

Solidarity in Europe

How did German newspapers perceive aspects of solidarity
during the Great Recession 2008/2009?

A student research project at Technical University Darmstadt

April 2023 – March 2024

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TECHNISCHE
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Table of Contents

1	Preface	5
2	Introduction	6
3	Topic and Terms	9
	3.1 Research Question.....	9
	3.2 Terms used in our study	11
	3.3 Context: The Financial Crisis.....	20
4	Research Design	23
	4.1 Methodology.....	23
	4.2 Method Adaption	25
	4.3 Procedure	27
	4.4 Case selection	29
5	Descriptive data overview.....	31
	5.1 Corpus attributes.....	31
	5.2 Codes.....	32
	5.3 Problems.....	33
6	Detailed analysis	35
	6.1 The frequency and use of different codes in the newspapers.....	35
	6.2 Correspondence of the term “support” with certain codes.....	49
	6.3 Correspondence of the term “reciprocity” with certain codes	53
	6.4 Usage of the terms “support” and “reciprocity” over time	57
	6.5 Change in usage of “support” and “reciprocity” by authors	63
	6.6 Change in justification for terms “support” and “reciprocity” by authors....	73
	6.7 Predominance of certain codes in the argumentation of each newspaper...	82
7	Conclusion	98
8	References.....	99

Tables and figures

Figure 1: Frequency of the code "deservingness" in the respective daily newspapers.....	37
Figure 2: Frequency of the code "deservingness" in connection with recipients	38
Figure 3: Code numbers in the daily newspapers	42
Figure 4: Quantitative analysis of the code reciprocity	45
Figure 5: Quantitative analysis of the code Ability / Availability.....	48
Figure 6: Word cloud on article SZ 04.12.2009	65
Figure 7: Word cloud on article SZ 09.01.2010	66
Figure 8: Number of coded segments Hesse 2009 - 2010	73
Figure 9: Number of coded segments Kaiser 2009 – 2010	73
Figure 10: Number of coded segments Hesse & Kaiser overview	74
Figure 11: Initial Distribution of codes for SZ, MAXQDA 2022	83
Figure 12: Distribution of codes for SZ after correcting encoding mistakes.....	83
Figure 13: Statistics of the codes assigned in the taz	88
Figure 14: Statistics of the codes assigned in the FAZ	91
Figure 15: Statistics of the codes occurring in the newspaper WELT	95
Table 1: Frequency and shares of arguments for solidarity in comparison.....	32
Table 2: MAXQDA24 Code-Relations-Browser	55
Table 3: Number of codes over months Cerstin Gammelín.....	79
Table 4: Number of codes over months Martin Greive	80
Table 5: Statistics of the codes assigned in the FAZ.....	91

List of abbreviations

ECF	European Monetary Union
EFSF	European Financial Stability Facility
EMU	European Monetary Union
EU	European Union
FAS	Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung
FAZ	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
HEUREC	How Europeans understand fairness, reciprocity and cohesion
IfM	Institut für Medien- und Kommunikationspolitik
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LFP	Lehrforschungsprojekt (student research project)
SZ	Süddeutsche Zeitung
taz	die tageszeitung

1 Preface

Our project “Solidarity in Europe” is a so called “Lehrforschungsprojekt” at the Technische Universität Darmstadt at the Institute of Political Science during the summer and winter term from April 2023 until March 2024 directed by Björn Egner. It is situated within the context of numerous crises facing the European Union (EU), including the financial crisis and the phenomenon of “Brexit” among others. These crises have underscored the complexities and challenges inherent in the EU’s structure and functioning. Additionally, there exist multifaceted relationships among various entities operating at different levels within the EU framework. Against this backdrop, our project aims to explore and analyse the dynamics of solidarity in Europe, seeking to understand how these crises and relationships shape the concept and practice of solidarity within the EU and its member states.

Our project utilizes textual sources to acquire information and proceeds to select and organize units of data. Subsequently, a category scheme is developed for analysis, and instances of categories are identified through the examination of the gathered material. We utilized articles from various newspapers as sources of information, selectively gathering those deemed significantly relevant. Following that, relevant parts within the collected articles were coded.

For research and editing, the students were divided into three groups: the editorial team, the data group and the authors. The editorial team was responsible for creating the design, supervising the authors and the final editing. The data group viewed, cleaned and selected the data for the authors and assisted the authors during data extraction and interpretation. The authors were responsible for producing the text for the report. Since the report is a team effort, we decided to name all participants as jointly responsible authors and originators for the whole text.

2 Introduction

Cooperation is the key to the success of the human species. Without it, humanity would probably not have developed as it has. If we hadn't started thousands of years ago to shed our innate selfish behaviour in defiance of our instincts and start acting cooperatively and putting ourselves first to help others, we as humans would probably still be living in caves like marauding gangs, constantly in fear of being robbed of our possessions or our lives by another tribe. It was only through the invention of civilization and civilized action that we were finally able to form a society and shape our future the way we have now. The morality of helping others was born.

Solidarity is a decisive factor in cooperation and morality. From a fundamental point of view, the motives behind this are not important. Nevertheless, the differences between the motives can be very interesting. In addition to the basic idea of support as help is the idea of reciprocity, which ties the support of one side to the expected support of the other side, i.e. like an exchange of help. Basic arguments for helping each other can be the ability to help, the neediness of the recipient or a fundamental idea of fairness.

While humanity has now evolved from tribes living in caves to citizens living in organized states, the fundamentals of human action have remained the same. Even though we have managed to improve our living conditions to the maximum in many categories, we are still threatened by natural disasters, wars or other hardships that pose great challenges to a part of the global society we now see ourselves as a part of. As a result of globalization, we now not only look to our immediate neighbours, but also provide assistance to other countries when they need it. One example of this is Ukraine, which is being supported by many countries for various reasons following the attack by Russia to defend itself against the aggressor.

Whereas in the past it was Stone Age people who helped their relatives in need, today it is governments. The tribes of the past have developed into states, which in turn live together in regional (or even international) alliances, just as families once did. One such family of states is the European Union, which is a union of states with the same moral foundations, at least that was once the idea when it was founded. However, in recent years in particular, numerous conflicts have shown that this common moral basis is crumbling. That is why this report is also intended to examine the extent to which this is still the case today. But despite all the shaking of this basic framework of values, it can nevertheless be said that the basic idea of cooperation is not significantly different from the cooperation at the beginning of our civilization.

For example, a research project funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) called HEUREC (How Europeans understand fairness, reciprocity and cohesion) investigated how this moral action of society is distributed among the states of the European Union and whether there are differences in the logic of action. The core question behind the motives of individual actors is therefore “who owes what to whom?”. So, the question is: are there morally different positions on why one should help others within this alliance? Our approach is fundamentally based on the same idea: We examine solidarity in the EU from the German perspective.

In addition to help in the face of visible dangers such as a war of aggression against a weaker neighbouring country, there are also dangers that cannot be seen at first glance, but which can nevertheless lead to the need for help. For example, a severe global economic crisis in 2008 meant that some countries were hit particularly hard. Within the European Union, this was especially Greece. Many countries supported Greece with money and this help was urgently needed. Even though all states in the European Union are obliged to help their allies, there was a great deal of discussion in this case about whether something should be done and what should be done. The arguments as to why Greece and other countries hit by the crisis should be helped also varied. Showing solidarity is hardest when it costs the best thing you have: money.

This report will now look at how the arguments within the different political positions in Germany differ when it comes to the question of why or why not to help suffering countries. What are the arguments for or against solidarity?

But what is the best way to find out what is going on in the minds of the opponents or supporters of financial aid for Greece? After all, it is not possible to ask every single person involved. It would also not only be difficult, but almost impossible in terms of scope, to collect and evaluate the opinions of individual citizens in a large survey. A simpler idea is to listen to the voices of the people: the media. More precisely in our case: the newspapers. In these voices of the people, different opinions have their say and present their arguments for or against support and solidarity with Greece. So, a broad-based analysis of German newspaper articles from the period of social debate on the issue should ultimately allow conclusions to be drawn. How exactly the cases were selected and what happened to the data afterwards will be explained in detail in later chapters of this report. However, it can already be revealed at this point: there was a lot to do for the team working on this project.

First, we give an overview on terms used and on the context of our case selection: the financial crisis in Europe. We then formulate our research question, which we then address when

presenting our research design. We explain both our methodology and our procedure with case selection in detail before we get straight to work with the data. After looking at the data and coding, we will examine seven individual questions in detail. Our conclusion and results will be presented at the end.

3 Topic and Terms

This chapter deals with the terms, which are important for our following analysis. For this, we looked at other studies around the term solidarity and demarcated our definitions from those used there. Furthermore, we introduce the context in which the analysis of the newspaper articles takes place: The Financial Crisis. We close this chapter by clarifying our research guiding question for our report.

3.1 Research Question

The European Union constantly grapples with intricate challenges that necessitate close collaboration and coordinated efforts among its member states. Among the most formidable challenges in recent years was the 2009 financial crisis, which impacted many member states. The repercussions of this crisis transcended national boundaries, giving rise to profound economic and social uncertainties that significantly influenced the overall structure of the European Union. Amidst this crisis, pivotal questions of solidarity and reciprocity among member states came to the forefront. In particular, Germany found itself immersed in a vigorous debate concerning the appropriate level of support for the crisis-affected states. Should Germany assume a leading role in navigating through the crisis? To what extent should this assistance be extended? And what reciprocal measures could be expected from the supported states? These questions not only framed the political discourse but also underscored the intricate balancing act required to navigate the principles of solidarity and reciprocity within the EU.

German newspapers played a pivotal role during this period in shaping and mirroring public opinion on this critical issue. Editorials, analyses, and opinion pieces in German media meticulously explored the economic and political dimensions of potential German involvement in addressing the European financial crisis. The media coverage reflected a diverse spectrum of perspectives, ranging from advocates of generous solidarity to voices emphasizing cautious approaches and explicit reciprocation. The discussions and considerations in Germany shed light not only on the challenges of aligning national interests but also underscored the imperative of upholding the fundamental principles and values that bind the European Union together.

The primary focus of this study is to delve into the responses of the German newspapers *tageszeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *WELT*, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* to elements of solidarity and reciprocity in the context of the European financial crisis. In pursuit of a comprehensive understanding, several specific questions guide this exploration, shedding light on the intricacies of the newspapers' dynamics during this critical period. Firstly, an

inquiry is made into whether the frequency of the term “reciprocity” differs between the newspapers, aiming to discern distinct patterns in their coverage. Additionally, the research investigates whether the term of “support” aligns more with certain codes, such as need, obligation, deservingness, availability, conditionality, or practicability, than with others. Similarly, it delves into whether the term “reciprocity” corresponds more with fairness, convergence as a goal, or cost-benefit, aiming to unveil the underlying codes prevalent in the newspapers' discourse. Temporal aspects are not overlooked, as the study seeks to determine whether the use of the terms “solidarity” and “reciprocity” underwent changes over time, both collectively across all newspapers and individually within each publication.

Furthermore, the research probes into the possibility of authors altering their use of these narratives over time, examining shifts in their perspectives and emphases. A nuanced exploration includes an examination of whether a certain author modified his use of the terms “solidarity” and “reciprocity” over time. Additionally, the study scrutinizes whether a certain author altered his justifications for employing the term “solidarity” (e.g., need, deservingness) and “reciprocity” (e.g., convergence as a goal), providing insights into the evolving rationale behind their narrative choices. In a broader context, the investigation aims to identify whether certain codes dominate the argumentation within each newspaper, contributing to a deeper understanding of the overarching narrative frameworks employed by *taz*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *WELT*, and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* during the European financial crisis in 2009.

In summary and with clarity, the overarching research question of this paper is: *How did the German newspapers taz, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, WELT, and Süddeutsche Zeitung report about aspects of solidarity and reciprocity during the 2009 financial crisis?*

The foundation of this study lies in the analysis of articles published in said newspapers. The selected time frame, 20.10.2009 to 20.10.2010, marked the peak of the European financial crisis. A content analysis approach is employed to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. The focus of this study is to provide a deeper insight into the dynamics of solidarity and reciprocity within the European Union, particularly from a media perspective, during times of economic upheaval. Solidarity and reciprocity are of particular interest in this context as they are central elements to the functioning and cohesion of the EU.

The existing body of research on the response of German newspapers to aspects of solidarity and reciprocity during the 2009 financial crisis is currently limited. While broader studies may have examined media coverage of the financial crisis, specific investigations into how German newspapers addressed solidarity and reciprocity during this period are scarce

(Schiffrin 2015: 639). However, given the significance of the financial crisis and its implications for societal cohesion, there is a notable gap in scholarly literature that warrants further exploration. Investigating how newspapers framed and responded to concepts of solidarity and reciprocity during times of economic turmoil could yield valuable insights into societal values, attitudes, and responses to crises. To address this gap, future research accomplishments could involve conducting comprehensive content analyses of newspaper coverage from the 2009 financial crisis era. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies could be employed to systematically examine the frequency, prominence, and framing of solidarity and reciprocity within newspaper articles. Moreover, researchers may explore additional factors such as editorial biases, ownership structures, and audience demographics to elucidate how these variables influenced the portrayal of solidarity and reciprocity in the media during the financial crisis. In conclusion, while the current state of research on this topic is limited, there is considerable potential for scholars to contribute to our understanding of how German newspapers responded to aspects of solidarity and reciprocity during the 2009 financial crisis through rigorous empirical investigation and analysis.

3.2 Terms used in our study

The following chapter focuses on the different codes we use in our analysis. The central concept, as already mentioned, is solidarity, which can be distinguished by its kind.

Solidarity, generally defined as a state of unconditional adherence to someone or something based on shared beliefs and goals, is one of the most studied phenomena in the social sciences (Lahusen/Grasso 2018: 4). It also receives a great deal of attention in the political context and in political science. In our study, we look at solidarity particularly in a transnational context, at the level within the European Union and the eurozone and between nation states. While the phenomenon of solidarity at national and individual societal level has already been studied in detail, knowledge of the field of transnational solidarity is still relatively limited (Lahusen/Grasso 2018: 4). Solidarity in the European context already has a tradition that goes back to the founding of the European Community after the Second World War. The preamble to the founding treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community already stated that this community should be based on mutual solidarity (Sangiovanni 2013: 213).

Furthermore, the meaning of the concept of solidarity differs according to the type of relationship in which the parties concerned are involved. Ashley Taylor determines four characteristics of solidarity: *joint interest, identification with the group, disposition to empathy, and mutual trust*.

To briefly define these terms:

1. *Joint interest* provides the solidary group with its content matter, which can only be realized by a group, not a single person. “[...] [S]olidary groups will have an *executive interest* that defines the group, as well as *subsidiary interests* and aims that members of the group understand to promote the group’s executive interest” (Taylor 2014: 131-133).
2. An individual does not only need to *identify* with the groups and the groups matter, but also must be accepted/ *recognized* by the group. That is what *Identification with the group* means (Taylor 2014: 133).
3. “A *disposition to empathy* involves being affected by other individuals’ situations or, minimally, being disposed to being affected. In the context of solidarity, empathy involves understanding the kind of social facts with which other members of the group are living (those facts about the social environment related to the group’s executive interest, not all social facts) and willingness to understand the *emotional configuration* that arises in response” (Taylor 2014: 135-136).
4. “*Mutual trust* is the final condition of solidarity. [...] The stronger the other features, the more robust the trust and corresponding obligations within the group. *Solidarity-trust* is distinct from ordinary mutual trust, though it is a species of mutual trust.” (Taylor 2014: 136-137)

The concept of solidarity also has major overlaps with other topics, such as fairness, cohesion, and reciprocity (Sonnicksen 2021: 8). To examine the concept of solidarity and its overlaps with other schemes of reciprocal or unilateral support of another actor, we have defined several categories of these ideas based on their forms of argumentation in order to make precise distinctions.

Another term we used for this study is *support*. A general definition is found in the Cambridge Dictionary (Cambridge Dictionary 2023a). It describes support as “help or encouragement given to someone when he or she is having problems” (Cambridge Dictionary 2023a). In our context, we defined it as a one-sided help. That means, that one country offers help to another country, without anything in return. A typical phrase to code with support would be: “*We should help country B*”. The term is also used in other contexts in different studies. For example, in the context of government support by Peter et al. (2018). They define it as governmental programs that are developed to facilitate and stimulate successful business activities of “Small and Medium Enterprises” (Peter et al. 2018: 2). With this kind of support, they want to help them so they can contribute to economic development through producing goods and services and creating empowerment. Another study, using the term government

support is by Frey (2011). He wrote about the demand for government support for the arts (Frey 2011). Thus, it is again about financial support. But not only is support used in a financial context but also in a social one. Within their study, Rodriguez and Cohen (1998) mention, that social support “generally refers to the process by which individuals manage the psychological and material resources available through their solid networks to enhance their coping with stressful events, meet their social needs, and achieve their goals” (Rodriguez/Cohen 1998: 536). Another context that uses the term support is technological. Fick and Sprague (1980) used support for their study about decision support systems. Those support systems “represent a concept of the role of computers within the decision-making process” (Fick/Sprague 1980: 23), which help managers within their decisions (Fick/Sprague 1980: 23).

Furthermore, we used the term *reciprocity*. A general definition of the term as it is used in everyday language is found within Cherry (2023). She defines reciprocity as a “process of exchanging things with other people to gain a mutual benefit” (Cherry 2023). Moreover, she describes reciprocity “as a social norm” (Cherry 2023), because “if someone does something for you, you then feel the obligation to return the favor” (Cherry 2023). Furthermore, we can find a general definition within the Cambridge Dictionary (2023 b). It describes reciprocity as a “situation, in which two groups agree to help each other by behaving in the same way or by giving each other similar advantages” (Cambridge 2023 b). Another general definition is within the study of Molm et al. (2007). They describe reciprocity as “giving benefits to another in return for benefits received” (Molm et al. 2007: 199). Within our context, we used this term as helping each other, without depending on the medium, like money or medication, on the amount, few or much, or on the time, now or later. A typical sentence to code with the term reciprocity would be the following: “*The countries should help each other*”. However, a sentence we would not code as reciprocity would be: “*All countries should help other countries*”. In this case, we lack a second way – it is a one-way street. Not only is the term reciprocity used in the context of a financial crisis but also the context of marketing (Cherry 2023). Marketers use different strategies to convince consumers to make purchases. As well as in the context of marketing, the term is also used in the context of charities. They sent free greeting cards or pens and hope for reciprocity and that they then donate (Cherry 2023). In another study, the term reciprocity is used as “a behavioral response to perceived kindness and unkindness” (Falk/Fischbacher 2003: 294). Falk and Fischbacher mention, that many studies have shown “the omnipresence of reciprocal behavior within human behavior” (Falk/Fischenbacher 2003: 294). Moreover, they explain, that a “reciprocal action is modeled as the behavioral response to an action that is perceived as either kind or unkind”

(Falk/Fischenbacher 2003: 294). Another study, which uses the term reciprocity is the one by Molm (2010). She describes reciprocity as “one of the defining features of social exchange and social life” (Molm 2010). Continuing she mentions that within many studies reciprocity is taken for granted (Molm 2010). Moreover, Molm et al. used the term reciprocity as a “vital principle of society” (Molm et al. 2007: 199).

