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Refugees as Discursive Others: (Re)producing State Power and Acting as Citizens at Berlin's Oranienplatz

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Refugees as Discursive Others:
(Re)producing State Power and Acting as Citizens at Berlin's Oranienplatz

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of Social Studies
of Bard College

by
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Introduction

“I don’t want our history to be falsified: When you commemorate the protest camp on Oranienplatz... remember correctly! Remember Mohammad Rahsepar! At the end of January 2012, Mohammad Rahsepar took his own life at a refugee camp in Würzburg. He had already expressed suicidal thoughts in December. Therefore, doctors had recommended to the responsible authorities to improve his accommodation situation. He wanted to join his sister in Cologne, but the authorities refused this because of ‘Residenzpflicht.’”

Bruno Watara, “10 years of the protest camp at Oranienplatz... No reason to celebrate”

The O-Platz Movement began after Mohammad Rahsepar, an Iranian refugee, committed suicide in a migrant detention camp in Würzburg, Germany on January 29th, 2012. He had spent seven months at the camp, trapped by Germany’s *Residenzpflicht*.¹ His death incited a wave of protests across Germany, including a refugee protest march to Berlin which started in September of 2012. Those who participated in the march were largely asylum seekers from African countries, including Sudan. Once this group of refugee activists arrived in Berlin, in October of 2012, they set up protest tents at Oranienplatz, a public square in Kreuzberg, a neighborhood of Berlin.

The migrant activists at Oranienplatz had four demands (OPlatz- Berlin Refugee Movement 2023). First, they demanded the abolition of *Residenzpflicht*. The refugee march from Würzburg to Berlin was their first act of resistance; by leaving their assigned districts, they openly defied *Residenzpflicht*. Their second demand was the abolition of ‘Lagers’ [migrant

¹ *Residenzpflicht* [residence duty] is a German policy which requires asylum seekers to remain in the district of the immigration office that is responsible for them.

detention camps]. Third, they demanded a pause on all deportations of asylum seekers in Germany, and for the abolition of Dublin III, a policy which gives refugees no agency to determine which EU member state reviews their asylum application. Finally, the migrant activists demanded the right to work and study, stating that they would rather provide for themselves than utilize German social benefits.

For nearly two years, Oranienplatz (and later, a neighboring vacant building, the former Gerhart-Hauptmann School) was a site of radical refugee politics. During this time, O-Platz activists participated in a variety of protest actions, including demonstrations, hunger strikes, and occupations of other sites in Berlin. They were met with varying levels of support and opposition from Berlin's political institutions, whom they directly negotiated with throughout their time at Oranienplatz. A summary of O-Platz movement actions and state responses to them is shown below, in Table 1. Because of the square's geographical location, both the Berlin *Senat* and the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district administration had jurisdiction over the state's response to the O-Platz movement. Generally speaking, the Berlin *Senat* was largely opposed to the migrant protesters' presence at Oranienplatz and in the Gerhart-Hauptmann School. The Kreuzberg district administration, on the other hand, largely expressed support for the movement. Kreuzberg as a neighborhood has a long history of migration, and a record of left-leaning and radical politics, and the district administration reflected this. However, their support for the movement did diminish in the final year of occupation.

Table 1: Timeline of the O-Platz movement

Date	Event
6 October 2012	Migrant Protesters' Arrival in Berlin
12 October 2012	Occupation of Oranienplatz
24 October 2012	Hunger strike at Brandenburg Gate begins
8 November 2012	Occupation of the former Gerhart-Hauptmann School
11 November 2012	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district administration announces allowance of square and school occupation until 31 March 2013
23 March 2013	O-Platz movement march from O-Platz to Mitte
1 July 2013	Rape allegations at O-Platz ²
13 July, 2013	Counter-protest against NPD ³ rally
9 August 2013	Henkel ⁴ attempts to clear Oranienplatz
9 October 2013	Hunger strike at Brandenburger Tor begins
10 October 2013	Occupation of EU-Commission building
19 October 2013	Hunger strike at Brandenburger Tor ends
24 November, 2013	Agreement reached, Failed police attempt to clear O-Platz, Ultimatum set for 18 January 2014
7 January, 2014	Wowereit attempt to reach an agreement ⁵
18 March, 2014	Kolat proposes solution ⁶
15 April, 2014	Oranienplatz square declared clear
23 June 2014	Police remove majority of school occupants, Nine Days on the Roof begins ⁷
2 July 2014	Agreement reached with school occupants, Nine Days on the Roof ends ⁸

² A female O-Platz movement activist accused a male O-Platz activist of sexual assault online. Although no official complaint was filed, the police investigated. This incident was widely covered in German newspapers.

³ The NPD (National Democratic Party) is a far-right, ultra-nationalist, and anti-immigrant political party in Germany.

⁴ Frank Henkel (Christian Democratic Union) was the Deputy Mayor and Senator of the Interior and Sports for the Berlin *Senat* during the O-Platz movement.

⁵ Klaus Wowereit (Social Democratic Party/ SPD) was the head of the Berlin *Senat* during the O-Platz movement. In an attempt to reach an agreement with the O-Platz activists, he declared Berlin a 'city of refugees' and canceled the Jan. 18 ultimatum.

⁶ Dilek Kolat (SPD) was the Senator of Labor, Integration, and Movement in the Berlin *Senat* at the time of the O-Platz movement. Her solution promised the migrant protesters housing, German language education, and individual asylum case inspection if they cleared the square. The majority of the 467 activists agreed to Kolat's terms. 30 activists refused.

⁷ The migrant protesters who did not accept Kolat's agreement protested eviction by occupying the roof of the Gerhart-Hauptmann school for nine days.

⁸ Through this agreement, the remaining school occupants were granted permission to stay. However, in January 2018, all those who stayed were evicted by the Berlin *Senat* and the Kreuzberg district administration.

The O-Platz movement is understood to be a crucial moment of refugee activism. As I argue throughout this paper, by organizing and negotiating directly with German state officials, the O-Platz group claimed a set of rights generally affiliated exclusively with citizenship. Furthermore, the O-Platz movement was able to gain significant media attention, as a result of their occupation of a public square in the center of Berlin. This visibility allowed the refugee activists to bring attention to the inhumanity of the German asylum system and promote an alternative discourse about refugees and their rights in Germany, and in a wider context. This visibility, however, should be seen as a double-edged sword. Although German newspapers consistently covered the O-Platz movement, their coverage mirrored and reproduced a largely negative conception of the refugee figure in public discourse. This paper attempts to unfurl this nuance of visibility by analyzing both German newspaper headlines and content created by O-Platz activists.

I use the O-Platz movement as a case study in this paper in order to consider two questions: (1) how does the dominant conception of refugees get fashioned in public discourse in Germany? and (2) how do refugees in Germany challenge this dominant conception and claim the rights of citizenship?

Through a critical discourse analysis of German newspaper headlines covering the O-Platz movement, this paper is able to reveal how media coverage produces and reinforces a public discourse about refugees in Germany. This public discourse contradictorily portrays the refugee figure as a passive victim in need of state intervention and a dangerous threat to social order, discursively 'Othering' them. This portrayal ossifies the assumption that citizens have exclusive access to certain rights and freedoms (e.g. the right to work, freedom of movement, political action) due to their status as citizens, and that the state has the right and responsibility to

ensure refugees and other non-citizens do not have access to these rights. Thus, public discourse on refugees works to legitimize the right of the state to enact policies managing the lives of refugees and state violence used to enforce these policies.

This conception of refugees dominates and shapes public discourse. Nonetheless, refugee activists have attempted to conceptualize themselves in a way that challenges the assumptions made about them in public discourse. Crucially, the O-Platz movement represents a moment where this defiance was publicized by migrant protesters, through social media, journal articles, and online publications. Once again, I use critical discourse analysis of a selection of this content to understand both how the O-Platz activists conceived of themselves, and how this self-conception challenged public discourse in Germany on refugees.

The first section of this paper overviews existing scholarship in four relevant areas. First, I describe the characteristics of the modern refugee regime in Europe. These distinctions are reproduced in discourse on refugees, the patterns of which I outline next. Third, I describe how the modern refugee regime, because of its rigidity, has incited the emergence of refugee activism in recent years. Finally, I describe how existing scholarship has theorized the position of the O-Platz movement in this wider trend of migrant activism. The second section of this paper describes my process of selecting the content I analyze and the methods of critical discourse analysis that I utilize.

My data analysis is composed of two parts. In the third section of my paper, I analyze 233 headlines and 104 subheadings about the O-Platz movement from five leading German newspapers. I tackle this large body of data by separating my analysis into four different sections: (1) thematic code occurrences, (2) keywords and frames used to describe the O-Platz

activists and the spaces they occupied, (3) references to political figures, and (4) references to institutional groups.

The fourth section of this paper places content produced by O-Platz activists in conversation with German media coverage of their movement, in an attempt to understand how self-representation by O-Platz activists worked to disrupt dominant discourses on refugees in Europe. I examine three sources in this section. First, I look at the demands and history of the O-Platz movement, published on the O-Platz website. Then, I examine a documentary directed and produced by a refugee activist, *Nine Days on the Roof*. The footage in this short film was taken during the occupation of the Gerhart-Hauptmann School, in June 2014. Finally, I analyze a journal article written by Napuli Langa, a Sudanese asylum seeker and O-Platz activist, entitled “About the refugee movement in Kreuzberg/Berlin”. I outline key themes and motifs throughout these three sources, and explore how they challenge the assumptions about the O-Platz movement made in German newspaper headlines

In the fifth section, I outline how both the German media coverage of the O-Platz movement and the content produced by O-Platz activists reveals the power of the state in the modern refugee regime, while at the same time revealing the weakness of concepts like state sovereignty and citizenship. I then consider the specific conditions that allowed for the O-Platz movement, including its spatiality. Finally, I reflect on the layered and ambivalent impacts of this temporary period of refugee activism in Berlin. The movement had limited and fleeting consequences for its participants. However, its significance as a moment of refugee activism and rights-claiming allows it to transcend the fates of the specific refugees involved.

A Note on Language

Throughout this paper, I use the terms ‘refugee activists’ and ‘migrant protesters’ interchangeably to describe the group at Oranienplatz. ‘Refugee’ is the term most often used to describe the O-Platz group, both in German media (as ‘flüchtling’) and in content produced by the O-Platz movement. Thus, labeling the group as ‘refugee activists’ reflects the dominance of this word in both sets of data. However, I also use the term ‘migrant’, for two reasons. First, my use of the term acts as a discursive nod to the O-Platz movement’s interest in affirming the legitimacy of all migration. ‘Migrant’ and ‘refugee’ are used to categorize migrants, with the label ‘refugee’ acting as an exclusionary category which grants certain migrants more rights than others. Second, the use of the term ‘migrant’ ensures that my analysis of the O-Platz movement does not sever the movement from its role as a part of a wider trend of migrant protest movements in Europe.

Literature Review

Many scholars have described the modern refugee regime as a distinct transformation from the past, a transformation which deeply impacted the O-Platz movement, and the German state and media's reaction to it. Fortress Europe, a system of policies implemented by Western European nations in the early 1990's as a response to an influx of refugee claimants, is emblematic of this new form of refugee management (Martin 1999; Zetter 2007). This new refugee regime is characterized by more state control over refugee management, stricter definitions of 'refugee', increased state violence through the use of migrant detention camps and deportations, and the fortification and militarization of borders (Feretti et al 2003; Gallagher 2002; Phuong 2003; Hatton et al 2004; Orchard 2014), with the result that asylum applicants and refugees experience even less protection and more precariousness than in the past (Hartnett 2015).

Scholarship on the modern refugee regime has emphasized how this new regime of refugee management works to legitimize and conceal state violence against refugees coming to Europe. Migrant detention camps are sites of extreme surveillance, and are often placed in rural areas. This isolation limits refugees' abilities to integrate into the host society and works to conceal state violence against the refugee 'Other' (Pelzer and Sexto 2013; Agamben 1998). This invisibility of refugees is furthered within the German context by a general denial of Germany's colonial past and role in historical violence against a racialized 'Other' (Boehme 2020; Bouilla and Carri 2017; El Tayeb 1999). Coutin (2010) argues that, under Fortress Europe, deportation is the default position and is seen as a process of returning refugees to their 'right' place. This portrayal has the effect of obfuscating the inherent violence of deportation. Other scholars have

pointed out how refugee management is part of a global system of unequal power dynamics, through the ‘grand compromise’; countries in the Global South host the majority of the global refugee population, in exchange for funding from countries in the Global North (Cuellar 2006; Fitzgerald 2019; Castles 2003). Furthermore, countries in the Global North have begun to rely on buffer states to enforce their borders. Through this system, states in the Global North have been able to avoid direct implementations of violence at their own borders (De Genova 2018). Several other scholars have also noted how the modern refugee regime has made refugee management and state sovereignty inextricably linked. Hönig (2014) argues that the modern refugee regime assumes the rights of the state to manage the ‘Other’. Because of this assumption, state policies and violence are legitimized. Furthermore, De Genova (2013) argues that the modern refugee regime relies on a ‘spectacle of exclusion’, which is both an exhibit of state power and a means of legitimizing this state power as protecting citizens against a racialized ‘Other’. Assuming certain rights of the state and lack of rights of refugees is foundational to the modern refugee regime.

The modern refugee regime’s bureaucratic labels and assumptions are “reproduced in and, themselves, reproduce the political discourse” (Zetter 2007, 184), legitimizing anti-refugee discourse (Di Cesare 2020). This is evident in German and European media coverage of refugees, which represents the figure of the refugee in a dominantly negative way. Previous studies on German media coverage of refugees have highlighted how media portrayals of refugees discursively segregate refugees from the citizen population, producing and reinforcing an us vs. them dynamic (KhosraviNik 2010; De Genova 2018; Stuhler 2021; Hartnett 2019). Refugees are largely assumed to be a threat to both social stability and national identity (Hartnett 2019; Vasilyev 2016; Vertovec 2007). Media coverage dominantly conceptualizes refugees as a

major political and bureaucratic problem requiring the involvement and control by the state and police (Van Dijk 2012; Stuhler 2021; Hartnett 2019). This conceptualization is founded on contradictory portrayals (Di Cesare 2020, 100). On the one hand, refugees are conceptualized as passive and helpless victims (KhosraviNik 2010; Stuhler 2021; Beier and Benert 2016). On the other hand, they are conceptualized as violent aggressors and threats, through descriptions of disease and crime (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Van Dijk 2012; Stuhler 2021; Beier and Benert 2016; Hartnett 2019). Descriptions of refugee criminal behavior often involve racialized forms of crime, such as drug dealing (Law 2010). Male refugees in particular are also often portrayed as either rapists or terrorists (Gajjala and Rettberg 2015). Media coverage of refugees is also often characterized by concerns about the economic burden refugees present to the state and its citizens (Van Dijk 2012; KhosraviNik 2010; Beier and Benert 2016; Hartnett 2019; Vasilyev 2016). Hartnett (2019) argues that this dominant conception of the refugee figure and the segregation of migrant populations from the general population in Germany is furthered by the absence of refugee voices in German media.

Migrants and refugees, however, have responded to both the modern refugee regime and negative media coverage in a variety of ways. Much of the recent scholarship on migrant activism and protest has investigated how the modern refugee regime has incited the emergence of social movements for refugee rights in Europe. The increased levels of precarity and state control forces refugees to mobilize as a group (Zetter 2007). However, this shared experience of precarity and state violence also allows refugees to form a collective identity, giving them the opportunity to disrupt the exclusionary status quo (Perolini 2021; Monforte 2014; Jasper and Polletta 2001; Chimienti 2010; Dufour and Monforte 2012). The increase in moments of refugee activism has pushed scholars to recognize the migrant activist as a relevant figure of social

change (Porta 2018a; Müller 2021). Critical citizenship studies analyzes migrant protest as moments in which migrants have transformed the idea of citizenship, constituting themselves as citizens, or at least as having the rights of citizenship (Isin 2008; Nyers 2010; Ataç et al 2016). Through protest, refugees are able to make the invisible visible and challenge the notion that they are passive subjects of state regulation (Edkins and Pin-Fat 2005; Owens 2009).

A number of scholars have argued that the O-Platz movement, by occupying a public space in the heart of Berlin, transformed Oranienplatz into a site of radical refugee politics. The centrality of the square allowed them to forge alliances with Kreuzberg residents, attain visibility, and push back against ‘Othering’ (Bhimji 2016; Landry 2015; Perolini 2022; Steinhilper 2021; Fontanari 2017; Ambrosini and Fontanari 2018). Furthermore, Oranienplatz became a ‘representational space’ in its direct opposition to the controlled and isolated environment of the ‘Lagers’ [refugee camps] (Bhimji 2016). The O-Platz activists were also able to form a collective identity and transform established asymmetric power dynamics between migrants and their supporters (Steinhilper 2021; Kukovetz and Sprung 2019). The visibility attained through the occupation allowed the migrant protesters to make their own public demands and promote alternate discourse surrounding refugee rights in Europe (Landry 2015). At Oranienplatz, the migrant protesters were (temporarily) successful in transforming from a victimized and invisible group into political actors who claimed the rights of citizenship.

Crucially, these scholars highlight how the German media covered the O-Platz movement at length, as a result of the activists’ occupation of public spaces. However, coverage by the German media is largely understood to be productive for the movement’s goals (Bhimji 2016, 442; Bhimji 2023; Landry 2015; Steinhilper 2021). Thus, although past scholarship on the O-Platz movement has considered how the migrant protesters conceived their movement and

attempted to claim the rights of citizenship, it has not fully and critically examined the German media coverage of the O-Platz movement, or how it produced and reinforced a dominant and negative conception of migrants.

Furthermore, although several studies on media coverage of refugees provide crucial analysis on the way the media in Germany and Europe conceptualizes the refugee figure, how specifically this discourse is fashioned is not fully elaborated. Through critical discourse analysis of discrete headlines, my paper aims to illuminate these processes. These studies also pay little attention to how refugees in Germany conceive of themselves in public ways which challenge the German media's conception of them. Through the inclusion and analysis of content produced by O-Platz activists, this paper investigates some of the methods used to push against German media coverage of refugees, and of the O-Platz movement in particular.

Methods

For the first half of this study, I analyzed 233 headlines from 5 of the leading newspapers in Germany and Berlin (*Der Spiegel*, *Bild*, *Berliner Zeitung*, *BZ*, *Berliner Morgenpost*) published between August 2012 and July 2015. Each headline was pulled from an article covering the Oranienplatz movement. 104 of the 233 articles in the data set were formatted with clear subheadings. When these clear subheadings appeared, they were also entered into the data set. Both headlines and subheadings were given a series of codes, which categorized them by themes. Critical discourse analysis was used as my methodological framework, in order to analyze how the Oranienplatz movement was portrayed in newspaper headlines as it was happening. Both quantitative and qualitative analysis were utilized, in order to allow for a large body of data. The quantitative analysis paid attention to the frequency of certain words, phrases, and references to specific political figures and institutional groups. Then, a more detailed critical discourse analysis was conducted on specific headlines selected from the body of data. The use of two types of analysis ensured that the understanding of the framing of the Oranienplatz movement in German media was comprehensive.

For the second part of the study, I turned my attention to content created by either the O-Platz movement as a group or by prominent individuals in the movement. The first source I analyzed was the About page of the O-Platz movement website. Second, I examined a journal article written by Napuli Langa, a migrant activist and prominent figure within the movement, titled “About the refugee movement in Kreuzberg/Berlin.” Finally, I analyzed a documentary on the occupation of the Gerhart-Hauptmann School, *Nine Days on the Roof*. This documentary is largely composed of interviews with O-Platz activists about their motives and methods. In this

section of the study, critical discourse analysis was also used to reveal how the three sources represent the O-Platz movement, the state's roles and obligations within the migration context, and migrants' rights. By including content from these sources, I aimed to understand how the migrant protesters interacted with the coverage of the O-Platz movement in German newspapers, and the strategies they utilized to counter negative assumptions and frames.

Critical discourse analysis removes the assumption that language does not simply reflect outer reality, allowing it to uncover the social frames and beliefs that hold up the text being analyzed. Because ideological discourse tends to rely on positive self-representation and negative other-representation and an us vs. them frame, critical discourse analysis is especially helpful for this area of study, in which the migrant is positioned as an outsider.

This paper draws on Ruiz's three-level model of critical discourse analysis (Ruiz 2009). This model uses three forms of analysis: textual, contextual, and sociological. In order to explain the role of discourse as a social product and ideology, one must first understand the characterization and understanding of the discourse.

The first step in Ruiz's CDA model is textual analysis, which aims to consider the analyzed discourse as an object. Content analysis is a method within this step, consisting of breaking down and coding each piece of data. I use thematic content analysis⁹ in this paper in order to reveal the themes which develop the discourse and to construct my theory. When using this method, "the selection of pertinent topics, the order in which they appear, the time dedicated to each, the relationships between the different topics or how they emerge are...questions to bear in mind" (Ruiz 2009, 8). When developing the codes for this paper, I simultaneously considered the significant events of the O-Platz movement and the broad trends that I noticed in the

⁹ Ruiz outlines two types of content analysis, thematic and agentless. Agentless content analysis uses computer applications in order to do the majority of the work of the analyst. In this paper, I chose to do the analysis manually.

headlines. This allowed me to use the codes in order to construct my paper's theoretical argument. I also used semiotic textual analysis, which asks questions about the "use of lexis, rhetorical devices (metaphors and metonymy) and syntactic forms as they are mechanisms for producing, constraining, or liberating meaning" (Ruiz 2009, 10). Although I use this method of analysis throughout my paper, it is most clearly utilized in my section on descriptions of the O-Platz protesters and occupied spaces. In this section, I use the *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (DWDS) to place the words in a greater social context, through their frequent co-occurrence with other words. This allows me to understand how the headlines' use of lexis informs their meaning.

Contextual analysis is the second step in this model of critical discourse analysis. On this level, "discourse is understood as a singular event produced by subjects who are immersed in a specific time and place within a given symbolic universe" (Ruiz 2009, 11). While doing this form of analysis, the researcher recognizes the intentionality of discourse and asks why it was produced and for what purpose. My focus within this study on the assumptions and cultural knowledge that the headlines rest on is a result of contextual analysis.

Ruiz's CDA model uses textual and contextual analysis as the foundation for sociological interpretation, the third step in the model. In this paper, I chose to largely use ideological interpretation¹⁰, which Ruiz describes:

Ideological interpretation... aims to demonstrate how social discourses are impregnated by dominant discourses projected from sources of power. Discourse is... understood to mirror mechanisms of ideological domination. But discourse can also be considered a potential mechanism of liberation... produced by the

¹⁰ With regards to sociological interpretation, Ruiz outlines three forms: informational interpretation, ideological interpretation, and social product interpretation. Although I mainly use ideological interpretation in this paper, "these three types of interpretation are not mutually exclusive" (Ruiz 2009, 15), and aspects of the other two forms are included in my analysis.

critical analyst who reveals or manifests these mechanisms of ideological domination in an attempt to overcome or eliminate them. (Ruiz 2009, 16)

This understanding of discourse as a means to mirror and reinforce mechanisms of ideological domination is central to the work I aim to do in this paper. Furthermore, the idea that discourse can be liberatory is the foundation of my decision to analyze content produced by the O-Platz movement alongside headlines produced by German newspapers. By putting these two sets of sources in conversation with one another, I hope to reveal the methods used by the O-Platz movement to overcome dominant discourses.

Thus, this model is used in this paper in order to answer the following questions about the German newspaper headlines in the data set, as well as the content produced by people affiliated with the O-Platz movement: 1) What are the linguistic features and key words within the headlines that frame the event? 2) What kinds of framings are used in the content? 3) How do the identified frames present the event and its actors?

Newspapers represent a crucial domain within discourse within nation-states that possess extensive mass-media production and largely literate publics, playing a key role in creating social perceptions of political events and actors. In utilizing and disseminating social knowledge, they play both an active and passive role in the production and reproduction of ideologies within a social group formed on the basis of shared national identity. Because of this multifaceted role, critical discourse analysis of newspapers is able to reveal the social knowledge and ideologies tying a social group together.

I chose to analyze headlines, rather than complete articles, for several reasons. First, the study of headlines allows for a larger body of data. Analyzing complete articles is incredibly time-consuming, meaning that I would have had to include a much smaller body of data. This would make it difficult to arrive at any valid conclusions. By studying headlines instead, I was

able to analyze German media coverage of the Oranienplatz movement over the course of several years and from the perspectives of several different newspapers. Headlines also allow for both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis done in this paper reveals patterns in social and cultural representations within German newspaper coverage of the event in question, which could not be achieved with exclusive use of qualitative analysis. Furthermore, headlines have a much larger impact than articles, both because they are viewed by more people and because of their linguistic structure. Mardh (1980), in a study of the distinct characteristics of headlines, identified several typical linguistic features of newspaper headlines, including the use of rhetorical devices such as puns, alliteration, and emotive language. These linguistic features are deliberately used to make the headline's impact on the reader stronger.

Headlines are also extremely important as a social product, due to their perspective and utilization of national representations. Headlines act to orient the reader through the rest of the article, and the 'facts' that it contains; thus, "they encapsulate not only the content but the...perspective that the readers should bring to their understanding of the article" (Develotte and Rechniewski 2001, 2). Headlines train the reader to view the world through a specific perspective and impose a specific hierarchy of knowledge. Furthermore, headlines, because of their inherent length limitations, depend on the reader's quick recognition of places, actors, issues, and cultural references. There is an assumption made that the cultural knowledge and national representations utilized in the headline are widespread. Consequently, critical discourse analysis of headlines has two distinct advantages. On the first level, it is able to reveal the nature of the headline as a form of cultural knowledge. On the second level, it is able to uncover the impact of existing cultural knowledge on the perception of a specific event, as well as how the event is integrated into or excluded from national representations.

