hundreds of Syrian civilians'
B21	December 30, 2015	1.1 million migrants arrived in Germany
B22	January 7, 2016	Refugee numbers soar as Syria intensifies
B23	January 8, 2016	Turkey wants visas from Syrians fleeing via third countries
B24	February 8, 2016	Macedonia fortifies Greek border barrier
B25	February 10, 2016	More than 500 killed in Aleppo
C1	May 1, 2022	Ukrainian orphans find shelter in Poland
C2	May 13, 2022	G7 talks in Germany are 'sign of unity' for Ukraine
C3	May 16, 2022	African food prices soaring amid Ukraine war
C4	May 17, 2022	UNICEF warns of more child deaths as food costs soar

C5	June 3, 2022	5 ways the war changed the world
C6	June 3, 2022	Czech Republic eyes refugee labor boost from Ukraine
C7	June 9, 2022	In landmark UN meeting, China and Russia defend veto
C8	June 16, 2022	UN report: 100 million people forced to flee their homes
C9	June 20, 2022	EU condemns Russian grain blockade
C10	June 23, 2022	EU grants Ukraine, Moldova candidate status
C11	June 24, 2022	EU seeks urgent solution amid Russian 'weaponization' of gas
C12	June 25, 2022	Long road for Ukraine, Moldova to join EU
C13	July 12, 2022	EU greenlights €1 billion in aid for Ukraine
C14	July 12, 2022	Report: Ukraine war worsens food insecurity
C15	July 19, 2022	How men try to get around the ban to leave Ukraine
C16	July 22, 2022	How is Europe navigating multiple crises?
C17	July 23, 2022	Ukrainian refugees: Safe in Germany, unsure about returning
C18	July 25, 2022	Russia to continue Ukraine attacks, calls for regime change

C19	July 26, 2022	Ukrainians face poor job prospects in Germany
C20	August 5, 2022	Ukraine, Syria top Erdogan-Putin talks in Sochi
C21	August 7, 2022	International students from Ukraine face deadline in Germany
C22	August 8, 2022	Is German support for Ukraine refugees waning?
C23	August 11, 2022	Scholz: Ukraine tops list of myriad challenges
C24	August 19, 2022	Ukraine shows signs of preparing for a big counteroffensive
C25	August 24, 2022	Ukrainians talk about how the war changed them