The term *obligation* describes a sense of duty towards being bound to do certain things (Collins Dictionary 2023), other synonyms would be “responsibility” or “commitment” (Oxford Languages 2023). For example, “You have a legal obligation to (= the law says you must) ensure your child receives an education” or “the government must assist relief efforts” (Cambridge Dictionary 2023d). To sum up, obligation is something that a person feels morally or is legally forced to do (Cambridge Dictionary 2023d). For our analysis of the German newspapers, we defined the term *obligation* as the duty of the helpers to provide assistance. It refers to the helper. For example: “It is *our human duty* to do X”. “In some instances of solidarity individuals act with a group as a result of obligations incurred because of membership in that group” (Taylor 2014: 128). “Most of the literature on solidarity recognizes [...] conflicting uses of the term by choosing to focus on either an obligation-generating form of solidarity or a motivation-generating form of solidarity—but not both.” (Taylor 2014: 128). Furthermore, Taylor explains that solidarity is a social bond that endures different normative interpretations. As Tommie Shelby continues to describe *obligational* solidarity: “It is because I feel solidarity with group X that I ought to do this or that for or on behalf of fellow members of group X” (Shelby 2007: 68). He continues to call this type of solidarity *robust* as it is able to move people to collective actions. This robust solidarity is the kind of solidarity in which obligations are formed in the matter of membership in the group. “Robust solidarity is strongly normative and entails positive obligations” (Taylor 2014: 131). Taylor concludes in her paper that solidarity is both expressional and robust, since they generate motivation to support certain interests of a group while they also generate obligations to act with a group in which one is a member (Taylor 2014: 145).

Another argument frequently utilized within the context of the project is the concept of *availability*. The core assertion behind the term “availability” in the realm of political argumentation refers to the ease with which assistance can be rendered. In this context, it refers to the accessibility of resources or political measures. Is the expected aid available, present, deliverable, or ready to be implemented? The availability of resources is crucial for understanding a distinctive type of argumentation in the European context of solidarity. This availability can be influenced by various factors, including the transparency of political processes, the disclosure of data, and the communication strategies of political actors (Heermann et al.

2022: 631f.). However, it may also depend on the actual political possibilities and resources whether assistance can be carried out. Furthermore, the concept of availability encompasses the material resources available for solidarity measures. In this case, it refers to financial aid that can be mobilized for solidarity in Europe. The examination of the availability of solidarity mechanisms can reveal the extent to which political actors and institutions are able to deploy their resources (Afonso/Negash 2023: 384) and influence to promote solidarity in Europe. The availability heuristic can be used to form judgments and decisions. This heuristic posits that the likelihood of an event is estimated based on the ease with which examples of that event come to mind. To reduce the negative effects of the availability heuristic, it is crucial to utilize various sources of information, engage in critical thinking, and question one's own memory. Overall, the detailed examination of availability in the political science context allows for a precise analysis of the factors influencing the degree and effectiveness of solidarity in Europe. This encompasses both information transparency (Afonso/Negash 2023: 396) and material support, as well as political availability. The argument of availability can play a significant role in explaining solidarity in Europe.

The normative assumption of the solidarity concept is the cohesion of countries based on the premise: one for all, all for one, with no one left behind (Genschel/Hemerijck 2018: 2). In political processes, however, circumstances are considered from a broader perspective. Does the requester deserve the assistance they are seeking for? This is attempted to be classified with the umbrella term of the argumentation type “*deservingness*”. Furthermore, *deservingness* in the context of political argumentation refers to the subjective assessment of whether someone deserves something specific (e.g., support, aid, or resources). To what extent are certain actors or groups viewed deserving or worthy of experiencing solidarity, or to act in a solidaristic manner themselves? This term encompasses the evaluation of merits and moral justification with regard to solidarity measures. Individual or collective efforts, contributions to common goals, and moral criteria (Kurowska/Theiss 2018: 106) play a crucial role in this assessment. *Deservingness* may be linked with other concepts, such as the concept of “*dignity*” or the concept of “*neediness*”. *Deservingness* is used in research to analyse how social actors perceive and assess solidarity. This can involve merits at the national level, in interstate relations, or the individual worthiness of support in specific contexts (Afonso/Negash 2023: 381). In the context of solidarity discourses, political, economic, or social actors can be considered deserving if they, for example, contribute to overcoming common challenges. The assessment of *deservingness* can be influenced by various factors, such as perceived neediness, moral integrity, performance, or group affiliation of a state. Sharing the same moral, economic, or political goals, or advocating for such actions, can also be decisive in determining whether one deserves assistance. “*Deservingness*” can be viewed as a normative

concept influencing the moral legitimacy of solidarity. Research explores the criteria and values highlighted in societal discourses and their impact on the evaluation of solidarity and support. Moral, cultural, and social dimensions are considered, which can be expressed in political decisions and societal attitudes. Additionally, deservingness can influence perceptions of justice. People who believe that resources are distributed to the “deserving” are more likely to agree with the distribution (Maggini 2018: 144). The assessment of deservingness is often highly subjective (Vasilopoulou/Talving 2020: 928). To reduce the negative effects of deservingness, it is crucial to align the distribution of resources and support with objective criteria and needs.

The concept of deservingness can also be illustrated through other examples:

- Social Welfare: Support for social welfare benefits may depend on whether recipients are perceived as “deserving”, for example, due to unemployment or illness.
- Refugee Assistance: The willingness to assist refugees may hinge on whether they are deemed “deserving”, based on factors such as the reasons for their displacement or their readiness for integration.
- Development Aid: The amount of development aid provided to a country may be contingent on whether it is considered “deserving”, for instance, due to political stability or economic performance.

The argument of deservingness plays a crucial role in explaining solidarity in Europe. Countries that believe other nations or individuals merit their support may be more inclined to show solidarity (Montgomery et al. 2018: 75). Ultimately, this belief in deservingness can serve as a rationale for providing actual assistance.

The word *need* can be described as “to have something, or to want something very much” (Cambridge Dictionary 2023c). “If you say that someone or something needs something else, you mean that they should have it, or would get an advantage from having it” (Cambridge Dictionary 2023c). It’ll also be defined by a necessary duty or a condition requiring supply or relief (Merriam Webster Dictionary 2023). Need also plays an important role in other contexts: For example, Maria Theiss (2022) analysed opinions on deservingness expressed by users over social media in debates about social welfare granted to refugees and families with dependent children in Poland. She defined the term need as the neediness of the affected people, their attitude as well as the reciprocity in relation to the general population. Furthermore, she looks at the identity and the level of need.

“The study shows that in the case of refugees, a group deemed less deserving, those content categories are more demanding and exclusive. In particular, the content of the need

category proved broad and biased toward favouring a generally 'more deserving' group" (Theiss 2022: 962).

For our analysis, which is in the context of the EU, we described *need* as the neediness of the recipient. For example, some countries wouldn't make it without certain loans. Which can be referred to as Taylor's mentioned *joint interest*. The European Union is described through their need for cohesion.

Furthermore, we used the code *conditionality*. A general definition of the term is found within Kenton (2023). He describes it as a "quality of being dependent on certain specified conditions" (Kenton 2023). Within our context, we defined conditionality as conditions attached to the help a country could offer. A typical sentence, we would code with the term conditionality is: "*We will help country A if they first do...*". Thus, a country only offers to help if they also have a benefit from it. Another context of conditionality is "welfare conditionality" (Watts/Fitzpatrick 2018: 1). It is described as a "new vision of the welfare state" (Watts/Fitzpatrick 2018: 1), because it is less focused "on protecting individuals from the risks associated with market forces or smoothing income over the life course" (Watts/Fitzpatrick 2018 quoted from Hill 2014). Instead, it is intended to cover the welfare benefits system into a lever for changing behaviour (Rodger 2013: 87). Moreover, the term is used in a financial or economic context (Kenton 2023) or as a political conditionality (Stokke 1995). Within the 1990s the aid donors "made official development assistance conditional on political and administrative reform in recipient countries" (Stokke 1995: 1). For example, they want them to support human rights reforms explicitly (Stokke 1995: 1).

With *practicability*, we create a category of argumentation as to the extent to which the affected countries are helped at all by the payments made and the associated requirements and the central problem is solved. In the case we are examining, the practicability of the aid and associated requirements can be questioned in various ways, which is and has been done both academically and in the public debate. The dominant question in the debate is whether aid could not have been provided with less drastic measures for affected countries, especially Greece (Lenoël et al. 2022: 284). In particular, it is argued that cuts to the welfare state and government spending lead to falling consumption and economic growth, which in turn presumably slows down and counteracts the recovery of the economy (Lenoël et al. 2022: 286). On the other hand, parts of the public debate did not consider the rescue programs to be strict enough and called for greater austerity measures in subsequent rescue packages in return for the aid or even demanded that Greece leave the eurozone because of and to resolve the debt crisis (Haupenthal/Neuenkirch 2016: 3). Thus, the question of the practicability of the aid, in example whether it achieves its intended effect and works towards the

desired solution to the problem, can be argued differently from different points of view. In the use case, we will therefore code statements such as "Aid payments do not solve the economic crisis of the Greek state" as practicability as well as the opposite affirmation of this statement.

Convergence in the political context has various dimensions. In this study, we use the term *convergence as a goal* to focus on the definition as the harmonization of all countries, especially in an economic context. For example, the convergence of living standards between the member states of the European Union. For the European Union, and in particular for those member states that are part of the eurozone, convergence is considered by officials to be desirable in order to ensure the proper functioning of the common market and monetary unions and represents an explicitly formulated political goal (Carvalho/Harvey 2005: 275). Even before the outbreak of the financial crisis, aid policies for less wealthy countries in the European Union and the eurozone were justified based on this objective (Carvalho/Harvey 2005: 275). The existence of such transfer payments therefore suggests that convergence between the countries of the EU and the eurozone is to be actively promoted through such measures (Boldrin/Canova 2001: 3). With convergence as a goal, we want to take up those cases in which the media and their journalists justify aid payments to euro member states, and Greece in particular, with the aim of equalizing living conditions in European states, especially the "rich" states such as Germany and those falling behind, such as Greece. An exemplary statement that we would characterize as "convergence as a goal" would be, for example, "If we help Greece, we will at some point be able to achieve the same standard of living".

How can we define the concept of "*cost-benefit*"? How can we describe the term the best in this case? In this context, the potential donor starts an analysis. The "cost-benefit" analysis aims to evaluate financial expenditures in relation to the anticipated or perceived benefits of solidarity measures. Different levels of costs and benefits can be considered whether on a national, intergovernmental, or individual level. Cost-benefit analysis is a method for evaluating political decisions, systematically weighing the costs and benefits of a measure against each other. This classification enables the identification and analysis of argumentative patterns emphasizing economic considerations regarding solidarity. Questions of financial burden, resource allocation, and economic benefits can play a crucial role in discourses about solidarity. Cost-benefit analysis can contribute to more efficient resource allocation by assisting decision-makers in identifying measures with the highest benefit. However, cost-benefit analysis also has limitations. For example, it is challenging to quantify the benefits of measures affecting intangible goods such as quality of life or environmental preservation. In

the political context of solidarity in Europe, actors may emphasize that solidarity measures promote long-term economic stability and thus bring long-term economic benefits. Additionally, the granting of solidarity and therefore providing financial assistance may be reciprocated for political support or promises. On the other hand, arguments may also focus on the idea that certain solidarity measures could cause short-term economic costs. The “cost-benefit” classification allows for a differentiated analysis of how economic considerations are integrated in discourses on solidarity and the influence they exert on the evaluation of solidarity measures and policies. In this context, different priorities and value systems in the realm of costs and benefits can also be identified. The examination of “cost-benefit” arguments contributes to understanding the strategic utilization of economic resources in political discourses on solidarity in Europe. This point of view shows "an equation with rational, utility-oriented premises (e.g. mutual benefits of gains or reduced risks) regarding interactions and exchanges" (Sonnicksen 2021: 17). This provides insights into the multifaceted dynamics between economic considerations and political decisions in the field of solidarity.

Fairness is described as "the quality of treating people equally or in a way that is right or reasonable" (Cambridge Dictionary 2023d). This can be found in the framework Dworkin set in his article *Sovereign Virtue Revisited* (Dworkin 2002).

“Equality of resources places special emphasis on people’s responsibility for the choices they make, not because it supposes, absurdly, that people’s choices are causally independent of their culture, history, and circumstance, or that people have chosen the convictions, ambitions, and tastes that influence their choices, but because it aspires to a political morality that makes sense in terms of each citizen’s internal practices of moral and ethical criticism, including self-criticism” (Dworkin 2002: 107).

Furthermore, Vandebroucke states, referring to the same citation, that “[...] if nation-states identify with the choices they have historically made in the architecture of their welfare states, if they are able to reflect critically on them while considering them as the result of ‘unfortunate historic choices’, the architecture of their welfare state cannot completely be relegated to the realm of *circumstances*” (Vandebroucke 2022: 480).

Means, for example, as we defined equality/fairness, that if the helpers themselves were fairly or equally treated they would help the recipients. What we were given, we give back. We also described two other examples. That each country gives the same amount to help the country X or that wealthier countries should give more money or other resources to country X.

Vandenbroucke uses the term “welfare state solidarity” as an umbrella concept for redistribution and insurance, which can be referred to our term “fairness”. “Welfare state solidarity means that resources are shared with the aim of compensating individuals for disadvantageous circumstances for which they are not held responsible” (Vandenbroucke 2022: 473). As an example, he refers to progressive taxation as a redistribution. It is fair to say that member states are being supported in times of discomfort, in which they hold no responsibility for their current state. Which is why through the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) the EU developed a soft (non-binding) *normative* framework for the member states’ policies against poverty (Vandenbroucke 2022: 472).

“The EU already trespasses the boundaries of background justice so conceived. First, while Ronzoni’s ‘background justice’ would ‘not be interested in outcomes’ and ‘not require states to be equally affluent’, upward convergence in prosperity is a stated aim of the EU. Second, the EU has developed common objectives with regard to social inclusion in the member states” (Vandenbroucke 2022: 479).

3.3 Context: The Financial Crisis

The political background for our work to assess the dimensions of trans-European solidarity in media discourse will be the Eurozone Crisis from 2009 to the mid-2010s. In general, the term Eurozone Crisis is used to describe multiple, simultaneously running and interdependent financial crises affecting the European Union, particularly members of the Eurozone. These crises include a public debt crisis, a banking crisis and an economic crisis that were all intertwined with each other. The Eurozone Crisis is described as a contagion effect of the Global Financial Crisis (abbreviated from here on as GFC) in 2007 and 2008 in which, originating from the United States, nearly all national economies worldwide were hit with a sudden recession and its following negative externalities. The GFC is attributed to a mortgage crisis in the US caused by a string of neoliberal policies deregulating the financial market beginning in the 1980s under the first Reagan administration and continuing by its predecessors (Biebricher 2020: 93). Particularly the repeal of the Glass-Steagal Act, which prohibited banks from mixing their commercial with their investment banking, by the Clinton administration in 1999 and a program to boost home ownership by the Bush jr. Administration in the early 2000s are attributed as the cause for the development of a real estate bubble, which started to burst in 2007 (Stockhammer 2011: 234). Because large parts of the new homeowners had taken out subprime loans and were paying them off with their own mortgage, many had to default on their mortgages which led to the faulting of several high-profile investment banks (such as Lehman Brothers in 2008) that had recklessly invested in the housing market the years prior (Stockhammer 2011: 234). The externalities of the mortgage

crisis quickly spread throughout the other sectors of the economy leading to a severe recession in both the US and because of the more and more globalized markets in virtually all national economies worldwide. When the recession hit Europe, it caused severe economic downturn and financial distress in all European countries, but several member states of the Eurozone suffered a far greater depression with prolonged effects and more severe externalities, which led to the Eurozone crisis in 2009 (Baldwin/Giavazzi 2015: 19). The affected states are often labelled as either PIIGS or GIIPS states in literature, derived from their respective first letter and all had significantly more vulnerable economies than other Eurozone states caused by different circumstances. The PIIGS group includes Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain and, most prominently discussed in both public and academic discourse, Greece. Cyprus, which was also heavily affected and received significant bailout money from the European Financial Stability Facility (abbreviated from here on as EFSF) emergency funds often is omitted from the examined cases due to its rather small size and its economy being especially tied with Greece's for geopolitical and cultural reasons. The Greek debt crisis, which is cited as the trigger for the Eurozone crisis in general (Micossi 2015: 136), was primarily caused by a consistently high public debt level with an additional further debt on top due to overspending in virtually every year in the buildup of the crisis (Weder di Mauro 2015: 178). Additional causes cited were widespread tax evasion, an overblown shadow economy and widespread corruption in the public sector (Manolas et al. 2016: 27). Both Portugal and Italy suffered from a high public debt level as well (Weder di Mauro 2015: 178), both countries also had been remaining economically stagnant in the years prior to the crisis and lacked competitiveness in the inner-European market (Baldwin/Giavazzi 2015: 28). Spain and Ireland however had recorded rather low levels of public debt in the 2000s (Baldwin/Giavazzi 2015: 30). Their cases are explained by a housing bubble during a credit boom in the years in the buildup of the crisis similar to the bubble causing the GFC in the US: Unregulated banks were recklessly investing in the real estate market with lent money and amounted large amount of private debt to foreign creditors, which became nationalized when the bubbles burst due to the banks becoming *too big to fail*, therefore significantly weakening their respective economies (Baldwin/Giavazzi 2015: 31). These individual reasons however are not sufficient as a full explanation for the Eurozone Crisis and are often accompanied by different theories regarding several different institutions of the EU, mainly the European Monetary Union (abbreviated from here on as EMU) regime and the European Central Bank (abbreviated from here on as ECB). On thesis referred to as asymmetric shock hypothesis states that the peripheral nations suffering from the worst excesses of the crisis were economically weakened by adopting the EMU because of a decreased export competitiveness due to lowered wage costs in countries like Germany or the Netherlands that profited of

countries with formerly weak currencies without taking their own falling domestic demand into account (Nölke 2016: 143). The adoption of EMU also led to a convergence of interest rates in the newly created Eurozone, the GIIPS states economies now all boasted significantly lower interest rates than before, which created the unsustainable credit boom causing the creation of asset bubbles in several of the particularly suffering countries (Lane 2015: 130). Other academics point to institutional flaws of the EMU, stating that the integration of the financial markets of the EMU were incomplete due to a lack of sufficient and credible supervisory and regulatory instruments that ensured financial stability (De Grauwe 2015: 100f.). Furthermore, EMU is criticized for lacking sufficient crisis management in the case of external shocks (De Grauwe 2015: 100f.), fragmented banking supervision being vulnerable to financial instability amplified by reckless actors in the private sector (Feld et. al. 2015: 197) and growing economic divergence between its member states due to disparities in capital market competitiveness and productivity levels (Papaioannou 2015: 167ff.). Hypothesis' regarding ECB are the missing safeguarding of the ECB due to no clear lender of last resort (De Grauwe 2015: 103) and a lack of democratic responsiveness because of its mandate, reducing the EU citizens' trust in times of economic turmoil (Schmidt 2012: 104). More radical approaches attest the EMU in its current form an absence of major preconditions to be an optimal currency area essential for a stable currency because of the fiscal independence of its member states severely limiting a coordinated approach to combat the effects of external shocks (Baimbridge/Whyman 2015: 187). Other economists criticize the reaction of EU institutions, which consisted mainly out of direct loans and bailouts from EFSF emergency funds (and in Greece's case even a partial cut of liabilities towards lenders) coupled with rigid austerity measures to reduce public deficit for countries receiving those bailouts, as a prolongation of the respective economic recessions due to the negative externalities of said austerity, e.g. low domestic demands for goods and services and therefore an extended period of high unemployment (Parker/Tsarouhas 2018: 15). In summary it can be noted that the complexity of the multi-layered Eurozone Crisis is mirrored in the number of competing hypothesis' for its causes and corresponding solutions to prevent similar turmoil in the future. We chose the Eurozone crisis and the media coverage during that time as our research object because the asymmetry of the problem requires public discourse about the different dimensions of solidarity, particularly in Germany which is often cited as the largest financier of the project European Union and the Eurozone and therefore constitutes an expected salience of the topic in the media coverage during that event specifically.