The headlines used in this study are pulled from five German newspapers, *Der Spiegel*¹¹, *Bild*¹², *Berliner Zeitung*¹³, *BZ*¹⁴, and *Berliner Morgenpost*¹⁵.

Der Spiegel and *Bild* are national newspapers with high circulation both nationally and in Berlin. *Der Spiegel* is a weekly national newspaper, founded in 1947. It has a left-center bias (BBC 2006). In the third quarter of 2012, it sold 903,710 copies nationally (IVW 2013, 177). 11 of the headlines selected were from *Der Spiegel*, equal to 4.7% of the data set. *Bild* is a daily national tabloid, founded in 1952. It has a right-center bias (BBC 2006). In the third quarter of 2012, it sold 157,653 copies in the Berlin area (IVW 2013, 29). 48 of the headlines selected are from *Bild*, equal to 20.6% of the data set.

Berliner Zeitung, *BZ*, and *Berliner Morgenpost* are Berlin-focused publications and do not have high national circulation; however, they are the most popular newspapers in Berlin. *Berliner Zeitung* is a daily newspaper. It was founded in 1945 and has a left-center bias (BBC 2006). In the third quarter of 2012, it sold 133,892 copies in the Berlin area and 147,154 copies nationally (IVW 2013, 30). 75 of the headlines selected were from *Berliner Zeitung*, equal to 32.2% of the data set. *BZ* is a tabloid newspaper based in Berlin. It was founded in 1877 and has a right-center bias (BBC 2006). In the third quarter of 2012, it sold 133,892 copies in the Berlin area and 164,766 copies nationally (IVW 2013, 29). 50 of the headlines selected were from *BZ*, equal to 21.5% of the data set. *Berliner Morgenpost* is a daily newspaper. It was founded in 1898 and has a right-center bias (BBC 2006). In the third quarter of 2012, it sold 122,771 copies in the Berlin area and 136,078 copies nationally (IVW 2013, 29). 49 of the headlines selected are from *Berliner Morgenpost*, equal to 21% of the data set.

¹¹ See Appendix A.

¹² See Appendix B.

¹³ See Appendix C.

¹⁴ See Appendix D.

¹⁵ See Appendix E.

In selecting headlines, I have attempted to balance the body of data in terms of geography, political leaning, and type of newspaper. There is an equal amount of headlines from national newspapers and from Berlin-based newspapers in the data set. This mixture is crucial for several reasons. First, the Oranienplatz movement took place in Berlin. Because of this, residents of Berlin were more directly impacted by and had a more direct impact on the Oranienplatz movement than Germans outside of Berlin. It also helps show how Berlin's distinct characteristics and residents shaped the Oranienplatz movement. Analysis of headlines from national newspapers can reveal how perceptions of the Oranienplatz movement were impacted by broader conceptions of national identity and how they were shaped by existing cultural knowledge about Berlin. By including headlines from both national and Berlin-based newspapers, this study is able to create a multifaceted analysis of the perception of the OPlatz movement in Germany.

It was also important to ensure that both tabloids and traditional newspapers were represented in the data set. Headlines from traditional newspapers made up 58.4% of the data set, while headlines from tabloids made up 41.6% of the data set.

Finally, it was important to include headlines from newspapers with both left-center and right-center bias. Headlines from newspapers with a left-center bias made up 36.3% of the data set, while headlines from newspapers with a right-center bias made up 63.7% of the data set. Looking at the data set as a whole, there is an unbalanced proportion of headlines from newspapers with a right-center bias. This is largely due to the inclusion of headlines from tabloids, since there are no widely-read left-center biased tabloids in the media landscape in Germany. However, within the traditional newspaper data subset, 63.1% of the headlines are from newspapers with a left-center bias, while 36.9% of the headlines are from newspapers with

a right-center bias. Thus, both political leanings are represented in a meaningful way. Analyzing headlines from newspapers with a variety of political biases is crucial to the study, as it reveals the commonalities and differences within German cultural knowledge based on political ideology.

The selected headlines are all from articles published between August 2012 and July 2015. This period is when the newspapers I studied were consistently covering the Oranienplatz protests. Although migrant activists officially occupied Oranienplatz from October 2012 until April 2014, I have chosen to include headlines in this study from before and after this period, as they reveal key aspects of the perception of the migrant activists. The headlines published after the protest camp was demolished are incredibly important, revealing the way media coverage of the event shifted after a political agreement was made. Furthermore, a group of migrant activists continued to occupy the *Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule* for several months after the protest camp was cleared. Analyzing the coverage of these migrant activists, and their refusal to accept the government's deal, uncovers distinct cultural knowledge with regards to citizenship and state responsibility.

Three types of articles are represented in the 233 headlines in the data set: standard news article, editorial, and interview. The majority of the headlines are from standard news articles, making up 214 of the headlines and 91.8% of the data set. Editorials made up 3% of the data set; three headlines from *Berliner Zeitung*, three headlines from *BZ*, and one headline from *Berliner Morgenpost* came from articles that were categorized as editorials. Interviews made up 5.2% of the data set; seven headlines from *Berliner Zeitung*, one headline from *BZ* and 4 headlines from *Berliner Morgenpost* came from interviews.

I chose to focus my research on headlines that came from standard news articles because they are commonly assumed to be less politicized than other forms of articles. Thus, the discourse communicated through these headlines is neutralized and legitimized. By focusing mainly on standard news articles, my analysis is able to reveal the dominant narratives and assumptions about refugees in popular discourse. Nonetheless, interviews were important to include, given that they revealed important information about the individuals deemed worthy of directly voicing their opinions on the O-Platz movement. I also included a minimal amount of editorial articles in order to have a clear understanding of what opinions the media in Germany determined to be acceptable and worth publishing.

In the fourth section of this paper, I analyze three sources created by O-Platz movement activists, using critical discourse analysis. *Nine Days on the Roof* and the About section of the O-Platz website were published during the movement's occupation of Oranienplatz. Because of this temporality, these sources provide critical insight into the process by which O-Platz activists self-represented and conceptualized the movement. "About the refugee movement in Kreuzberg/Berlin" was written in 2015, after the police eviction of Oranienplatz. Because this source was written after the occupation of Oranienplatz ended, it is able to reveal any transformations in the way the O-Platz activists self-represented as the movement progressed. Furthermore, it provides crucial information about how the refugee activists understood the eviction of Oranienplatz.

As with the headlines, I use a combination of thematic content analysis, semiotic textual analysis, contextual analysis, and ideological interpretation in this section of the paper. When analyzing the three sources through thematic content analysis, I used the set of codes I had developed for my analysis of German media coverage. These codes, however, were not capable

of identifying themes that were exclusive to the content produced by the O-Platz activists. Thus, I developed four more codes: MP (migrant policy), CD (camp description), SR (self-representation), and IS (isolation). Because this section works with a much smaller body of data, tabulation and quantification did not make sense. Instead, coding was used to uncover key motifs and themes that occurred across all three sources. Once these key themes were identified, I used semiotic and contextual analysis in order to ideologically interpret specific quotes from the three sources that illustrated the key themes.

Spectacles of Illegality and Exclusion: Critical Discourse Analysis of German Newspaper Headlines

Code Descriptions and Occurrences

There were various patterns found within the headlines, regardless of the newspaper they were published in. I identified fourteen trends, which were each given a unique code. Headlines which utilized these trends were labeled with the corresponding code¹⁶. These trends can be grouped into three categories: descriptions of the migrant protesters, responses from the German state and public, and solutions.

The first category, descriptions of the migrant protesters and the protest camp, includes four codes: PR, RV, RH, and RD. Headlines were labeled with the code PR (protest) if they mentioned moments of protest or direct action by migrant protesters and their supporters. RV (refugee violence) was used to label headlines which mentioned moments of violence inflicted by refugees at Oranienplatz. It was also used to label headlines which implied criminality of any form by the migrant protesters and their supporters. Headlines were labeled with the code RH (refugee health) if they described concerns for the health of the protesters at Oranienplatz. This description was often tied to worries about the winter weather at the camp. It was also used to label headlines which mentioned the conditions of the camp at Oranienplatz or of the occupied school. RD (refugee demands) was used to label headlines which mentioned specific demands from the migrant protesters. Headlines labeled with this code were often critical of the demands from the migrant protesters.

The second group of codes, responses from the German state and public, includes six codes: PO, PL, SO, LW, RW, and CO. PO (police) was used to label headlines which made

¹⁶ See Appendices A, B, C, D, and E.

reference to police action against the protest at Oranienplatz. Headlines were labeled with the code PL (politicians) if they mentioned the response from either a specific politician, a political party, or a bureaucratic institution on the Oranienplatz movement. These instances are further analyzed in this paper when I look at the specific actors that are mentioned, how often they are mentioned, and the dominant attitudes towards each individual and group communicated in the headlines. The code SO (solidarity) was used to label headlines which either mentioned moments of solidarity with the migrant protesters from the German state or public or indicated solidarity from within the newspaper. The code LW (left-wing) was used to label headlines which mentioned the involvement of left-wing Germans in aiding the migrant protest. This was an especially interesting trend which almost exclusively appeared in newspapers with a right-center bias. Most commonly, left-wing involvement was described as increasing the level of violence within the O-Platz movement, as well as prolonging the protest. Headlines which mentioned reactions to the Oranienplatz movement by German right-wing groups were labeled with the code RW (right-wing). Finally, headlines which made reference to the financial burden of the Oranienplatz movement were labeled with the code CO (costs).

The third group of codes, solutions, could also be seen as a sub-category of the second group. It includes three codes: VC, FS, and SL. The code VC (evict) was used to label headlines which mentioned clearing Oranienplatz and the Gerhart-Hauptmann School and evicting the migrant protesters. The code FS (failed solutions) was used to label headlines which discussed politicians' failure to meet refugees' demands or evict the protesters. Headlines with this code often mentioned negotiations between different German parties and their inability to agree. The code SL (solution) was used to label headlines which mentioned a solution to the migrant protest at Oranienplatz being successfully implemented. Unlike headlines labeled with FS, solutions

described in these headlines were perceived positively and viewed as a success. This group of codes reveals that the dominant attitude towards the Oranienplatz movement within German media coverage was that it was a problem that needed to be solved through state intervention. This assumption is foundational to the coverage of the migrant protesters.

One further trend was incredibly important, yet did not fit neatly into any of the three categories. Several of the headlines from all five of the newspapers communicated an attitude that I coded as TL (too long). This attitude was characterized by the perception that the Oranienplatz movement was a frustratingly persistent problem in desperate need to be resolved.

Once the headlines were labeled, I determined the amount, by percent, in which each code occurred and organized this data into two tables (Table 2 and 3). This allowed me to understand which trends dominated the German media coverage of the Oranienplatz movement.

Table 2: Code Occurrences in Headlines (Descending Order)

CODE	Headline Occurrence (n=233)	Headline Occurrence (%)
Politicians (PL)	82	35.2
Refugee Violence (RV)	64	27.5
Refugee Health (RH)	62	26.6
Failed Solution (FS)	56	24
Protest (PR)	52	22.3
Refugee Demands (RD)	51	21.9
Evict/Vacate (VC)	41	17.6
Too Long (TL)	36	15.4
Solidarity (SO)	33	14.2
Solution (SL)	32	13.7
Police (PO)	26	11.1
Left-wing (LW)	8	3.4
Costs (CO)	7	3
Right-wing (RW)	6	2.6

Table 3: Code Occurrences in Subheadings (Descending Order)

CODE	Subheading Occurrence (n=104)	Subheading Occurrence (%)
Refugee Violence (RV)	46	44.2
Politicians (PL)	44	42.3
Refugee Health (RH)	34	32.7
Failed Solution (FS)	34	32.7
Evict/Vacate (VC)	32	30.8
Protest (PR)	26	25
Refugee Demands (RD)	25	24
Police (PO)	18	17.3
Solidarity (SO)	18	17.3
Too Long (TL)	18	17.3
Solution (SL)	12	11.5
Costs (CO)	7	6.7
Left-wing (LW)	3	2.9
Right-wing (RW)	2	1.9

Every headline received at least one and no more than five codes. 12% of the headlines received only one code, 48.1% received two codes, and 39.9% of the headlines received three or more codes. Only 1.7% of headlines received five codes; these headlines were from *Bild*,

Berliner Morgenpost, and *Berliner Zeitung*. The majority of headlines from *Der Spiegel* were given three or more codes (75%), unlike headlines from other newspapers.

Every subheading received at least one and no more than six codes. 2.9% of the headlines received only one code, 34% received two codes, and 62.2% received more than three codes. Only 0.9% of subheadings received six codes; these subheadings were from *Der Spiegel*. All of the subheadings from *Der Spiegel* received at least three codes.

It is important to note a few patterns that emerge from Table 2 and 3. First, PL (politicians), RH (refugee health), and RV (refugee violence) are the three highest occurring codes in both the headlines and subheadings. Because of this prevalence, I was more likely to analyze specific articles that were labeled with one or more of these codes. In doing so, I aimed to reflect the overall media portrayal of the O-Platz movement and ensuing state reaction, rather than outlying perceptions. Another pattern that is important to note is the extremely low occurrence of the code RW (right-wing), in both the headlines and subheadings. Between 2012 and 2015, right-wing groups in Berlin demonstrated against the O-Platz movement many times, which is what prompted me to include the code RW in my analysis. However, it is clear from Table 2 and 3 that right-wing actions during the O-Platz movement were largely deemed irrelevant by German newspapers. I examine this lack of visibility in my analysis of the media's characterization of left-wing involvement.

Descriptions of O-Platz Activists and Occupied Spaces (Keywords and Frames)

A crucial aspect of the media coverage of the O-Platz movement is the way in which the protesters and the occupied spaces were framed. This section of the paper examines the dominant framings produced and reinforced by the analyzed headlines. In order to do this, I first outline

and analyze the keywords most used within the headlines to describe the migrant protesters, the camp at Oranienplatz, and the occupied school. Then, I use critical discourse analysis on a series of headlines which illustrate the dominant perceptions of the O-Platz movement and the individuals involved with it. These headlines all are labeled with at least one of the following codes: RD, RV, RH, LW and TL.

The majority of the headlines utilized two terms to describe the migrant-protesters at Oranienplatz: ‘Flüchtling’ [refugee] and ‘Besetzer’ [occupiers/squatters]. Other terms that were used included Heimatlosen [displaced people], Gesetzlosen [outlaws], Asylbewerber [asylum seekers], and Grenzgänger [border crossers]. The term ‘Flüchtling’ was by far the most commonly used term across the five newspapers analyzed. The *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (DWDS) defines ‘Flüchtling’ as “jmd., der vor jmdm., etw. geflüchtet ist und dabei alles verloren hat” [someone who fled from somebody/something and lost everything in the process]. The DWDS word profile, which tracks the co-occurrences of words, lists the top six co-occurring words with ‘Flüchtling’ as minderjährig [underage], unbegleitet [unaccompanied], aufkommend [incoming], aufnehmen [to record, include, receive], anerkannt [recognized, accepted] and geduldet [tolerated]. The definition and its associated words point to the use of the word in reference to political status and reception. Furthermore, the appearance of the terms ‘underage’ and ‘tolerated’ implies that a popular perception of ‘Flüchtling’ is as victims and helpless beneficiaries of German aid. The use of the term has been problematized by German activists and scholars in the aftermath of the ‘refugee crisis’. One criticism is that the word has a patronizing connotation, given the use of the -suffix ling, a diminutive in German (Rumble 2017). Critics argue that this “portrays refugees as passive recipients of Western generosity” (Stuhler 2021). Furthermore, the word has a generic masculine form, with no feminine

equivalent. Some critics argue that this ties refugees to stereotypes about masculinity (Wehling 2016). This, in turn, may contribute to the anti-immigrant portrayal of refugees as young, potentially dangerous men.

However, some activists argue that the institutional and historical context of ‘Flüchtling’ allows it to function positively, in a way that replacements, such as ‘Geflüchtete’, cannot. First, the inclusion of the term in the Geneva Convention gives it institutional meaning. Second, the context of the term within German history may allow it to create a sense of empathy and connection with refugees entering Germany. Kothen argues that the term reminds Germans of the aftermath of Nazism, when being a ‘Flüchtling’ was a common experience among Germans (Kothen 2016, 24). Furthermore, during the Cold War, West Germans used the term as “a synonym for specifically German refugees and expellees” (Stokes 2019, 23) from East Germany, while using the term ‘displaced person’ to designate “an undesirable mass of foreigners burdening a country already struggling with its ‘own’ refugee problem” (Stokes 2019, 23). Thus, the use of the term ‘Flüchtling’ could remind Germans of the experiences of exile and migration that they share with refugees entering the country now. Because ‘Flüchtling’ is the term most often used within the headlines to describe the refugees at Oranienplatz, it is crucial to understand its cultural meanings and connotations.

‘Besetzer’ [occupier/squatter] is also frequently used in the headlines when describing the migrant protesters. DWDS defines ‘Besetzer’ as “jmd., der etw. (kurzfristig) widerrechtlich in Besitz nimmt, um auf einen Missstand aufmerksam zu machen, gegen etwas zu protestieren oder etwas zu fordern” [someone who takes (short-term) illegal possession to draw attention to a grievance, to protest against something or to demand something]. The DWDS word profile lists the top six co-occurring words with ‘Besetzer’ as abziehen [to remove], verliessen [to have

left/vacated], gedulden [to be patient], Abzug [departure/withdrawal], verbarrikadieren [to barricade sth.], and verhaßt [abhorrent/hated]. These word associations have largely negative connotations, portraying ‘Besetzer’ as a problem that must be fixed.

The majority of the headlines utilized three terms to describe the occupied camp at Oranienplatz and the occupied Gerhart-Hauptmann School: ‘Camp’ (Flüchtlings-, Protest-), ‘Lager’, and ‘Heim’. The term ‘Flüchtlingscamp’ [refugee camp] was by far the most commonly used term. The term’s DWDS word profile lists the six words that most commonly co-occur with ‘Flüchtlingscamp’ as Räumung [evacuation/clearing], nahegelegen [nearby], räumen [to clear/evacuate], überfüllt [crowded/cramped], and wild [wild/ungovernable/unauthorized]. The co-occurrence of ‘Räumung’, and ‘räumen’ both emphasize evacuation as the main means to manage a ‘Flüchtlingscamp’, while the co-occurrence of ‘überfüllt’ and ‘wild’ both point to illegality and violence within a ‘Flüchtlingscamp’. Thus, the DWDS word profile shows that ‘Flüchtlingscamp’ has a largely negative connotation.

The term ‘Lager’ [camp] is also used in the headlines to describe Oranienplatz during the occupation. DWDS has several definitions for ‘Lager’, including “Schlafstätte...Platz mit Zelten, Baracken oder anderen Quartieren, wo eine größere Anzahl Menschen vorübergehende Unterkunft findet...Menschengruppen, Parteien oder Staatengruppen mit gleichem (politischem) Standpunkt, Ziel...[oder] Vorratsraum, Speicherraum für Waren” [sleeping place...place with tents, barracks or other quarters, where a larger number of people find temporary accommodation...groups of people, parties or groups of states with the same (political) point of view, goal...[or] storage room, storage room for goods]. Although the use of the term ‘Lager’ in the headlines likely refers to the first and second definition of the word, the other definitions act as cultural cues for German readers. For example, the third definition relates to the Oranienplatz

movement's political element, and the migrant protesters shared goals. The use of 'Lager' within a refugee context has also been criticized because of the fourth definition. Critics argue that the use of the word 'Lager' portrays refugees and migrants as objects, a theme entitled "Migration als Warenhandel" [migration as commodity trade] (Rummel 2017, 21). This dehumanizes migrants by emphasizing their commodity value as laborers. The word 'Lager' also has a strong historical association with Nazism, as it was used by both Nazi officials and prisoners to describe Nazi concentration camps. This association has been carried into the modern context by Holocaust survivors using the word when writing about their experiences in Nazi concentration camps. Thus, the use of the word 'Lager' to describe the occupation of Oranienplatz should be considered with care.

The term 'Heim' [home] is also used to describe the spaces (Oranienplatz, Gerhart-Hauptmann School) occupied by the migrant protesters. The DWDS word profile lists the seven top co-occurring words with 'Heim' as *traut* [sweet/intimate], *geschlossen* [locked/closed], *Bewohner* [resident/inhabitant], *vernetzt* [connected], *gemütlich* [comfortable/cozy], and *behaglich* [comfortable/cozy]. These co-occurring words show that 'Heim' has largely positive connotations. However, the term 'geschlossen' also points to an exclusionary understanding of the word. The largely positive connotation of 'Heim' is contrasted by its appearance within the headlines. Four of the headlines that utilize 'Heim' describe the migrant-occupied spaces as dirty, dangerous, or unsanitary ("Flüchtlingschule: Stadtrat" 2014; Volkmann-Schluck 2013; Brüning, Nibbrig and Pletl 2013). This dissonance may have the effect of framing the migrant-protesters as usurpers in German society, as it makes the implication that they are unable to align with cultural norms.

Media depictions of the migrant-protesters at Oranienplatz largely follow four patterns. The first portrays the O-Platz movement as being overly aggressive, and the migrant protesters as being delusional about the obligations of the state towards them. The second framing portrays the group as violent, and their occupation of the square and school as criminal behavior. The third frames the organization of the occupied spaces as chaotic and unorganized. The final framing illustrates a dynamic between left-wing groups and the O-Platz movement in which the migrant protesters are ostensibly being exploited. Each of these four frames build off the others, producing and reinforcing certain assumptions about the protesters and occupied spaces.

Much of the media coverage of the O-Platz movement portrays the group as overly entitled and their demands as unreasonable. A headline published in *Berliner Morgenpost* on May 9th, 2014 reads “Asyl: Politiker warnen vor Erpressung durch Flüchtlinge” [Asylum: Politicians warn of extortion by refugees]. The use of the word ‘Erpressung’ links the migrant protesters to criminality, characterizing their protests as an attempt to blackmail politicians and subvert the rule of law through threats. Furthermore, it implies that the O-Platz movement is attempting to shake down Berlin’s government and that they are demanding more than they are entitled to. Headlines also describe the continued occupation of the Gerhart-Hauptmann School in a negative light. A headline from an article published in *BZ* on June 24th, 2014 reads “Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule: Noch rund 40 Flüchtlinge harren aus” [Gerhart-Hauptmann School: Around 40 refugees are still holding out], while the subheading reads “Die Ohlauer Straße in Kreuzberg ist gesperrt, Polizei vor der Schule - die Räumung hat begonnen. Viele Unterstützer vor Ort” [Ohlauer Straße in Kreuzberg is blocked, police are in front of the school—the eviction has begun. Many local supporters]. The use of the phrase ‘noch...harren aus’ [still holding out] implies that these migrant protesters are refusing to abide with a reasonable

compromise. Furthermore, the subheading's mention of 'local supporters' of the eviction characterizes the migrant protesters as oppressively stubborn, given that they no longer have the support of the community.

A few of the headlines that utilize this first frame emphasize government spending on the O-Platz movement. A headline from an opinion piece published in *BZ* on February 6th, 2014 reads "Kreuzberger Moral: Mehr Geld für besetzte Schule als für andere" [Kreuzberg morality: More money for occupied school than for others], while the subheading from the same article reads "Gunnar Schupelius fragt, warum Schulbesetzer Geld bekommen, während in anderen Schulen Eltern putzen müssen" [Gunnar Schupelius asks, why do the school occupiers get money, when in other schools parents have to clean]. Both the headline and subheading make the assumption that money spent on the migrant protesters is money that would and could be spent on German citizens. This also implies that Germans, as citizens, have more of a right to government support than the residents of the Gerhart-Hauptmann School. As such, this article characterizes the protesters as wrongfully believing that they are entitled to the rights of citizenship and as demanding too much from German institutions.

Several of the headlines analyzed in this paper depict the migrant protesters as engaging in a variety of violent and criminal behaviors. Eleven headlines describe specific incidents where individual migrant protesters acted violently or illegally, while four headlines describe violence or illegal actions by groups during demonstrations ("Auf der Demo" 2014; "Randalen wegen Flüchtlingscamp" 2013).

By emphasizing the violent criminal behaviors of the migrant protesters, these headlines frame the protesters as agitators, raising questions about their ability to integrate into German society. A headline published in *Bild* on June 26th, 2014 reads "50 Flüchtlinge harren weiter in

der Hauptmann-Schule aus: Nervenkrieg mit Molotow-Cocktail” [50 refugees continue to hold out in the Hauptmann School: War of nerves with a Molotov cocktail], while the subheading reads “Es sind Bilder wie aus einem Hollywood-Politthriller, doch sie stammen aus Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg!” [They look like pictures from a Hollywood political thriller, yet they come from Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg!]. This headline clearly implies that the migrant protesters are engaged in violent and illegal activity. The subheading’s reference to Hollywood thrillers creates a sense of drama surrounding the occupied space, sensationalizing their protest. This is furthered by the use of the term ‘Nervenkrieg’ [war of nerves], which implies that the migrant protesters are using psychological tactics and bullying to achieve their goals. ‘Nervenkrieg’ also connects the O-Platz movement to war, creating an us-vs-them dynamic between the migrant protesters and German society. Furthermore, the subheading implies that the events taking place in the migrant-occupied spaces are unexpected or unusual for that area. This further reinforces the framing of the migrant protesters as outsiders who do not belong in German society. Finally, the use of the word ‘weiter’ [continue] contributes to the framing of the O-Platz activists as stubbornly resistant and responsible for unnecessary tension.