4 Research Design

The following part of the report aims to deepen the understanding of the methodical aspects. Firstly, the methodology is described in a general manner, followed by a clarification of the method adaption and the part on the procedure. Lastly, we clarify the case selection criteria and process. In other words, after the general approach is summarized, the explanation of the specific application of the concepts allows a thorough comprehension of the steps we took to gather our insights regarding the research question.

4.1 Methodology

We use the structuring content analysis as a method to analyse texts. According to Krippendorff, it is an important method for social scientists: “It acknowledges that our society is enacted in talk, texts, and other modalities of communication [...]”. Content analysis serves for understanding “how language operates in our world” (Krippendorff 2019: 12). With the aid of content analysis, conclusions about individual and social phenomena can be drawn (Scharkow 2012: 19). It is important to observe, extract and analyse language for understanding, for example, politics. In our research project we observe newspaper articles, extract components, and analyse it regarding our research questions.

But what characterizes the structured content analysis? It identifies and conceptualizes selected aspects, what we called codes, of content and describes the material systematically regarding such components (Schreier 2014: 5). The category design is theory-guided (Mayring 1994: 173), since the terms are developed from the literature (see above); they also resemble the categories from the HEUREC-research project. Moreover, a codebook to codify is used to show the difference to a more open and interpretive content analysis. The reason is that we codify text components with already defined categories and don't take other arguments into account that don't refer to the codebook - in contrast to open content analysis. In addition, we have anchor examples for each code, serving as guideline phrases during the coding phase. Beside the definitions in the codebook and the anchor examples it should also be mentioned that we have rules for coding cases where it is difficult to confine between categories. Thus, the rules serve for clear allocation of phrases to a code (Mayring 2022: 96). In general, we thus use “concept-driven coding frame” (Mayring 2019: 9).

At this point it should be mentioned that the definition of the categories is a central step of the content analysis because it lays the foundation for the following category-based procedure.

Two methodological approaches are possible for the formation of the categories, namely the deductive and the inductive category formation. In the deductive case, categories already

exist before examining the material. Moreover, they can be adapted from another research project, an existing concept or theory. In the inductive case, the categories are directly derived from the material (Mayring 2022: 84). The categories could be equivalent to each other because they cannot put them in a hierarchy. In this case we are talking about a nominal category system. If they are not equivalent, it is an ordinal category system (Mayring 2022: 67). However, the deductive category formation might be problematic because the categories could not properly fit to our material, since they are not adjusted to the maximum. As a result, certain aspects without a category could unwillingly be disregarded during our approach (Heins 2018: 306).

For the data collection, we choose newspaper articles which will be explained more detailed in one of the following subchapters. We continue with the data preparation by coding our material with corresponding codes. When we are talking about coding, it means to identify relevant component in the material and to attach it to a category by marking phrases or words (Mayring 1994: 162). For doing that it could be used the software MAXQDA which allows to have all material in one place to code it. Due to the large volume of data, it is useful to use the aid of this computer program that makes coding clearly laid out to a visible presentation of the data (Krippendorff 2019: 5). Before beginning the coding process, only articles with codable relevant segments should stay in our material.

In social science codes are seen as a unit of analysis, that has the role to classify aspects from the material. By classifying aspects, the codes distinguish between another code and clarify the intention of actors. In our approach the codes serve as method of collecting data since we want to be independent and flexible in the evaluation of the data. Hence, we can later undertake a qualitative as well as a quantitative analysis of the data regarding a research question. Therefore, we do not consider codes as method of analysing data, instead we consider codes as method of collecting data.

Furthermore, we cannot modify the code categories during the research process because we are not doing a recursive research process what would be typical for qualitative research. That would mean that we proof if our codes work out with our material and then align them after a first test run by creating new categories or specify already existing code definitions. But this step was already done in the *HEUREC*-research project. Thus, a second test run is not required.

Consequently, by having the possibility to do a qualitative and a quantitative analysis of the data, there are different options for the evaluation phase, named data analysis. Firstly, we can interpret how actors change their position during a year regarding their statements, but

also by taking the situation as context in account. Secondly, we could compare frequencies of occurrences from categories in our material according to special newspapers.

On the one hand, the systematic and rule-based approach through the codebook and coding rules is an obvious advantage from the structuring content analysis. With the rule-based approach big amounts of data can be managed (Mayring 2022: 126). By taking codes as a method of collecting data, qualitative and quantitative data analysis is possible. As another advantage, it gives the subject more ‘voice’ (Mayring 2022: 125) because the general intention of content analysis is to understand “how language operates in our world” (Krippendorff 2019: 12).

On the other hand, we cannot change our course of action because we do not have a recursive research process, resulting in an inflexible systematic approach. Another disadvantage is that the process of coding with MAXQDA is a manual procedure – or we decided to do it manually - so that every article must be read by searching relevant components to code. That might be a laborious task, but an automatic coding is also possible. But the problem might be that the meaningfulness of codified components is not given every time. Incorrect codes must be considered. The question remains whether it is methodological reasonable, i.e. if it has adequate reliable and valid outcomes (Scharkow 2012: 42). Mainly, the appropriateness of the categories to our material must be more important than insisting on the systematic (Mayring 2022: 126).

4.2 Method Adaption

The first step to a structured content analysis is to determine the material we are investigating (Mayring 1991: 210). In our case, to answer the overarching question on how German newspapers reported on solidarity with other European countries during the financial crisis in the period from October 2009 to October 2010, we decided to examine newspaper articles. According to Mayring (1991: 2010) it is important to analyse the development situation of the material of a structured content analysis. We took this into account by creating the variables "newspaper section" and “article genre” alongside the variables “newspaper”, “date” and “author”. We noted the variables for each article to be able to point out any differences later in the data analysis by using MAXQDA. Structured qualitative content analysis is a deductive category application in which the categorization system is developed beforehand based on theory and then applied to the text (Mayring/Fenzl 2022: 638). In our case, the codebook followed this approach. Instead of building deductive categories beforehand on our own, we adopted the codebook of the *HEUREC* project which explores solidarity in Europe on a broader approach among citizens from different states. The *HEUREC* project

showed that the codes worked well in the focus groups. The intention was to analyse the argument on whether solidarity is given or not remained, but the scope was adapted to a student research project. Consequently, we broke down the comprehension of how European citizens understand solidarity to how major German newspapers understand solidarity using their articles. By doing this, we set the direction of the analysis, following the ideal scheme of a content analysis by Mayring (1992: 210). However, we developed own questions of interest and assumptions prior to the analysis of the articles. Questions of interest were whether and how the media coverage changed between authors, newspaper sections, genres, newspapers, or time periods within the time frame. These core assumptions were the basis for the development of the individual questions later in the report and to differentiate the question based on theoretical assumptions (Mayring 1992: 210). As already described our analysis technique is a structured content analysis. The codebook contains the following codes: *support*, *reciprocity*, *availability*, *practicability*, *obligation*, *need*, *deservingness*, *fairness/equality*, *conditionality*, *cost benefit and convergence as a goal*. In total, 1,423 text segments were coded. As all codes are equivalent in rank, we follow the path of a nominal category system (Mayring 2022: 67). The articles were divided among the students and coded independently. The individual codes were assigned with varying frequency. The most common code is *support* with 293, followed by *cost-benefit* with 194, *need* 163, *conditionality* 152, *convergence as a goal/consequence* 147, *practicability* 101, *deservingness* 94, *reciprocity* 74, *availability/ability* 70, *obligation* 71, *fairness/equality* 64. Although we provided a codebook with an explanatory code for every code category, the evaluation showed that the codes were interpreted differently by the 41 participants resulting in a variation of codes between the participants. These findings are in line with Mayring/Fenzl (2022: 634) who argue that although a codebook gives content-analytical rules, the coding remains a qualitative-interpretative act. Articles without codes and relevance for our investigation topic were sorted into an “off topic” folder. As described in the methodology chapter, the purpose of coding was to create a data basis on which both qualitative and quantitative research questions could be answered in the data analysis section later in this report.

Additionally, our research project did not involve a process of change in the sense that the category scheme was updated during the readings and coding process and does not follow the flow chart of a quantitative content analysis as defined by Mayring (2022: 60f.).

The interpretation of the results in the direction of the main question as suggested by (Mayring 1991: 210) was carried out by groups who investigating research questions that contribute to answer our guiding question on how German newspapers reported on solidarity with other European countries during the financial crisis. The final step of a structured content

analysis is the application of the content analysis criteria (Mayring 1991: 210). This is necessary for any individual analysis to achieve the status of a social research method (Mayring 2022: 118). The quality criteria of a structured content analysis differ from the classical quality criteria of reliability and validity (Mayring 2022: 118). The semantic validity has the aim to control the correctness of reconstruction (Mayring 2022: 121). We took this into account by comparing the passages coded with the same code. The *HEUREC* project enabled us to test the correlative validity as well. This means the validation by correlation with an external criterion (Mayring 2022: 121).

4.3 Procedure

In a first step, we needed to decide on our specific question and the appropriate case selection. After a decision was made based on existing research on European solidarity, we planned the data collection procedure. The existing research data was mainly the *HEUREC-project*. The project is about the question “How Europeans understand fairness, reciprocity and cohesion.” The goal is to understand what kind of expectations of reciprocity Europeans have towards other European states (HEUREC 2024). First, we had to collect the database necessary to answer our chosen question:

How did the German newspapers taz, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, WELT, and Süddeutsche Zeitung respond to aspects of solidarity and reciprocity during the 2009 financial crisis?

We decided to collect the data using text analysis. The sources from which we want to collect our data were large German newspapers. To achieve this, we divided ourselves into groups, each of which worked on a different newspaper. Everyone was then given an additional period for which they could generate the articles. This enabled us to collect the articles grouped by newspaper and period. For finding the articles we searched online for newspaper articles from these newspapers in which the word “*Finanzkrise*” was mentioned. Apart from that we agreed on a time frame from 20th of October 2009 till 20th of October 2010 in which the articles had to be published. The newspaper we decided on were the “*Süddeutsche Zeitung*“, “*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*“, “*Tageszeitung*“ and “*WELT*“. Using this filtered online search, we were able to find and download 6,465 articles that could be used in a first step for further analysis. After we generated the articles, we uploaded them in a cloud from where we were able to transfer them to the software MAXQDA, where we then continued coding the data. The case selection will be described in more detail in the following chapter.

Coding enabled us to mark certain keywords in the generated articles, which we could then use to restructure and analyse the articles in a further step. The codes are therefore the main

focus of the following analysis. In order to be able to code the articles, they were assigned to the students. The software MAXQDA was used to code the articles. The first thing we had to do was sort out the articles that contained the search term “*Finanzkrise*” but had nothing to do with our topic, European solidarity, the so called “off-topic”-articles. Those articles were saved in the software as well but did not need to be coded. All of the remaining articles were analysed, and the codes were assigned. The content of the articles was examined and if a part fit one of the dimensions of solidarity, the relevant code was assigned for that section. We searched for segments in the article to which one or more of our codes could be assigned. The codes that were used were: “*support*“, “*reciprocity*“, “*availability/ability*“, “*practicability*“, “*obligation*“, “*need*“, “*deservingness*“, “*fairness/equality*“, “*conditionality*“, “*cost-benefit*“, “*convergence as a goal*“. They all describe different dimensions of solidarity. The coded items were then saved and compiled.

After collecting and coding all the data necessary the structure of the paper was discussed and different groups were formed. The two main groups were the data group and the editorial group. The editorial group was in charge of the whole structure of the paper and also the different groups that focus on different topics. The data group was responsible for every question regarding the data, the different codes and everything about the analysis of codes. The two groups also coordinated and structured the time schedule for writing the paper. After the structure of the report was appointed, groups were formed, most of which dealt with the analysis of the data. Each of the individual groups worked on one of the questions that had previously been considered by the editorial group. Eight sub-questions were selected by the editorial group, all of which were assigned to the different groups. These data groups could either adopt the questions as suggested by the editorial group or make suggestions themselves. These suggestions could be submitted by the groups either if other questions were more thematically appropriate or if the existing data did not allow the original question to be addressed. After the final questions had been decided, the groups were able to collect the data necessary to answer their sub-question from the saved and coded articles. The groups then coordinated independently and worked on analysing their question. They were able to answer their questions by analysing the codes, for example regarding the frequency of certain codes, changes in the use of certain keywords, differences between newspapers or changes over time. After the groups completed their respective analysis, the report was edited by the editorial group, followed by a written conclusion at the end of this report.

4.4 Case selection

In this chapter we are going to explain our case selection, which keyword we used and how our sampling works.

Before we started with our case-selection we had to find a proper timeline for our study. From the August 9th, 2007 when the first indications of an upcoming financial crisis occurred with the breakdown of three big investment funds, which invested in American mortgage loans, till the consequences that Greece still has to deal with today. In this timeline we looked for a range that firstly had a big media presence and secondly, but even more important, had to be the peak of a discourse about solidarity respectively reciprocity in German media towards financial aid within the European Union. With this in consideration we picked the October 20th, 2009 as starting point for our study. At this date the Greece government admitted that their state debts are increasingly higher than expected. Therefrom emerged a financial crisis within the European Union. To stay within a realistic scope of this study, we decided to sample one year of newspaper articles in the most popular German media platforms covering the European debt crisis. This leads to the end point of our sample (October 20th, 2010).

In the next step, we decided which daily newspapers to use for our study. For this we looked at the biggest daily newspapers in Germany. According to a study published by “Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern” the five biggest German daily newspapers by sales are BILD, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, WELT and taz.die Tageszeitung (Statista 2023).

Since reach and sales are an important factor for our sampling, it makes sense to include four of the five top-selling daily newspapers in the study. Another important factor is the diversity of the political orientation of these newspapers.

According to the Institute for Media and Communication Policy (IfM), the Süddeutsche Zeitung stands for left-liberal values and can be classified as a center-left newspaper (IfM 2012a). The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, on the other hand, is considered a rather conservative paper that also challenges its readers intellectually and can be described as a center-right magazine (IfM 2012b). The newspaper WELT is classified by observers as conservative-bourgeois and is considered to be extremely economically liberal compared to the previously mentioned papers (Pointner 2010: 153).

The newspaper taz, which is classified as left-alternative and has set itself the goal of building a counter-public, is clearly positioned on the left in a left-right spectrum (IfM 2012c). So we can see that the magazines we selected have a high degree of diversity in their political orientation and thus cover a wide spectrum.

Now the question arises as to why we didn't include the by far best-selling German daily newspaper, BILD, in our sampling. This has to do with the wording. The keyword we used to filter the articles is "Finanzkrise". Translated it means financial crisis. When we sampled BILD for our keyword, there were relatively few hits. This was because BILD uses significantly more polarizing wording than the other newspapers examined. In the context of the Greek financial crisis, BILD mostly spoke of the "Pleite-Griechen", which can be translated as bankrupt Greeks. For this reason, BILD was unusable for our study.

In total, the databases of the four selected journals provided us with 6,629 unadjusted data documents for the period between the October 20th, 2009 and October 20th, 2010. The following chapter will be dedicated to the descriptive data overview.

5 Descriptive data overview

The previous chapter dealt with the methodological approach we took to acquire our data. Picking up these aspects, the next part is dedicated to describing the data corpus in more detail. Alongside formal information about the corpus and codes, the last section of this chapter is addressing problems we encountered while working on the project.

5.1 Corpus attributes

Before data analysis can begin, the coded corpus first had to be streamlined and cleaned, using multiple steps. After acquisition of the news articles, the full corpus consisted of 6,465 articles, containing the search string “Finanzkrise”.

As already expected before the harvesting of the articles, most of them were clearly off-topic, e.g. because the financial crisis was used as a metaphor or as a symbol for a certain time period or in connection with development of private business. Altogether, nearly 9 out of 10 articles were “off-topic” and had to be sorted out, so that 669 articles remained in the corpus for analysis.