The third common frame within the headlines is that both the spaces occupied by the migrant protesters are in disorder and that there is a complete absence of any organizational structure (“Oranienplatz-Camp” 2013; Abel and Brüning 2014). The headline from an article published on March 3rd, 2014 in *Bild* reads “Die bittere Wahrheit über den Berliner Oranienplatzbild: in Deutschlands bekanntestem Flüchtlingscamp” [The bitter truth about Berlin’s Oranienplatz tableau: in Germany’s most famous refugee camp], while the subheading reads “Gewalt gegen Passanten, Rattenplage, es stinkt nach Urin. Und statt Zelten werden immer mehr feste Holzhütten errichtet” [Violence against passers-by, rat plague, it stinks of urine. And

instead of tents, more and more wooden huts are being erected]. Both the headline and subheading imply that the occupied square is a nuisance and threat to the surrounding community. Furthermore, by emphasizing the purported lack of hygiene and cleanliness at the camp, it frames the migrant protesters as being uncivilized and helpless. This legitimizes the assumption that the state needs to intervene. Many of the headlines in the data set, including this one, refer to the wooden huts at Oranienplatz. As is the case with this subheading, their erection is always framed as a serious problem. Some headlines emphasize the danger they present as a fire hazard, while other headlines raise concerns about their permanence.

The use of the phrase ‘bittere Wahrheit’ [bitter truth] in this headline reinforces the portrayal of the occupied square as especially concerning with regards to health and safety, and as a dire problem that needs to be quickly solved. Furthermore, by describing the violence, unsafe construction, and unsanitary conditions of the occupied square as the ‘bitter truth’, this headline suggests that *Bild* is not afraid to present the unfiltered reality at Oranienplatz. This in turn suggests that city officials, unlike *Bild*, are blind to this reality, and that the media is providing a necessary and valuable service by exposing them.

The headlines also frame the migrant protesters as being exploited by left-wing groups and portray left-wing involvement as heightening the violence and lengthening the occupation’s duration. The majority of the articles describing the impact of left-wing involvement on the O-Platz movement rely on quotes by politicians (“CDU-Experte Burkard Dregger zum Oranienplatz” 2013; “Raed Saleh: ‘Es war ein Fehler’” 2014), and thus may seem separate from media depictions of the movement. However, the inclusion of quotes by some politicians, the exclusion of quotes by others, and the way the quotes are framed within the articles emphasize and legitimize the characterization of the migrant protesters as being instrumentalized and

exploited by left-wing groups. An article published in *Berliner Zeitung* on a speech by Raed Saleh writes “Gegen linke „Sympathisanten“, die weiterhin gegen die friedliche Räumung protestieren, spricht Saleh Klartext... ‘Denen geht es nicht um die Menschen, sie wollen unsere offene, demokratische Gesellschaft herausfordern. Wer so mit Flüchtlingen umgeht, verliert unseren Respekt’” [Saleh speaks clearly against left-wing sympathizers, who continue to protest against the peaceful eviction... ‘They don’t care about the people, they want to challenge our open, democratic society. Anyone who treats refugees like that loses our respect’]. This article assumes that the eviction at Oranienplatz was willingly accepted by the migrant protesters, and that any continued protest is an act of aggression by German left-wing activists acting in defiance of the migrant protesters’ wishes. In doing so, it delegitimizes the O-Platz movement and its demands, which in turn works to justify the state’s decision to evict the migrant protesters at Oranienplatz. As a result, the characterization of the migrant protesters as passive victims, able to be easily exploited by other groups, is produced and mirrored.

The fourth and final framing is also produced through headlines describing acts of protest and violence enacted by left-wing groups without the involvement of the migrant protesters (“Oranienplatz: Linke Szene” 2013; “Also was ist euer Problem” 2014). Because of their emphasis on events that do not include the migrant protesters, they present left-wing groups as purposefully escalating the violence at Oranienplatz and extending the timeline of the movement. A headline published in *Berliner Zeitung* on March 19th, 2014 reads “Auto abgefuckelt: Linke attackieren B.Z.-Kolumnisten” [Car torched: Leftists attack *BZ* columnists]. This headline focuses on an act of violence committed by ‘Linke’ rather than by a combination of both migrant protesters and left-wing groups. As a result, this act is removed from the political context of the Oranienplatz movement. Rather than being a form of protest against unjust treatment of refugees

in Germany, it becomes a senseless act of aggression. Furthermore, the fact that the victims of the act are journalists strengthens the headline's framing of the left, since journalists are widely regarded as crucial to a healthy democratic society. Thus, the left-wing perpetrators of this act are not only committing a crime against a few individuals, but are threatening the health of German society as a whole. This contributes to the framing of the German left-wing as exploiting the migrant protesters in order to destabilize Germany's social and political climate. As a result, the characterization of the migrant protesters as passive victims is produced and reinforced, and the power and legitimacy of their movement is weakened.

Two of the headlines which reference left-wing groups imply that right-wing actions against the O-Platz movement were, in fact, perpetrated by radical left-wing groups ("Feiger Brandanschlag" 2015; Kopietz 2014), reinforcing the framing that left-wing groups were responsible for escalating the violence at Oranienplatz. These headlines also delegitimize the O-Platz activists' concerns about right-wing violence, by arguing that the migrant protesters' supporters are actually the perpetrators of violent acts at O-Platz. This perception by the media about right-wing violence may explain the near absence of mentions of right-wing groups in the headlines.

Media Attitudes Towards Political Figures and Institutions

As shown in Table 2 and Table 3, the code PL, which labeled headlines that mentioned specific politicians and parties involved in the German state's response to the O-Platz movement, occurred the most often within the data set. Thus, the response of the German state to the O-Platz movement clearly dominated media coverage of the event. This section of the paper examines

the dominant attitudes towards the different political figures, parties, and institutions mentioned in the media coverage of the O-Platz protests.

The organizational structure of Berlin's government deeply impacted the state response to the Oranienplatz movement, and in turn the media coverage of the event. Thus, a brief overview of this structure is necessary for context. Berlin is administered through a two-stage administration system; one stage is the central administration, while the other is district administration (BBLC 2023). The central administration is composed of the *Senat von Berlin* [Berlin Senate] and the *Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin* (Berlin House of Representatives). The *Abgeordnetenhaus* is the legislative branch of the government, and representatives are chosen every five years through a general election. The *Senat*, meanwhile, is the executive branch of the government, consisting of the Governing Mayor and up to ten senators. The chief of police and the fire department are subordinate to the *Senat*. The Mayor is selected by the *Abgeordnetenhaus*, while the senators are chosen by the mayor (LSE Cities 2007). The *Senat* administrations, each led by a Senator, are responsible for making decisions about basic policy and for overseeing the overall development of the city, its universities, and any corporations under public law. These *Senat* administrations change when a new *Senat* is formed. Between 2011 and 2014, the *Senat* was led by Klaus Wowereit (SPD). Dilek Kolat (SPD), Frank Henkel (CDU), and Mario Czaja (CDU) were the most involved in the *Senat* response to the O-Platz movement, as Senators of *Arbeit, Integration und Frauen* [Labor, Integration, and Women], *Inneres und Sport* [the Interior and Sport], and *Gesundheit und Soziales* [Health and Social Affairs], respectively (Senatskanzlei Berlin 2023). Frank Henkel also acted as the Deputy Mayor during this time.

There are twelve districts in Berlin, each with their own district administrative body, the *Bezirksamt*. The *Bezirksamt* [district administration] is composed of the District Mayor and the District Assembly and is responsible for district-level affairs. The Berlin *Senat* maintains oversight over each of Berlin's *Bezirksämter* [district administrations]. However, this oversight is limited to ensuring that federal and *Senat* laws are being upheld. In order to do this, the Berlin *Senat* is allowed to request information, reports, and files from the *Bezirksamt* at any time (GVBI 1996).

Although the *Bundestag*, the federal legislative branch of Germany, has little jurisdiction within the city of Berlin, it does provide resources to the city government, which in turn allows the city government to provide infrastructure and services to the city. Furthermore, Berlin's position as the capital of Germany means that the federal government is largely based in Berlin. Thus, city administration is influenced by the federal government.

Oranienplatz and the Gerhart-Hauptmann School are situated in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, meaning that they are under the jurisdiction of the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district administration, the Berlin *Senat*, and the Berlin *Abgeordnetenhaus*. The tasks that the district administration are responsible for and the tasks that the city government are responsible for is not clearly defined in Berlin law (Boeck 2022). Thus, who had jurisdiction over the state response to the O-Platz movement was also unclear, although the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district administration had primary jurisdiction at the start of the occupation. This complex administrative system, and the conflicts between the different institutions, are central to the media coverage of the O-Platz movement. Among the headlines analyzed, the Berlin *Senat* is mentioned twenty-two times, the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg *Bezirksamt* is mentioned twelve times, the *Abgeordnetenhaus* is mentioned 4 times, and the

Bundestag is mentioned 3 times. Thus, the Berlin *Senat* and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg *Bezirksamt* were covered by the media the most, meaning the headlines framed them as the institutions at the center of the state response to the O-Platz movement.

The headlines analyzed also mentioned a number of political parties and politicians represented in all three of the institutions governing Berlin. The *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* [Christian Democratic Union of Germany] or the CDU and the *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* [Alliance 90/The Greens] or the *Grüne* were both mentioned 17 times, while the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* [Social Democratic Party of Germany] or the SPD was mentioned 7 times. The CDU is a liberal conservative party, the SPD is a social democrat party, and the *Grüne* is a social liberal party with roots in the environmental movement. When the O-Platz movement began, the *Grüne* were in control of the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district government, and the SPD was in control in the *Abgeordnetenhaus* and *Senat*.

Although several other politicians were named in the analyzed headlines, Monika Herrmann and Frank Henkel were the focus of the media's coverage on the state response to the O-Platz movement. Monika Herrmann, a member of the *Grüne*, was the District Mayor of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg from 2013 to 2021, having replaced Franz Schulz, also a member of the *Grüne*. Frank Henkel, a member of the CDU, was the Governing Deputy Mayor and Senator of the Interior in the Berlin *Senat* from 2011 until 2016. Their roles in Berlin's institutions and as members of rival parties made Herrmann and Henkel central to the conflict between the district and city during the O-Platz movement. This centrality was furthered by media coverage of the event. Within the headlines, Herrmann is mentioned twelve times and Henkel is mentioned thirteen times, far surpassing the mentions of any other politicians.

The headlines analyzed almost unanimously describe the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district administration and the Berlin government as being in constant disagreement about the O-Platz movement. Generally speaking, the district administration was sympathetic to the occupations of Oranienplatz and Gerhart-Hauptmann School, as well as to the migrant protesters' demands. The Berlin government, on the other hand, was primarily interested in clearing the occupied spaces, and was far more willing to use force to do so. This disagreement is largely held responsible for the persistence of the 'problem' of the occupation. However, some parties, individuals, and institutions are assumed to be more to blame within media coverage of the O-Platz movement than others. This imbalance is important to consider; it reveals the assumptions and perceptions that were foundational to the media coverage of the state's response to the O-Platz movement.

The media coverage of Monika Herrmann places her as a crucial supporter of the migrant protesters at Oranienplatz, a position that they are largely critical of. This criticism moves beyond Herrmann to the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district administration and her party, the *Grüne*. Within the twelve headlines in which Herrmann is named, seven describe her support of the O-Platz movement and five describe her unwillingness to evict the migrant protesters. Furthermore, three of the headlines mention Herrmann's belief that the Berlin *Senat* has no right to clear Oranienplatz. This focus produces and reflects the perception that the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district government and the Berlin government were unable to agree on the state's response to the O-Platz movement.

Five of the twelve headlines in which Herrmann is named allude to criminality, with regards to Herrmann and the migrant protesters ("Flüchtlinge in Kreuzberg: CDU" 2014; "CDU-Politiker zeigt" 2014; Wedekind 2013). One of these headlines, published in *Berliner*

Zeitung on July 31st, 2013 reads “Monika Herrmann in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg: Bürgermeisterin für Dealer, Flüchtlinge und Hipster” [Monika Herrmann in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg: Mayor for Dealers, Refugees, and Hipsters]. This headline works in two crucial ways. First, it connects the migrant protesters at Oranienplatz to drug dealers, which in turn connects the migrant protesters to criminal behavior. In doing so, it also alludes to the purported need for police action against the O-Platz movement. Second, this headline implies that Herrmann is sympathetic to criminals in her district, the migrant protesters, and is disinterested in policing criminal activity in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg.

Another allusion to criminality is from a subheading published in *BZ* on October 10th, 2013, which reads “Nach Treffen von Senator Czaja und Bürgermeisterin Herrmann ist klar: Helfen können wir nur, wenn wir schummeln” [After meeting with Senator Czaja and District Mayor Herrmann, one thing is clear: We can only help if we cheat]. This subheading refers to a visit by Herrmann to Oranienplatz, during which she told the migrant protesters that the city of Berlin could not directly provide them with funding or accommodations. She went on to explain that she would attempt to find other sources of funding for the migrant protesters (Flüchtlingscamp: Berlin 2013). The subheading describes this strategy as ‘cheating,’ implying a level of wrongdoing, malfeasance, or even criminality. This logic is founded on an assumption that the bureaucratic process in Berlin is necessary and just, especially with regards to migrants. Furthermore, this subheading implies that Herrmann is willing to break the law in order to help the refugees; it links the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district government to criminality and raises questions about the legitimacy of their position as the institution in control of the state’s response to the O-Platz movement.

Other headlines support the characterization of Herrmann as an ineffectual leader. A headline published in *Bild* on November 26th, 2013 reads “Kreuzbergs Bezirksbürgermeisterin im Bild-Verhör: Frau Herrmann, warum endet Ihre Flüchtlings-Politik in diesem Chaos?” [Kreuzberg’s District Mayor in Bild Interrogation: Ms. Herrmann, why does your refugee policy end in this chaos?]. In this headline, Herrmann’s decisions regarding the migrant protesters are seen as leading to violence and disorder. This headline is also interesting in the way it portrays the position of *Bild* as a newspaper. The use of the word ‘Verhör’ implies that the newspaper is a law enforcement agency and that their role in covering the O-Platz movement is to police the politicians on their policies and beliefs. Many of the headlines portraying Herrmann as an ineffectual leader point to her partisan approach. A headline published in *Berliner Zeitung* on November 25th, 2013 reads “Monika Herrmann: Tief im grünen Milieu verwurzelt” [Monika Herrmann: Deeply rooted in the green milieu]. This headline implies that Herrmann is acutely connected to the *Grüne*, who, as a party, are unflinchingly supportive of the O-Platz movement. This deep connection, in turn, has led Herrmann to shirk her responsibilities in upholding federal policy or to compromise with the city government.

By contrast, the media coverage of Franz Henkel portrays him as Herrmann’s political rival and as being continuously against the presence of migrant protesters at Oranienplatz. Furthermore, there is far less outright criticism of Henkel than of Herrmann within the headlines. Five of the thirteen headlines naming Henkel describe his belief that eviction is the only solution to the O-Platz movement. One headline, published in *Berliner Morgenpost* on January 5th, 2014, reads “Zeltlager: Henkel will räumen- und die SPD wartet ab” [Tent Camp: Henkel wants to clear- and the SPD waits]. This portrayal of his policy assumes that the migrant protesters’ presence at Oranienplatz is undeniably a problem and that eviction is inevitable. These

assumptions in turn produce a portrayal of Henkel, in opposition to the portrayal of Herrmann (and the SPD), as a politician who is willing to confront reality and take real action. All five of these headlines also utilize forceful language to describe Henkel's belief that eviction is the only solution to the O-Platz movement. One headline, published in *Berliner Zeitung* on August 7th, 2013, reads "Oranienplatz Kreuzberg: Flüchtlingscamp: Henkel macht Druck" [Oranienplatz Kreuzberg: Refugee Camp: Henkel puts the pressure on]. The assertive language chosen to describe Henkel's response to the O-Platz movement helps to produce the perception of Henkel as a politician willing to act and reinforce the view of Herrmann (and other politicians in support of the migrant protesters) as ineffective and weak in their response to the O-Platz movement.

Six of the headlines naming Henkel describe his impatience with the response from other politicians in the district and city government to the O-Platz movement. For example, two headlines specifically mention the decision by Henkel and the rest of the Berlin *Senat* to boycott a roundtable with the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg district administration and several non-governmental agencies aiding the migrant protesters at Oranienplatz (Flatau 2013; "Kolatz, Henkel, Czaja" 2013). Furthermore, a headline published by *Bild* on November 26th, 2013 reads "Der Innensenator watscht die Bezirksbürgermeisterin ab: Henkel setzt Ultimatum für den Oranienplatz" [The Senator for the Interior slaps the District Mayor: Henkel sets an ultimatum for Oranienplatz]. This headline directly describes Henkel and Herrmann as diametrically opposed to one another with regards to their policies towards the O-Platz movement. This depiction also contributes to the dominant media perception of Henkel as an effective politician willing to act decisively in response to the O-Platz movement. Furthermore, the headline's framing of the state's response to the O-Platz movement as a battle between the district and the city raises questions about the legitimacy of Herrmann's jurisdictional claim to Oranienplatz and

weakens the political power of her support of the migrant protesters. Another headline, published in *Berliner Zeitung* on December 29th, 2013, reads “Henkel zum Flüchtlings-Camp Oranienplatz: "Von Drohungen darf sich der Rechtsstaat nicht einschüchtern lassen"” [Henkel on the Oranienplatz Refugee Camp: “The rule of law must not be intimidated by threats”]. This headline portrays the O-Platz movement as a purposeful attempt to overthrow the existing bureaucratic order of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg and Berlin through bullying and intimidation, rather than as a legitimate form of political action. It also ties the migrant protesters’ continued presence at Oranienplatz to a weakening of the rule of law. This connection, in turn, creates a perception of supporters of the migrant protesters, such as Herrmann, as complicit in incapacitating the state’s power to enforce the law. Because Henkel is portrayed as a firm opponent of the O-Platz movement, he also becomes a protector of Berlin’s legal system. Interestingly, this headline, by casting the O-Platz movement as a threat, attributes a significant degree of power to the migrant protesters. This counters the often invoked portrayal of the migrant protesters as weak, instead framing them as a significant adversary. Nonetheless, these contradictory depictions both frame the refugee activists as a bureaucratic problem that the state and police need to solve.

Although the dominant view of Henkel in the media is largely positive, there are a few exceptions within the headlines. Two headlines describe criticism of Henkel’s reaction to the O-Platz movement from Klaus Wowereit, a member of the SPD and the governing mayor of Berlin. Both headlines describe Wowereit’s frustration with Henkel’s unwillingness to compromise with the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg administration. They were also both published in 2014, towards the end of the occupation of Oranienplatz and the Gerhart-Hauptmann School. They reinforce the dominant portrayal of the O-Platz movement as having gone on for too long,

albeit from a different angle. Nonetheless, these headlines do complicate the prevailing view of Henkel as a capable politician with a distinguishing willingness to take firm action against the migrant protesters.

The portrayal of Henkel I have described above both produces and mirrors a common trend within the media coverage of the O-Platz movement, labeled TL in my codes; the Oranienplatz movement is consistently perceived as a problem that needed to be solved as quickly as possible. Furthermore, the state response is depicted as being frustratingly unhurried and non-committal and, importantly, politicians who express support for the O-Platz movement are seen as especially culpable in incapacitating the ability of the state to find a solution to the presence of the migrant protesters at Oranienplatz.

In the following pages, I shift from my analysis of the portrayals of individual political figures, and focus on the way institutional groups, including various political parties and the police, are portrayed in the headlines.

The CDU, SPD, and the *Grüne* are directly named in several of the headlines in this study. The way that each of them is portrayed in these headlines reveals important imbalances in the media's coverage of the state's response to the O-Platz movement. Although coverage of the CDU and the *Grüne* generally mirrors the coverage of Henkel and Herrmann respectively, there are some important distinctions.

The *Grüne* are consistently described as being unflinching supporters of the migrant protesters; this solidarity is portrayed as the cause of the party's incompetence and actions which undermine the law. Three headlines referencing the *Grüne* describe party actions to support the O-Platz movement's demands, including the demand to abolish refugee camps and the demand that the migrant protesters receive free transit tickets from BVG (Berlin's public transit

authority). A subheading from an opinion piece published in *BZ* on March 6th, 2013 reads “Grüne wollen Abschiebehäft abschaffen und untergraben damit den Rechtsstaat” [The Grüne want to abolish detention pending deportation and are thus undermining the rule of law]. This headline implies that the *Grüne*'s support of the migrant protesters is directly responsible for an increasing inability of any state actors to enforce federal and city law. It also positions the right to detain and deport asylum seekers as a right of German sovereignty. This position is expanded on in the body of the article, when Schupelius writes “Die Grünen zielen darauf ab, dem Staat seine exekutive Gewalt an einer ganz empfindlichen Stelle zu nehmen” [The Grünen aim to deprive the state of its executive powers in a very sensitive area]. By making this connection, this article implies that *Grüne* policy with regards to the O-Platz movement is not only a threat to the rule of law in Berlin, but also is a threat to the self-determination and governance of the entire country.

Two headlines in particular describe how the migrant protesters' actions are an embarrassment for the *Grüne*. The subheading of an article published in *Der Spiegel* on July 6th, 2014 reads “Flüchtlinge okkupieren eine ehemalige Schule in Kreuzberg und blamieren die Grünen in ihrer Hochburg” [Refugees occupy a former school in Kreuzberg and embarrass the Grünen in their stronghold]. This subheading positions the *Grüne* as being blindsided by the aggressiveness of the migrant protesters at Oranienplatz. In doing so, it reinforces the portrayal of the *Grüne* as being too adamant and naive in their support of the O-Platz movement, an adamance that has blinded them to the reality of the situation. Furthermore, it highlights a recurring trend in the media's coverage of the O-Platz movement, portraying the migrant protesters as excessively assertive and entitled, with unrealistic expectations of Berlin and Germany's responsibilities towards them.

The headlines which directly refer to the CDU, on the other hand, highlight the party's concerns about the conditions at Oranienplatz and the health of the migrant protesters. Six headlines describe CDU politicians' shock at the lack of hygiene and order at Oranienplatz and in the Gerhart-Hauptmann School, with three of them detailing the party's efforts to report Monika Herrmann for the camp's conditions. This emphasis on the CDU's concerns for the migrant protesters' health and safety frames the CDU's opposition as an attempt to help the migrant protesters, rather than as an attempt to suppress their movement.

Moreover, the headlines' centralization of the CDU's actions to report Herrmann creates the perception that the party is more competent than the *Grüne*, as they are willing to take substantial action to evict the protesters. The subheading of an article published in *BZ* on January 16th, 2014 reads "CDU-Abgeordneter Kurt Wansner besuchte das 'Haus der Gesetzlosen' in Kreuzberg. Sein Urteil fiel vernichtend aus" [CDU Member of the House of Representatives visited the 'House of Outlaws' in Kreuzberg. His verdict was scathing]. This subheading positions the CDU as having a more realistic understanding of the situation in the occupied school than the *Grüne*. Furthermore, the description of the school as a 'House of Outlaws' links the migrant protesters to criminality. This reinforces the framing of the CDU's opposition to the O-Platz movement as an attempt to protect the rule of law.

Meanwhile, the headlines that specifically mention the SPD portray the party as a moderate mediator, committed to swiftly resolving the occupations while also displaying a strong dedication to upholding refugee rights. A headline published on May 1st, 2014 in *Berliner Morgenpost* reads "Henkel will räumen und die SPD wartet ab" [Henkel wants to evict and the SPD is waiting], while the subheading reads "Wowereits Partei will sich nicht in Haftung nehmen lassen für eine mögliche Eskalation" [Wowereits party does not want to be held

responsible for a possible escalation]. This article portrays the SPD as a deterrent to Henkel's assertiveness, aiming to maintain peace at Oranienplatz. Although not related to the media's portrayal of the SPD, it is important to note that this article also subtly ties the migrant protesters to disorder and violence, by describing a 'possible escalation' at Oranienplatz.

Some of the headlines mentioning the SPD criticize their indecisiveness and unwillingness to take action, even while framing the party as a defender of both the law and migrant rights. For example, a heading published in *Bild* on November 4th, 2014 reads "Raed Saleh: 'Es war ein Fehler, dieses Camp zu dulden'" [Raed Saleh: 'It was a mistake to tolerate this camp'], while the subheading reads "Die mutige Rede des SPD-Fraktionschefs, der selbst als Kind aus dem Nahen Osten nach Deutschland kam" [The brave speech of the SPD Faction Chief, who himself came to Germany from the Middle East as a child]. This headline both reinforces and complicates the dominant framing of the SPD. First, the use of the word 'dulden' [tolerate] frames the SPD as having had a passive role in the state's response to the O-Platz movement. This reinforces their position as a moderate intermediary, having neither been entirely supportive of or aggressively in opposition to the migrant protesters' demands and actions. The use of the word 'mutig' [brave/courageous] makes the implication that Saleh and other SPD politicians were pressured to support the O-Platz movement. This implication relies on the assumption that criticism of the movement was largely perceived negatively within the SPD and the general public. The headline's emphasis on Saleh's refugee past positions the SPD as a party with a clear interest in aiding refugees and a deep empathy for their plight. Furthermore, because of its placement alongside a critique of the O-Platz movement, it frames the migrant-protesters at Oranienplatz as being misguided and overly aggressive in their actions. Thus, this headline is able to reinforce the SPD's position as a moderate non reactionary presence, while

simultaneously highlighting their indecisiveness and lack of action in response to the O-Platz movement, and implicitly criticizing the migrant protesters for their tactics.

The police are also directly mentioned in several of the analyzed headlines. They are largely depicted as victims of refugee violence, producing and reinforcing the characterization of the migrant protesters as violent agitators. Five headlines describe violence against police officers by the migrant protesters. One headline from an article published on July 7th, 2014 in *Bild* reads “Die tägliche Gewalt gegen Berliner Polizisten” [The daily violence against Berlin police officers], while the subheading reads “Die Gewalt gegen Berliner Polizisten reißt nicht ab. Allein 15 Polizisten sind am Wochenende bei drei Einsätzen in Kreuzberg verletzt worden. Einige von ihnen mussten sogar im Krankenhaus behandelt werden, nachdem ein Routine-Einsatz eskalierte” [The violence against Berlin police officers does not stop. 15 police officers were injured in three operations over the weekend alone. Some of them even had to be hospitalized after a routine operation escalated]. This headline characterizes the police as victims of unprovoked violence in several ways. The use of the words ‘tägliche’ [daily] and ‘allein’ [alone] in this article’s headline and subheading frame attacks by migrant protesters against police as a persistent fixture of the O-Platz movement’s occupation of the square and school. The description of the police action as a ‘Routine-Einsatz’ [routine operation] implies that the migrant protesters reacted violently to typical and reasonable police behavior. It also legitimizes their presence in the occupied spaces, an assumption that is made throughout the headlines.