Basic statistical info about those 669 articles shows large variation in terms of length. This is mainly caused by two problems arising from the harvesting of articles: a) About 70 articles were not technically separated from others in the same issue of the newspaper and are included in the corpus in embedded form (i.e. as part of one complete page of the newspaper). In these cases, the length of the article is dramatically overestimated, since the count of characters is tallied using the whole page and not the article only. b) About 120 articles were not harvested as text documents, but as images, so that the number of the characters could not be determined. If both categories are excluded, the calculation of the mean article length yields realistic results: The mean length of a “regular” article in the corpus is about 5,200 characters, which is equivalent to roughly two pages of plain text.

Additional context data was coded with varying degree. For 69 per cent of the articles, the name(s) of the author(s) was/were included. Almost 73 per cent of the articles were tagged with a genre, most frequently “Bericht” (*report*), “Kommentar” (*opinion piece*) or “Interview”. For 68 per cent of the articles, we were also able to determine the name of the rubric of the paper the article was aligned to; most frequently “Wirtschaft” (*economy*), “Politik” (*politics*) or “Finanzen” (*finance*). In only one case, the date of publication was not coded. To make the use of the publication dates more comfortable for quantitative analysis, dates were grouped into a new variable “months” with values from “1” (October 2009) to “13” (October 2010).

Altogether, the corpus was used as a MAXQDA data file with 157 megabytes of data.

5.2 Codes

Some articles might contain relevant content for our research project, but the text in the article might be irrelevant for us in the sense that no content could be mapped to the codes defined in the coding scheme (see section 3.2). In exactly 119 articles (17.8 per cent), no segment was coded at all. The largest block, consisting of 231 articles (34.5 per cent), showed only one coded segment per article. In the remaining 418 articles with multiple codings, 1,192 codes were used in total, which makes an average of almost three codes used per article. The richest article shows 26 coded segments.

Considering the basic codes of solidarity, 367 segments were coded. The large majority among them was coded as ‘support’, defined as one-way solidarity (79.8 per cent), while segments coded as ‘reciprocity’, defined as a two-way process, were clearly in the minority (20.1 per cent). This resembles the results of focus group discussions among European citizens conducted by Gaižauskaitė et al. (2024), where support outpaced reciprocity by similar margins despite a very different data collection method was used.

Concerning the arguments for and against solidarity, comparison of the arguments used in the news articles and the focus group reveals interesting overlaps, but also striking differences, as Table 1 depicts. “Everyday people” from focus groups bring up the practical question of availability of resources and the ability of the helping actor quite often, but journalists in the four newspapers examined spend considerably less time on discussion this dimension of solidarity. The more complex arguments of cost-benefit and convergence are clearly more dominant in their heads, which were not so prominent in the focus group discussions.

Table 1: Frequency and shares of arguments for solidarity in comparison

Code	Lehrforschungsprojekt		Gaižauskaitė et al. (2024)		diff %
	N	%	N	%	
Need	163	15.4	145	11.7	3.7
Deservingness	94	8.9	57	4.6	4.3
Practicability	101	9.6	155	12.5	-2.9
Availability/ability	70	6.6	326	26.3	-19.7
Obligation	71	6.7	132	10.7	-3.9
Fairness/equality	64	6.1	131	10.6	-4.5
Cost-benefit	194	18.4	84	6.8	11.6
Conditionality	152	14.4	154	12.4	2.0
Convergence	147	13.9	55	4.4	9.5
Total	1,056	100.0	1,239	100.0	0.0

Source: own illustration.

Quite interestingly, the overall number of segments coded with arguments is comparable, which is conspicuous, given the fact that both sources are very different datasets.

5.3 Problems

As the general results are quite interesting, descriptive numbers presented in sections 4.1 and 4.2 and the detailed analyses following in chapter 5 must be taken with caution due to some methodological imponderability, neither of which were possible to avoid or lessened. To ensure transparency, these flaws should be clearly addressed here.

First, the selection of the search term “Finanzkrise” used as the initial search pattern for the articles may have biased the selection. Although some alternatives were certainly possible, e.g. “Eurokrise” or “Fiskalkrise”, we decided to use the term “Finanzkrise” because it produced by far the largest number of results and thus was expected to bring in the largest corpus, even if we had to discard about 90 per cent of the texts later. It is entirely possible that different search terms would have produced different results, both regarding selection of the texts and coding of the segments, but we simply had not enough time resources to process even more documents.

Second, the selection of the papers used may also have exerted an impact. In the beginning of harvesting, we considered to include more papers, e.g. BILD (the biggest German tabloid) or even weekly magazines like DER SPIEGEL or FOCUS. But as the four main papers already produced nearly 6,500 hits, we decided to limit analysis to those four batches.

Third, we were not able to ensure reliability of the coding process which is usually mandatory for interpretive coding. Apart from the question if quantitative reliability measures apply in interpretative contexts, the standard for manual coding of text segments is at least double assignment of coders to each text (O’Connor/Joffe 2020: 3-5). During the coding period, the student group consisted of 41 individuals which had to carefully read 145 articles (i.e. ca. 290 pages of plain text) each. Implementing double coverage and subsequent resolving processes (Saldaña 2013) to dispose of contradictory codings would have resulted in a multitude of individual burden. Additionally, research shows that even double assignment might lead to low levels of overlaps between coders (Hennink 2014: 191-192). In essence, individual codings were not checked nor corrected despite in very few cases, e.g. where codes were simply doubled by operating errors in MAXQDA or created by merging databases together. This is the reason why there might be a considerable number of wrong codings (segments with the wrong code attached), false positives (coded segments which should have been omitted) and false negatives (overlooked segments which should have been coded).

Fourth, qualitative analyses in section 5 also come with a caveat. Since a considerable share of articles used was not included as text, but as pictures, MAXQDA could not grasp the content of the coded segments. In quantitative analysis, the segment codes were counted as such, but in qualitative analysis, those segments can only be used by investing additional efforts.

Despite all reservations exposed here, we are still confident that the corpus we built is suitable both for qualitative and quantitative analysis. If corrections in coding had to be made in order to properly answer research questions addressed in section 5, it was up to the authors of the sections in chapter 5 to do it.

6 Detailed analysis

After the previous parts of the project report explored the thematical context, the main terms and the methodological approach as well as the descriptive characteristics of the data, we now turn to the individual questions. These questions were proposed by the editorial team and then underwent further adaption by the individual authors if necessary. Some questions may include several subchapters to deepen some points of the analysis, but this part was optional and up to the authors, which is why not every question is answered in the same manner. Still, all questions are centered around certain aspects concerning the codes that were elaborated before.

6.1 The frequency and use of different codes in the newspapers

The following four individual questions aim to offer a perspective on how the frequency (ratio) and use of different codes vary in the chosen newspapers. The authors each analysed a different code and considered whether there were significant differences or similarities across the newspapers. The factor time did not play a role in this part, as the focus was to examine general frequencies or tendencies of a specific newspaper to use a certain code more often than others. The selection of the four codes was subject to the authors, therefore not all codes are apprehended.

6.1.1 Deservingness

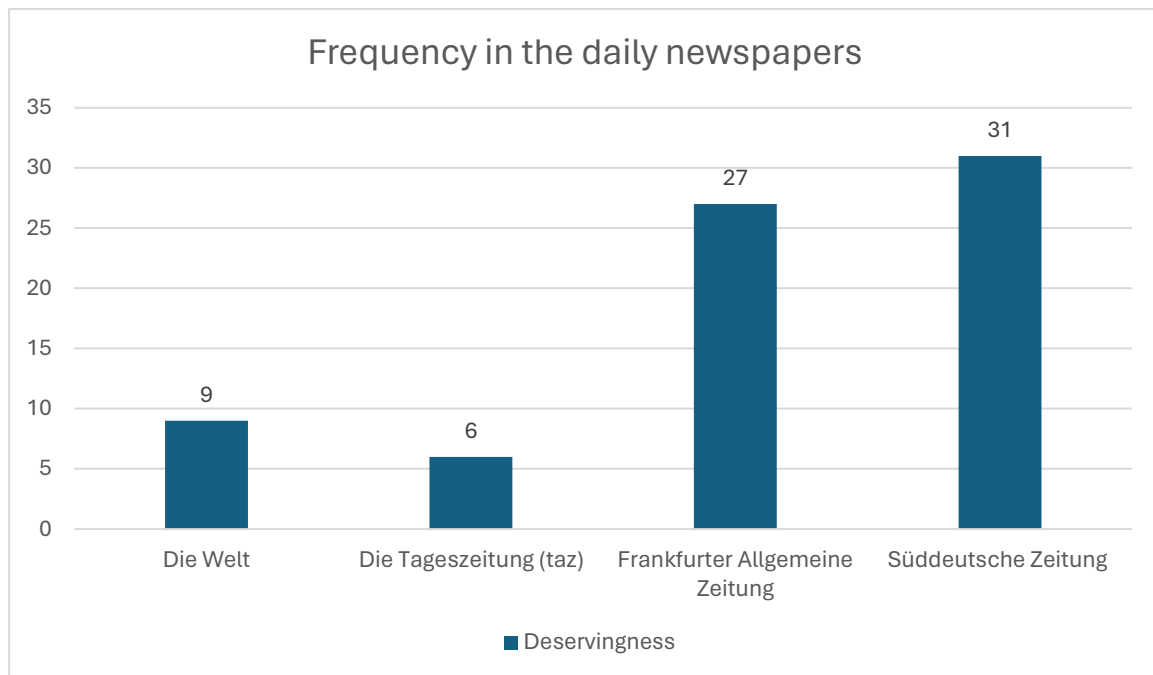
When we talk about solidarity between countries, especially in difficult times such as the financial crisis in Europe, one of the most important topics in the daily newspapers, apart from the question of whether we should help a particular country or not, is whether it deserves our help at all. This view can vary greatly from newspaper to newspaper, especially against the background of the political opinion spectrum represented by the respective daily newspaper. *In this part of the research report, we therefore want to look at the question of whether there are differences and similarities in the frequency and use of the code “deservingness” between the daily newspapers.* To this end, we take a closer look at the daily newspapers, WELT, die Tageszeitung (taz), the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)* in our analysis. We use the code “deservingness”, which describes whether the recipient deserves the aid, to see how the daily newspapers wrote about the countries in the financial crisis in the context of “deservingness” in the period from 2009 to 2010. In this part of the research report, we will proceed both quantitatively and qualitatively by first looking at how often the code “deservingness” was used in the respective newspapers and who the individual recipients were, using a frequency analysis (Mayring 2015: 65). In addition, we want to carry out a group comparison in the qualitative part to see whether there are

differences and similarities between the four newspapers, especially against the background of the political opinion spectrum represented by the respective newspaper (Kuckartz/Rädiker 2022: 147-156). As mentioned before, we position WELT as conservative, the FAZ as conservative-liberal, the SZ as left-liberal and the taz as alternative and system-critical in the political opinion spectrum (deutschland.de 2012).

For the code “deservingness”, we coded 94 segments from 68 articles in the first coding phase. However, as we were unable to carry out a joint reliability check due to time constraints, we carried out another specific reliability check for this question to reduce the error rate. We removed codes that clearly did not belong to our topic, such as help between banks or managers, and that did not fit the description of our code as off-topic from my data set. On the other hand, codes where it was not clear whether they were off topic were left in the data set due to the lack of a third opinion. We also had to take a closer look at a sentence or word for some codes because otherwise the coded sentence did not make sense to be able to assess it correctly.

After the reliability check, 73 coded segments from 51 articles were left for the code. The code “deservingness” occurred most frequently in the SZ with 31 coded segments from 22 articles, followed by the FAZ with 27 coded segments from 17 articles. The code was used third most frequently in WELT with nine coded segments from nine articles and least frequently in the taz with six coded segments from three articles. We can therefore see that there are clear differences in the frequency of use of the "deservingness" code between the daily newspapers. The SZ and FAZ wrote particularly often about whether the recipient deserved the aid or not. In contrast, this topic played a less of a role in WELT and taz due to the significantly lower frequency.

Figure 1: Frequency of the code "deservingness" in the respective daily newspapers.



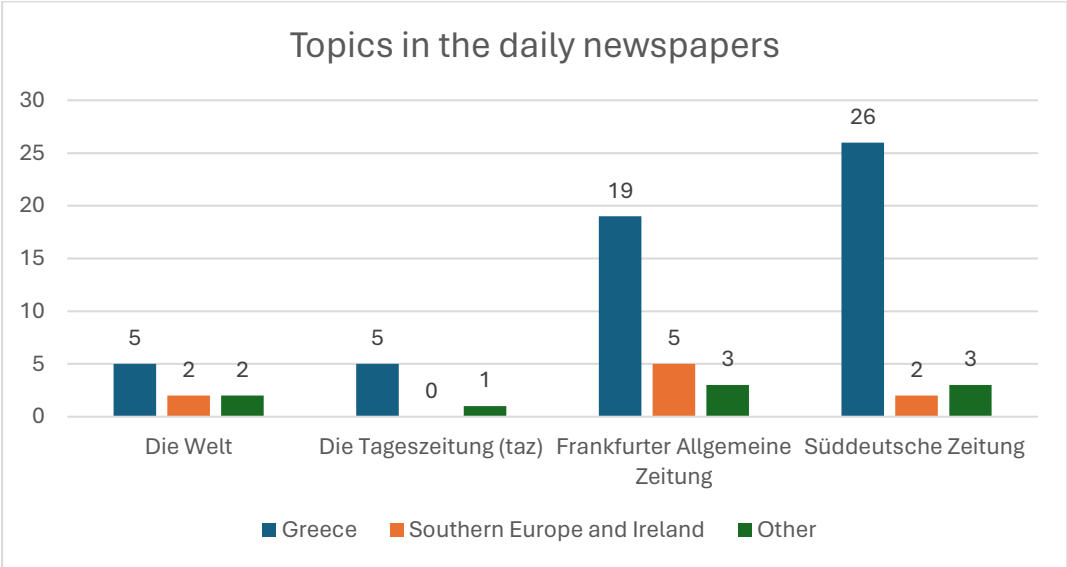
Source: own illustration.

The code was predominantly used in a negative sense (the recipient did not deserve the help) as “deservingness” was used in a positive sense in only six segments from four articles, i.e. the respective recipient deserved the help or at least it was not only written about the recipient in a negative way. The taz most frequently used the code “deservingness” in a positive sense in three coded segments from one article. This was followed by the FAZ with two coded segments from two articles and the SZ with one coded segment from one article. WELT only used “deservingness” in a negative sense in its articles. Most of the newspapers were therefore generally of the opinion that the recipient did not deserve the help and only the taz distinguished itself a bit from the other three daily newspapers.

In addition to the use of the code “deservingness” in the respective daily newspaper, a special feature that we noticed in the frequency analysis was the recipient that was discussed. “Deservingness” was used particularly often when talking about Greece, irrespective of the respective daily newspaper. In total, 55 coded segments from 35 articles referred to Greece as the recipient. The SZ used “deservingness” most frequently in connection with Greece, with 26 coded segments and 18 articles. Then comes the FAZ with 19 coded segments from 10 articles and then WELT with five coded segments from five articles. Like WELT, taz used five coded segments from two articles in connection with Greece. The second most frequently mentioned countries were the southern European countries, which were generally mentioned together; in addition to Greece (together with the other countries), these included Spain, Portugal, and Italy, but also Ireland as the only non-southern European country. In

total, nine coded segments from seven articles deal with Southern Europe or Ireland. The FAZ used “deservingness” in connection with Southern Europe or Ireland most frequently, with five coded segments from four articles. This was followed by WELT with two coded segments from two articles and SZ with two coded segments from one article. In the taz, “deservingness” was not used in connection with Southern Europe or Ireland. Otherwise, the four daily newspapers, also with nine coded segments from nine articles, did not write about any specific recipient or wrote in general about the recipients without naming a specific country or region affected by the financial crisis in connection with “deservingness”. The SZ and FAZ, with three coded segments each from three articles, used "deservingness" most frequently in connection with no specific country. This is followed by WELT with two coded segments from two articles and lastly taz with only one coded segment from one article.

Figure 2: Frequency of the code “deservingness” in connection with recipients



Source: own illustration.

We can therefore see that in the period from 2009 to 2010, Greece was a dominant topic in all four daily newspapers when it came to whether the recipient deserved the aid. In contrast, very little was written about other countries, but rather groups of countries that were affected by the financial crisis, such as Southern Europe and Ireland, were mentioned or no specific recipient was mentioned at all, and the countries were discussed in general.

When using the "deservingness" code, we can say that there were few differences between the four daily newspapers, regardless of the political opinion spectrum represented by the respective daily newspaper, but many similarities between the daily newspapers. In our group comparison, we found that it made little difference whether a newspaper belonged to the left-wing or conservative spectrum. All the newspapers wrote very similarly about the

recipients and used similar arguments, most of which were about Greece, which is why we will mainly focus on Greece in this analysis. Basically, when using the code "deservingness", it can be said that it was often not written directly in the daily newspapers that countries such as Greece did not deserve the aid, but indirectly due to the recipient's behavior and that they are therefore to blame for their own problems and must take responsibility themselves or help themselves. There are two arguments that were predominantly mentioned in all four or at least three daily newspapers, regardless of the political opinion spectrum. The first argument was the accusation that Greece had falsified its debt statistics to get and keep the Euro. This argument was used in all four daily newspapers, especially in the FAZ and SZ.

1. *“Auf der anderen Seite würde ein Land ausgekauft, das nicht reif für die Euro-Zone war, gemauschelt hat, um trotzdem reinzukommen, und seitdem nichts gelernt hat” (WELT 22.01.2010).*

2. *“Dort gab es keine Spekulationsblase, weder bei den Banken noch bei den Immobilien, dafür sind aber alle verschuldet: der Staat genauso wie seine Bürger. Diese Entwicklung ist keinesfalls neu, sondern zieht sich schon seit Jahren hin und wurde lange eher schmunzelnd hingenommen. Denn es war bekannt, dass Griechenland seine Schuldenstatistiken systematisch schönzte, um den Euro erst zu bekommen und dann zu behalten. Auch wusste jeder, der es wissen wollte, dass die Bestechung der Staatsdiener in Griechenland gängig ist” (taz 05.03.2010).*

3. *“Dieses Vertrauen hat Griechenland dagegen verspielt. Schon der Beitritt zur Währungsunion erfolgte dank geschönter Schuldenzahlen. Und die neue Regierung musste ihre Defizitprognose im Oktober glatt verdoppeln“ (FAZ 17.12.2009).*

4. *“Folglich behält das Sprichwort seine Gültigkeit, das gerade in Brüssel kursiert: Es gibt Lügen, dreiste Lügen und griechische Statistiken” (SZ 16.02.2010).*

In contrast to the first argument, the second dominant argument was also used against other recipients of aid and not just Greece, such as the southern European countries or Ireland. However, most of this argument also focused on Greece. These countries were blamed for their situation because they too often “lived beyond their means”, often referring to both the government and the citizens. Which is why too much debt was incurred and a financial crisis ensued. It was often argued that it was not only the cause of the countries' poor situation, but that the countries continued to live beyond their means and that the helping countries were financing this lifestyle with their financial aid, such as well-developed social systems, which is why the countries did not deserve any help. This argument was frequently used in the FAZ and SZ, but also in WELT.

1. *“Während Deutschland den Gürtel enger schnallte, lebten die aktuellen Krisenstaaten der Eurozone - Griechenland, Spanien, Portugal und Irland - weit über ihre Verhältnisse. Nun bleibt ihnen kaum etwas anderes übrig, als den deutschen Weg nachzumachen - nur viel entschiedener und vor allem viel schneller” (WELT 08.02.2010).*

2. *“Das Land hat jahrelang über seine Verhältnisse gelebt, seinen rasch steigenden Konsum - staatlich wie privat - auf Pump finanziert. Das spiegelt sich auch in einem anhaltend hohen Defizit der Leistungsbilanz und rasch wachsender Auslandsverschuldung wider” (FAZ 29.01.2010).*

3. *“Schließlich habe man bei gelegentlichen Besuchen der alten Heimat gesehen, wie unbekümmert die Griechen lebten und mit ihrem Geld umgingen” (SZ 05.03.2010).*

However, there were also differences between the daily newspapers, with the taz, as an alternative daily newspaper, distinguishing itself strongly from the other newspapers. In the taz, for example, Greece is also criticized for cheating on its statistics and debts and consequences are demanded for this behavior, but the taz does not criticize the country as harshly as the other countries. The taz was also the only daily newspaper not to criticize the living conditions of the respective recipients, which was a dominant argument in the other three dailies. We also saw from the low values in the frequency analysis that the use of “deservingness”, i.e. whether the recipient deserved the aid, did not play a particularly important role for the taz during the financial crisis. Half of the few coded segments referred to a positive use of the “deservingness” code, or at least in the sense that Greece was not blamed for the financial crisis in Europe. The FAZ and SZ also used the code “deservingness” in a positive sense, even if only to a very small extent. In contrast, WELT as a conservative daily newspaper only used “deservingness” in a negative sense.

1. *“Und schuld ist angeblich Griechenland, das gerade mal die Wirtschaftskraft von Hessen hat” (taz 03.05.2010).*

2. *“Für die Länder der Euro-Zone ist eine Umschuldung zudem unnötig. Die Länder mit den größten Problemen, auch und vor allem Griechenland, haben bislang bemerkenswert Fortschritte bei der Konsolidierung der Haushalte und bei der Strukturreformen erzielt. Die Vorgabe von EU, EZB und IWF wurden mitunter übertroffen” (FAZ 18.10.2010).*

3. *”Dabei wäre es so schön, und es ist leicht gesagt: Sollen die Griechen doch selbst sehen, wie sie zurechtkommen. Sollen sie doch ganz allein fürs ewige Schuldenmachen, für Missmanagement, Schlendrian und Korruption büßen. Was geht das Europa an? Aber der Fall Griechenland*

zeigt exemplarisch, warum die Dinge in der vernetzten Welt des 21. Jahrhundert nicht mehr so einfach sind, wie man es aus dem Bauch heraus gerne hätte” (SZ 11.02.2024).

In summary, it can be said that regardless of the political opinion spectrum represented by the respective daily newspapers, they are very similar in many arguments. This applies above all to the reasons why the recipients did not deserve help, which was equally dominant in all four or three newspapers. The code “deservingness” was also predominantly used in a negative sense and only very rarely in a positive sense. Likewise, Greece was the dominant recipient written about in all four daily newspapers. The FAZ as a conservative-liberal and the SZ as a left-liberal daily newspaper were the most similar, despite a different political spectrum of opinion. Both had similar positions in their arguments and in the frequency with which they used the code. Nevertheless, the SZ used the code “deservingness” most often in a negative way, despite a left-liberal spectrum of opinion. The taz differs most from the other newspapers in the frequency of the code “deservingness” in a positive sense, but also somewhat in the argumentation and the sharpness of the criticism. WELT only used the code negatively, which sets it apart from the others, and with a sometimes-harsher criticism. In conclusion, however, it is important to say that the daily newspapers often also quoted the opinion of politicians, for example, in a news item or statement, which is why it does not always necessarily have to reflect the opinion of the authors or the daily newspaper, but it does reflect the mood in society in general on this topic at the time, which is reflected in all daily newspapers.

6.1.2 Support

In this chapter, we looked at the differences in the frequency and use of the term “support” appears in the daily newspapers WELT, FAZ (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung), SZ (Süddeutsche Zeitung) and taz (die tageszeitung). We also analysed the respective political orientation of the daily newspapers.

In the following, we will first briefly explain what support is actually about in this question.

Support in the question presented before, refers to the euro/financial crisis of 2009 and 2010 within the European Union and how the above-mentioned newspapers reported on the crisis in terms of solidarity within the EU. Support in the context under investigation means one-sided help / support, which can be positive by saying that we support country X. This help can also be meant negatively by saying that you do not support country X.

We will first do a brief quantitative analysis of the frequency and then a qualitative analysis of the content. In the quantitative part, we will take a closer look at how often the code

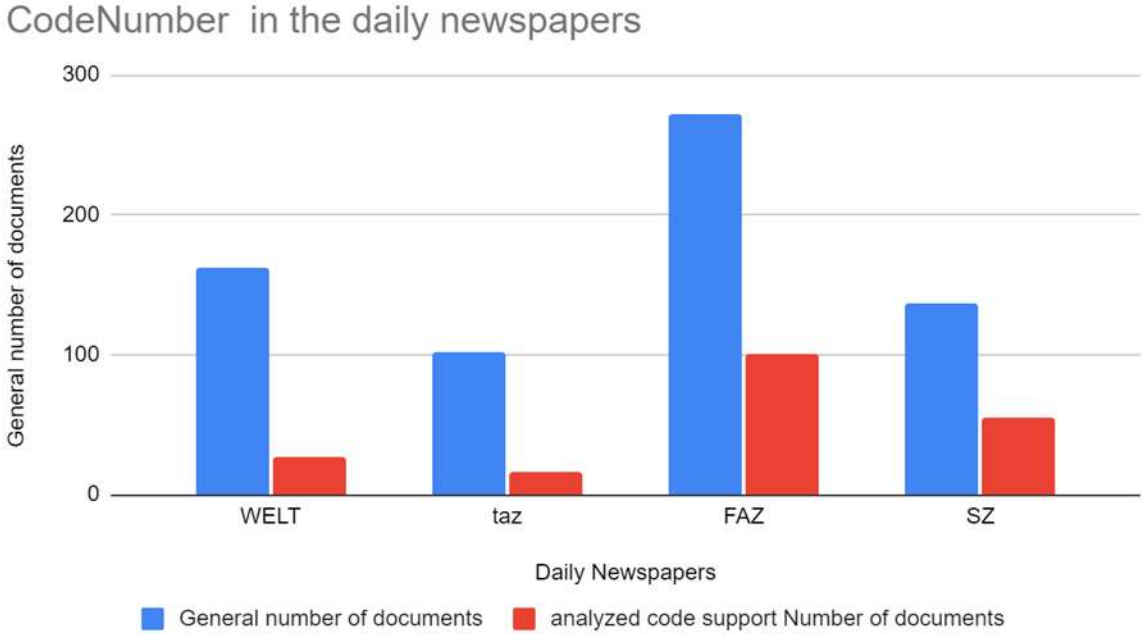
appears in the newspapers Süddeutsche Zeitung, FAZ, WELT and taz. We have read the articles and selected them so that they match the code support and the context. With regard to the qualitative analysis of the content, we have to mention that we dealt with the most important articles. However, we had to cut back on the overview.

We would therefore like to take a brief look at the political direction of the four daily newspapers mentioned. As already declared before, we classified the newspaper WELT as conservative-bourgeois. Furthermore, we categorized the FAZ as a conservative-liberal newspaper. In contrast, the SZ is politically rather left-liberal and also the taz can be assigned to the left and rather alternative spectrum.

In the following we will now show a diagram in which we have analysed how many documents of the respective newspapers were available and how many documents contained the code support. After that we will briefly discuss the political orientation of the newspapers.

At the newspaper WELT, a total of 162 documents were analysed, 27 documents containing the code support. At taz, a total of 102 documents were analysed, 16 of which contain the code support. The FAZ was represented with 272 documents, 101 of which contained code support, and the SZ was represented with 137 documents, 55 of which contained code support. Below, the results are depicted in the form of a bar chart.

Figure 3: Code numbers in the daily newspapers



Source: own illustration.

In the following section, we will focus on qualitative content analysis. The code was mostly used in a different sense. There were differences between the daily newspapers.

The taz newspaper is very broadly positioned in terms of support in the 16 existing articles. Sometimes Greece is discussed, then other countries, for example from Eastern Europe or Asia. In its reporting, it is noticeable that the taz reports in a fairly balanced way.

With regard to the 17 support codes, it is noticeable that taz's support only refers to Europe (especially the economically weaker states such as Greece) but reports globally. For example, there was a report on Kazakhstan on 16 March 2010. This report is about why Kazakhstan is an internationally desired partner. The topic of support comes right at the beginning.

1. *“Das zentralasiatische Land ist das neuntgrößte Land der Erde, zählt knapp 15 Millionen Einwohner und besitzt gewaltige Gas- und Erdölvorkommen. Es liefert nach China, Russland, und über das Kaspische Meer auch direkt nach Europa” (taz 16.03.2010).*

The taz report from 3 March 2010 covers Greece and the question of how to help the country. The support point is addressed at the end of the report.

2. *“Das Institut für Makroökonomie und Konjunkturforschung will hingegen sofort eingreifen. Die Euroländer sollten eine Garantie für alle griechischen Staatsanleihen aussprechen, empfiehlt Leiter Gustav Horn” (taz 03.03.2010).*

The newspaper WELT contained 27 documents with the code support. A lot of documents from WELT have no codes. Topics are Greece and other south European countries (Spain), the G-20 summit, climate protection and more. The article from 22 January 2010 poses the question in the middle whether the hysteria regarding Greece is not too great. Ideas are then presented. we refer here to the article from WELT (WELT 22.01.2010).

In an article from 2009, the newspaper described the Greeks as a threat to economic stability for Europe and the euro. WELT often generalized, for example in relation to Greece it often spoke of the Greeks without distinguishing between politicians and the population.

1. *“Die Griechen setzen darauf, dass die anderen Europäer sie im Notfall aus ihren Schulden herauskaufen” (WELT 10.12.2009).*

2. *“Während Deutschland den Gürtel enger schnallte, lebten die aktuellen Krisenstaaten der Eurozone -Griechenland, Spanien, Portugal und Irland - weit über ihre Verhältnisse. Nun bleibt ihnen kaum etwas anderes übrig, als den deutschen Weg nachzumachen - nur viel entschiedener und vor allem viel schneller” (WELT 08.02.2010).*

The FAZ also used the code support (101 documents) in a partly negative way. One article that particularly stands out is the one from 23 May 2010, where the answer to the question of whether Greece should have been allowed to go bankrupt is yes.

“Sie hätten Griechenland bankrott gehen lassen? Ja, denn die Rettung von Banken und jetzt auch Staaten verstärkt die Krise. Die enormen Risikoaufschläge für griechische Staatsanleihen sind doch gar nicht gerechtfertigt, wenn das Land überhaupt nicht pleitegehen kann. Jetzt haben sie dort hohe Risikoaufschläge ohne Risiko. Da wäre es sicher besser gewesen, Griechenland wäre bankrottgegangen. Das hätte die Weltwirtschaft nicht kollabieren lassen. Ein Staatsbankrott ist ja keine Katastrophe, es gab in der Weltgeschichte schon viele” (FAZ 23.05.2010).

The SZ is divided in its reporting on support (55 documents), as can be seen from the topic of Greece. Sometimes an article says that Greece should be helped, sometimes it says that the country must get its problems under control itself. The following quotations illustrate this.

1. *“Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel (CDU) und Finanzminister Wolfgang Schäuble (CSU) sehen keine Notwendigkeit deutscher Nothilfen für das Land. Griechenland müsse seine Probleme selbst in den Griff bekommen” (SZ 30/31.01.2010).*

2. *“Wenn an diesem Donnerstag die europäischen Regierungschefs wieder in Brüssel zusammensitzen, dann wird keiner der Teilnehmer noch ernsthaft glauben, die griechische Krise sei allein Sache der Regierung in Athen und niemand sonst müsse sich kümmern” (SZ 11.02.2010).*

3. *“Zu schnelle Hilfe ließe die Bereitschaft der Griechen und anderer Länder zu einem energischen Sparkurs schwinden” (SZ 05.03.2010).*

In conclusion, we can say that the daily newspapers are partly similar in their views, especially the SZ, FAZ and WELT. The code support was used in documents not only during the euro crisis/financial crisis of 2009/2010, but also in other contexts or simply omitted when coding. The fact that coding did not take place at all was particularly noticeable in the newspaper WELT. The SZ (left-liberal) and FAZ (conservative-liberal) were mostly similar with regard to support. The newspaper WELT was rather critical in its coverage of codes support, especially in the case of Greece.

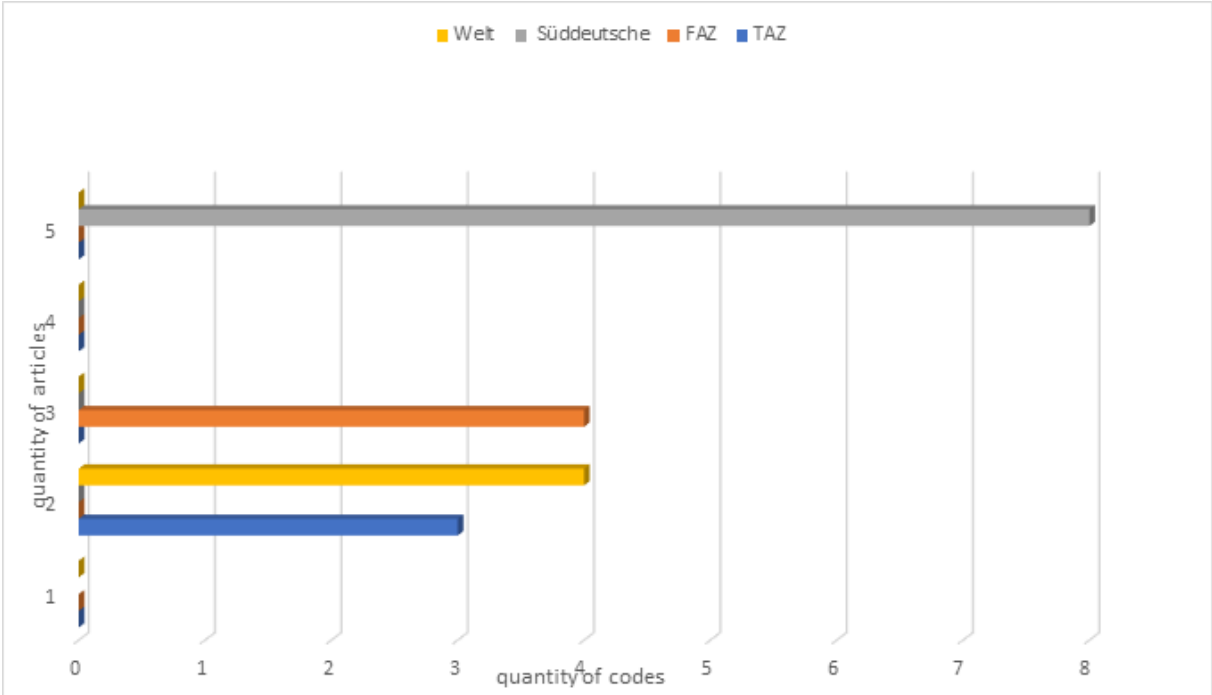
6.1.3 Reciprocity

This paragraph is an attempt to address the following question: *“Are there differences in the frequency and use of the term reciprocity between the newspapers?”*. Our question is mainly focusing on the code reciprocity and its illustrated narrative.

We will answer the question by using qualitative and quantitative methods: We will first carry out a short quantitative frequency analysis following by a qualitative content analysis. In the quantitative section, we will take a closer look at how often our code is represented in the newspapers FAZ, SZ, taz and Welt. We have examined and adjusted all the articles to ensure they (appropriately) address our code reciprocity within the context. Related to the qualitative analysis it must be added that the articles with the highest value of information for our code reciprocity were analyzed. Nevertheless, we had to limit the overview.

Now we will take a closer look on the frequency of the code reciprocity considering the number of relevant articles. The Süddeutsche Zeitung illustrates the newspaper with the highest frequency of codes: Despite having five articles, there are eight codes. Contrary to the Süddeutsche Zeitung, the FAZ counts four codes, even though there are only three articles. WELT and the taz have only two articles referring to our code. Regardless of this, WELT has three codes, whereas the taz lists four codes. The frequency of the code reciprocity is also represented here.

Figure 4: Quantitative analysis of the code reciprocity



Source: own illustration.

In this part we will carry out the qualitative content analysis. Two articles in the taz are relevant for our question. The first article deals with the European rescue package and the Greek debt crisis. It focuses on the idea of economically better off countries helping economically worse off countries (taz 15.05.2010). Accordingly, reciprocity here is not only a matter of mutual assistance, but also a long-term concept. So, in this case reciprocity represents a

more collective dimension. The other taz article containing two codes refers to the fact that the EU must introduce fiscal equalization mechanisms to save the “European project“ (taz 11.06.2010). The idea that the “European project“ needs to be saved also reinforces the idea of a collective dimension once again.