The characterization of the police as victims is reinforced by several headlines which mention instances where the police protected or assisted the migrant protesters at Oranienplatz and in the occupied school. One headline, published in *Bild* on March 7th, 2014, reads “Ermittlungen nach Zeltbrand: Polizeischutz für das Camp am Oranienplatz” [Investigations

after tent fire: Police protection for the camp at Oranienplatz]. This headline portrays the police as acting to protect the migrant protesters from danger. In doing so, it validates their right to have a continuous presence in the occupied spaces and implies that the police as an institution are active and in control. By portraying the police as having a protective role over the O-Platz movement, these headlines create the foundation for the characterization of the migrant protesters as aggressors. Headlines about violence by migrant protesters against police and headlines about police assistance work jointly to set up a contrast between the peaceful, law-abiding police and the violent, disruptive protesters.

Four headlines mention accusations of violence by the police against migrant protesters, complicating the dominant framing of the police as victims. By mentioning these accusations, the headlines acknowledge that the relationship between the police and the migrant protesters is not one-sided, and that there are instances where the police may have acted as aggressors. However, it is worth noting that these accusations are mentioned far less frequently than the incidents where the police are portrayed as victims of violence. Furthermore, some of the headlines describing these accusations also work to delegitimize them. For example, the headline for an article published on February 6th, 2014 in *Berliner Morgenpost* reads “Vorwürfe: Widersprüche am Oranienplatz” [Allegations: Contradictions at Oranienplatz], while the subheading reads “Napuli Langa sagt, sie sei von Polizisten beleidigt worden, aber sie erstattet keine Anzeige” [Napuli Langa says that she was offended by police officers, but she is not filing a complaint]. Napuli Langa is a Sudanese refugee and one of the leading voices within the O-Platz movement. By emphasizing the contradictions in Langa’s allegations against the police, this headline implies that Langa is unreliable and that her claims are likely unfounded. Her allegations are further delegitimized by the subheading’s focus on the fact that Langa is not filing

a formal complaint. Finally, neither the headline nor the subheading mention that Langa is accusing the police of unnecessary violence, downplaying Langa's accusation. Instead, it uses the word 'beleidigt' [offended]. This word is often colloquially used in conjunction with 'Diva' or the phrase 'die beleidigte Leberwurst spielen' [to act like a primadonna] ("DWDS-Wortprofil für 'beleidigt'" 2023). Thus, the headline utilizes its German readers' cultural knowledge to delegitimize Langa's allegations against the police. Although some headlines mention accusations of violence by the police against migrant protesters, they are often presented in a way that delegitimizes them. As a result, the dominant framing of the police as victims remains largely unchallenged.

Overarching Themes

Through a multifaceted analysis of 233 headlines and 104 subheadings, four major themes of the German media's coverage of the O-Platz movement have been revealed. First, the headlines overwhelmingly reinforce the portrayal of refugees as passive and helpless. Second, the headlines legitimize state policies on refugees. Furthermore, the media coverage of the O-Platz movement works to legitimize state violence against the migrant protesters and their supporters. Finally, the media is framed as an objective and realistic law enforcement institution with regards to the O-Platz movement.

The headlines reinforce the portrayal of the migrant protesters as helpless in many ways. Their emphasis on the poor conditions of the occupied spaces assumes that the O-Platz activists are unable to organize themselves, and that they are uncivilized. In doing so, they assume that the state must intervene in order to help them. By portraying the migrant protesters as victims in need of state support, they imply that the O-Platz activists are obligated to feel gratitude towards

the Berlin and German government. Furthermore, the media's focus on the involvement of left-wing groups makes the assumption that the movement's demands are not representative of the desires of actual refugees. Both these frames work to weaken the O-Platz movement and their demands.

The headlines also work to legitimize state refugee and migration policies, through assumptions about the rights of the German state and about the lack of rights owed to refugees. Across the five newspapers, Germany's right to detain and deport refugees and migrants is unchallenged and reinforced. Furthermore, the O-Platz activists, as refugees, are assumed to not be obliged to the rights of citizenship. Through these assumptions, the headlines produce a conceptualization of the O-Platz movement as a threat to German sovereignty and the migrant protesters as being too demanding. This conceptualization is furthered by the portrayal of refugee violence, in which the headlines consistently describe migrant protesters' actions as a form of blackmail and bullying. The way in which political figures and parties who support the O-Platz activists are depicted, as weak and illegitimate, in contrast to the way opponents are depicted, as realistic and brave protectors of the law, also furthers this conceptualization.

Several themes within the headlines work to legitimize state violence against the migrant protesters. First, the media's focus on the violence and criminality of the O-Platz activists implies that state violence is a necessary response to extreme and disruptive agitation by the migrant protesters. Second, the headline's portrayal of the police, as victims of violence and as protectors of the activists at O-Platz, enforces their right to be present in the occupied spaces and delegitimizes accusations by migrant protesters against the police. Furthermore, the framing of eviction as a means to protect the health of the migrant protesters legitimizes the use of violence in clearing Oranienplatz and the Gerhart-Hauptmann School.

Finally, the headlines frame the media's coverage as being objective and grounded in reality. This is placed in opposition to the views of politicians in support of the O-Platz movement. In doing so, the media is portrayed as a crucial law enforcement agency, responsible for policing politicians' views and responses to the O-Platz movement. This legitimizes the assumptions made in the headlines about refugees, the obligations of the state, and the right of the state to use violence against the O-Platz activists.

In conclusion, the analysis of the German media's coverage of the O-Platz movement reveals a consistent pattern of reinforcing negative stereotypes about refugees, legitimizing state policies, and justifying state violence against migrant protesters. The media's portrayal of themselves as an objective and realistic law enforcement institution further strengthens the legitimacy of these assumptions.

Self-Representations and Expansions: Critical Discourse Analysis of O-Platz Movement Sources

This section of the paper aims to understand how the O-Platz movement activists conceived of themselves in a way that challenged the assumptions made in the German media coverage of their movement. In analyzing the three sources produced by O-Platz activists, I found three main themes. First, the content highlights direct and indirect violence enacted by the state through the modern refugee regime, as well as in its response to the refugee protesters' occupation of Oranienplatz and the Gerhart-Hauptmann School. Second, O-Platz movement content emphasized the importance of self-representation, visibility, and community in creating political power for the refugee activists. Finally, all three sources attempt to reimagine refugees' entitlement to the rights of citizenship, reframing these rights as basic human rights which the German state is obliged to provide. O-Platz movement activists, through a self-conceptualization of themselves as citizens, were able to temporarily claim access to the rights of citizenship and transform from invisible individuals with lives characterized by precarity into a collective political group.

State Violence

The content produced within the O-Platz movement emphasizes the violence enacted by state institutions against refugees as a whole, as well as against the activists at O-Platz in particular, through migrant policies, and direct violence and indirect violence enacted by politicians, border enforcement officers, and camp administrators and guards.

The sources describe migrant policies in the EU and Germany and the asylum system as racially discriminative and inhumane. In particular, the *Residenzpflicht*, use of migration detention

camps, system of categorization, and practice of deportation are mentioned in all three sources. According to the sources, these policies are able to remain in place because of the foundational assumption that “the life of the refugee is not important” (Bergt and Griesang 2014). The detention of migrants in camps is portrayed as a particularly dangerous aspect of the German immigration system. The conditions in these camps are described as prison-like, purposefully isolating, and characterized by constant surveillance (Langa 2015, 2; Bergt and Griesang 2014). When demanding the abolishment of refugee camps, the O-Platz movement writes that “refugees in Germany are forced to stay in ‘Lagers’ ...isolated from society, under inhumane living conditions and constant surveillance by...Lager-guards” (Oplatz- Berlin 2023). It is important to note that all three sources exclusively use the German word ‘Lager’ to describe German refugee camps. This stands in opposition to the official terms for the camps used by the German state, such as *Ankunftscentren* [arrival centers] and *Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte* [collective accommodation centers] (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik and Stiller 2023). Thus, the use of the word ‘Lager’ can be seen as a purposeful choice. Since the word ‘Lager’ is historically tied to Nazi concentration camps, the migrant protesters’ use of it attempts to emphasize the inhumanity of the refugee camps, by connecting the inhumane treatment they received in these modern ‘Lagers’ to the violence inflicted by the state on prisoners in Nazi concentration camps. The use of this word also acts to remind Germans of their nation’s historical past of extreme violence against those deemed ‘outsiders’.

Content produced by O-Platz activists consistently describes direct violence by state institutions against the migrant protesters. This violence is largely enacted by the police during the district’s attempts to clear the occupied square and school. The police are described as aggressors, attacking peaceful protesters and making racist remarks against them. Langa

describes how, after she began a peaceful protest in which she climbed a tree at Oranienplatz and refused to come down, police prevented her “from all attempts to contact or be supplied food. They prevented hunger strikers...from sleeping” (Langa 2015, 5), as well.

Just as crucially, the three sources all describe how politicians involved in the state response to the O-Platz movement enacted structural forms of violence on the migrant protesters. This indirect violence came in the form of politicians making false promises and lying to the protesters, as well as through their misrepresentations of the O-Platz movement in the public arena. Dilek Kolat, a Berlin Senator in the SPD party, is the focus of the migrant protesters’ characterization of politicians as liars, and Kolat’s false promises are mentioned in all three sources. In “Nine Days on the Roof”, Adam, an O-Platz activist and refugee from Sudan, says “what she [Kolat] promised...she cannot do...for us the agreement with Kolat is zero...we know if we follow this agreement, we do not get anything. We will be deported” (Bergt and Griesang 2014). Although indirect, this is a form of violence against the O-Platz activists, as it implies that their means of protest are illegitimate and that they are not owed the rights most often associated with citizenship.

Finally, content from the O-Platz movement also emphasizes the way politicians misrepresented the movement, especially with regards to the ‘voluntary eviction’ of the square. Langa writes that “the clearing of Oranienplatz...on 8th of April 2014 was not done as voluntarily as claimed by politicians or the Senate, that is obvious...Monika Herrmann and...Dilek Kolat had affirmed that the Oranienplatz refugees had agreed to the voluntary evacuation- but this does not correspond to the facts, the refugees argue the opposite” (Langa 2015, 5). All three sources argue that, by misrepresenting the forced eviction of Oranienplatz as voluntary, Herrmann and Kolat implied that the state successfully responded to the migrant

protesters' demands and goals. By making this implication, both politicians had a weakening effect on the movement as a whole, by delegitimizing their continued demand for certain rights.

Self-Representation, Visibility, and Community

The O-Platz Movement and its methods are described in very similar ways throughout the three sources. Self-representation of the migrant protesters and the ideal represented by the phrase 'by refugees, for refugees' (OPlatz- Berlin 2023) are both continuously emphasized. Furthermore, the content produced by the migrant protesters asserts the importance of visibility with regards to migrant protest at O-Platz. This visibility is achieved through the occupation of 'the streets' and public spaces, including Oranienplatz and the Gerhart-Hauptmann School (Langa 2015, 2; OPlatz- Berlin 2023). The O-Platz content also stresses the importance of a strong community, composed of refugees, in empowering the movement. As Langa writes, "we try to...unite all refugees together...the struggle for human rights has to be based on the development of social relations" (Langa 2015, 9). Furthermore, the sources argue that, although the O-Platz movement is centrally organized by refugees, solidarity with other political groups in Germany, such as Jugendliche Ohne Grenzen [Youth Without Borders], Welcome2Europe, and Boats4People, strengthens the movement and its demands (Ünsal 2015). The sources also argue that the O-Platz movement is not restricted to Berlin, or the individual migrant protesters at O-Platz, but rather to a Europe-wide refugee movement. By positioning itself in this way, the O-Platz movement is able to proclaim the universal nature of refugee struggles and the need for collective action to address them. Crucially, all of these descriptions place the O-Platz movement as a direct counter to the isolation and invisibility created by 'Lagers'. This placement of the

occupied spaces in direct opposition to the violence of the ‘Lagers’ helps to justify the movement’s methods.

Challenging German Media Coverage

The descriptions and emphases in the content created from within the O-Platz movement counter several of the assumptions and frames made in German media coverage. By continuously describing the different forms of violence enacted by state institutions (EU, Germany, Berlin) on refugees, all three sources emphasize the inhumaneness and danger of current migration policy. This works to counter the assumption made throughout the headlines that the law is just, which in turn seeks to weaken the legitimacy of state policies as a whole. Furthermore, this emphasis reveals how damaging the constant violence of the state is for refugees, and specifically the activists at O-Platz. This, in turn, counters the assertion made throughout the headlines that politicians in Berlin are motivated by a concern for the health of the migrant protesters. Finally, through descriptions of state violence, the O-Platz content is able to weaken the framing of the migrant protesters as being overly entitled and aggressive. By contrast, the three sources argue that the severity of the situation requires an equal reaction, such as the occupations of Oranienplatz and the Gerhart-Hauptmann School.

The three sources also mention acts of violence by the police specifically, which works to counter the portrayal of the police as victims of refugee violence. In *Nine Days on the Roof*, a migrant protester describes the situation on the roof of the occupied school:

“We need the people to understand what’s going on. We are really so peaceful people...we are...dancing, listening to music...we eat together...sit together. We do not

do anything. The police say ‘we can come in and kill you.’ This is clear that...the police are responsible...if anyone dies, the police are responsible...the police show us the banana. It’s like we are monkeys...coming from Africa. This is really racist and so clear” (Bergt and Griesang 2014).

This quote, by portraying the police as racist, violent, and aggressive, counters the dominant portrayal of the police as victims. Furthermore, by emphasizing that the migrant protesters are peaceful, it counters the assumption that the O-Platz activists are the aggressors. Through mentions of police brutality and racism, the content produced by O-Platz activists works to delegitimize police presence in the occupied spaces, as well as the violent reaction of the state as a whole.

All three sources also reframe refugee rights as human rights. This works to counter the assumption made throughout the headlines that rights are granted through citizenship, and that refugees’ lack of citizenship means they lack access to these rights. This assumption in turn is foundational to the perception of the migrant protesters as being too demanding; it is also the basis of the portrayal of the O-Platz movement’s methods as criminal in nature. In *Nine Days on the Roof*, one migrant activist pushes back, explaining “I’m not a criminal...I came here for a reason...war in my country. I came here, I would like to move. We have to fight. This is my right...the law is making the people fear. The law is the problem” (Bergt and Griesang 2014). The migrant activist quoted in *Nine Days on the Roof* makes the argument that his refugee status entitles him to certain rights, such as the right to move. Thus, his participation in the occupation of the Gerhart-Hauptmann School is not criminal; he has the right to protest the unjustness of the law as it stands. Furthermore, he argues that the law is the criminal actor in this situation, countering the dominant assumption that German migration policies are just and legitimate.

The content produced by the O-Platz movement also pushes against the assumption that they are being too demanding by characterizing their demands as easily accepted, and as owed to

them by the state. In *Nine Days on the Roof*, a migrant activist describes the protesters' demand for residency, saying "Our demand is not big...Henkel can do it. It's so easy for them to do it. It's so easy for them to save our lives. But the thing is, they think the life of the refugee is not important" (Bergt and Griesang 2014). This quote characterizes German politicians' inaction as an act of violence. It implies that the German state is actively choosing to endanger the lives of the migrant protesters because they do not believe in their value. Furthermore, it portrays Henkel, and other politicians in Berlin, as the aggressors, rather than the activists at O-Platz. The purposeful and exclusive use of the word 'Lager' to describe German refugee camps is also crucial to note. As noted earlier, 'Lager' is rooted in the historical context of Nazi concentration camps. By utilizing this word to describe modern camps in Germany, the migrant protesters are able to relate their experiences to historical violence enacted by the German state. Furthermore, they imply that this history of extreme violence against an 'other' creates an obligation of the state to respond to current violence within the German asylum system. Moments like this attempt to reimagine the obligations of the German state with regards to refugees, arguing that they are responsible for the lives of the migrant protesters at O-Platz.

Moreover, all three of the sources push against the portrayal of left-wing involvement in the O-Platz movement as being central to the movement's demands and methods. In *Nine Days on the Roof*, one refugee activist describes the group occupying the roof of the Gerhart-Hauptmann School: "we decide for ourselves...demanding our rights, demanding Germany to give us residence. If not, then really we don't have things to lose. We can jump [off the roof]" (Bergt and Griesang 2014). This group is clearly described as being composed of refugees with their own agency to make their own demands. Furthermore, the group is able to effectively protest because of their shared refugee status, which gives them nothing to lose. They

all know that they have no other choice, other than death. This description also works to counter the characterization of refugees' as helpless victims. Instead, this group has seized their victimization in order to strengthen their solidarity with one another and continue their protest.

The O-Platz content describes how the migrant protesters organized their movement efficiently, countering the portrayal of the occupied spaces as chaotic. In doing so, the three sources also work to push against the perception of refugees as helpless and in need of state intervention, which in turn delegitimizes state policies responding to the O-Platz movement. Throughout the headlines, clashes among the O-Platz activists are emphasized and utilized as justification for the eviction of the occupied spaces. However, within the O-Platz content, these clashes are described as having been overemphasized and used by politicians in order to weaken the movement. Langa explains how “their divide-and-rule strategy...[was] just like politicians did in the colonies in Africa...even though the Green party has been talking about the good things and against police actions...they did not walk their talk at all. In the end, they ordered the police to evict Oranienplatz” (Langa 2015, 8). This strategy is described to be a holdover from Germany's colonial past, implying that it is inherently violent. Furthermore, Langa argues that the Green Party, portrayed in German media to be overly sympathetic of the movement, betrayed the migrant protesters. By making this argument, Langa pushes against the characterization of the O-Platz movement as utilizing blackmailing and bullying to achieve their goals. Instead, the Green Party is characterized in this way.

The O-Platz content describes the movement's occupation of the Gerhart-Hauptmann as an apolitical means to protect the migrant protesters from the cold. Crucially, the sources argue that the occupation was required to protect the most vulnerable groups, namely families and sick people (Oplatz- Berlin 2023). In her article, Langa describes the role of the occupied school as “a

place for sleeping, and everything concerning our political activism...[took] place at Oranienplatz” (Langa 2015, 4). This differentiation between the occupied square and school pushes back against the portrayal of the migrant protesters as aggressors, since it argues that the seemingly violent and overly political occupation of the school was in fact exclusively motivated by the need to protect the health of vulnerable groups. Furthermore, this argument aims to weaken politicians’ assertions that the school occupation was dangerous for the migrant protesters, by showing how it actually aimed to ensure their safety. Finally, the inclusion of families and sick people in the O-Platz content in this context works to complicate the dominant understanding of the O-Platz activists as being young (and inherently dangerous) men. This, in turn, counters the characterization of the migrant protesters as violent aggressors.

However, it is important to note that the occupation of the Gerhart-Hauptmann School did transform from its original apolitical purpose into a protest action. On June 23rd, 2014, the majority of the occupants of the school were removed by Berlin police. 30 activists remained, in protest of Dilek Kolat’s proposal. As can be seen in *Nine Days on the Roof*, these activists were almost exclusively men. Nevertheless, this was an alteration of the Gerhart-Hauptmann School’s purpose for the majority of the O-Platz movement’s occupation, a fact that is not reflected in German newspaper headlines.

The O-Platz content is also adamant that, rather than restricting the movement’s focus to the group at O-Platz, the movement remains interested in the wider context of European migration policy. Concluding her article, Napuli Langa asks her readers to “fight...[asylum] laws...not only in Germany, fight Europe wide, fight together also with the working classes and social movements” (Langa 2015, 8). German media coverage of the movement ignores this wider context, instead focusing exclusively on Berlin and the city’s government, narrowing the

scope of the O-Platz movement's claims. By ensuring a broad focus, the O-Platz content is able to push back against this weakening effect. Furthermore, the movement's interest in the wider context of European migration policy and refugee movement around Europe counters an us vs. them mentality. This is because it creates the opportunity for Europe-wide solidarity and connects various separate groups.

In summary, by pushing back against assumptions made within German media coverage of the O-Platz movement, the O-Platz content also critically engages with the media's representation of itself. Throughout the headlines, the media is framed as an objective truth-telling institution. However, all three of the sources generated from within the O-Platz movement make the argument that, because their content represents "news of berlin refugee movements, from inside" (Oplatz- Berlin 2023), their representations of the O-Platz movement and the state's response is more legitimate than the German media's representations.

Refugee Rights and State Responsibility

The content produced by O-Platz activists argues for a more expansive understanding of the rights that refugees should have access to. In doing so, they claim the rights generally affiliated with citizenship, acting as citizens (Isin 2008). All three sources argue that refugees, as humans, should have freedom of movement. Within this freedom, refugees are described as having "the right to choose where and how we want to live" (Oplatz- Berlin 2023). Thus, refugees are obliged to receive the right to not be deported, to receive residency, and to work and provide for themselves. The O-Platz content is also adamant about the obligations of the state to recognize the refugee movement as a political institution. Through this recognition, refugees

would gain the right to occupy and protest, the power to negotiate with state institutions, and the right to political spaces of their own.

In expanding the understanding of the rights of refugees, the content produced within the O-Platz movement also attempts to reimagine the responsibility of the state in relation to refugees. As Langa explains, the O-Platz activists believe that refugees are deserving of “the right to live, not just to survive” (Langa 2015, 9). By claiming the ‘right to live’, the O-Platz activists argue that the German state is obligated to not just keep refugees alive, but to provide them with the freedom and governmental support to thrive in Germany.

This reimagining is also achieved through the sources’ emphasis on the inherent violence of migrant policies in Germany and the EU and of the state’s reaction to the O-Platz movement. Through this focus, the O-Platz activists are able to reveal the active and purposeful role of the state in restricting refugees’ rights, in an attempt to weaken the assumed legitimacy and justness of the asylum system and German law. This creates the opportunity for the migrant protesters to challenge the systemic and institutionalized discrimination against them as such. Furthermore, it ensures that refugee deaths, and especially the deaths of O-Platz activists, are seen as the responsibility of the state.

The content produced by the O-Platz activist furthers this work by describing Europe and Germany’s history of colonialism, and relating this historical context to contemporary migrant policies (OPlatz- Berlin 2023; Langa 2015, 8). Langa describes how the O-Platz movement represented the publicization of the horrors of Lampedusa, an infamous refugee camp on an Italian island by the same name, as well as the shipwreck on October 3, 2013, when a boat carrying more than 500 people from Libya to Lampedusa caught fire and capsized. At least 300 people on the boat have been confirmed dead. She goes on to explain that Lampedusa “is a

synonym for Europe's borders... for the European policy on asylum, for the colonial heritage which established a global, geopolitical and social divide" (Langa 2015, 4). Through the argument that current migration policies are a consequence and result of Europe and Germany's violent history of colonialism, all three sources further attempt to weaken the legitimacy of the modern asylum system. It also sheds light on the German state's role in colonialism in Africa, which played a large part in creating the instability from which the majority of the O-Platz activists are fleeing. This recognition, in turn, creates an alternative framework with regards to Germany's obligations to refugees fleeing Africa and the Middle East.

It is crucial to note that the O-Platz movement sources emphasize Germany's colonial history, rather than the history of National Socialism and the Holocaust, although the use of 'Lager' is an exception. It is likely that Germans, and other observers worldwide, would expect that the O-Platz movement would place German violence against refugees in the historical contextualization of the Holocaust instead. I argue that O-Platz activists' emphasis on colonialism is purposefully done for several reasons. First, it allows them to escape the limitations of the modern German politics of memory construction. This politics is characterized by the so-called 'migrant double bind'; on the one hand, migrants are told that they must take responsibility for the Holocaust to be German, while, on the other hand, they are told that they, because they are not German, are likely indifferent to Holocaust remembrance, and are rebuked for this alleged indifference (Levesque 2018). Thus, by not contextualizing violence against refugees within the history of the Holocaust, the O-Platz activists' do not have to interact with this discourse. Furthermore, the German politics of memory construction restricts conversations about race and violence against an 'Other' to the Holocaust. The scholar Michael Rothberg argues that this "inability to see race outside the framework of National Socialism...make[s] it

hard to see the various other kinds of racism that continue to exist, or were historically there and yet were not visible” (Levesque 2018). Thus, by tying German refugee policies to the context of colonialism, the O-Platz movement is able to make invisibilized forms of historical violence and racism visible, and expand the German conception of race and violence against an ‘Other’.

I also argue that this historical contextualization is productive, allowing the O-Platz movement to link their political action to global anti-colonial struggles. This productive link can be seen in *Nine Days on the Roof*, through the prominence of reggae throughout the film’s soundtrack. Reggae has a close association with Rastafri, an anti-colonial political movement that began in Jamaica and argued for a pan-African political consciousness (Homiak 2021). Because of these roots, the use of reggae in the documentary can be seen as a purposeful attempt to conceive of the O-Platz movement as a continuation of anti-colonial protests across the globe. This conception allows the O-Platz movement to claim solidarity with other groups and legitimize their expansion of the conceptions of refugee rights and state responsibility.