The Süddeutsche Zeitung takes the Greek debt crisis and above all the solidarity between the European states into account (SZ 04.03.2010). An article of the Süddeutsche Zeitung draws attention to the Greek saving measures and to statements made by the Greek head of states. The statements of the head of states refer to our code: He mentions the necessity of Europe fulfilling the “andere Seite der Abmachung” by accentuating the solidarity from Europe (SZ 04.03.2010). Later on, in the article the EU Commission President ensures that the EU would not abandon Greece. Accordingly, reciprocity is demanded in this case. Another article of the Süddeutsche Zeitung considers the aspect of solidarity, for example when it comes to the euro rescue package (SZ 13.05.2010). Interestingly the Süddeutsche Zeitung does not only include the aspect of solidarity. Reciprocity based on self-interest is also mentioned in two relevant articles: For example, one code in the Süddeutsche Zeitung refers to the fact that Germany and the European Union definitely have an interest in helping Greece, as otherwise there could be far-reaching consequences. The consequences for example could be “Risse in der Europäischen Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion” (SZ 26.10.2010). Another article draws attention to the idea of reciprocity needing to be thought of long term: The coded article emphasises Germany in particular and the consequences Germany could face regarding the Greek crisis (SZ 18.12.2009). Especially due to Germany having Greek government bonds it is a vital factor.

There are two relevant articles in WELT in relation to the code reciprocity. The codes in the first article highlight the Greek debt crisis and the fact that Greece must show its willingness to introduce radical reforms to balance its budget. At the same time Greece would be supported in a major crisis (WELT 20.01.2010). Even though the article refers to a reciprocal relationship, it clearly encourages Greece to take the initiative. The very first part of the article already denounces the fact that Greece has only made it in the Euro zone by fiddling with the numbers (WELT 20.01.2010). In the second WELT article we can find two significant codes (WELT 22.01.2010). The second article takes a different approach allowing a new perspective: In the context of the Greek debt crisis the well-known economist Thomas Mayer discusses whether the eurozone could collapse. He explains that nobody can force Greece to establish necessary reforms in exchange for help. He critically examines help services in the EU becoming a matter of course. The narrative here is: Although the concept of reciprocity is not rejected here, it becomes difficult to claim. The second code in the article represents a

similar point to the one we already had: It would also be problematic for Germany if Greece did not receive any help, especially economically. The point of reciprocity is also emphasized here, whereby a relationship of interdependence becomes clear as well.

In the FAZ, the code reciprocity is also dominated by the narrative of reciprocity being connected to the idea of reciprocal behaviour and being based on self-interest and dependency (FAZ 20.06.2010). It is even claimed that interdependence forces European countries to pay for Greece because of the relationship of interdependence. Another article takes the following statement into consideration: The bankruptcy of a country in the euro zone and within the monetary union could lead to a “Kettenreaktion”, this means that reciprocity has also been taken into account here in a long-term perspective (FAZ 25.01.2010). The point of the chain reaction is also taken up in another article, where the Greek head of state is quoted (FAZ 09.03.2010). He clarifies that everyone is threatened by a slower economic recovery if help is not provided. By clarifying the possible threat, reciprocity gets a forced connotation (FAZ 09.03.2010).

Overall, the taz and the Süddeutsche Zeitung have similar characteristics and provide the following thought: Reciprocity tends to be thought of in long-term. The focus here is more on possible future developments than in the other newspapers (from an economic point of view). In contrast to the other newspapers reciprocity takes on a collective dimension in the taz, because economic help is demanded when countries are thriving economically. But one matter is taken up in the Süddeutsche Zeitung, FAZ and WELT: A relationship of interdependence, which stands behind the idea of reciprocity: Central to this debate are the implications for Europe as a whole. Another narrative that has already been worked out is the narrative of self-interest: Only the Süddeutsche Zeitung and the FAZ especially emphasize this point. Reciprocity is significant in this context because of self-interest becoming an important factor.

6.1.4 Ability / Availability

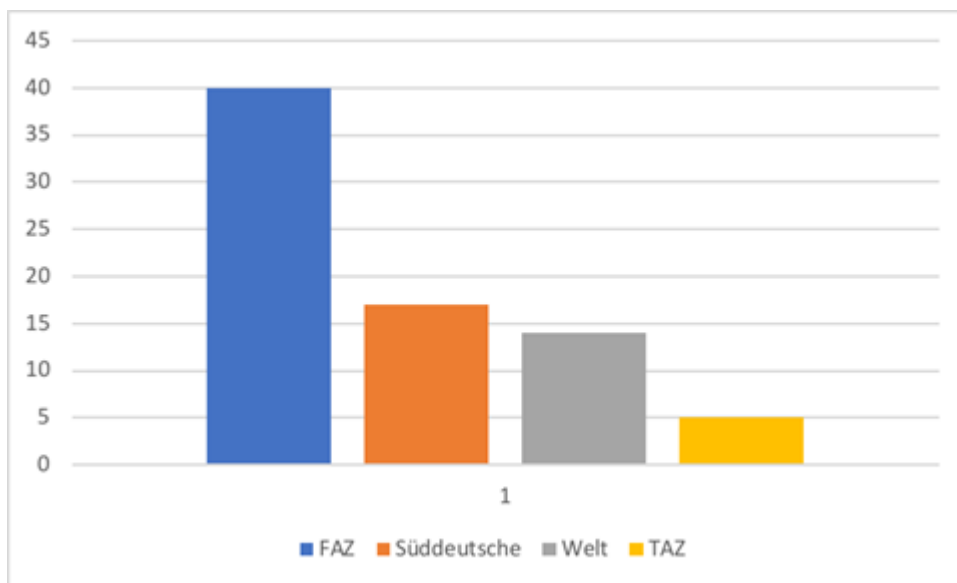
The central focus of this chapter is the meticulous examination of the political orientations of various media outlets, paving the way for a nuanced analysis of the frequency and application of specific codes within their content. Our endeavour seeks to unravel the ideological landscapes which were presented in the chapters before and which shape the narratives presented by these media entities.

Transitioning beyond the realm of political orientations, a frequency analysis of the “Availability/Ability” code across media outlets reveals its pervasive presence. Contrary to expectations grounded in taz’s perceived left-wing orientation, the frequency of the code’s utilization

fails to distinctly differentiate it. Despite anticipations that taz would advocate fervently for affluent European states to assist economically distressed nations, particularly Greece, impacted by the financial crisis, the actual application of this code falls short. Surprisingly, taz exhibits merely five coded segments, with only one segment partially aligning with the expected ideological stance.

A quantitative assessment unveils FAZ as the leader with the highest number of coded segments for “Ability/Availability” (40), followed by Süddeutsche Zeitung (17) and WELT (14). The breakdown is illustrated again in the following diagram:

Figure 5: Quantitative analysis of the code Ability / Availability



Source: own illustration.

The thematic underpinning of these segments converges on accentuating the moral and ethical obligation to extend assistance, coupled with the acknowledgment that potential benefactors are not immune to the ramifications of the financial crisis. This nuanced perspective finds expression in a WELT article from the July 23rd, 2010, underscoring the predicament of economically challenged Eurozone countries: “They have a really big interest in the euro states helping insolvent members of the euro club. But they are simply too poor to help themselves” (WELT 23.07.2010). Notably, a parallel thematic thread emerges between FAZ and taz, as both emphasize that European Union-level assistance is contingent upon adherence to specific conditions, elucidating a shared narrative despite their divergent political orientations.

Beyond the quantitative aspects, a qualitative analysis of the “Availability/Ability” code in taz reveals a surprising deviation from expectations. Despite its left-wing orientation, taz's

utilization of the code does not consistently align with anticipated advocacy for robust support to economically struggling nations. With only five coded segments, the coverage is notably few, with one segment offering a nuanced perspective on the establishment of a future currency fund to shield smaller nations like Greece from recurring crises. Another segment acknowledges the necessity for Greece to receive loans, albeit contingent on fulfilling specific conditions. This intricate portrayal suggests that taz's stance on the code is more multifaceted than a straightforward left-wing advocacy might suggest.

Comparatively, FAZ's substantial usage of the code, with 40 segments, paints a detailed picture of its narrative. The underlying theme across FAZ's coverage is a nuanced recognition of the obligation to extend help, interwoven with an acknowledgment that potential aid providers are not immune to the financial crisis's far-reaching effects. This complex perspective is particularly evident in the already mentioned WELT article from 2010, which articulates the dire situation of economically challenged Eurozone countries, highlighting their keen interest in assistance while grappling with their own economic constraints.

The newspapers Süddeutsche Zeitung, with 17 coded segments, and WELT, with 14, exhibit a similar pattern, emphasizing the ethical duty to assist while recognizing the interconnectedness of economic challenges. Despite variations in the total number of coded segments, a common thread runs through the media outlets, underscoring the intricacies of the financial crisis and the shared responsibility of economically stable nations to provide aid within the broader framework of the European Union.

In summary, this comprehensive analysis not only dissects the political orientations of the media outlets under consideration but also delves into the intricate dynamics of their coverage concerning the "Availability/Ability" code. The divergences and convergences in their perspectives highlight the nuanced nature of media narratives, showcasing a complex interplay between political ideologies and the multifaceted understanding of socio-economic responsibilities within the broader European context.

6.2 Correspondence of the term "support" with certain codes

To gain insights on the usage of the code "support", this individual question is phrased as follows: *Does the term "support" correspond rather with codes as need / obligation / deservingness / availability / conditionality / practicability than with the other codes?*

There is a clear relationship between the code "support" and the codes "need" and "conditionality". The term "need" appears 65 times, while "conditionality" appears 61 times. In addition, the term "practicability" is used a total of 41 times. It is emphasized that obligations

exist and must be met in order for certain things to function smoothly. Clear conditions and requirements are recognizable.

This is made particularly clear in an article in WELT on January 22, in which chief economist Thomas Meyer claims that other problem countries could ask themselves why they must tighten their belts if Greece is not subject to strict obligations and is still being supported. (WELT 22.01.2010). Further statements by chief economist Thomas Meyer emphasize that the euro and therefore also German bonds could lose value if Greece were to receive a bailout without clear conditions. An additional article points out that Greece must prove that it is willing to implement radical reforms to put its national budget in order.

We see further correlations in the WELT, where it is postulated that it would be difficult to achieve international cooperation on regulatory reforms step by step and that this could succeed in the context of an overall reorganization of the financial world (WELT 19.11.2009). Eastern European nations that needed financial support received loans on the condition that they intensify their austerity measures (conditionality). Even Hungary, a member state of the EU, has difficulties with the stipulated conditions. The Minister of Economy, Matolcsy, questioned compliance with the deficit limit of 3 per cent of gross domestic product from 2011. For possible new negotiations, an agreement on a maximum of 3.8 per cent is being considered. The promised IMF loan for Ukraine is included in the budget restructuring efforts, which is noted under the code “need”. This makes it clear once again that the required conditions also include aid measures (taz 07.07.2010).

The taz article also points out that the only rescue from Greece's national bankruptcy was the refinancing of its debt by the Europeans, which effectively means that the market was bypassed. This sentence was given the codes “need” and “support” (taz 11.06.2010). However, it is noted in the following paragraph that the euro financial crisis was made worse by the bailout for the Greeks. Here, the feasibility was questioned and is shown with the codes “conditionality” and “need” the third most frequently.

A connection between these three codes is also noticeable on the other side, where it is noted that even if the financial crisis were to end for the time being, the economic crisis would deepen because each country will only receive enough money to pay its debts. In addition, there are particular calls for measures that set conditions for regulation. A motion for a resolution submitted by Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble for a reform concept for the eurozone demands that the budgetary policy of the euro states should be more rigorously controlled by Brussels in future. Violations could result in a group of fines and, in the event of insolvency, the withdrawal of voting rights in the Eurogroup (taz 06.05.2010).

An additional indicator that shows a link to “support” is “availability”. In the said article, Germany highlights how its economy has grown faster compared to other major industrialized countries and has been at the forefront of the economic recovery. The following paragraph points out that this success is based on booming exports to emerging markets, where the economy is expanding rapidly. This is only possible when an economy is heavily involved in exports and companies are aware of the global market and can adapt to global demand. This section is marked with the term “availability”. The following sentence also addresses "practicability" and emphasizes that a country cannot be solely dependent on exports. In order to ensure a long-term upturn, domestic consumption must also pick up. This code appears the least frequently compared to the other codes, “need”, “obligation”, “deservingness”, “conditionality” and “practicability”, a total of 37 times. We see a correlation in the WELT article criticizing the German government (WELT 14.08.2010). Nevertheless, the German economy recorded faster growth than all other major industrialized countries. The main reason for this is said to be the booming exports to emerging countries and underlines the availability. The economies of these countries are experiencing a rapid upturn and German companies are leading the way, having adapted to these new growth markets at an early stage.

This is typical of an export-oriented economy and companies that are familiar with the global market and can adapt to demand. Another article reports on an agreement on a timetable between industrialized and emerging countries to reduce their debt mountains, which is supportive (WELT 29.06.2010). Concerns are also expressed that after around three years, the short-term effective measures of governments and central banks will be exhausted, and the availability is questioned.

In addition to other indicators/codes, the cost-benefit ratio is also taken into account. The “cost-benefit” code appears most frequently with the code “need” in connection with "support", a total of 64 times. An article in the FAZ discusses the European Central Bank (ECB), which has tightened the minimum requirements for loan securitizations that can be used by banks as collateral in financing transactions with the central bank. In future, these securitizations will have to be given top ratings by two rating agencies (FAZ 03.12.2009).

In another article dealing with Greece, the chairman of the euro finance ministers, Jean-Claude Juncker, rejects Greece's exclusion from the eurozone. This would have uncontrollable consequences and could bring Greece to the brink of national bankruptcy. In addition, according to Juncker, the financial markets would react extremely negatively and the reputation of the eurozone would be severely damaged (WELT 15.02.2010).

Furthermore, the codes obligation, deservingness, as well as convergence as a goal or consequence and fairness and equality could be assigned to the term “support”. In relation to support, the code obligation stands for a sense of obligation on the part of those providing aid, which can justify support. Europe must help when a country is in need (SZ 11.02.2010: 23). These two codes are written together a total of 36 times and are therefore in the center of the terms mentioned together. Obligation is often mentioned in connection with Europe or the European Union, as there is a tangible basis for a mutual obligation to one another. However, this sense of obligation can also be traced back to moral and ethical principles in Europe.

The code of deservingness is also mentioned 36 times in connection with support. This refers to the argument of offering help if a country deserves it or not. If the people in need of help are in their situation through their own fault, they should pay all by themselves (SZ 11.02.2010: 23). Deservingness is often confronted with the argument that Greece itself has failed for years to take the right measures against its own financial collapse and is therefore itself responsible for its plight. Whether this really constitutes a solid argument against aid remains controversial.

Convergence as a goal or consequence refers to the rapprochement, or the willingness of those in need of help and those providing it to reach a consensus; the relationship between them can determine the provision of aid, for example the opinion that Greece should leave the eurozone in order to become competitive again by devaluing its own currency (SZ 23.04.2010: 21). Convergence is mentioned a total of 21 times in connection with support. The point mostly appears when the argument is either about a common level of both parties, on the basis of which debates are held in favour of or against aid.

The codes fairness and equality were most rarely mentioned together with support. This combination occurred only 15 times. This includes, for example, arguments regarding equal participation in aid for all. For example, the CDU/CSU parliamentary group leader Kauder had in the meantime demanded that the banks participate in the rescue package for Greece, which met with opposition from the German government (FAZ 03.05.2010: 2). The background to this is the equal distribution of aid and the appropriate size of the rescue packages.

In conclusion, we note that the code need is most frequently associated with the term “support”. This leads to the conclusion that the need to support Greece and counteract a global financial crisis is the most decisive argument in favour of providing aid. Particular emphasis is therefore placed on the urgency of support and the possible consequences of Europe not intervening. Cost-benefit is the second most frequently cited code and stands for the relationship between the costs and benefits of certain decisions in relation to Greece. This means that

every measure has advantages and disadvantages that need to be weighed up against each other. This point therefore also appears to play a major role in the debate on rescue measures. The conditionality code refers to the conditionality of aid packages. Financial concessions are therefore often accompanied by certain demands, such as strict austerity measures. The code conditionality refers to the conditionality of aid packages. Financial concessions are therefore often accompanied by certain demands, such as strict austerity measures. This seems to be a common argument, as few countries grant their aid unconditionally. Practicability also seems to be an important point in some lines of argument. This concerns the feasibility of aid. It is criticized that there is no guarantee of success for attempts to provide assistance and that in the end there may only be more losses.

The codes “ability/availability”, “deservingness” and “obligation” are mentioned about equally often in connection with support. Ability and availability mean having the possibility to help at all and are often associated with the current economic situation of a country. An economic or financial crisis is also a burden for the countries that would provide aid packages for Greece. Deservingness plays a more personal role here and does not only refer to the purely platonic context of the European community. A distinction is made between self-inflicted emergencies and emergencies that do not appear to be preventable. The code obligation, in contrast to deservingness, stands for a mutual (unconditional) sense of obligation, usually on the basis of a united Europe. The fact that obligation and deservingness occur in exactly equal numbers illustrates the divided opinions in this regard. Overall, however, these two codes are less decisive when debating aid. The least mentioned codes are convergence as a goal or consequence and fairness and equality. Convergence stands for reaching a consensus with one another and thus possibly requires assistance. Fairness and equality stand for a fair amount of aid and usually becomes an issue with the distribution of rescue measures among the aid organizations. Consensus and the appropriate amount of aid therefore seem to be less important when it comes to Greece’s support.

6.3 Correspondence of the term “reciprocity” with certain codes

Analogous to the previous individual question, this one focusses on the concept of reciprocity and is therefore set as following: *Does the term “reciprocity” correspond rather with fairness/convergence as a goal/cost-benefit than the other codes?*

In this chapter, we examine whether the concept of “reciprocity” corresponds more closely with fairness, convergence as a goal, or cost-benefit analysis than with other codes. The significance of investigating reciprocity in relation to fairness, convergence as a goal, and cost-benefit analysis lies in its potential to illuminate fundamental principles and motivations

of relations between countries as well as pathways for enhancing solidarity and cooperation within the European Union amidst economic challenges. By analysing reciprocity in conjunction with fairness, we can raise questions about whether it is justified to share resources and help people in need, whether resource allocation is perceived to be fair and balanced. Considering reciprocity in terms of convergence provides insights into the process of approximation and unification within Europe. Finally, analysing reciprocity within the framework of cost-benefit analysis is relevant for understanding the rational decision-making processes of European actors. Solidarity brings financial burdens and should therefore be carefully weighed, while others emphasize the need to support the community regardless of costs.