Discussion and Conclusion



Figure 1: Aerial view of the protest camp at Oranienplatz¹⁷

(Re)producing State Power

Through critical discourse analysis of German newspaper headlines, this paper works to reveal a key aspect of the process by which dominant conception of migrants and refugees are fashioned in Germany. German media coverage of the O-Platz movement is largely characterized by four overarching themes. First, the headlines overwhelmingly depict the O-Platz group as uncivilized, passive, and disorganized, by emphasizing the poor conditions of the occupied spaces and manipulation of the refugee activists by left-wing groups. Second, the headlines portray the O-Platz movement as overly extreme and highly disruptive, and the refugee activists as violent agitators. Their presence at Oranienplatz and in the Gerhart-Hauptmann School is assumed to be a criminal threat to social order and the rule of law. Third, media coverage of the O-Platz movement assumes that eviction of the refugee activists from the occupied spaces is the

¹⁷ This image was posted to the *Solidarität mit den streikenden Flüchtlingen in Deutschland (Berlin)* Facebook page on January 8, 2013.

only solution, and that the Berlin *Senat*, the Kreuzberg district administration, and the police are obligated and entitled to remove them by any means necessary. Fourth, the media is framed as an objective institution with regards to the O-Platz movement, more grounded in reality than the politicians involved in the state's response. These themes work simultaneously to weaken the political legitimacy of the O-Platz movement's methods and demands, and to legitimize state violence against the activists at O-Platz.

The assumptions made in German newspaper headlines covering the O-Platz movement reflect the essential assumptions of the modern refugee regime in Germany and Europe. The modern refugee regime depends on the assumption that the state has the right to manage and surveil refugees. It also rests on the belief that citizens are inherently entitled to certain rights and freedoms, due to their status as citizens, and that refugees and migrants, as non-citizens, are not entitled to these rights and freedoms. Finally, the modern refugee regime assumes that the state is entitled to enact violence against non-citizens in order to protect citizens from a racialized and criminalized 'Other'. German newspaper headlines covering the O-Platz movement (re)produce these assumptions; they utilize them, and in doing so, reinforce and legitimize them. This (re)production is crucial to the process by which a dominant conception of refugee is fashioned. By revealing the (re)productive relationship between the state and the media, the third section of this paper also reveals the state's influence and power over public discourse and the role of the media in strengthening this power.

Claiming Citizenship Through Self-Representation

O-Platz activists, rather than surrendering to the overwhelming power of the media and the state, chose to publicly challenge German media coverage of the movement through

self-representation. A critical discourse analysis of sources produced by the O-Platz activists shows that the O-Platz movement had a keen awareness of the assumptions underlying the modern refugee regime and the media's portrayal of their movement. This awareness allows these sources to effectively challenge the dominant conception of refugees in Germany and reveal the artificiality of formulations of concepts like state sovereignty and citizenship.

Four recurring themes emerge from my critical discourse analysis of the sources from the O-Platz movement. First, the O-Platz activists argue that the right to work, the freedom to move, and the right to act politically are human rights, and that, as humans, refugees are entitled to them. This challenges the assumption that these rights are exclusive to citizens. As a result, the formulation of citizenship itself is called into question. Second, the O-Platz activists argue that the German asylum system is remarkable in its cruelty and violence, and that German refugee policies are inherently and purposefully dehumanizing. Through this argument, the O-Platz activists push against the legitimization of German refugee policies as just and fair. Furthermore, by characterizing state refugee management as 'othering' by design, they call into question the assumption that state violence acts to protect its citizens. Rather, they conceptualize an alternative understanding, in which violence acts to exhibit state power and dehumanize refugees. Third, O-Platz movement content continuously makes reference to Germany's role in historical violence against 'othered' groups, emphasizing the nation's colonial history in Africa. These references tie the violence of the modern refugee regime to historical violence, weakening the legitimacy of German migration policies. References to Germany's colonial past also draws attention to Germany's role in creating the instability in Africa, where most of the O-Platz activists were from. By drawing attention to this history, the O-Platz movement also visualizes an alternative framework with regards to Germany's obligations to refugees fleeing Africa and

the Middle East. Finally, the O-Platz movement pushes back against the assumption that the media is objective, and that their coverage of the O-Platz movement is grounded in reality. Instead, the O-Platz movement makes the argument that O-Platz content is more legitimate, as ‘news from the inside’. This weakens the assumptions made by the German media and strengthens the O-Platz movement’s reimaginings of conceptions like state sovereignty and citizenship.

The O-Platz movement used self-representation as a means of countering German media coverage of their movement. Self-representation allowed the O-Platz activists to make the invisible visible and strengthen the legitimacy of their demands. As a result, the O-Platz movement had the political power to negotiate directly with political institutions in Berlin. Thus, the activists at Oranienplatz constituted themselves as citizens through self-representation, allowing them to (temporarily) claim access to the rights of citizenship.

Kreuzberg: Super-Impositions and Conditions of Possibility

The O-Platz movement occupied Oranienplatz for nearly two years, transforming a public square in the heart of Kreuzberg into a space of community and radical politics. As a public urban space, Oranienplatz allowed the migrant protesters to make their demands visible. However, Oranienplatz’s *specific* spatiality in the Kreuzberg neighborhood of Berlin was a crucial condition of possibility for the O-Platz movement. Kreuzberg has a long history of being an enclave both for Turkish migrants and for left-alternative squatters and the neighborhood is understood to be a “symbolic site of political, cultural, and ethnic difference in Germany” (MacDougall 2011, 158). Recently, however, the neighborhood has become the target of gentrifying development policies, placing many residents in a precarious position and inciting

protest actions, including squatting. Kreuzberg's unique urban identity as a site of transnational community and protest against exclusion from urban spaces allowed the O-Platz movement to form solidarity with the local community (Landry 2015). This opportunity for solidarity would not have been possible in other public urban spaces. In Kreuzberg, the O-Platz movement was able to connect with established squatting movements, such as the Cuvry Squat and Kotti & Co. This solidarity was crucial in transforming the activists at O-Platz into a political group. Furthermore, Kreuzberg's identity also was reflected in the Kreuzberg district administration's politics, and their support for the O-Platz movement, founded in these politics, allowed the occupation of Oranienplatz to last as long as it did. Thus, the spatiality of Oranienplatz should be understood as a condition of possibility.

However, the O-Platz movement's unique spatiality also had a weakening effect. For two years, the refugee activists lived, slept, ate, and politically organized as a community at Oranienplatz. For two years, the camp at Oranienplatz had acted as both their home and the physical manifestation of their movement's demands. Because of this layered spatiality of Oranienplatz, the "physical place and the resistance became intertwined to the extent that...[the activists]... could not envision the resistance to progress in the absence of their physical presence at the square" (Bhimji 2016, 439). Because of the way Oranienplatz was conceived by the refugee activists, the O-Platz movement was unable to shift the political power it had gained into other spatialities. Thus, when the O-Platz movement was evicted from the square, the refugee activists did not just lose their home; they also lost their collective identity as a political group.

Remembering O-Platz

The camp at Oranienplatz came down on April 15th, 2014. In March, Dilek Kolat, acting as the Senator of Labor, Integration, and Movement in the Berlin *Senat*, had promised the migrant protesters housing, German language education, and individual asylum case inspection if they cleared the square, and the majority of the activists at O-Platz agreed to these terms. It is difficult to find specific information about the fates of the refugee activists after they left Oranienplatz, an invisibility that sheds light on the power of the state. However, it is clear that the majority of them were not granted permission to remain in Germany. Thus, the O-Platz movement had limited and fleeting consequences for its participants.

The temporariness of the O-Platz movement must be understood as a result of the unceasing power of the state. The communal environment at Oranienplatz, which stood in direct contrast to the isolation of migrant camps, was foundational to the political power of the O-Platz movement. Kolat's solution, by removing the refugee activists from O-Platz and proposing individual asylum case inspections, severed the social ties that created this communal environment. This individualization and isolation is a method of state power, allowing the state to conceal and invisibilize violence against refugees. For refugees, the choice to shift from collective political action to these types of individual solutions is often a coerced one (Steinhilper 2021, 145). In the case of the O-Platz movement, "exhaustion and frustration...were the main concessional motivators" (Landry 2015, 410). The unceasing nature of the state's opposition to the O-Platz movement forced the refugee activists to accept individual solutions as the only means of escaping the precarity of their lives. Thus, Kolat's solution and the clearing of Oranienplatz can be understood as a purposeful attempt by the state to weaken the political power of the O-Platz movement.

The state further weakened the O-Platz movement's political power in the aftermath of the O-Platz movement's eviction from Oranienplatz. One of the conditions of the refugee activists' agreement with Kolat was the installment of an InfoContainer at Oranienplatz. This InfoContainer was a small structure which housed information about the O-Platz movement. It was meant to serve as a physical memorial to the O-Platz movement's occupation of Oranienplatz, and acted as a means for the refugee activists to claim belonging at Oranienplatz beyond the existence of the protest camp. However, in 2015, the Kreuzberg district administration, with approval from Kolat, removed the InfoContainer (Beckers 2015). The removal of the InfoContainer can be understood as a symbol of the power of the state in constructing memory. The memory of Oranienplatz as a physical manifestation of the O-Platz movement is concealed, having been deemed irrelevant to national and urban memory by the state. As a result, the political power of the O-Platz movement is partially constrained to the specific spatiality and temporality of the occupation of Oranienplatz.

The O-Platz movement had limited and fleeting consequences for its participants, as a result of the unceasing power of the state. However, its significance as a unique moment of refugee activism cannot be overlooked, as it allows the movement to transcend individual fates. Because of the O-Platz movement's self-representational strategies, the movement was able to move beyond the refugee activists' physical presence at Oranienplatz, although to a lesser extent. In the years after the movement's eviction from Oranienplatz, "refugee groups continued to meet, put forward publications, give speeches, work with theater groups and cultural workers, and hold exhibitions about the movement" (Bhimji 2016, 448). In doing so, the refugee activists have been able to remain influential in the refugee movement in Berlin, ensuring that activism progresses with the needs and desires of those who are directly affected by German asylum

policy in mind. In October of 2022, the O-Platz movement held a five-day celebration of the 10-year anniversary of the movement's occupation of Oranienplatz, allowing the protest site to regain visibility and the movement to reclaim lost political power. The celebration enabled for refugee resistance in Germany to become part of the public discourse once again, as "past strategies were deployed and past events were replayed and memorialized alongside current demands and novel strategies" (Bhimji 2023, 12). Furthermore, the refugee activists were able to push back against state control over memory, by self-memorializing the O-Platz movement.

The O-Platz movement and its legacy should also be understood in relation to its positionality within a global struggle for refugee rights. The migrant protesters at Oranienplatz transformed a public space into a political commons, where "the local...bridged with the national and global, and where the translocal experiences of asylum seekers...negotiate[d] and mobilize[d] political change on a European level" (Landry 2016, 411). Thus, the O-Platz movement's occupation of Oranienplatz can serve as an example of possibility. Furthermore, the O-Platz movement emerged from within the 'Lager', an incredibly restrictive context (Steinhilper 2021). Despite this context, the movement was able to gain meaningful political power. Thus, the O-Platz movement stands as proof that refugees can transform into political actors, despite constraints and precarity.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Data from *Der Spiegel*

Link	Date Published (dd.mm.yyyy)	Article Type	Headline (German)	Translated Headline	Headline Codes	Subheading (if applicable)	Translated Subheading	Subheading Codes
https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/buerger-verhindern-npd-kundgebung-in-berlin-a-910956.html	13.07.2013	Standard	Berlin-Kreuzberg: Bürger verhindern NPD-Kundgebung vor Flüchtlingscamp	Berlin-Kreuzberg: Citizens prevent NPD rally in front of the refugee camp	SO, PR, RW, RH	Rund 450 Bürger haben sich in Berlin-Kreuzberg einer NPD-Kundgebung in den Weg gestellt. Die Rechtsextremen hatten eine Bustour zu mehreren Flüchtlingscamps geplant - ihre Aktion beim Oranienplatz konnten die Gegendemonstranten unterbinden.	Around 450 citizens opposed an NPD rally in Berlin-Kreuzberg. The right-wing extremists had planned a bus tour to several refugee camps - the counter-demonstrators were able to stop their action at Oranienplatz.	RW, PR, SO, RH
https://www.spiegel.de/politik/spielein-verboten-a-e26185c9-0002-0001-0000-000107728896	18.08.2013	Standard	ASYLBEWERBER: Spielen verboten	ASYLUM SEEKERS: Playing prohibited	VC, PL	Dulden oder räumen? In Berlin und anderen Städten suchen Politiker nach Lösungen im Umgang mit Protestcamps von Flüchtlingen.	Tolerate or evict? In Berlin and other cities, politicians are looking for solutions to deal with refugee protest camps.	PL, VC, SL, TL
https://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/lampedusa-arbeitsvisa-koennt-en-das-fluechtlingsproblem-mildern-a-926718.html	09.10.2013	Standard	Katastrophe vor Lampedusa: Befristete Arbeitsvisa können Flüchtlingsproblem lindern	Catastrophe off Lampedusa: Temporary work visas can alleviate the refugee problem	SL, RH	Experten wollen Afrikanern einen legalen Weg anbieten, um in Europa zu arbeiten: ein befristetes Arbeitsvisum. Doch der Vorschlag ist bisher stets am Veto der Konservativen gescheitert - obwohl er von Wolfgang Schäuble stammt.	Experts want to offer Africans a legal way to work in Europe: a temporary work visa. But the proposal has always failed because of the veto of the conservatives - even though it comes from Wolfgang Schäuble.	PL, FS, SO, RD
https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/gesellschaft/oranienplatz-aktivistin-napoli-protestiert-auf-baum-gegen-raeumung-a-963849.html	11.04.2014	Standard	Geräumtes Camp am Berliner Oranienplatz: Protest auf der Platane	Cleared camp at Berlin's Oranienplatz: protest on the plane tree	VC, PR, RD	Nach der Räumung des Flüchtlingscamps am Berliner Oranienplatz ist der Protest noch lange nicht vorbei: Eine sudaneseische Aktivistin harrt seit drei Tagen bei Wind und Wetter auf einem Baum aus - voller Wut über das Vorgehen des Senats.	After the evacuation of the refugee camp in Berlin's Oranienplatz, the protest is far from over: A Sudanese activist has been hanging out in a tree for three days in all weathers - full of anger at the Senate's actions.	PR, VC, RV, TL, PL, FS
https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/berlin-kreuzberg-von-fluechtlingen-besetzte-schule-wird-geraemt-a-977140.html	24.06.2014	Standard	Berlin-Kreuzberg: Von Flüchtlingen besetzte Schule wird geräumt	Berlin-Kreuzberg: School occupied by refugees is cleared	VC, PO, SO	Zunächst sollten sie freiwillig gehen, dann wurde geräumt: Rund 200 Flüchtlinge, die seit 2012 in einem Schulgebäude in Berlin-Kreuzberg wohnen, müssen ihre Unterkunft verlassen. Die Polizei ist mit einem größeren Aufgebot vor Ort.	At first they were supposed to leave voluntarily, then they were evacuated: Around 200 refugees who have been living in a school building in Berlin-Kreuzberg since 2012 have to leave their accommodation. The police are on site with a larger contingent.	VC, PO, RV, RD, SL
https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-kreuzberg-drama-um-besetzte-schule-a-977616.html	27.06.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsprotest in Berlin-Kreuzberg: Drama auf dem Dach	Refugee protest in Berlin-Kreuzberg: drama on the roof	RV, PR, PO, RD	Die Männer drohen mit Selbstverbrennung und dem Sprung vom Dach: In einem ehemaligen Schulgebäude in Berlin-Kreuzberg spielt sich ein Flüchtlingsdrama ab. Die Polizei ist hilflos.	The men threaten to set themselves on fire and jump off the roof: a refugee drama is taking place in a former school building in Berlin-Kreuzberg. The police are helpless.	RV, PO, RD, FS
https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/kreuzberg-berliner-fluechtlinge-unterschreiben-kompromiss-a-978894.html	02.07.2014	Standard	Berliner Flüchtlinge: Besetzte Schule in Kreuzberg wird nicht geräumt	Berlin refugees: Occupied school in Kreuzberg is not cleared	FS, TL, PR, VC	Der Kompromiss verhindert eine Eskalation: 40 Flüchtlinge dürfen in einer Schule in Berlin-Kreuzberg bleiben - wenn sie gemeinsam mit dem Bezirk Zuzug von Schicksalsgenossen verhindern.	The compromise prevents an escalation: 40 refugees are allowed to stay in a school in Berlin-Kreuzberg - if they work together with the district to prevent those who share the same fate from moving in.	RD, PL, SL, RV

https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/berlin-fluechtlinge-in-kreuzberg-nach-protesten-vor-raeumung-a-978707.html	02.07.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsprotest in Berlin: Kreuzberg im Ausnahmezustand	Refugee protest in Berlin: Kreuzberg in a state of emergency	RV, PO, PR	Seit Tagen sperrt die Berliner Polizei die Straßen rund um eine von Flüchtlingen besetzte Schule in Kreuzberg ab. Jetzt steht die Räumung bevor, es drohen Krawalle. Die grüne Bezirksregierung steht vor einem Dilemma.	For days, the Berlin police have been blocking the streets around a school in Kreuzberg occupied by refugees. Now the eviction is imminent, there is a risk of riots. The green district government faces a dilemma.	PO, RV, VC, PL
https://www.spiegel.de/politik/andere-gruenen-grenze-a-349fa108-0002-0001-0000-000127985738	06.07.2014	Standard	Hauptstadt: An der grünen Grenze	Capital: On the green border	PL, RD, SO	Flüchtlinge okkupieren eine ehemalige Schule in Kreuzberg und blamieren die Grünen in ihrer Hochburg.	Refugees occupy a former school in Kreuzberg and embarrass the Greens in their stronghold.	PL, RV, PR, RD
https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-asyberwerber-besetzen-fernsehturm-am-alex-a-980167.html	09.07.2014	Standard	Protestaktion: Flüchtlinge blockieren Berliner Fernsehturm	Protest action: Refugees block the Berlin TV tower	PR	In Berlin protestiert eine Gruppe von Flüchtlingen auf dem Fernsehturm am Alexanderplatz. Mehr als 30 Männer und Frauen halten die Aussichtsebene besetzt, sie wollen mit Vertretern der Politik sprechen.	In Berlin, a group of refugees are protesting on the television tower on Alexanderplatz. More than 30 men and women are occupying the viewing platform, they want to speak to politicians.	PR, PL, RD
https://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/berlin-polizei-raeumt-fluechtlingsprotest-vor-brandenburger-tor-a-981835.html	18.07.2014	Standard	Protest in Berlin: Polizei räumt Flüchtlingscamp vor Brandenburger Tor	Protest in Berlin: Police clear refugee camp in front of the Brandenburg Gate	VC, PO, PR	Die Polizei hat ein Protestlager von Flüchtlingen vor dem Brandenburger Tor geräumt. Die rund 40 Menschen harrten dort seit Donnerstag aus und verlangten Änderungen am Asylrecht.	The police have cleared a protest camp of refugees in front of the Brandenburg Gate. Approximately 40 people have been there since Thursday and demanded changes to the asylum law.	PO, RD, PR, VC, RV

Appendix B: Data from *Bild*

Link	Date Published (dd.mm.yyyy)	Article Type	Heading (German)	Translated Heading	Heading Codes	Subheading (German)	Translated Subheading	Subheading Codes
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/bezirksamt-will-kreuzberger-fluechtlingscamp-26734494.bild.html	16.10.2012	Standard	Bezirksamt will Kreuzberger Flüchtlingscamp weiter dulden	District office wants to continue to tolerate the Kreuzberg refugee camp	PL, SO			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtlinge-besetzen-gebäude-in-kreuzberg-27582416.bild.html	08.12.2012	Standard	Flüchtlinge besetzen Gebäude in Kreuzberg	Refugees occupy buildings in Kreuzberg	PR, RD			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtlinge-protestieren-gegen-drohende-abschiebung-29368436.bild.html	04.03.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge protestieren gegen drohende Abschiebung	Refugees protest against the threat of deportation	PR, RD			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/pruegelei-in-fluechtlingscamp-zwei-maenner-29877338.bild.html	05.04.2013	Standard	Prügelei in Flüchtlingscamp: Zwei Männer leicht verletzt	Fight in refugee camp: Two men slightly injured	RV, RH			

https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/illegale-migration/bleiben-oranienplatz-fluechtlinge-doc-h-fuer-immer-30678078.bild.html	04.06.2013	Standard	Bleiben die Flüchtlinge für immer?	Will the refugees stay forever?	FS, TL	BÜRGERMEISTER WILL AUSNAHME FÜR PROTEST-CAMP AM ORANIENPLATZ	MAYOR WANTS EXCEPTION FOR PROTEST CAMP AT ORANIENPLATZ	PL, SO, PR
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/schlaegerei/oranienplatz-fluechtlingscamp-ausser-kontrolle-30890356.bild.html	19.06.2013	Standard	ORANIENPLATZ!: Flüchtlingcamp außer Kontrolle!	ORANIENPLATZ!: Refugee camp out of control!	RV, RH, FS	Messerstecherei, Massenschlägerei, Polizei angegriffen	Knife stabbing, mass brawl, police attacked	RV, PO
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/treffen-zu-fluechtlingscamp-zeltlager-am-30980688.bild.html	25.06.2013	Standard	Treffen zu Flüchtlingcamp: Zeltlager am Oranienplatz bleibt	Meeting at the refugee camp: Tent camp at Oranienplatz remains	FS, TL			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/sitzblockade/fluechtlinge-blockieren-oranienstrasse-31180630.bild.html	08.07.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge legen sitzend Oranienstraße lahm!	Refugees paralyze Oranienstraße sitting down!	RV, RD, PR	Mitten in Kreuzberg	In the middle of Kreuzberg	
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/streit-ueber-fluechtlingcamp-zwischen-senat-31217332.bild.html	10.07.2013	Standard	Streit über Flüchtlingcamp zwischen Senat und Bezirk	Dispute over refugee camp between Senate and district	PL, FS			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtlingcamp-woweit-fordert-hilfe-fuer-31271542.bild.html	11.07.2013	Standard	Unterstützer von Flüchtlingcamp fordern Geld vom Land	Refugee camp supporters are demanding money from the country	CO, RD			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/runder-tisch-zu-fluechtlingcamp-gescheitert-31382390.bild.html	17.07.2013	Standard	Runder Tisch zu Flüchtlingcamp gescheitert	Round table on refugee camp failed	FS, PL			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/senat-will-kreuzberg-zur-raeumung-zwingen-31525816.bild.html	24.07.2013	Standard	Senat will Kreuzberg zur Räumung zwingen	Senate wants to force Kreuzberg to vacate	VC, PL	VERGEWALTIGUNGS-VORWÜRFE IM FLÜCHTLINGS-CAMP	RAPE ALLEGATIONS IN REFUGEE CAMP	RV, RH
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/schluss-mit-der-sozial-romantik-31527640.bild.html	24.07.2013	Standard	BILD-KOMMENTAR: Schluss mit der Sozial-Romantik!	IMAGE COMMENT: No more social romance!	RD, TL, RV			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/vergewaltigung-im-fluechtlingcamp-31510958.bild.html	24.07.2013	Standard	Vergewaltigung im Kreuzberger Flüchtlingcamp?	Rape in Kreuzberg refugee camp?	RV, RH	MUTMASSLICHES OPFER KLAGT IM INTERNET A	ALLEGED VICTIM COMPLAINTS ON INTERNET A	RV, RH

https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/zukunft-der-fluechtlinge-vom-oranienplatz-32674912 bild.html	04.10.2013	Standard	Zukunft der Flüchtlinge vom Oranienplatz weiterhin unklar	The future of the refugees from Oranienplatz remains unclear	FS, TL, RH			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/spenden-per-menschenkette-zu-fluechtlingsheim-32686320 bild.html	05.10.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz-Flüchtlinge zunehmend in Not	Oranienplatz refugees increasingly in need	RH, FS			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/gruenenchefin-roth-und-buergermeisterin-herrmann-besuchen-fluechtlinge-32890726 bild.html	09.10.2013	Standard	Grünen-Chefin Roth und Bürgermeisterin Herrmann besuchen Flüchtlinge	Green leader Roth and Mayor Herrmann visit refugees	PL, SO			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin-und-wieder-sind-alle-ratlos-32903054 bild.html	10.10.2013	Standard	Und wieder sind alle ratlos	And again everyone is at a loss	FS, TL			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/czaja-und-herrmann-verhandeln-ueber-haus-32933532 bild.html	11.10.2013	Standard	Senat und Bezirk wollen Haus für Flüchtlinge	Senate and district want a house for refugees	PL, SL			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling-bald-schlaeft-niemand-mehr-im-fluechtlingscamp-32938850 bild.html	12.10.2013	Standard	HÄLT DIE BÜRGERMEISTERIN IHR VERSPRECHEN?: Bald schläft niemand mehr im Flüchtlings-Camp	DOES THE MAYOR KEEP HER PROMISE?: Soon nobody will sleep in the refugee camp	PL, SL, VC	Kreuzberg – Matratzen, Schlafsäcke, Metallbetten auf dem Oranienplatz. <u>Diese Bilder soll es nicht mehr lange geben.</u>	Kreuzberg – Mattresses, sleeping bags, metal beds on Oranienplatz. These pictures shouldn't exist for much longer.	VC, RH, TL
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/geraet-das-fluechtlingsproblem-ausser-kontrolle-33019576 bild.html	17.10.2013	Standard	Gerät das Flüchtlings-Problem außer Kontrolle?	Is the refugee problem getting out of hand?	RH, RV, TL	RANDALE IN KREUZBERG	RIOT IN KREUZBERG	RV, PR
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/steht-das-fluechtlingscamp-am-oranienplatz-fuer-immer-33196280 bild.html	30.10.2013	Standard	UMZUG IN HAUS IN FRIEDRICHSHAIN GEPLANT: Steht das Flüchtlings-Camp am Oranienplatz für immer?	PLANNED TO MOVE TO HOUSE IN FRIEDRICHSHAIN: Is the refugee camp on Oranienplatz forever?	TL, FS	Zelte sollen bleiben	Tents should stay	RD, SO
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/ausschreitungen/fluechtlinge-randalieren-in-kreuzberg-33537806 bild.html	25.11.2013	Standard	Demo am Oranienplatz: 31 Polizisten verletzt!	Demo at Oranienplatz: 31 police officers injured!	RV, PR, PO	RANDALE WEGEN FLÜCHTLINGSCAMP IN KREUZBERG	RIOT BECAUSE OF REFUGEE CAMP IN KREUZBERG	RV, PR

https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/frank-henkel/ultimatum-fuer-den-oranienplatz-33561016.bild.html	26.11.2013	Standard	DER INNENSENATOR WATSCHT DIE BEZIRKSBEIRG ERMEISTERIN AB: Henkel setzt Ultimatum für den Oranienplatz	THE INTERIOR SENATOR "watscht" THE DISTRICT MAYOR: Henkel issues an ultimatum for Oranienplatz	PL, VC, FS	Kreuzberg – Im Streit um das Flüchtlings-Camp am Oranienplatz platzte Berlins Innensenator am Dienstag der Kragen.	Kreuzberg – In the dispute over the refugee camp on Oranienplatz, Berlin's Senator for the Interior reached his tipping point on Tuesday.	PL, FS, TL
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/warum-endet-ihre-fluechtlings-politik-in-die-sem-chaos-33545932.bild.html	26.11.2013	Standard	KREUZBERGS BEZIRKSBEIRG ERMEISTERIN IM BILD-VERHÖR : Frau Herrmann, warum endet Ihre Flüchtlings-Politik in diesem Chaos?	KREUZBERGS DISTRICT MAYOR IN PICTURE INTERROGATION: Ms. Herrmann, why does your refugee policy end in this chaos?	PL.RH.FS, RV	Kreuzberg – Blutige Straßenschlacht, Angst und Chaos – die Kreuzberger Flüchtlings-Politik scheint endgültig gescheitert.	Kreuzberg - bloody street battles, fear and chaos - the Kreuzberg refugee policy seems to have finally failed.	RV, FS, TL, RH
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/berlin-streitet-um-ein-fluechtlings-camp-33654048.bild.html	03.12.2013	Standard	ORANIENPLATZ: Berlin streitet um ein Flüchtlings-Camp, in dem keiner mehr wohnt	ORANIENPLATZ: Berlin is arguing about a refugee camp where no one lives anymore	FS, VC, PR	Kreuzberg – In den Zelten liegen nur noch die leeren Matratzen, weit und breit ist keine Menschenseele zu sehen. Im Flüchtlingscamp am Oranienplatz schläft niemand mehr.	Kreuzberg – Only the empty mattresses are left in the tents, not a soul can be seen far and wide. In the refugee camp on Oranienplatz, nobody sleeps anymore.	VC, SL
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/warum-demonstriert-ihre-eigentlich-noch-33865134.bild.html	16.12.2013	Standard	FLÜCHTLINGS CAMP: Wogegen demonstriert ihr eigentlich noch?	REFUGEE CAMP: What are you still demonstrating against?	RD, TL, PR	Obwohl die Flüchtlinge längst eine Unterkunft haben, gingen gestern 1500 Menschen auf die Straße	Although the refugees have long since found shelter, 1,500 people took to the streets yesterday	LW, RD, TL, FS, PR
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/festung-oranienplatz-34086066.bild.html	05.01.2014	Standard	WEIL IHNEN DIE RÄUMUNG DROHT!: Flüchtlinge am Oranienplatz verbarrkadierten sich	BECAUSE THEY ARE THREATENED TO BE EVICTED!: Refugees on Oranienplatz barricade themselves	RV.VC.RD, PR	Kreuzberg – Die Zeichen am Oranienplatz stehen immer mehr auf Krawall!	Kreuzberg – The signs at Oranienplatz are increasingly pointing to riots!	RV, PR
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/problem-noch-immer-unge-loest-34809278.bild.html	24.02.2014	Standard	DAS FLÜCHTLINGS CAMP AM ORANIENPLATZ: Dem Berliner Senatläuft die Zeit davon	THE REFUGEE CAMP AT ORANIENPLATZ: The Berlin Senate is running out of time	FS, PL, TL	<i>Kreuzberg – Eigentlich sollen die Flüchtlinge den Oranienplatz räumen. Freiwillig. Doch auch nach fünf Wochen Verhandlungen ist keine Lösung in Sicht.</i>	<i>Kreuzberg – Actually, the refugees should clear Oranienplatz. Voluntarily. But even after five weeks of negotiations, there is no solution in sight.</i>	TL, RD, FS, VC, RV
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/die-bitteren-wahrheiten-ueber-das-camp-am-oranienplatz-34905464.bild.html	03.03.2014	Standard	DIE BITTERE WAHRHEIT ÜBER DEN BERLINER ORANIENPLATZBILD: in Deutschlands bekanntestem Flüchtlingscamp	THE BITTER TRUTH ABOUT BERLIN'S ORANIENPLATZBILD : in Germany's best-known refugee camp	RH, RV	Berlin – Gewalt gegen Passanten, Rattenplage, es stinkt nach Urin. Und statt Zelten werden immer mehr feste Holzhütten errichtet.	Berlin – Violence against passers-by, plague of rats, it stinks of urine. And instead of tents, more and more solid wooden huts are being erected.	RV, RH

https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/polizeischutz-fuer-das-camp-34964998.bild.html	07.03.2014	Standard	ERMITTLUNG EN NACH ZELTBRAND: Polizeischutz für das Camp am Oranienplatz	INVESTIGATIONS AFTER TENT FIRE: Police protection for the camp at Oranienplatz	RH/RV.PO	Kreuzberg – Lodernde Flammen am Oranienplatz. Nach dem Toilettenwagen brannte auch ein Zelt ab. Deshalb hat der Staatsschutz die Sicherheitslage neu bewertet.	Kreuzberg – Blazing flames at Oranienplatz. After the toilet truck, a tent also burned down. Therefore, the state security has reassessed the security situation.	RV, RH, PO
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/klus-wowereit/keine-loesung-in-sicht-am-oranienplatz-34979414.bild.html	08.03.2014	Standard	EINE LÖSUNG IN SICHT AM ORANIENPLATZ: Mission „O“ gescheitert? Polizeigewerkschaft spricht von „Sargnägeln für den Rechtsstaat“	A SOLUTION IN SIGHT AT ORANIENPLATZ: Mission O" failed? Police union speaks of "coffin nails for the rule of law"	FS, PL, RV, PO, TL	Berlin – ER hat ein Problem, das SIE lösen soll.	Berlin – HE has a problem that SHE should solve.	FS, PL
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/menschenunwürdige-verhaeltnisse-35014554.bild.html	11.03.2014	Standard	GEHEIM-PROTOKOLL ZEIGT UNWÜRDIGE ZUSTÄNDE AN FLÜCHTLINGS-SCHULE: So leben Menschen mitten in Berlin!	SECRET PROTOCOL SHOWS UNWORTHY CONDITIONS AT REFUGEE SCHOOL: This is how people live in the middle of Berlin!	RH, FS	Kreuzberg – Matratzen stapeln sich auf dem Boden. Am Fenster hat jemand ein Zelt aufgebaut, zwei Quadratmeter Privatsphäre zwischen Mülltüten und Kochplatten.	Kreuzberg – Mattresses are stacked on the floor. Someone has set up a tent by the window, two square meters of privacy between garbage bags and hotplates.	RH
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/abbau-sieht-anders-aus-frau-kolat-35061580.bild.html	14.03.2014	Standard	LÖSUNG AM ORANIENPLATZ VERGEIGT, PROTESTER ZIMMERN WEITER: Abbau sieht anders aus, Frau Kolat!	SOLUTION BROKEN AT ORANIENPLATZ, PROTESTERS CONTINUE TO ROOM: Dismantling looks different, Ms. Kolat!	FS, PL	Berlin – Hammerschläge auf dem Oranienplatz, auch Donnerstag zimmerten die Flüchtlinge weiter an ihren Holzhütten.	Berlin – Hammer blows on Oranienplatz, the refugees continued to build their wooden huts on Thursday.	RH, RV, FS
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/fluechtlinge-wollen-bleiben-35142630.bild.html	19.03.2014	Standard	FLÜCHTLINGE VOM ORANIENPLATZ PFEIFEN AUF SENATS-LÖSUNG: Wir bleiben!	REFUGEES FROM ORANIENPLATZ FAIL SENATE SOLUTION: We stay!	FS, RD, PL	Kreuzberg – Das war wohl doch ein Angebot, das man ablehnen kann!	Kreuzberg – That was probably an offer that you can refuse!	RD, FS
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/politiker-praesentieren-stolz-keine-loesung-35126834.bild.html	19.03.2014	Standard	ORANIENPLATZ: Hier präsentiert Berlins Politik ganz stolz keine Lösung	ORANIENPLATZ: Berlin's politicians proudly present no solution here	FS, PL	Kreuzberg – Berlins Politik unter Realitätsverlust! Gestern verkündete der Regierende Klaus Wowereit (60, SPD), wie das Flüchtlingscamp auf dem Oranienplatz und die besetzte Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule friedlich geräumt werden könnten.	Kreuzberg – Berlin's politics under loss of reality! Yesterday, the governor Klaus Wowereit (60, SPD) announced how the refugee camp on Oranienplatz and the occupied Gerhart-Hauptmann-School could be evacuated peacefully.	PL, FS, VC, RV
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/hier-gehen-sie-auf-wohnungs-besichtigung-35327314.bild.html	01.04.2014	Standard	ORANIENPLATZ WIEDER FREI?: Hier gehen Flüchtlinge auf Wohnungs-Besichtigung	ORANIENPLATZ FREE AGAIN?: Refugees go on an apartment visit here	SL, RH	Aber vorher gab's schon wieder Ärger	But before that there was trouble again	RV, FS, TL

https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/oranienplatz-geraeumt-fluechtlinge-zufrieden-35426284.bild.html	09.04.2014	Standard	ALSO WAS IST EUER PROBLEM?: Oranienplatz geräumt, Flüchtlinge zufrieden	SO WHAT IS YOUR PROBLEM?: Oranienplatz cleared, refugees happy	SL, RD, TL, PR	Kreuzberg – Nach 550 Tagen wurde gestern das Protestcamp auf dem Oranienplatz friedlich geräumt!	Kreuzberg – Yesterday, after 550 days, the protest camp on Oranienplatz was peacefully cleared!	VC, TL
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/saleh-findet-klare-worte-35459352.bild.html	11.04.2014	Standard	RAED SALEH: „Es war ein Fehler, dieses Camp zu dulden“	RAED SALEH: It was a mistake to tolerate this camp"	TL,SL, PL, VC, LW	Die mutige Rede des SPD-Fraktionschefs, der selbst als Kind aus dem Nahen Osten nach Deutschland kam	The courageous speech of the SPD parliamentary group leader, who himself came to Germany as a child from the Middle East	PL, VC
https://www.bild.de/news/inland/fluechtling/baumbesetzerin-35488442.bild.html	13.04.2014	Standard	PROTEST AM BERLINER ORANIENPLATZ: Die Frau im Baum gibt auf	PROTEST AT BERLINER ORANIENPLATZ: The woman in the tree gives up	PR, VC	Ganz Deutschland hatte ihr Schicksal verfolgt: Jetzt hat die letzte Demonstrantin am ehemaligen Flüchtlingscamp auf dem Berliner Oranienplatz aufgegeben.	All of Germany followed her fate: now the last demonstrator at the former refugee camp on Berlin's Oranienplatz has given up.	RD, PR, VC, TL, SO
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/jetzt-wird-der-a-platz-der-neue-o-platz-35883654.bild.html	09.05.2014	Standard	NEUES FLÜCHTLINGS-DRAMA AM ALEX: Jetzt wird der A-Platz der neue O-Platz	NEW REFUGEE DRAMA ON ALEX: Now the A-place becomes the new O-place	PR.RD	Mitte – Mit der freiwilligen Räumung des Oranienplatzes Anfang April hatte der Senat eigentlich das Flüchtlingsproblem lösen wollen.	Mitte – With the voluntary evacuation of Oranienplatz at the beginning of April, the Senate actually wanted to solve the refugee problem.	VC, PL, SL, FS
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/assy/wie-sich-der-senat-bei-500-fluechtlingen-verrechnet-hat-35900468.bild.html	10.05.2014	Standard	O-PLATZ-FLÜCHTLINGEN: Wie sich der Senat verrechnet hat	O-PLACE REFUGEES: How the Senate miscalculated	PL.FS	Berlin – Es wäre eigentlich gar nicht so schwer!	Berlin – It wouldn't actually be that difficult!	VC, TL, PL, FS
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/fluechtlinge-auf-schuldach-36532102.bild.html	25.06.2014	Standard	DIE BESETZTE SCHULE VON KREUZBERG: Flüchtlinge errichten Zeltlager auf Dach	THE OCCUPIED SCHOOL OF KREUZBERG: Refugees set up tent camp on roof	PR, RD	Berlin – Um sich vor dem Regen zu schützen, haben sich die rund 40 Flüchtlinge und ihre Unterstützer am Mittwoch Zelte auf dem Dach der besetzten Schule gebaut.	Berlin – To protect themselves from the rain, around 40 refugees and their supporters built tents on the roof of the occupied school on Wednesday.	PR, RH, RD
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/nervenkrieg-mit-molotow-cocktail-36542684.bild.html	26.06.2014	Standard	50 FLÜCHTLINGE HARREN WEITER IN DER HAUPTMANN-SCHULE AUS: Nervenkrieg mit Molotow-Cocktail	50 REFUGEES ARE STILL HERE IN THE CAPTAIN SCHOOL: War of nerves with Molotov cocktails	RV, RD, PR, TL	Kreuzberg – Es sind Bilder wie aus einem Hollywood-Politthriller, doch sie stammen aus Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg!	Kreuzberg – They are pictures like something out of a Hollywood political thriller, but they come from Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg!	RV, RH, PR

https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/brandale/die-taegliche-gewalt-gegen-berliner-polizisten-36703472.bild.html	07.07.2014	Standard	FESTNAHME ESKALIERT: Die tägliche Gewalt gegen Berliner Polizisten	ARREST ESCALATED: The daily violence against Berlin police officers	RV,PO	Kreuzberg – Die Gewalt gegen Berliner Polizisten reißt nicht ab. Allein 15 Polizisten sind am Wochenende bei drei Einsätzen in Kreuzberg verletzt worden. Einige von ihnen mussten sogar im Krankenhaus behandelt werden, nachdem ein Routine-Einsatz eskalierte.	Kreuzberg – The violence against Berlin police officers does not stop. 15 police officers alone were injured in three operations in Kreuzberg over the weekend. Some of them even had to be hospitalized after a routine operation escalated.	PO, RV, PR, TL
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/mit-benzin-uebergossen-am-oranienplatz-37392650.bild.html	25.08.2014	Standard	MANN DROHT, SICH ANZUZÜNDE N : Flüchtlinge versuchen erneut, Oranienplatz zu besetzen	MAN THREATENS TO GO ON FIRE: Refugees try again to occupy Oranienplatz	RV, PR, RD, TL	Kreuzberg – Wieder Flüchtlingsproteste am Oranienplatz. Etwa 50 Asylbewerber errichteten Barrikaden, demolierten Fahrzeuge. Ein Mann bespritzte sich mit Benzin und drohte, sich anzuzünden!	Kreuzberg – Again refugee protests at Oranienplatz. About 50 asylum seekers set up barricades and demolished vehicles. A man splashed himself with gasoline and threatened to set himself on fire!	PR, RV, TL
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/fluechtling/fluechtlinge-auf-dem-dach-37406554.bild.html	26.08.2014	Standard	TROTZ ABSPRACHEN WIEDER HAUSDACH BESETZT: Solche Szenen wollten wir doch nie wieder sehen!	DESPITE AGREEMENTS ROOF OCCUPIED AGAIN: We never wanted to see such scenes again!	FS, TL, PR, RD, RV			
https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/berlin/kreuzberger-oranienplatz-geraemt-41870110.bild.html	21.07.2015	Standard	NACH FAST DREI JAHREN BESETZUNG: Kreuzberger Oranienplatz ist jetzt wirklich geräumt	AFTER ALMOST THREE YEARS OF OCCUPATION: Kreuzberg's Oranienplatz has now really been cleared	TL, VC, SL	Die letzten Spuren von der Besetzung des Oranienplatzes sind weg!	The last traces of the occupation of Oranienplatz are gone!	TL, VC, SL

Appendix C: Data from *Berliner Zeitung*

Link	Date Published (dd.mm.yyyy)	Article Type	Headline	Translated Headline	Codes
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/protestaktion-demo-fuer-mehr-fluechtlingsrechte-li.13345	13.10.2012	Standard	Protestaktion: Demo für mehr Flüchtlingsrechte	Protest action: Demo for more refugee rights	RD, PR

https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/refugeecamp-was-die-polizei-erlaubt-li.47808	30.10.2012	Standard	Refugeecamp: Was die Polizei erlaubt	Refugee camp: What the police allow	PO, RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/familiendrama-in-kreuzberg-mann-erschiesst-ehefrau-und-dann-sich-selbst-li.63511	08.11.2012	Standard	Familiendrama in Kreuzberg: Mann erschießt Ehefrau und dann sich selbst	Family drama in Kreuzberg: man shoots his wife and then himself	RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/raeumung-nigerianische-botschaft-fluechtlinge-werfen-polizei-gewalt-vor-li.41506	09.11.2012	Standard	Räumung nigerianische Botschaft: Flüchtlinge werfen Polizei Gewalt vor	Evacuation of Nigerian Embassy: Refugees accuse police of violence	PO, RD
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/protest-gegen-rechts-neun-festnahmen-bei-demo-gegen-pro-deutschland-li.66304	13.11.2012	Standard	Protest gegen Rechts: Neun Festnahmen bei Demo gegen Pro Deutschland	Protest against right: Nine arrests at demo against Pro Germany	PO, RW, PR
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingsprotest-waermer-als-im-zelt-li.22512	09.12.2012	Standard	Flüchtlingsprotest: Wärmer als im Zelt	Refugee protest: Warmer than in the tent	RH, PR
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingsprotest-schule-in-kreuzberg-besetzt-li.38319	09.12.2012	Standard	Flüchtlingsprotest: Schule in Kreuzberg besetzt	Refugee protest: School in Kreuzberg occupied	PR
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/kreuzberg-kaeltehilfe-fuer-besetzer-li.58111	11.12.2012	Standard	Kreuzberg: Kältehilfe für Besetzer	Kreuzberg: cold help for squatters	RH, RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingscamp-kreuzberg-das-camp-bleibt-li.38201	03.01.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp Kreuzberg: Das Camp bleibt	Refugee camp Kreuzberg: The camp remains	TL, FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingscamp-streit-um-protestcamp-der-fluechtlinge-li.58197	04.01.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Streit um Protestcamp der Flüchtlinge	Refugee camp: Dispute about the protest camp of the refugees	FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/protestcamp-berlin-demonstration-zum-jahrestag-li.12713	23.03.2013	Standard	Protestcamp Berlin: Demonstration zum Jahrestag	Protest camp Berlin: Demonstration for the anniversary	PR, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/innenausschuss-des-abgeordnetenhauses-fluechtlinge-von-oeffentlicher-sitzung-ausgesperrt-li.47372	16.04.2013	Standard	Innenausschuss des Abgeordnetenhauses: Flüchtlinge von öffentlicher Sitzung ausgesperrt	Interior Committee of the House of Representatives: Refugees barred from public session	PL, RD
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/protestcamp-messerstich-im-fluechtlingscamp-li.69748	18.06.2013	Standard	Protestcamp: Messerstich im Flüchtlingscamp	Protest camp: stabbing in the refugee camp	RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingscamp-am-oranienplatz-so-langsam-reicht-s-li.35924	19.06.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp am Oranienplatz: „So langsam reicht’s“	Refugee camp at Oranienplatz: "It's almost enough"	FS, RD
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/sozialsenator-mario-czaja-weiterhin-solidaritaet-mit-fluechtlingen-zeigen-li.50048	20.06.2013	Standard	Sozialsenator Mario Czaja: Weiterhin Solidarität mit Flüchtlingen zeigen	Social Senator Mario Czaja: Continue to show solidarity with refugees	PL, SO

https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/gegendemos-behindern-npd-bustour-reinfall-fuer-die-rechten-li.66458	13.07.2013	Standard	Gegendemos behindern NPD-Bustour: Reinfall für die Rechten	Counter-demonstrations hinder the NPD bus tour: a flop for the right	RW, PR, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/kommentar-zum-fluechtlingscamp-am-oranienplatz-hauptsache-kriminell-li.69163	18.07.2013	Opinion	Kommentar zum Flüchtlingscamp am Oranienplatz: Hauptsache, kriminell	Commentary on the refugee camp at Oranienplatz: the main thing is criminal	RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingscamp-am-oranienplatz-ausweg-dringend-gesucht-li.25602	25.07.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp am Oranienplatz: Ausweg dringend gesucht	Refugee camp at Oranienplatz: way out urgently needed	SL, TL, FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/debatte-im-fluechtlingscamp-vergewaltigungsvorwurf-ein-phantomdelikt-li.57842	29.07.2013	Standard	Debatte im Flüchtlingscamp: Vergewaltigungsvorwurf ein "Phantomdelikt"?	Debate in the refugee camp: allegations of rape a "phantom crime"?	RV, RH
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/monika-herrmann-in-friedrichshain-kreuzberg-buergermeisterin-fuer-dealer-fluechtlinge-und-hipster-li.9529	31.07.2013	Interview	Monika Herrmann in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg: Bürgermeisterin für Dealer, Flüchtlinge und Hipster	Monika Herrmann in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg: Mayor for dealers, refugees and hipsters	RV, PL, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/oranienplatz-kreuzberg-fluechtlingscamp-henkel-macht-druck-li.60365	07.08.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz Kreuzberg: Flüchtlingscamp: Henkel macht Druck	Oranienplatz Kreuzberg: Refugee camp: Henkel puts pressure on	PL, TL, VC, FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-kreuzberger-schule-endstation-der-heimatlosen-li.40304	02.09.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Kreuzberger Schule: Endstation der Heimatlosen	Refugees in Kreuzberg school: final destination of the homeless	RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/interview-mit-monika-lueke-das-sind-hoch-traumatisierte-menschen-li.67900	16.09.2013	Interview	Interview mit Monika Lücke: „Das sind hoch traumatisierte Menschen“	Interview with Monika Lücke: "These are highly traumatized people"	PL, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-auf-oranienplatz-so-kann-es-nicht-weitergehen-li.22510	30.09.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge auf Oranienplatz: „So kann es nicht weitergehen“	Refugees on Oranienplatz: "It can't go on like this"	FS, TL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-am-brandenburger-tor-wieder-mehrere-fluechtlinge-in-klinik-li.58981	16.10.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge am Brandenburger Tor: Wieder mehrere Flüchtlinge in Klinik	Refugees at the Brandenburg Gate: Again several refugees in the clinic	RH, RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/asylpolitik-wowereit-kritisiert-form-des-fluechtlings-protests-li.35963	17.10.2013	Interview	Asylpolitik: Wowereit kritisiert Form des Flüchtlings-Protests	Asylum policy: Wowereit criticizes the form of the refugee protest	PL, RV, PR
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-vom-oranienplatz-lampedusa-in-berlin-li.12711	24.10.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge vom Oranienplatz: „Lampedusa in Berlin“	Refugees from Oranienplatz: "Lampedusa in Berlin"	RH, PL, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/cdu-experte-burkard-dregger-zum-oranienplatz-die-fluechtlinge-werden-instrumentalisiert-li.11362	27.10.2013	Interview	CDU-Experte Burkard Dregger zum Oranienplatz: „Die Flüchtlinge werden instrumentalisiert“	CDU expert Burkard Dregger on Oranienplatz: "The refugees are being exploited"	PL, RH, LW
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/oranienplatz-in-kreuzberg-kein-schnelles-winterquartier-fuer-fluechtlinge-li.66944	30.10.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz in Kreuzberg: Kein schnelles Winterquartier für Flüchtlinge	Oranienplatz in Kreuzberg: No quick winter quarters for refugees	FS, TL, RH