First, we will explain the theoretical foundations, providing a brief overview of the concepts of reciprocity, fairness, convergence, and cost-benefit analysis. When it comes to the methodology of this study, we utilized the analytical tool MAXQDA. Leveraging this platform, we sought to explore the relationships between reciprocity and the codes at hand, bolstered by the presentation of specific cases and quotations. Additionally, in the subsequent sections, we delve into a detailed examination of the interpretation of our findings. This involves discussing the results within the context of existing literature and theoretical frameworks. Finally, in the conclusion, we summarize the main outcomes and evaluate the research question. Through these efforts, we aspire to deepen our understanding of the multifaceted nature of reciprocity and its implications for addressing the economic crises and fostering solidarity within Europe.

Since we had to code and analyse huge amounts of text data in our project, we chose MAXQDA to support our analytical work. A central functionality of MAXQDA and all QDA software is the ability to work with codes (categories) and assign codes to selected parts of the data (Rädiker/Kuckartz 2018: 17-21). Each of the codes represents a type of argument related to solidarity. The codes provided for this project are: 1. Availability/Ability, 2. Obligation, 3. Deservingness, 4. Need, 5. Practicability, 6. Cost/Benefit, 7. Conditionality, 8. Convergence as a goal 9. Fairness/Equality. These codes serve as categories to analyse arguments regarding solidarity within the context of the project.

Firstly, our team divided a total of 1,423 articles related to the European financial crisis among four newspapers: taz, SZ, FAZ, and WELT. After reading each article was then classified as one of those six codes. Among these, 74 articles were coded under the category reciprocity, 64 under fairness/equality, 147 under convergence as a goal, and 194 under cost-benefit. To investigate the association between reciprocity and the other codes across different newspapers, we utilized the Code Relations Browser in MAXQDA. The Code Relations Browser is suitable for answering questions regarding the relationships between categories

or subcategories. It helps visualize how different codes intersect, co-occur at a specified distance, or appear together in the interview data. Additionally, it can be used to address the primary question of our study. This tool visualizes which codes occur together and three types of relationships are distinguished: (1) intersection of two codes in a segment, (2) proximity of two codes at a predefined distance, (3) occurrence of two codes somewhere in the interview. The columns and rows of the Code Relations Browser are formed by categories. The larger a square on a node, the more related the two associated categories are (Rädiker/Kuckartz 2020: 93-94).

We set the maximum distance to 5. This feature allows us to quickly ascertain how closely intertwined the codes are within the specified newspapers, providing valuable insights into their usage patterns.

To thoroughly analyse the relationship between the code “reciprocity” and other codes such as “fairness/equality”, “convergence as a goal”, and “cost-benefit” based on the coded newspaper articles, it's crucial to consider these in the context of the EU crises and the complex relationships between various actors. In this section of the chapter, we delved into the connections between the concepts of reciprocity, fairness/equality, convergence as a goal, and cost-benefit using the Code-Relations-Browser in MAXQDA. This tool allows us to visualize and quantitatively capture the overlaps and relationships between different codes, providing a deeper understanding (Rädiker/Kuckartz 2020: 3-95).

Table 2: MAXQDA24 Code-Relations-Browser

Codesystem	reciprocity	fairness/equality	cost-benefit	convergence as a goal/consequence
reciprocity	0	5	7	1
fairness/equality	5	0	5	2
cost-benefit	7	5	0	9
convergence as a goal/consequence	1	2	9	0

Source: own illustration.

For a comprehensive overview of the relationships between the codes and reciprocity in the analysed newspaper articles, we refer to MAXQDA *Code-Relations-Browser 2024*, which presents a detailed table. This table, arranged with codes in the left column, illustrates the frequencies and connections of the different coded segments. In particular, the line representing reciprocity is central to our question. It shows the extent to which the code 'reciprocity' interacts with other codes and thus provides valuable insights into the thematic focus of the analysis.

6.3.1 Reciprocity and fairness/equality

For the analysis, these codes were assigned: reciprocity (74 articles), fairness/equality (64 articles), cost-benefit (194 articles) and convergence as a goal (147 articles). These quantitative data provide an overview of the individual topics in the corpus examined. The relationship between reciprocity and fairness/equality is of particular interest, as both concepts are fundamental principles. Reciprocity, defined by the principle of mutual give and take, promotes the formation of social bonds and contributes to the strengthening of solidarity, which is based on the principle that a given action entails a corresponding counteraction. Fairness and equality, on the other hand, emphasize the importance of a balanced and fair treatment of all parties involved. This is also well argued by John Rawls' "A Theory of Justice", which emphasizes justice as a fundamental principle of social institutions, implying that fairness and equality are central aspects of justice. Rawls argues that just structures are essential for the functioning of a society (Rawls 2010: 29-30).

Our analysis revealed five significant overlaps between the codes of reciprocity and fairness/equality, suggesting a close connection between these concepts. These overlaps may point to discourses in which the expectation of reciprocal action is linked to a strong awareness of fairness and equality of actors. The overlapping relationship between reciprocity and fairness/equality in the articles analysed may shed light on different aspects of social solidarity in Europe. For example, articles dealing with both reciprocity and fairness/equality underline the importance of mutual support within the European Union. In this context, reciprocity may be presented as a means of promoting fairness and equality by emphasizing mutual commitments and support as fundamental principles of European solidarity.

The results of this analysis indicate that the term "reciprocity" in the newspaper articles examined is closely linked to the principles of fairness and equality. This connection underlines the role of reciprocity not only as a mechanism of social exchange, but also as an ethical principle that contributes to the promotion of justice and equality within social structures. The emphasis on this connection in the media could indicate that there is a strong awareness of the importance of these principles in discourses about European solidarity.

6.3.2 Reciprocity and convergence as a goal

In the context of this study, the focus is now on the interplay between reciprocity and the achievement of convergence as a goal to understand how reciprocity influences the pursuit of common goals. Table 2 shows that Reciprocity and convergence as a goal in column E2 has only one overlap. The overlap indicates how often the two concepts appear together in the analysed newspaper articles. Here it can be observed that there is much less connection

between these two codes than with fairness/equality. The analysis shows that the connection is at 1 and is therefore very low.

6.3.3 Reciprocity and cost-benefit

The relationship between the codes “reciprocity” and “cost-benefit” in the analysis indicates the frequency with which these themes appear together in the articles examined. These data can provide insights into the intertwining of mutual exchange and economic considerations, which is particularly relevant for understanding the dynamics of social and economic interactions within the EU. The analysis could show how reciprocity functions not only as a social but also as an economic principle, influencing cost-benefit considerations in social relations. See figure: Reciprocity and cost-benefit has the most common connection with Reciprocity. With 7 overlaps, the result can be interpreted in such a way that in the studied articles these concepts are often discussed together. This indicates a close connection in which reciprocal actions take place not only from social but also from economic considerations, which underlines the complexity of decision-making processes within social interactions.

In our study we found out that reciprocity is particularly strongly linked to fairness/equality, indicating a deep connection between these principles. The link to convergence as a goal was less pronounced, while there was a clear link between reciprocity and cost-benefit. These findings highlight the complex role of reciprocity in social and economic relations in the context of European solidarity.

6.4 Usage of the terms “support” and “reciprocity” over time

The analysis examines whether the use of the terms “support” and “reciprocity” has changed over time. “Support” refers to the backing or endorsement that political actors, parties, or ideas receive from various groups or individuals. Reciprocity refers to the exchange of resources and benefits between political actors, where an action or concession is expected in return for a similar one. The analysis of each term is divided into three parts, each following a different approach. This ensures a comprehensive analysis.

6.4.1 Support

September 2009 to March 2010

When we look at the term “support” we can see that the Newspaper of WELT used the term at the beginning to illustrate potential solutions for the crises; for example, rich European nations could use their gold reserves to help poorer nations or the European Union should get standardized financial rules (WELT November 2009). Already in the next month, WELT is looking more critically at the situation in Greece. They criticize the expectations of the

Greek government that other members of the union will help them financially. Especially, the situation that taxpayers from other nations must pay for the debts of the Greek government is criticized (WELT December 2009). WELT remains unclear about his position. Another example is from January 2010, when the newspaper published articles with a highly critical view of the option that the EU is helping Greece. Other nations, such as Ireland, could follow Greece's example and thus avoid tough austerity measures. But a few weeks later, they're considering that, through EU and bilateral help, Greece could get out of this trouble (WELT January 2010). WELT stays overall critical of financial aid, with a few exceptions. We can also see from a published survey that the majority of Germans are against these aids for Greece.

The FAZ on the other hand, used the term "support" in a more neutral way at the same time. They reported the situation in the EU at that time. Especially Germany, as the main net payer with the financial center of the EU in Frankfurt, is the focus of the reporting (FAZ November 2009). In December 2009, FAZ started using the term in a more similar way, like in WELT. FAZ reports the possible financial aid of the EU for Greece and mentions critical positions toward it as an example head of state, but with possible support for tough austerity measures from the Greek government. They represent the position that Greece has to solve its problem by itself. For them, it's about the principle that other countries are not responsible for each other's debts (FAZ December 2009). They are strongly in favor of this principle, arguing that Greece has to help itself. Nevertheless, the EU would be prepared to help in an emergency. Investors and the German financial minister are supporting this. FAZ points out the possible ways for the EU to help, like grant credit or issue a guarantee under specific circumstances (FAZ January 2010). FAZ is pointing out the upcoming rumors that Germany is preparing financial aid for Greece because of external pressure. It is in their own interest to help, because this will enable Germany to continue exporting many goods. Nevertheless, it is also reported that the majority of Germans are against helping Greece or even other countries in the EU. At the same time, the heads of states in the EU emphasize the importance of helping Greece get through austerity measures. In this crisis, the FAZ describes the extent of state aid for the banking sector. The German government in particular has supported Commerzbank with over 18 billion euros, and now state aid is also to be provided to EU member states that are in financial difficulties. However, the authors still emphasize that Greece should not be helped at all, or at least not with EU bonds (FAZ February 2010). There is some talk of aid being the lesser of two evils. For the most part, however, the FAZ argues that it would still be a bad idea to help financially weak countries such as Greece with aid packages. It cites various voices from the business world, such as from the private financial sector (FAZ March 2010).

After the two more conservative newspapers, FAZ and WELT, we are looking at articles of SZ which is located on the left side of the political spectrum. At the beginning, the SZ emphasizes that financial aid will help Athens get out of the crisis more quickly. It also mentions that, according to EU regulations, such aid from other member states is prohibited (SZ December 2009). Then the same tone is adopted as in the other newspapers, and more and more voices are quoted that are against financial aid and emphasize that Greece must solve its problems on its own. Nevertheless, there is hope that help will come from Europe for Greece (SZ January 2010). On the other hand, however, votes are also cited that are strongly in favour of such aid. This is not just a Greek problem, but a European one, and therefore requires a common approach (SZ February 2010). This direction will be maintained. It is reported that Germany should act in the spirit of the European community and help Greece. Several countries have already promised help after Greece called for support. Without help, the fear of national bankruptcy would become a reality (SZ March 2010).

The taz takes an even stronger position in favour of aid than the SZ. It draws historical comparisons and criticizes the lack of solidarity within the capitalist system. In addition, it not only mentions leading institutions that are in favour of financial aid for Greece, but also mentions aid provided by individuals (taz March 2010).

April 2010 to May 2010

From the sheer number of articles we found regarding the elements of *support* (90) and *reciprocity* (35), one can safely assume that the European financial crisis reached another peak in April and May 2010. When we analyse the term “support”, it becomes clear that the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) explicitly states that the European Union, especially Germany, should assist Greece in its financial struggle (SZ 17.04.2010). It criticizes Germany’s hesitation. Generally, the articles cover the entire process and discussion surrounding the Euro Crisis. They address questions such as: *Should the IMF get involved or not?*, or: *how much should every European nation pay?* Only a small number of articles take a more critical approach towards Greece. For example, when some German government members recommend Greece leaving the EU (SZ April 2010). In the following month, we can see that the discussion yielded results. The financial aid increased significantly from what was earlier discussed (750 billion Euros). Two-thirds will be paid by the European Union and the rest by the IMF (SZ 29.05.2010).

The voices within the FAZ are varied, with a more critical tone compared to that of the SZ. While some articles call for assistance, the question of who should bear the burden of aid is frequently raised. *Are the citizens of industrialized nations also of the opinion that assistance*

should be rendered, or is it solely the stance of their respective governments? (FAZ April 2010). In May, it was disclosed that eurozone countries with poor credit ratings, scarcely able to finance themselves, would be compensated for interest losses from the aid package. This credit package was decided on May 9, 2010. On May 10, 2010, an appeal is made not only to preserve the hefty returns of international banks and the fortunes of Greek billionaires but also to safeguard the retirement savings of the average citizen. *This was achieved by exerting even stronger pressure on industrial states, and especially on Chancellor Merkel. Germany became the largest donor, as expected by most member states* (FAZ May 2010).

As late as April 17, 2010, the newspaper *taz* articulated: *Instead of continuing to hesitate, the eurozone countries must immediately assist Greece and unequivocally signal to financial markets that every speculative attack on the world's largest currency area is futile* (*taz* 29.04.2010). Little has changed in May. The politically left-leaning newspaper once again advocates for *solidarity among EU countries, endorsing cooperation within the EU amidst the Euro crisis* (*taz* 20.05.2010). In the few articles we found for the rather conservative newspaper WELT, is a call to *urgently rescue the state banks with taxpayer billions* (WELT 18.05.2010).

June to October 2010

This part of the analysis deals with the term “support” in the period between June and October 2010, in the context of the EU financial crisis. The analysis shows a multi layered view on the financial support services and solidarity within the European Union.

In June 2010 we can see a clear tendency to financial assistants and rescue packages for the EU member states that got hit by the crisis the most. An example for such assistance, is *the supply of 20 billion euro by the EU and the International Monetary Fund for Hungary, to save Hungary from national bankruptcy* (WELT 08.06.2010). These measures were seen as *sufficient to guarantee the liquidity for the next few years* for states with the biggest financial problems (WELT 10.06.2010).

In July 2010 there was a focus on *economic stimulus packages and financial rescue measures for Greece* (WELT 16.07.2010). Also, *financial support of EU member states is seen as development cooperation and climate protection* (*taz* 20.07.2010). This shows that the term “support” is not limited to financial aspects but much wider also mentioning social problems.

In August, a big part was the *financial assistance by Germany for Greece, in the amount of 22.4 billion Euros* (WELT 27.08.2010). The difference in this case is that a single EU member state is helping another, previously such support was provided by the many EU member states, or the International Monetary Fund like in the case of Hungary mentioned before.

Also, in August, there is *criticism of bank bonuses after government bailouts*. This shows that support is not only positive but also viewed critically regarding the responsibility of the states that get any kind of financial aid (WELT 04.08.2010).

In September and October, we can see a discussion going on, that not only deals with the protection of banks but also with a sustainable strategy for an economic recovery within the EU member states. An example of this is the *idea of enabling Greece to cancel part of its debts* (FAZ 17.10.2010). Still, the saving of the banks is a major topic at this time. For example, the announcement *that the bank rescue fund SoFFin raised the volume of guarantees by 40 billion Euros* (WELT 13.09.2010).

Also, the *European Central Bank reacted to bottlenecks at European banks, by providing unlimited funds at key interest rates* (FAZ 12.10.2010). Also, there is *emphasis on a Europe that needs to hold together to safely get through the financial crisis* (FAZ 01.10.2010). This shows that the term “support” is broadly defined and is not just a financial act.

When we compare the term “support” in the months June till October 2010 there is a development from mainly financial support to a more complex and multidimensional approach. The term includes sustainable development, climate protection and socioeconomic stabilization. Financial support is not just seen as a short-term instrument but should ensure a sustainable way out of the financial crisis. Also, a critical debate develops over time about the responsibility of the states that receive financial aid. There are questions about the conditions and effectiveness of such financial support.

Over time, the term “support” develops from an economic perspective to a political and ideological. European cohesion and unity are being emphasized. Support reflects European solidarity values and is part of the effort to maintain stability of the European Union

Summarized, there is a clear extension of the term “support”, initially meant as one-sided financial support of weakened states. The narrative evolved to include areas such as the economy, social issues, and sustainability. This shows the recognition of the complexity of the crisis and a need for a consistent response strategy based on solidarity.

6.4.2 Reciprocity

September 2009 to January 2010

When we look at “reciprocity”, WELT asks critical questions about the policy because serious failings have come to public attention. The questions focus in particular on the relationship between politics and the financial sector and the possible consequences of this. The people have no trust in elites anymore. Another point is that the newspaper mentions Germany's

extreme position that heavily indebted nations should be excluded from the eurozone. However, the majority of nations are against such radical measures.

The FAZ focuses on the question whether Greece will receive aid or not. It first reports neutrally on the meetings of the European heads of government, who are initially of the opinion that Greece's austerity measures alone are sufficient. However, the EU is working on an emergency mechanism to protect Greece from bankruptcy. The FAZ then establishes the relationship between the finances of the individual countries. The common union means that Germans cannot be indifferent to other EU countries because their finances are also at stake. Among other things, it reports in principle on the increased risks in the financial market and explains that societal advantages go hand in hand with systemic risks.

SZ reports at the beginning about the entanglements of German banks with Greek bonds and argues that it would be in Germany's interest to help reduce its debt. Loans could be granted to Greece in return for austerity measures. This would help the euro. The taz is similar and talks about aid measures to help countries with high levels of debt.

February 2010 to June 2010

Let's examine the term of "reciprocity" between February and June 2010, the SZ discusses the agreement reached between Athens and Brussels. Greece's government implements austerity measures, while Brussels provides more money. This is intended to create a solidary, dependent relationship between the parties (SZ March 2010). The EU, and particularly Germany, have a vested interest in Greece's success. By helping Greece, they also help themselves. At the same time, EU countries have agreed on a permanent crisis mechanism. This is aimed at detecting and addressing future financial problems earlier. With each passing month, the EU became increasingly solidary (SZ April 2010/SZ May 2010).

The FAZ also addresses and explains, like the SZ, the relationship between Greece and the EU. However, it also explains the path that led to such collaboration. They describe the conflict between Greece and the EU, or rather, the conflict between Greece and Germany. *Greece has increasingly complained about the minimal and aloof "collaboration". Meanwhile, in Germany, there has been a question of whether to offer any assistance at all. It was a long and arduous journey until an agreement was reached* (FAZ March 2010/ FAZ June 2010).

The taz advocates for the assistance and collaboration of EU countries. However, it has an even stronger understanding of reciprocity. In one commentary, there is a call *for even greater cooperation based on solidarity and the generation of common benefits* (taz 15.05.2010/taz June 2010).

The Union needs a unified integrated tax system, a central bank whose main focus is not on monetary stability but on economic development, and a restriction plus control of the financial sector. Above all, it needs fiscal adjustment mechanisms to counteract recessionary tendencies and lack of demand in the less affluent regions (taz 11.06.2010).