https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-endlich-ein-dach-ueber-dem-kopf-li.58126	24.11.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Berlin: Endlich ein Dach über dem Kopf	Refugees in Berlin: finally a roof over their heads	SL, RH
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/monika-herrmann-tief-im-gruenen-milieu-verwurzelt-li.43133	25.11.2013	Standard	Monika Herrmann: Tief im grünen Milieu verwurzelt	Monika Herrmann: Deeply rooted in the green milieu	PL, LW
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-ratlos-in-kreuzberg-li.66498	25.11.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Berlin: Ratlos in Kreuzberg	Refugees in Berlin: helpless in Kreuzberg	RH, FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/henkel-stellt-ultimatum-fluechtlinge-sollen-oranienplatz-verlassen-li.31056	26.11.2013	Standard	Henkel stellt Ultimatum: Flüchtlinge sollen Oranienplatz verlassen	Henkel issues an ultimatum: refugees should leave Oranienplatz	PL, VC
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-kreuzberger-nervenkrieg-li.40068	26.11.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Berlin: Kreuzberger Nervenkrieg	Refugees in Berlin: Kreuzberg war of nerves	RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-henkel-verlangt-raeumung-in-kreuzberg-li.51744	26.11.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Berlin: Henkel verlangt Räumung in Kreuzberg	Refugees in Berlin: Henkel demands evacuation in Kreuzberg	PL, VC
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingscamp-in-kreuzberg-herrmann-will-oranienplatz-nicht-raeumen-li.58129	26.11.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp in Kreuzberg: Herrmann will Oranienplatz nicht räumen	Refugee camp in Kreuzberg: Herrmann does not want to vacate Oranienplatz	PL, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/leitartikel-fluechtlinge-kreuzberg-der-oranienplatz-muss-geraemt-werden-li.29219	29.11.2013	Editorial	Leitartikel Flüchtlinge Kreuzberg: Der Oranienplatz muss geräumt werden	Editorial Refugees Kreuzberg: Oranienplatz must be cleared	SL, VC
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingscamp-am-oranienplatz-raeumung-nicht-vor-dem-18-januar-li.66902	10.12.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp am Oranienplatz: Räumung nicht vor dem 18. Januar	Refugee camp at Oranienplatz: Eviction not before January 18th	VC, FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/demonstration-fuer-oranienplatz-fluechtlinge-veganes-picknick-vor-henkels-dienstsz-li.47343	15.12.2013	Standard	Demonstration für Oranienplatz-Flüchtlinge : Veganes Picknick vor Henkels Dienstsz	Demonstration for Oranienplatz refugees: Vegan picnic in front of Henkel's office	PR, PL, LW
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/kolat-henkel-czaja-senat-boykottiert-runden-tisch-zu-fluechtlingen-li.55251	16.12.2013	Standard	Kolat, Henkel, Czaja: Senat boykottiert Runden Tisch zu Flüchtlingen	Kolat, Henkel, Czaja: Senate boycotts round table on refugees	PL, FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/gewalttat-im-fluechtlingshaus-unhaltbare-zustaende-in-kreuzberg-li.11681	17.12.2013	Standard	Gewalttat im Flüchtlingshaus: Unhaltbare Zustände in Kreuzberg	Act of violence in the refugee house: intolerable conditions in Kreuzberg	RV, RH
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingscamp-streit-keine-loesung-zu-fluechtlingscamp-hoffnungen-auf-runden-tisch-li.11673	18.12.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp-Streit: Keine Lösung zu Flüchtlingscamp - Hoffnungen auf Runden Tisch	Refugee camp dispute: no solution to refugee camp - hopes for a round table	FS, PL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/rezeptbuch-von-fluechtlingen-der-geschmack-der-heimat-li.46153	20.12.2013	Standard	Rezeptbuch von Flüchtlingen: Der Geschmack der Heimat	Recipe book by refugees: The taste of home	SO

https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/kommentar-zur-eisfabrik-in-der-koepenicker-strasse-elendsquartiere-in-berlin-li.62769	27.12.2013	Opinion	Kommentar zur Eisfabrik in der Köpenicker Strasse: Elendsquartiere in Berlin	Commentary on the ice factory in Köpenicker Strasse: slums in Berlin	RH, RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/oranienplatz-linke-szene-will-bei-raeumung-randalieren-li.11663	29.12.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz: Linke Szene will bei Räumung randalieren	Oranienplatz: Left scene wants to riot during eviction	LW, VC, RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/henkel-zum-fluechtlings-camp-oranienplatz-von-drohungen-darf-sich-der-rechtsstaat-nicht-einschuechtern-lass-en-li.11667	29.12.2013	Interview	Henkel zum Flüchtlings-Camp Oranienplatz: "Von Drohungen darf sich der Rechtsstaat nicht einschüchtern lassen"	Henkel on the Oranienplatz refugee camp: "The rule of law must not be intimidated by threats"	RV, PL, RD
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/henkel-und-oranienplatz-in-kreuzberg-zurueck-auf-dem-boden-li.48850	07.01.2014	Standard	Henkel und Oranienplatz in Kreuzberg: Zurück auf dem Boden	Henkel and Oranienplatz in Kreuzberg: Back on the ground	PL, FS, TL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/migrationspolitikerin-canan-bayram-der-oranienplatz-muss-ort-des-protestes-bleiben-li.11767	08.01.2014	Interview	Migrationspolitikerin Canan Bayram: „Der Oranienplatz muss Ort des Protestes bleiben“	Migration politician Canan Bayram: "Oranienplatz must remain a place of protest"	PL, PR, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-die-suche-nach-dem-konsens-li.64831	08.01.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge: Die Suche nach dem Konsens	Refugees: The Search for Consensus	SL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-kreuzberg-cdu-politiker-zeigt-monika-herrmann-an-li.14846	13.01.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Kreuzberg: CDU-Politiker zeigt Monika Herrmann an	Refugees in Kreuzberg: CDU politician reports Monika Herrmann	PL, RH, FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/gruenenfraktionschefin-ramona-pop-der-bezirk-hat-eine-verantwortung-li.49006	19.01.2014	Interview	Grünenfraktionschefin Ramona Pop: „Der Bezirk hat eine Verantwortung“	Green faction leader Ramona Pop: "The district has a responsibility"	PL, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/streit-im-u-bahnhof-hermannplatz-fluechtlinge-erheben-vorwuerfe-gegen-bvg-li.65940	19.01.2014	Standard	Streit im U-Bahnhof Hermannplatz: Flüchtlinge erheben Vorwürfe gegen BVG	Dispute in the Hermannplatz underground station: Refugees raise allegations against BVG	RD, RH
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/unterkunft-in-kreuzberg-sicherheitsdienst-fuer-besetzte-schule-li.65838	22.01.2014	Standard	Unterkunft in Kreuzberg: Sicherheitsdienst für besetzte Schule	Accommodation in Kreuzberg: security service for occupied school	RH
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/kolumne-zum-oranienplatz-fluechtlingscamp-bloss-keine-verantwortung-li.31853	03.02.2014	Opinion	Kolumne zum Oranienplatz: Flüchtlingscamp: Bloß keine Verantwortung	Column on Oranienplatz: Refugee camp: No responsibility	RD
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/demonstration-in-berlin-schueler-streiken-fuer-fluechtlingsrechte-li.58194	12.02.2014	Standard	Demonstration in Berlin: Schüler streiken für Flüchtlingsrechte	Demonstration in Berlin: students strike for refugee rights	LW, PR, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/senatorin-fuer-arbeit-integration-und-frauen-der-irrsinn-am-oranienplatz-ist-kolats-chance-li.58190	13.02.2014	Standard	Senatorin für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen: Der Irrsinn am Oranienplatz ist Kolats Chance	Senator for Labour, Integration and Women: The madness at Oranienplatz is Kolat's chance	PL, RH, RV

https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/oranienplatz-fluechtlinge-bauen-sich-bretterbuden-li.64624	03.03.2014	Standard	Oranienplatz: Flüchtlinge bauen sich Bretterbuden	Oranienplatz: Refugees build shacks	RH
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingpolitik-in-berlin-betten-fuer-fluechtlinge-werden-knapp-li.50196	06.03.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingpolitik in Berlin: Betten für Flüchtlinge werden knapp	Refugee policy in Berlin: beds for refugees are becoming scarce	RH
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-kirchen-draengen-auf-entscheidung-li.70295	10.03.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Berlin: Kirchen drängen auf Entscheidung	Refugees in Berlin: Churches are pushing for a decision	SL, SO, FS, TL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/pro-deutschland-am-oranienplatz-rechtspopulisten-demonstrieren-in-kreuzberg-li.30238	14.03.2014	Standard	Pro Deutschland am Oranienplatz: Rechtspopulisten demonstrieren in Kreuzberg	Pro Germany at Oranienplatz: right-wing populists demonstrate in Kreuzberg	RW, PR
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/weiter-streit-um-fluechtlingcamp-fluechtlinge-enttauscht-tumulte-beim-runden-tisch-li.12397	19.03.2014	Standard	Weiter Streit um Flüchtlingscamp: Flüchtlinge enttäuscht, Tumulte beim Runden Tisch	Further dispute over refugee camp: refugees disappointed, riots at the round table	FS, RV, PR, RD
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/auto-abgefackelt-linke-attackieren-bz-kolumnisten-li.45591	19.03.2014	Standard	Auto abgefackelt: Linke attackieren B.Z.-Kolumnisten	Car torched: Leftists attack B.Z. columnists	LW, RV, SO
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/sport-und-erholungszentrum-in-friedrichshain-fluechtlinge-koennten-im-sez-wohnen-li.50011	19.03.2014	Standard	Sport- und Erholungszentrum in Friedrichshain: Flüchtlinge könnten im SEZ wohnen	Sports and recreation center in Friedrichshain: Refugees could live in the SEZ	SL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-vom-oranienplatz-fluechtlingerrat-fordert-transparenz-vom-senat-li.12395	22.03.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge vom Oranienplatz: Flüchtlingsrat fordert Transparenz vom Senat	Refugees from Oranienplatz: Refugee Council demands transparency from the Senate	PL, RD
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-kreuzberg-aufbruch-am-oranienplatz-li.58167	01.04.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Kreuzberg: Aufbruch am Oranienplatz	Refugees in Kreuzberg: Departure at Oranienplatz	VC, SL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-auf-dem-oranienplatz-erst-umziehen-dann-camp-abbauen-li.58171	02.04.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge auf dem Oranienplatz: Erst umziehen, dann Camp abbauen	Refugees on Oranienplatz: move first, then dismantle the camp	RD, VC
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/demos-in-kreuzberg-und-neukoelln-npd-will-durch-berlin-marschieren-li.67023	02.04.2014	Standard	Demos in Kreuzberg und Neukölln: NPD will durch Berlin marschieren	Demos in Kreuzberg and Neukölln: NPD wants to march through Berlin	PR, RW
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/chronologie-der-raeumung-der-oranienplatz-ist-leer-geraemt-li.12705	08.04.2014	Standard /Timeline	Chronologie der Räumung: Der Oranienplatz ist leer geräumt	Chronology of the clearance: Oranienplatz has been cleared	VC, SL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingcamp-bashir-zakaria-der-oranienplatz-vermittler-li.30786	08.04.2014	Profile	Flüchtlingscamp: Bashir Zakaria - Der Oranienplatz-Vermittler	Refugee camp: Bashir Zakaria - The Oranienplatz mediator	SL, PL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingcamp-grosses-aufräumen-am-oranienplatz-li.69164	09.04.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Großes Aufräumen am Oranienplatz	Refugee camp: Big cleanup at Oranienplatz	VC, SL

https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/oranienplatz-wowereit-lobt-alle-nur-henkel-nicht-li.68671	10.04.2014	Standard	Oranienplatz: Wowereit lobt alle, nur Henkel nicht	Oranienplatz: Wowereit praises everyone except Henkel	PL, FS
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlingspolitik-eine-frage-des-standpunktes-am-oranienplatz-li.58165	11.04.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingspolitik: Eine Frage des Standpunktes am Oranienplatz	Refugee policy: A question of the point of view at Oranienplatz	RD
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/fluechtlinge-in-berlin-unterstuetzer-wollen-vor-henkels-haus-demonstrieren-li.58168	11.04.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge in Berlin: Unterstützer wollen vor Henkels Haus demonstrieren	Refugees in Berlin: supporters want to demonstrate in front of Henkel's house	PR, SO, LW, PL
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/antifa-und-npd-das-grosse-geheimnis-um-die-npd-demo-li.66654	23.04.2014	Standard	Antifa und NPD: Das große Geheimnis um die NPD-Demo	Antifa and NPD: The big secret about the NPD demo	LW, RW, PR, RV
https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/mensch-metropole/besetzte-gerhart-hauptmann-schule-in-kreuzberg-angespannte-situation-in-der-ohlauer-strasse-li.11765	25.06.2014	Standard	Besetzte Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule in Kreuzberg: Angespannte Situation in der Ohlauer Straße	Occupied Gerhart Hauptmann School in Kreuzberg: tense situation on Ohlauer Straße	RV

Appendix D: Data from *BZ*

Link	Date Published (dd.mm.yyyy)	Article Type	Headline	Translated Heading	Heading Codes	Subheading (if applicable)	Translated Subheading	Subheading Codes
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/protest-fluechtlinge-besetzen-leere-schule	12.08.2012	Standard	Asyl-Protest: Protest-Flüchtlinge besetzen leere Schule	Asylum protest: protest refugees occupy empty school	PR, RD, RV	Die Flüchtlinge wollen gegen die Asylgesetzgebung protestieren und ein Sozialzentrum errichten.	The refugees want to protest against the asylum legislation and build a social center.	PR, RD
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/bis-maerz-duerfen-die-fluechtlinge-bleiben	11.12.2012	Standard	Besetztes Haus: Bis März dürfen die Flüchtlinge bleiben	Occupied house: The refugees are allowed to stay until March	SO	Die leer stehende und besetzte Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule in Kreuzberg darf vier Monate lang genutzt werden.	The empty and occupied Gerhart Hauptmann School in Kreuzberg can be used for four months.	RD, SO
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/messer-attacke-in-besetzter-schule	21.12.2012	Standard	Drei Verletzte: Messer-Attacke in besetzter Schule	Three injured: knife attack in occupied school	RV, RH	Ein Unbekannter hat in einer besetzten, leerstehenden Schule drei Männer verletzt und ist nach der Tat geflüchtet.	A stranger injured three men in an occupied, empty school and fled after the crime.	RV, RH
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/die-gruenen-wollen-abschiebehaft-abschaffen	06.03.2013	Opinion	Antrag der Grünen: Die Grünen wollen Abschiebehaft abschaffen	Motion of the Greens: The Greens want to abolish detention pending deportation	PL, SO	Gunnar Schupelius: Grüne wollen Abschiebehaft abschaffen und untergraben damit den Rechtsstaat.	Gunnar Schupelius: The Greens want to abolish detention pending deportation and are thus undermining the rule of law.	PL, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/runder-tisch-politiker-sagen-teilnahme-ab	15.07.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Runder Tisch: Politiker sagen Teilnahme ab	Refugee camp: Round table: Politicians cancel participation	FS, PL	Das Interesse an Gesprächen über die Lage der Flüchtlinge ist gering. Maria Böhmer und Mario Czaja sagten ab.	There is little interest in talks about the situation of the refugees. Maria Böhmer and Mario Czaja canceled.	FS, PL

https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/kein-runder-tisch-zum-fluechtlingscamp	17.07.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz: Kein Runder Tisch zum Flüchtlingscamp	Oranienplatz: No round table on the refugee camp	FS, PL	Der geplante Runde Tisch zum umstrittenen Flüchtlingscamp in Kreuzberg fällt aus. Neuer Anlauf geplant.	The planned round table on the controversial refugee camp in Kreuzberg is canceled. New attempt planned.	FS, PL
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/kroemer-fluechtlingscamp-ist-ein-aergernis	18.07.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz: Krömer: Flüchtlingscamp ist ein Ärgernis	Oranienplatz: Krömer: The refugee camp is a nuisance	PL, RH, VC	Der CDU-Mann verteidigte die Absage zum Runden Tisch. Dort führe man eine "Phantomdiskussion", sagte er.	The CDU man defended the cancellation of the round table. There you lead a "phantom discussion", he said.	PL, FS
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/franz-schulz-will-das-camp-weiter-dulden	19.07.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Franz Schulz will das Camp weiter dulden	Refugee camp: Franz Schulz wants to continue to tolerate the camp	PL, SO	Bezirksbürgermeister Schulz will das Protestcamp am Oranienplatz weiter dulden - trotz massiver Kritik.	District Mayor Schulz wants to continue to tolerate the protest camp on Oranienplatz - despite massive criticism.	PL, SO, VC, FS
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/herrmann-werden-das-camp-nicht-raeumen	26.07.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz: Herrmann: Werden das Camp nicht räumen	Oranienplatz: Herrmann: Will not clear the camp	PL, VC, SO	Der Senat könne niemanden zwingen, das Camp zu räumen, so die designierte Bürgermeisterin Monika Herrmann (Grüne).	The Senate cannot force anyone to clear the camp, said the designated mayor Monika Herrmann (Greens).	PL, SO, VC, FS
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/kolat-gegen-dauer-protest-am-oranienplatz	04.08.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Kolat gegen Dauer-Protest am Oranienplatz	Refugee camp: Kolat against permanent protest at Oranienplatz	PL, VC	Senatorin Dilek Kolat (SPD) sieht in dem Camp keine Dauerlösung, unterstützt aber Forderungen der Flüchtlinge.	Senator Dilek Kolat (SPD) sees no permanent solution in the camp, but supports the refugees' demands.	FS, PL, RD, SO, VC
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/werden-die-fluechtlings-bald-zur-kasse-gebeten	28.08.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz: Werden die Flüchtlinge bald zur Kasse gebeten?	Oranienplatz: Will the refugees soon be asked to pay?	CO	Das Camp am Oranienplatz ist umstritten. Nun könnten 12,50 Euro pro Quadratmeter für die Nutzung fällig werden.	The camp at Oranienplatz is controversial. Now 12.50 euros per square meter could be due for use.	CO
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/oranienplatz-camp-steht-vor-dem-kollaps	05.10.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Oranienplatz-Camp steht vor dem Kollaps	Refugee camp: Oranienplatz camp is about to collapse	RH, RV	Keiner zahlt den Strom, die Tafel liefert kein Essen und sogar der Toilettenwagen soll geholt werden.	Nobody pays for the electricity, the Tafel does not deliver any food and even the toilet truck is to be fetched.	CO, RH, FS
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/fluechtlings-herrmann-gegen-schul-raeumung	06.10.2013	Standard	Bezirk v. Senat: Flüchtlinge: Herrmann gegen Schul-Räumung	district of Senate: Refugees: Herrmann against school eviction	PL, VC, SO, FS	Laut Bürgermeisterin Herrmann hat der Senat kein Recht, die von Flüchtlingen besetzte Schule in Kreuzberg zu räumen.	According to Mayor Herrmann, the Senate has no right to evict the school in Kreuzberg, which is occupied by refugees.	PL, VC, SO
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/loesung-fuer-fluechtlings-in-sicht-czaja-sagt-hilfe-zu	07.10.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz: Lösung für Flüchtlinge in Sicht: Czaja sagt Hilfe zu	Oranienplatz: Solution for refugees in sight: Czaja promises help	SL, PL, TL, SO	Kein zweiter Winter unter freiem Himmel: Für die Flüchtlinge vom Oranienplatz könnte ein Haus gefunden werden.	No second winter under the open sky: a house could be found for the refugees from Oranienplatz.	SL, VC
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/claudia-roth-auch-in-berlin-ist-lampedusa	09.10.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Claudia Roth: Auch in Berlin ist Lampedusa	Refugee camp: Claudia Roth: Lampedusa is also in Berlin	PL, SO	Die Grünen-Chefin besuchte das Camp am Oranienplatz und forderte einen sicheren Status für die Flüchtlinge.	The Green Party leader visited the camp at Oranienplatz and demanded a secure status for the refugees.	PL, SO

https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/senator-czaja-bietet-fluechtlingen-ein-haus-an	10.10.2013	Standard	Senator Czaja bietet Flüchtlingen ein Haus an	Senator Czaja offers refugees a house	PL, SL, VC	Senator Czaja habe ein Haus gefunden, das den Flüchtlingen vom Oranienplatz angeboten werden könne.	Senator Czaja found a house that could be offered to the refugees from Oranienplatz.	PL, SL
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/fluechtlinge-besetzen-eu-kommission	10.10.2013	Standard	Unter den Linden: Flüchtlinge besetzen EU-Kommission	Unter den Linden: Refugees occupy the EU Commission	PR, RD	Etwa 20 Oranienplatz-Flüchtlinge stürmten das Gebäude Unter den Linden. Sie wollen bis 16 Uhr dort bleiben.	About 20 Oranienplatz refugees stormed the Unter den Linden building. They want to stay there until 4 p.m.	PR, RD, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/berlin-sucht-ausweg-findet-aber-keinen	11.10.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Berlin sucht Ausweg, findet aber keinen	Refugee camp: Berlin is looking for a way out, but can't find any	FS, PL, TL	Nach Treffen von Senator Czaja und Bürgermeisterin Herrmann ist klar: Helfen können wir nur, wenn wir schummeln.	After meeting Senator Czaja and Mayor Herrmann, one thing is clear: We can only help if we cheat.	PL, FS, SO, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/bloss-nicht-zurueck-von-mali-zum-oranienplatz	13.10.2013	Profile	Flüchtlingscamp: Bloß nicht zurück! Von Mali zum Oranienplatz	Refugee camp: Don't go back! From Mali to Oranienplatz	RD, PR, SO	Sieben Jahre war Osmane C. (27) auf der Flucht. Sein langer Weg von Mali bis zum Oranienplatz.	Osmane C. (27) was on the run for seven years. His long journey from Mali to Oranienplatz.	SO, RD
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/oranienplatz-fluechtlinge-blockieren-den-verkehr	16.10.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz: Flüchtlinge blockierten den Verkehr	Oranienplatz: Refugees blocked traffic	RV, PR, RD	Unangemeldete Demo: Am Oranienplatz haben Flüchtlinge zwei Stunden die Straße blockiert.	Unannounced demo: Refugees blocked the street at Oranienplatz for two hours.	PR, RD, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/demonstranten-griffen-polizeiautos-an	17.10.2013	Standard	Kreuzberg: Demonstranten griffen Polizeiautos an	Kreuzberg: Demonstrators attacked police cars	RV, PO, PR	Eine Demo geriet außer Kontrolle. Am Kotti kam es zu Ausschreitungen zwischen Polizei und den Protestlern.	A demo got out of hand. At Kotti there were riots between the police and the protesters.	RV, PR, PO
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/noch-kein-haus-fuer-oranienplatz-fluechtlinge	18.10.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Noch kein Haus für Oranienplatz-Flüchtlinge	Refugee camp: No house for Oranienplatz refugees yet	FS, PL	Bezirk und Senat suchen nach einer Unterkunft, doch bislang wurde noch keine Bleibe gefunden.	The district and senate are looking for a place to stay, but so far no place has been found.	PL, FS
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/senat-und-bezirk-pruefen-hauser-fuer-fluechtlinge	25.10.2013	Standard	Senat und Bezirk prüfen Häuser für Flüchtlinge	Senate and district examine houses for refugees	SL, PL	Die Zeit der Flüchtlinge auf dem Oranienplatz könnte bald zu Ende sein. Zwei Immobilien sind in der Auswahl.	The time of the refugees on Oranienplatz could soon be over. There are two properties to choose from.	SL, VC
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/haus-fuer-fluechtlinge-kosten-werden-errechnet	26.10.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz-Camp: Haus für Flüchtlinge: Kosten werden errechnet	Oranienplatz-Camp: House for refugees: costs are calculated	SL, CO	Der Bezirk hat ein Haus für die Protestler vom Oranienplatz gefunden, Landesamt für Gesundheit wohl einverstanden.	The district has found a house for the protesters from Oranienplatz, and the State Office for Health probably agrees.	PL, SL, VC, RH
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/fluechtlinge-sollen-in-haus-ohne-heizung-ziehen	28.10.2013	Standard	Winterquartier: Flüchtlinge sollen in Haus ohne Heizung ziehen	Winter quarters: Refugees should move into a house without heating	RH, FS	Bezirk hat ein altes Jugendgästehaus für die Protestler vom Oranienplatz ausgesucht, aber die Heizung ist kaputt.	District has chosen an old youth hostel for the protesters from Oranienplatz, but the heating is broken.	FS, PL, RH
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/geplantes-fluechtlings-quartier-marode	29.10.2013	Standard	Flüchtlings-Camp: Geplantes Flüchtlings-Quartier marode	Refugee camp: Planned refugee quarters dilapidated	FS, RH	Die Flüchtlinge vom Oranienplatz sollen in ein ehemaliges Jugendgästehaus ziehen. Doch das ist nicht bezugsfertig.	The refugees from Oranienplatz are to move into a former youth hostel. But that is not ready.	FS, RH

https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/fluechtlinge-sollen-in-friedrichshainer-hostel	30.10.2013	Standard	Oranienplatz-Camp : Flüchtlinge sollen in Friedrichshainer Hostel	Oranienplatz-Camp: Refugees should stay in a hostel in Friedrichshain	RH, SL	Die Temperaturen fallen, die 60 Flüchtlinge am Oranienplatz müssen bleiben. Ein Winterquartier ist nicht in Sicht.	The temperatures drop, the 60 refugees at Oranienplatz have to stay. Winter quarters are not in sight.	RH, FS, TL
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/messer-attacke-sek-stuermt-fluechtlingsschule	14.11.2013	Standard	Messer-Attacke: SEK stürmt Flüchtlingsschule	Knife attack: SEK storms refugee school	RV, PO, RH	Streit zwischen Flüchtlingen aus Afrika in Kreuzberg - ein 20-Jähriger wird niedergestochen und schwer verletzt.	Dispute between refugees from Africa in Kreuzberg - a 20-year-old is stabbed and seriously injured.	RV, RH
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/cdu-politiker-zeigt-monika-herrmann-an	13.01.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsschule: CDU-Politiker zeigt Monika Herrmann an	Refugee school: CDU politician reports Monika Herrmann	PL, RH, FS	Kurt Wansner (CDU) hat Kreuzbergs Bürgermeisterin Monika Herrmann (Grüne) angezeigt, erhebt schwere Vorwürfe.	Kurt Wansner (CDU) reported Kreuzberg's mayor Monika Herrmann (Greens) and made serious allegations.	PL, FS, RH
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/cdu-politiker-geschockt-von-den-zustaenden	16.01.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsschule: CDU-Politiker geschockt von den Zuständen	Refugee school: CDU politicians shocked by the conditions	PL, RH	CDU-Abgeordneter Kurt Wansner besuchte das 'Haus der Gesetzlosen' in Kreuzberg. Sein Urteil fiel vernichtend aus.	CDU MP Kurt Wansner visited the 'House of the Outlaws' in Kreuzberg. His verdict was devastating.	PL, RV, RH, VC
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/oranienplatz-fluechtlinge-festgenommen	17.01.2014	Standard	Hermannplatz: Oranienplatz-Flüchtlinge festgenommen	Hermannplatz: Oranienplatz refugees arrested	PO, RV	BVG-Mitarbeiter erwischten Oranienplatz-Bewohner ohne gültiges Ticket, holten die Polizei. Es kam zum Handgemenge.	BVG employees caught Oranienplatz residents without a valid ticket and called the police. There was a scuffle.	PO, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/kreuzberg-b-z-im-haus-der-gesetzlosen	18.01.2014	Standard	Besetzte Schule: Kreuzberg: B.Z. im Haus der Gesetzlosen	Occupied school: Kreuzberg: B.Z. in the house of the outlaws	RV	Über keinen Ort wird mehr diskutiert als über die besetzte Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule. B.Z. sprach mit Bewohnern.	No place is discussed more than the occupied Gerhart Hauptmann School. B.Z. spoke to residents.	
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/besetzte-schule-kostete-kreuzberg-115-761-euro	19.01.2014	Standard	Einnahmeverluste: Besetzte Schule kostete Kreuzberg 115.761 Euro	Loss of income: Occupied school cost Kreuzberg 115,761 euros	CO, RV	Rund 100.000 Euro musste der Bezirk für Strom, Wasser und Heizung aufbringen. Den Rest für Brandschutz.	The district had to raise around 100,000 euros for electricity, water and heating. The rest for fire safety.	RV, CO, RH, PL
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/fluechtlinge-sollen-bodyguards-bekommen	31.01.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsschule: Flüchtlinge sollen Bodyguards bekommen	Refugee school: Refugees should have bodyguards	RH	Damit künftig nicht mehr jeder ungehindert in das marode Haus kommt, will Baustadtrat Panhoff einen Wachschutz.	City councilor Panhoff wants a security guard so that in future not everyone can enter the dilapidated house unhindered.	PL, RH, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/geld-fuer-hausbesetzer-aber-nicht-fuer-feuerwehr	03.02.2014	Opinion	Unfaire Verteilung: Geld für Hausbesetzer, aber nicht für Feuerwehr	Unfair distribution: money for squatters, but not for firefighters	CO, RV	Schupelius fragt, warum die besetzte Schule in Kreuzberg instand gehalten wird, die Feuerweherschule aber nicht.	Schupelius asks why the occupied school in Kreuzberg is being maintained but the fire brigade school is not.	CO, RH
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/hauptmannschule-fluechtling-angegriffen	06.02.2014	Standard	Wieder Vorfall: Hauptmann-Schule : Flüchtling angegriffen?	Incident again: Captain School: Fugitive attacked?	RV, PO	Erneut wurde die Polizei zur Flüchtlingsschule gerufen. Ein Mann behauptete, er sei angegriffen worden.	The police were again called to the refugee school. A man claimed he was attacked.	RV, RH, PO

https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/mehr-geld-fuer-besetzte-schule-als-fuer-andere	06.02.2014	Opinion	Kreuzberger Moral: Mehr Geld für besetzte Schule als für andere	Kreuzberger Moral: More money for occupied schools than for others	CO, RD	Gunnar Schupelius fragt, warum Schulbesetzer Geld bekommen, während in anderen Schulen Eltern putzen müssen.	Gunnar Schupelius asks why school squatters get paid while in other schools parents have to clean.	CO, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/oranienplatz-freie-fahrt-fuer-fluechtlinge	07.02.2014	Standard	Grünen-Forderung: Oranienplatz: Freie Fahrt für Flüchtlinge?	Green demand: Oranienplatz: Free travel for refugees?	CO, PL, RD	Kreuzbergs Grüne fordern Gratis-Tickets für die Flüchtlinge vom Oranienplatz. Das Geld dafür soll vom Senat kommen.	Kreuzberg's Greens are demanding free tickets for the refugees from Oranienplatz. The money for this should come from the Senate.	CO, PL, RD, SO
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/stadtrat-kein-problem-in-fluechtlingsschule	27.02.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsschule: Stadtrat: Kein Problem in Flüchtlingschule	Refugee School: City Council: No problem in refugee school	RH, PL, SO	Brand- und Seuchengefahr in Flüchtlingsheim der Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule? Stadtrat weist Vorwürfe der CDU zurück.	Risk of fire and epidemics in the refugee home of the Gerhart Hauptmann School? City council rejects allegations by the CDU.	PL, RH, FS
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/immer-mehr-bretter-huetten-am-oranienplatz	03.03.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge: Immer mehr Bretter-Hütten am Oranienplatz	Refugees: More and more wooden huts on Oranienplatz	RH, TL	Die neuen Bauten von Flüchtlingen am Oranienplatz sorgen für Verstimmung. Nicht nur bei Anwohnern. Henkel: 'Geht gar nicht.'	The new buildings by refugees on Oranienplatz are causing resentment. Not just for local residents. Henkel: 'It doesn't work at all.'	PL, RH, FS, VC, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/cdu-will-gegen-holz-huetten-vorgehen	04.03.2014	Standard	Oranienplatz-Camp : CDU will gegen Holz-Hütten vorgehen	Oranienplatz camp: CDU wants to take action against wooden huts	RH, PL	Sind die Flüchtlings-Bauten eine Gefahr für Bewohner und Nachbarn? CDU will verwaltungsrechtlich dagegen vorgehen.	Are the refugee buildings a danger for residents and neighbors? CDU wants to take administrative action against it.	PL, RH, VC, RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/besetzte-schule-angriff-bei-toilettegang	04.03.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsschule: Besetzte Schule: Angriff bei Toilettengang	Refugee school: Occupied school: Attack while going to the toilet	RV, RH	Kreuzberg: Ein Mann wollte auf dem Gelände seine Notdurft verrichten, als ihn drei Bewohner angriffen.	Kreuzberg: A man wanted to relieve himself on the premises when three residents attacked him.	RV
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/o-platz-bauaufsicht-soll-huetten-raeumen	05.03.2014	Standard	Brandgefahr!: O-Platz: Bauaufsicht soll Hütten räumen	Risk of fire!: O-Platz: Construction supervision should clear huts	RH	Nach dem fruchtlosen politischen Gezerre zwischen Senat und Bezirk soll jetzt die Bauaufsicht eingreifen.	After the fruitless political wrangling between the Senate and the district, the building inspector should now intervene.	PL, FS, VC, TL, RH
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/gerhart-hauptmann-schule-wird-geraeumt	24.06.2014	Standard	Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule: Noch rund 40 Flüchtlinge harren aus	Gerhart Hauptmann School: Around 40 refugees are still holding out	RD, PR, PO, FS, TL	Die Ohlauer Straße in Kreuzberg ist gesperrt, Polizei vor der Schule - die Räumung hat begonnen. Viele Unterstützer vor Ort.	Ohlauer Strasse in Kreuzberg is closed, the police are in front of the school - the eviction has begun. Many local supporters.	PO, VC, SL
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/panhoff-mit-der-polizei-kam-die-wende	03.07.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsschule: Panhoff: Mit der Polizei kam die Wende	Refugee school: Panhoff: The turning point came with the police	PL, PO, SO, VC	Grünen-Baustadtrat Hans Panhoff stand in Sachen Flüchtlingschule stark in der Kritik. Sein Vorgehen hält er aber für richtig.	Green building councilor Hans Panhoff was heavily criticized when it came to the refugee school. But he thinks his actions are correct.	PL, SO, FS

https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/was-bedeutet-der-kompromiss-von-kreuzberg	03.07.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingsschule: Was bedeutet der Kompromiss von Kreuzberg?	Refugee school: What does the Kreuzberg compromise mean?	RD, SL, PL	Nach zähen Verhandlungen dürfen die Besetzer in der Hauptmann-Schule bleiben. Der Innensenator kritisiert die Einigung, die Grünen sind froh.	After tough negotiations, the squatters are allowed to stay in the Hauptmann School. The Interior Senator criticizes the agreement, the Greens are happy.	RD, PL, SO, FS, VC
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/auf-der-demo-flogen-die-flaschen	05.07.2014	Standard	Bleiberecht für alle: Auf der Demo flogen die Flaschen	Right to stay for everyone: Bottles flew at the demo	RD, RV, PR	Während der Flüchtlingsdemo durch Kreuzberg bis zur Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule warfen Aktivisten Flaschen und verschanzten sich auf einem Baum.	During the refugee demonstration through Kreuzberg to the Gerhart Hauptmann school, activists threw bottles and entrenched themselves in a tree.	RV, PR
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/hauptmannschule-polizeischutz-fuer-begehung	10.12.2014	Standard	Fluchtwege verbarrikiert: Hauptmannschule: Polizeischutz für Begehung	Escape routes barricaded: Hauptmannschule: Police protection for inspection	PO, RH, RV	Mit 50 Beamten in der Hauptmannschule und 300 Polizisten davor sichert die Polizei einen Ortstermin. Denn in in der Schule sind Fluchtwege verbarrikiert.	With 50 officers in the Hauptmannschule and 300 police officers in front of it, the police secured an on-site visit. Because in the school escape routes are barricaded.	PO, RV, RH
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/chaoten-greifen-wachmann-an-der-fluechtlinge-schuetzt	23.03.2015	Standard	Feiger Brandanschlag: Chaoten greifen Wachmann an, der Flüchtlinge schützt	Cowardly arson attack: maniacs attack security guard protecting refugees	PO, RV	Nur knapp verfehlt das Geschoss den Wachmann, der Flüchtlinge in Kreuzberg vor rechten Tätern schützen soll. Polizei: Täter aus linksradikaler Szene.	The bullet just missed the security guard who is supposed to protect refugees in Kreuzberg from right-wing perpetrators. Police: perpetrators from the radical left scene.	RV, RH, RW, LW, PO
https://www.bz-berlin.de/archiv-artikel/gewalt-an-fluechtlingsschule-angeklagte-schweigen	07.04.2015	Standard	Prozess-Auftakt: Gewalt an Flüchtlingsschule: Angeklagte schweigen	Process start: Violence at a refugee school: the accused remain silent	RV, PO	Drei Flüchtlinge der Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule müssen sich vor Gericht für Attacken auf Polizisten verantworten. Aussagen machten sie bisher nicht.	Three refugees from the Gerhart Hauptmann School have to answer in court for attacks on police officers. So far they have not made any statements.	RV, PO

Appendix E: Data from *Berliner Morgenpost*

Link	Date Published (dd.mm.yyyy)	Article Type	Headline (German)	Translated Headline	Heading Codes	Subheading (if applicable)	Translated Subheading	Subheading Codes
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/politik/article/109662655/Die-Grenzgaenger.html	06.10.2012	Standard	PROTESTMARCH: Die Grenzgänger	PROTEST MARCH: The border crossers	PR, RD	Rund 30 Flüchtlinge sind 500 Kilometer von Würzburg nach Berlin gelaufen, um gegen die Asylbedingungen zu protestieren	Around 30 refugees walked 500 kilometers from Würzburg to Berlin to protest against the asylum conditions	PR, RD

https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/110880234/Fluechtlinge-werfen-Berliner-Polizei-Misshandlungen-vor.html	10.11.2012	Standard	Gewalt: Flüchtlinge werfen Berliner Polizei Misshandlungen vor	Violence: Refugees accuse Berlin police of abuse	PO, RD, RH	Protestierende Flüchtlinge haben Polizisten Misshandlungen vorgeworfen.	Protesting refugees have accused police officers of abuse.	PO, RH, PR
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/112422393/Protestcamp-am-Oranienplatz-wird-befristet-geduldet.html	05.01.2013	Standard	Protestcamp am Oranienplatz wird befristet geduldet	Protest camp at Oranienplatz is tolerated for a limited time	SL, PR, RD, PL	Erlaubnis des Amtes gilt für zwei bis drei Monate. Anwohner spenden Nahrung. Flüchtlinge kündigen Demonstrationen an	Permission from the office is valid for two to three months. Local residents donate food. Refugees announce demonstrations	RH, PR, PL, FS
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/112422393/Wer-teilhaben-will-muss-offen-sein.html	06.01.2013	Interview	"Wer teilhaben will, muss offen sein"	If you want to participate, you have to be open	PL, RD, SO	Integrationsbeauftragte Monika Lücke fordert die Abschaffung der Residenzpflicht für Flüchtlinge	Integration Commissioner Monika Lücke calls for the abolition of the residence requirement for refugees	RD, PL, SO
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/114559873/Fluechtlingslager-in-alter-Kreuzberger-Schule-wird-geschlossen.html	19.03.2013	Standard	Sozialpolitik: Flüchtlingslager in alter Kreuzberger Schule wird geschlossen	Social policy: Refugee camp in the old Kreuzberg school is closed	VC, SL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/117253779/250-Polizisten-muessen-Streit-schlichten.html	19.06.2013	Standard	Konflikt: 250 Polizisten müssen Streit schlichten	Conflict: 250 police officers have to settle disputes	PO, RV	Schlägerei vor dem Kreuzberger Flüchtlingscamp	Brawl in front of the Kreuzberg refugee camp	RV, PR
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/117287512/Fluechtlingscamp-Franz-Schulz-will-Streit-schlichten.html	20.06.2013	Standard	Konflikt: Flüchtlingscamp: Franz Schulz will Streit schlichten	Conflict: Refugee camp: Franz Schulz wants to settle the dispute	PL, RD, SL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/117453601/Bessere-Nachbarschaft-am-Oranienplatz.html	26.06.2013	Standard	Zeltdorf: Bessere Nachbarschaft am Oranienplatz	Tent Village: Better neighborhood at Oranienplatz	RH			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/117886563/Staatssekretaer-dringt-auf-Raemung-des-Fluechtlingscamps.html	10.07.2013	Standard	Asylpolitik: Staatssekretär dringt auf Räumung des Flüchtlingscamps	Asylum policy: State Secretary insists on evacuation of the refugee camp	PL, VC			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/117971735/Umstrittenes-Camp-auf-dem-Oranienplatz.html	12.07.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge: Umstrittenes Camp auf dem Oranienplatz	Refugees: Controversial camp on Oranienplatz	PR, RD			
https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article/118187624/Debatte-um-Fluechtlingscamp-am-Oranienplatz-ergebnislos.html	18.07.2013	Standard	Berlin-Kreuzberg: Debatte um Flüchtlingscamp am Oranienplatz ergebnislos	Berlin-Kreuzberg: debate about the refugee camp at Oranienplatz without result	FS, PL, TL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/118188920/Ausser-reden-nichts-gewesen.html	19.07.2013	Standard	Verhandlungen: Außer reden nichts gewesen	Negotiations: Nothing but talk	FS, PL, TL			

https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/118291232/Polizei-ermittelt-Vergewaltigung-im-Fluechtlingscamp.html	23.07.2013	Standard	Kriminalität: Polizei ermittelt: Vergewaltigung im Flüchtlingscamp?	Crime: Police investigate: rape in the refugee camp?	RV,PO			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/118433672/Duldung-gegen-Räumung.html	27.07.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Duldung gegen Räumung	Refugee camp: tolerance against eviction	VC, RD, PL, FS, SO	Der Senat möchte das Flüchtlingscamp am Oranienplatz auflösen. Der Bezirk ist dagegen und steht damit zunehmend isoliert da	The Senate wants to close the refugee camp at Oranienplatz. The district is against it and is therefore increasingly isolated	PL, VC, FS
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/titelseite/article/118507916/Fluechtlingscamp-Gesundheitsbehoeerde-will-Hygiene-pruefen.html	30.07.2013	Standard	Senat: Flüchtlingscamp: Gesundheitsbehörd e will Hygiene prüfen	Senate: Refugee camp: Health authorities want to check hygiene	RH, PL			
https://www.google.com/url?q=https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/118507726/Bezirk-will-stroengere-Regeln-fuer-Kreuzberger-Fluechtlingscamp.html&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1677627108825976&usq=AOvVaw0AfvW4DuzWZJ7EC-IHoCAB	30.07.2013	Standard	Hygienische Zustände: Bezirk will strengere Regeln für Kreuzberger Flüchtlingscamp	Hygienic conditions: the district wants stricter rules for the Kreuzberg refugee camp	RH, PL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/120653211/Im-Camp-am-Oranienplatz-wird-es-zu-kalt.html	05.10.2013	Standard	Flüchtlinge: Im Camp am Oranienplatz wird es zu kalt	Refugees: It's getting too cold in the camp at Oranienplatz	RH			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/120664244/Der-Senat-hat-kein-Recht-auf-eine-Räumung.html	06.10.2013	Interview w/ Monika Herrman n	Flüchtlinge: "Der Senat hat kein Recht auf eine Räumung"	Refugees: "The Senate has no right to an eviction"	VC, PL, RD			
https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article/120667099/Im-Kreuzberger-Fluechtlingsheim-Kaempft-jeder-fuer-sich-allein.html	06.10.2013	Standard	Gerhart-Hauptmann -Schule: Im Kreuzberger Flüchtlingsheim Kämpft jeder für sich allein	Gerhart Hauptmann School: In the Kreuzberg refugee home, everyone fights for themselves	RH/RV			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/120778846/Lampedusa-in-Kreuzberg.html	10.10.2013	Standard	Heimat für Flüchtlinge: "Lampedusa in Kreuzberg"	Home for refugees: "Lampedusa in Kreuzberg"	RH			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/121036965/Polizei-will-Pariser-Platz-nicht-raeumen.html	19.10.2013	Standard	Protest: Polizei will Pariser Platz nicht räumen	Protest: Police do not want to clear Pariser Platz	PO,RH, VC	Finanzverwaltung finanziert Kältehilfe für 60 Flüchtlinge aus Camp am Oranienplatz	Financial administration finances cold aid for 60 refugees from camp at Oranienplatz	CO, RH, PL
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/titelseite/article/122257839/Wieder-Aerger-am-Oranienplatz.html	26.11.2013	Standard	Demonstration: Wieder Ärger am Oranienplatz	Demonstration: Again trouble at Oranienplatz	RV, PR			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/122257765/Fluechtlinge-drohen-Bezirke.html	26.11.2013	Standard	Asylpolitik: Flüchtlinge drohen Bezirk	Asylum policy: Refugees threaten district	RV, PL			

https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/titelseite/article122300041/Fluechtling-scamp-in-Kreuzberg-Innen-senator-stellt-Ultimatum.html	27.11.2013	Standard	Konflikt Ungelöst: Flüchtlingscamp in Kreuzberg: Innensenator stellt Ultimatum	Conflict unresolved: Refugee camp in Kreuzberg: Senator for the Interior issues an ultimatum	PL, FS, VC, TL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article122376936/Wir-brauchen-Strategien.html	29.11.2013	Standard	Flüchtlingscamps: "Wir brauchen Strategien"	Refugee camps: "We need strategies"	SL, PL, VC	Runder Tisch mit Behörden und Flüchtlingen geplant. Innensenator fordert weitere Räumung des Oranienplatzes	Round table planned with authorities and refugees. Interior senator calls for further eviction of Oranienplatz	FS, PL, VC
https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article122667609/Fluechtlinge-Innen-senator-Henkel-sagt-fuer-Runden-Tisch-ab.html	06.12.2013	Standard	Situation in Berlin: Flüchtlinge-Innen-senator Henkel sagt für Runden Tisch ab	Situation in Berlin: Refugee Senator Henkel canceled the round table	PL, FS			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article122923387/Mehrheit-der-Berliner-hat-Verstaendnis-fuer-Fluechtlingsprotest.html	14.12.2013	Standard	Berlin-Trend: Mehrheit der Berliner hat Verständnis für Flüchtlingsprotest	Berlin trend: majority of Berliners understand refugee protests	SO, PR			
https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article123065449/Nach-Messerattacke-eskaliert-Situation-am-Fluechtlingshaus.html	18.12.2013	Standard	Berlin-Kreuzberg: Nach Messerattacke eskaliert Situation am Flüchtlingsheim	Berlin-Kreuzberg: After a knife attack, the situation at the refugee home escalates	RV, RH			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article123543665/Die-Fluechtlinge-sind-gekommen-um-zu-arbeiten.html	05.01.2014	Standard	Demonstration: "Die Flüchtlinge sind gekommen, um zu arbeiten"	Demonstration: "The refugees have come to work"	RD, PR			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article123543657/Henkel-will-raeumen-und-die-SPD-wartet-ab.html	05.01.2014	Standard	Zeltlager: Henkel will räumen und die SPD wartet ab	Tent camp: Henkel wants to evacuate and the SPD is waiting	PL, VC, FS, RH			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/seite3/article123613183/Wir-bereiten-uns-nicht-auf-eine-Raeumung-vor.html	07.01.2014	Standard	Protest: "Wir bereiten uns nicht auf eine Räumung vor"	Protest: "We are not preparing for an eviction"	VC, PR, RD			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/seite3/article123648869/Es-geht-nicht-um-Sieg-oder-Niederlage-es-geht-um-eine-Loesung.html	08.01.2014	Standard	Flüchtlinge: "Es geht nicht um Sieg oder Niederlage, es geht um eine Lösung"	Refugees: "It's not about victory or defeat, it's about a solution"	SL, RD			
https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article123728172/Koalition-streitet-um-Notunterkunft-in-Kreuzberg.html	10.01.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Koalition streitet um Notunterkunft in Kreuzberg	Refugee camp: Coalition argues about emergency accommodation in Kreuzberg	FS, PL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/titelseite/article123904622/Infektionsgefahr-im-Fluechtlingscamp.html	16.01.2014	Standard	Gesundheit: Infektionsgefahr im Flüchtlingscamp	Health: Risk of infection in the refugee camp	RH	Bezirksamt Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg warnt Polizisten vor Krankheitserregern durch Rattenbefall	District office Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg warns police officers about pathogens caused by rat infestation	RH, PO, PL
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article123940415/Jeden-Tag-wird-die-Lage-dort-schlechter.html	17.01.2014	Standard	Gesundheit: "Jeden Tag wird die Lage dort schlechter"	Health: "The situation there is getting worse every day"	RH, TL			

https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/124472140/Ich-bin-der-Boss-ich-meine-es-ernst.html	03.02.2014	Interview	Reportage: "Ich bin der Boss, ich meine es ernst"	Reportage: "I'm the boss, I'm serious"	PL	Wie sich ein Stadtrat in der von Flüchtlingen besetzten Kreuzberger Schule Respekt verschafft	How a city councilman gains respect in the Kreuzberg school occupied by refugees	PL, SO
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/124570941/Widersprueche-am-Oranienplatz.html	06.02.2014	Interview	Vorwürfe: Widersprüche am Oranienplatz	Allegations: Contradictions at Oranienplatz	PO, RV, RH	Napuli Langa sagt, sie sei von Polizisten beleidigt worden, aber sie erstattet keine Anzeige. Das macht dafür die Polizei	Napuli Langa says she was insulted by the police, but she is not filing a complaint. That's what the police do	PO, RD, RV
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/titelseite/article/125438158/CDU-will-gegen-Blockhuetten-am-Oranienplatz-klagen.html	05.03.2014	Standard	Asylpolitik: CDU will gegen Blockhütten am Oranienplatz klagen	Asylum policy: CDU wants to sue log cabins on Oranienplatz	PL, RH, RV			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/125438071/Verhandlungen-und-kein-Ende-in-Sicht.html	05.03.2014	Standard	Flüchtlingscamp: Verhandlungen- und kein Ende in Sicht	Refugee camp: negotiations and no end in sight	FS, TL, PL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/titelseite/article/125698883/Runder-Tisch-sucht-Loesung-fuer-Fluechtlinge-ohne-Senatoren.html	12.03.2014	Standard	Asylpolitik: Runder Tisch sucht Lösung fuer Flüchtlinge- ohne Senatoren	Asylum policy: round table seeks solution for refugees - without senators	PL, FS, RD			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/125698775/Warnung-an-die-Oranienplatz-Fluechtlinge.html	12.03.2014	Standard	Massnahmen: Warnung an die Oranienplatz-Flüchtlinge	Measures: Warning to Oranienplatz refugees	VC, PL	Bezirksbürgermeisterin Herrmann schließt eine Räumung des Camps nicht mehr aus	District Mayor Herrmann no longer rules out clearing the camp	PL, VC
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/125785162/Letzte-Frist-fuer-die-Fluechtlinge.html	14.03.2014	Standard	Verhandlungen: Letzte Frist für die Flüchtlinge	Negotiations: final deadline for the refugees	SL, TL, VC, PL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/titelseite/article/125944475/Oranienplatz-Einigung-mit-offenem-Ende.html	19.03.2014	Standard	Camp-Räumung: Oranienplatz: Einigung mit offenem Ende	Camp evacuation: Oranienplatz: Agreement with an open end	SL, VC, PL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/titelseite/article/126197237/Gemeinsames-Heim-fuer-die-Fluechtlinge-vom-Oranienplatz.html	26.03.2014	Standard	Asylpolitik: Gemeinsames Heim für die Flüchtlinge vom Oranienplatz	Asylum policy: Common home for the refugees from Oranienplatz	SL, RD, RH			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/126501891/Das-grosse-Warten-auf-den-Umzug.html	03.04.2014	Standard	Koordinierungsgruppe: Das grosse Warten auf den Umzug	Coordination group: The long wait for the move	TL, SL			
https://www.morgenpost.de/berlin-aktuell/article/126648248/Drogen-in-besetzter-Schule-in-Kreuzberg-entdeckt.html	07.04.2014	Standard	Kriminalität: Drogen in besetzter Schule in Kreuzberg entdeckt	Crime: Drugs discovered in occupied school in Kreuzberg	RV			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/leute/article/126864915/Kasupke-sagt-wie-es-ist.html	12.04.2014	Opinion	Taxi Kasupke: Kasupke sagt, wie es ist	Taxi Kasupke: Kasupke tells it like it is	VC, TL, LW, PR	Der Oranienplatz ist endlich geräumt, aber die Proteste von sogenannten „Links-Aktivisten“ jehn weita.	Oranienplatz has finally been cleared, but the protests by so-called "left-wing activists" are still going strong.	VC, TL, LW, PR

https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/126909846/Fluechtlinge-protestieren-wieder-am-Oranienplatz.html	14.04.2014	Standard	Asylpolitik: Flüchtlinge protestieren wieder am Oranienplatz	Asylum policy: Refugees protest again at Oranienplatz	PR, TL, RD			
https://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/berlin/article/127791604/Politiker-warnen-vor-Erpressung-durch-Fluechtlinge.html	09.05.2014	Standard	Asyl: Politiker warnen vor Erpressung durch Flüchtlinge	Asylum: Politicians warn of extortion by refugees	RV, PL, RD			