July to September 2010

This part of the analysis deals with the term “reciprocity” in the period between July and September 2010. Although there is only a small sample size of this term, there is still a recognition of a change within this term.

At the beginning, the term “reciprocity” is recognized as an understanding for financial transactions and promises. An example for this one is that *financial market transactions include both positive and negative effects that are going hand in hand. The finalization of a financial contract essentially involves making a promise.* (FAZ 27.07.2010). This understanding lays a basis for a deeper understanding between the responsibility of aid givers and receivers.

During the financial crisis, the narrative evolved towards strengthening cooperation in the financial systems by including both stable and troubled states in *multinational agreements, such as the strengthening of the IMF by 250 billion Euros* (FAZ 26.08.2010). This narrative also became clearer when the EU made clear that *the way out of the crisis does not consist of just paying the aid back but including extensive reforms and risk reduction* (SZ 11.09.2010). These measures by the troubled states should ensure the financial stability in the stable states.

The analysis shows that the term “reciprocity” evolved from a transactional approach to an approach of unified obligations and structural changes. The most important thing in this narrative is an active participation of the weakened states out of the crisis and not just relying on financial aid. In summary, the development of the term “reciprocity” can be compared with the development of the term “support”. The term “reciprocity” changes over time because the understanding of the complexity of the crisis increases. This means that financial aid is important to help the struggling states, but these states must be expected to strive for lasting structural improvements to find a sustainable and secure way out of the crisis.

6.5 Change in usage of “support” and “reciprocity” by authors

The next part of the paper will deal with the question “*Did the author xy change their use of the terms ‘solidarity’ and ‘reciprocity’ over time?*”.

Here we took a closer look at three authors who published articles in the newspapers we selected within the time we were given. An additional criterion was that the authors' articles appeared within the “solidarity” and “reciprocity” codes. The prerequisite for this was at least

five articles by the same author within the codes. Consequently, we chose the authors Cerstin Gammelin, Martin Hesse and Nicolaus Piper, who are examined in more detail below.

This subchapter analyses the extent to which the use of the codes “support”/“solidarity” and “reciprocity” has changed in the various articles written by the author Cerstin Gammelin. To give a better understanding of both the author and the codes we will briefly discuss them in the following.

These two codes are closely intertwined, as they both aim to help, promote or strengthen someone else. But there are differences as well: support can be one-sided; it can be offered by someone without necessarily expecting anything in return. “Support” is a much broader concept than “reciprocity” which includes different forms of help, whereas “reciprocity” focusses on the idea of compensation and mutuality. “Reciprocity” implies an approach based on mutual give and take with the aim of maintaining a balance in the interaction. In some cases, the concepts may overlap, especially if the support is based on a sense of reciprocity, i.e. if a person receives support, they are expected to return that support at some point.

Cerstin Gammelin is a former German journalist who is now spokesperson for the German Federal President Frank-Walter Steinmeier. She has mainly written about economic issues. At the time the articles analyzed here were written, she was the European correspondent for the SZ in Brussels. As a result, all of the articles analyzed here appeared in the SZ.

Due to the small number of articles available in the raw data to answer the question, we are carrying out a brief content analysis of the individual articles and not only analyze the coded segments.

The first article to be analysed, “Die Angst vor den Zeitbomben”, was published on the fourth of December 2009. This date is characterized by continuing uncertainty about the long-term effects of the crisis, even though it had already reached its peak. This is also reflected in the article, which warns of a renewed worsening of the financial crisis. This worsening is due to the fact that countries within the EU are not adhering to budget deficits. However, the “ticking time bombs” mentioned in the title are also said to be Balkan states outside the EU. The code “reciprocity” is also used in connection with these countries:

„An diesem Donnerstag verständigten sich acht Balkan-Staaten, darunter Albanien, Kroatien und Serbien, in Wien auf einen gemeinsamen Aktionsplan, um sich im Krisenfall kurzfristig zu helfen“ (SZ 04.12.2009).

This use of the code is about a concrete plan to support each other, so the states expect help or cooperation from the other participating states in return for their support if they get into

difficulties themselves. It is therefore a classic use of the code of reciprocity; an action or support is expected that is based on mutuality.

Based on this article, we have created a word cloud, which showcases words that are used often in the article. A word cloud can help to visualize the frequency and significance of certain terms in the text. The more often a word is used, the bigger it appears in the word cloud. The word clouds used are meant to give an overview of the context in which the codes appear and to see if this context remains the same when the meaning of the code changes and vice-versa.

Figure 6: Word cloud on article SZ 04.12.2009



Source: own illustration.

The words in the word cloud indicate how various governments of countries inside and outside the EU are responding to the financial crisis in order to prevent it from worsening. The term “time bombs”, which also appears in the title of the text, points to potential trouble spots that could develop into major problems in the future. Overall, the words highlighted through the word cloud are classic terms you would expect in an article concerning the financial crisis.

The second article concerning the code “reciprocity” is about the demand for more binding reforms so that everyone has to adhere to them and the idea of a European economic government. The article was published just one month after the previous one, so the framework conditions are similar.

Figure 7: Word cloud on article SZ 09.01.2010



Source: own illustration.

As before, the words used in the word cloud refer to the topics of the financial crisis: the economy, governments and EU-politics. As a key actor in this article appears José Luis Zapatero. The context of the two articles is very similar and so is the use of the code “reciprocity”:

In the previous article, the term reciprocity referred to the expectation that different countries or actors would support each other. Here, the term is used in a very similar way, but more at a governmental level: “Zapatero muss also einen Zwang, zumindest eine hohe Verbindlichkeit für Investitionen und Reformen für 27 Regierungen durchsetzen” (SZ 09.01.2010). Reciprocity is understood as the expectation that governments will honor and implement agreed measures. If governments do not honor their commitments, sanctions are to be expected. In both articles, reciprocity is therefore understood to mean that support is mutual and that both parties expect each other to fulfil their obligations.

In conclusion the use of the code “reciprocity” is very similar in these two articles of Cerstin Gammelin. This might be due to the close proximity in time in which the articles were written or to the very low number of cases. Since the context was very similar as well, it is a logical conclusion that the code was used analogously. The only difference that stood out was the second article focusing more on the governmental level of the discussion about mutual support.

The next three articles by Cerstin Gammelin each include the use of the code “support”. In the following we will analyze how this use might differ over time.

The background of the following articles is slightly different to the previous ones. All three articles cover the Greek financial crisis in the spring of 2010. Greece had accumulated high budget deficits and a growing national debt over the years. Factors such as inefficient administration, high government spending, tax evasion and weak economic growth contributed to the economic problems. In October 2009, the newly elected Greek government under Prime Minister Giorgos Papandreou revealed that the budget deficit was much higher than previously stated. The articles are published in the weeks before a rescue package by the EU was agreed on in May 2010.

The first article is characterised by the demands of other countries for support from Germany, they “erwarten, dass die Deutschen hochverschuldete Ländern finanziell unterstützen und selbst zuhause den Konsum ankurbeln, auch, um die Nachfrage nach Erzeugnissen aus anderen Ländern zu stärken” (SZ 26.04.2010). The required support can be provided directly through concrete financial contributions, for example within a European emergency plan, or indirectly by strengthening domestic consumption. Overall, however, it can be said that the code “support” in the course of this article expresses the expectation that Germany will play an active role in overcoming the crisis in Europe, both through financial support and through measures to stimulate the economy.

The next article appears just a few weeks after the previous one, and the title already emphasizes a tense relationship between the actors and a demand for support: “Deutsche Härte stößt auf Kritik - EU-Partner fordern mehr Solidarität von Berlin” (SZ 27.04.2010). This article makes use of the code “support” in the context of the financial crisis in Greece. Some countries, such as Germany and the Netherlands, show hesitant behavior and emphasize the need for Greece to present credible reform plans before providing financial support. On the other hand, countries such as Italy and Austria are pushing for solidarity and quick decisions in order to keep the euro stable and avoid a delay in aid for Greece. In this sense, the term “support” is used to express how the financial aid is also a moral obligation and in the interest of everyone. There are therefore two different understandings of the code “support” within this article: on the one hand, the opinion that solidarity is a moral duty and at the same time helps everyone and, on the other hand, the view that support must always be linked to conditionality in order to be fair for all those involved.

The next article begins with the demand of German governing parties to exclude Greece from the EU: “Sie haben der Regierung in Athen vorgeschlagen, ihre selbstverschuldete Finanzkrise selbst zu lösen, den Euro aufzugeben und die Währungsunion zu verlassen” (SZ 28.04.2010). However, this statement is then categorized as populist and expelling Greece from the EU as a step backwards. Thus, “support” in this context includes the idea of keeping Greece within the eurozone and helping it to implement its reforms in order to stabilize its economy and become competitive again. The article argues against the idea of expelling Greece from the eurozone and emphasizes the importance of solidarity and support within the European Union. Overall, the use of the term “support” shows a broader and more inclusive perspective on the role of EU countries in managing crises in the eurozone than in the first two articles. The focus of the support is more about support through political decisions and encouraging Greece, than about direct financial resources. The aim of this is to keep Greece in the eurozone and to promote European integration. This article emphasizes

support as solidarity and cooperation within the Eurozone over the different attitude of EU countries toward financial support.

Whilst the code “reciprocity” has remained the same throughout the articles, the code support has undergone some changes. These have not happened over time but within three articles that have been published in close proximity. So, these changes are most likely based on the fact that the code “support” conveys a much broader concept which can be interpreted in different ways. In the first article, "support" is mainly seen as financial assistance to help countries in financial difficulties and to ensure the stability of the financial system. In the second article, “support” refers to how countries are encouraged to support each other politically and economically, particularly in relation to overcoming financial crises within the eurozone. The third article is about “support” for Greece within the eurozone, but less in financial terms and more in terms of solidarity and political support to keep Greece within the monetary union and help it overcome its crisis. We have decided not to implement the word clouds in the analysis of the code “support” since they were almost identical due to the very similar context. They can be helpful to visualize slight distinctions in different articles but after all they just show which words were used the most often and those are not always the best indicator for interpretation.

To answer the research question in the course of the LFP, the following explanations will refer to texts by Nicolaus Pieper. We only use articles in which the relevant codes “solidarity/support” and “reciprocity” were found. Accordingly, in this paper we initially analyse and summarize six newspaper articles by Pieper chronologically. The newspaper articles were all written in spring 2010 in the course of the European financial crisis and deal with each topic. The headlines of the texts are: “Europe's fear of the currency fund”, “EU fear on the financial markets”, “Euro on fire”, “Speculation is good”, “Governments spare banks” and “Greece is not a victim”. Consequently, in this paper we will examine how and in what context the terms of solidarity and reciprocity have been used over time. The selection of the third author for this paper was made more difficult by the fact that although some authors wrote more than five articles on the topic of the financial crisis during the period under investigation, only a few of them coded “reciprocity” or “solidarity/support” more than five times. On closer inspection, however, it emerged that the articles “speculation is good” and “governments spare banks” were coded incorrectly. Here, only article from the newspaper pages themselves were coded with the aforementioned terms, but not Pieper's articles. This results in a smaller number of cases or material to be analysed for this question. The first article to be analysed, “Europe's fear of the Monetary Fund”, deals with the near bankruptcy of the Greek state. Greek President Georg Papandou is seeking support from the International Monetary Fund

(IMF). Other European countries - Germany and France are mentioned in the article - are trying to prevent this. Piper then weighs up the arguments in favor of supporting Greece against those against. On the one hand, social anger about the crisis and the question of blame for the problem would be projected onto the IMF. On the other hand, Piper argues that Europe must be able to solve its problems on its own. Furthermore, intra-European solidarity is a test for the euro. Europe must know how to help itself if the currency is to have lasting success. In addition, the Greek crisis would put Franco-German cooperation to the test. The narrative of support is expressed in the Greek president's demand for help from the IMF. The second article, "Euro anxiety on the financial markets", deals with the threat posed to the financial markets by the euro crisis. Greece's prime minister says that Greece is being declared a scapegoat. The article also discusses the chances of success of the rescue operation. The Chairman of Deutsche Bank, Josef Ackermann, expressed doubts that Greece would be able to repay its debts. The German government (Altmeier) replied that the comments were "irresponsible" and would undermine the work of the German government. Ackerman replied that he had supported the German government's package for Greece. The term "solidarity" is also coded in this context. Piper's commentary "Euro on fire" also deals with the crisis in the eurozone caused by the situation in Greece. According to Piper, however, the fact that lessons can be learnt from the crisis in the small economy represents something positive. For example, there is something to be learned from the implementation of the austerity program demanded by the EU. He also writes, as part of the term of reciprocity, that a country like Germany would also be helping itself by rescuing Greece. A possible national bankruptcy in Greece would also increase interest rates in other countries such as Spain or Ireland and thus further exacerbate the European economic and currency crisis. This is relevant for the Bundesrepublik because German banks have invested money in these countries and 70 per cent of German exports go to the EU. Piper concludes his article "Greece is not a victim" by discussing the rescue of Greece from national bankruptcy. The "solidarity" term is encoded right at the beginning. Greece is now receiving the solidarity it needs for the bailout. At the same time, the Greek government's staging as a victim is criticized. To answer the question, "Did the author change his use of the terms 'solidarity' and 'reciprocity' over time?", it can be stated that the author Piper always connotes the terms "reciprocity" and "solidarity" in a similar way in the course of the European financial crisis and the economic crisis in Greece and that the use of the terms does not change over time. In the first article (Europe's fear of the Monetary Fund), the necessity of solidarity and support for the Greek state by the European Union is justified by the fact that European cohesion is being put to the test by the Greek crisis. This gives the impression that solidarity with Greece primarily serves the EU to demonstrate pan-European cohesion. This impression is further reinforced in Piper's commentary

“Euro on fire”, in which the author says that Greece could serve as a good example to study and learn from for future crises. He specifically refers to the extreme austerity measures. The effect of these austerity measures could then be used to learn lessons for future crises. Furthermore, the interaction between the terms of “solidarity” and “reciprocity” created by Piper can be identified, particularly on the basis of this article. He talks about Germany helping itself by supporting Greece. If the threat of national bankruptcy really materializes in Greece, there is also a threat of crises elsewhere, e.g. in Spain or Italy. Due to the ramifications on the financial market, the crises would then also affect German investors. In the last article to be analysed, Piper criticizes Greece's self-portrayal as a victim of the financial crisis, even though it received the aid it needed to be rescued. This shows that Piper sees the terms of “solidarity/support” and “reciprocity” as interacting and that the term of “solidarity” is conditioned by the term of “reciprocity”. If one separates the term of “support” from that of “solidarity”, with the exception of the coding in the course of the dispute between the German government and the German bank, this is only used when Greece itself actively asks for support.

The following part of this paper will focus on the author Martin Hesse. We will look at whether and how the author has changed his opinion on the codes “support” and “reciprocity” in relation to the financial crisis over time. It could be observed that Martin Hesse was one of the few authors in our data set within the topic of the financial crisis who dealt with the codes “support” and “reciprocity” several times within our data set.

In many of Martin Hesse's articles, which have all appeared in the SZ, it can be observed that not all of his work is written in a neutral context. Particularly in articles that were not written in conjunction with other authors, Martin Hesse also makes his own opinion about politics, banks, financial investors and relevant players in these areas recognizable. In contrast, articles written in collaboration with other authors only deal with facts and personal opinions of the actors of the article (SZ 22.05.2010). Personal comments on topics are rarely found here. (SZ 16.09.2010). In the following, it will become clear that the codes “support” and “reciprocity” are often linked in Hesse's articles; for example, support is only made possible by reciprocity. This may be due to the fact that the basic meaning of the two codes is often very similar.

In one of his first articles published in the research period covered, Martin Hesse comments “Ach was waren das für Zeiten, als man sich in Deutschland über das Gebaren von Finanzinvestoren erregte!”. Hesse's statement refers to the fact that financial investors could make a useful contribution now, at a time of global financial crisis, when they played a profitable role in the past. Hesse makes it clear once again that banks are not solely to blame for the

fact that companies were crushed in the recession and that these financial investors could now give back some of their profitable times in the future.

Here, Hesse supports the criticism that credit institutions have caused more damage with their mistakes than the locusts once did. Hesse also comments on the fact that financial investors can make new profits as a result of the financial crisis by acting as investment companies. Hesse gives an example of this with the entry of KKR, which is a global investment company, into a family business, “es zeigt, wie Beteiligungen sinnvoll sein können - ohne Schulden und vielleicht auch mal, ohne die Mehrheit in einer Firma zu gewinnen.” Hesse also insists on the support of banks so that financial investors cannot use the debt lever again. He says: “Es ist an den Banken die Firmenjäger zu disziplinieren. Sie sollten Heuschrecken nicht wieder mit leichtsinnigen Krediten dopen” (SZ 28.01.2010).

In May 2010, an article in collaboration with other authors commented on the Greek crisis as follows: “Es wäre ein ungeheurer Vorgang, eine Politik, die noch vor wenigen Monaten niemand für möglich erhalten hätte. Noch nie hat die EZB in die Märkte eingegriffen, um Staaten aus der Patsche zu helfen. Doch die Wächter des Euros haben die Heftigkeit der griechischen Krise unterschätzt” (SZ 07.05.2010).

The difficulties that Deutsche Bank had to overcome in these difficult times of the financial crisis were also discussed by Hesse. Here he takes up the dependence of Deutsche Bank and other institutions on the financial market, and also explains his opinion on a potential solution, because according to Hesse:

“mit einem dickeren Kapitalpolster können sich nicht nur die Gläubiger der Deutschen Bank, sondern auch Politiker und Steuerzahler wohler fühlen, die im Krisenfall auch für den Branchenprimus geradestehen müssten” (SZ 11.09.2010).

In his articles, Hesse repeatedly focuses on the head of the central bank, Jean-Claude Trichet. Here, Hesse makes his views clear with comments such as “Jean-Claude Trichet hat eine Kehrtwende vollzogen. Und das will etwas heißen” to make his views clear.

This refers to Trichet's decision not to tighten regulations that allow states and banks to borrow money from the central bank in return for depositing collateral. Hesse calls it “als starkes Signal” that this action will make it easier for Greece to get out of the debt trap and make it clear that the financial crisis will last longer than some might have hoped. Jean-Claud Trichet's action is described here by the author as “nur so kann er glaubwürdig als Hüter über die Stabilität des Euros auftreten”.

It can be observed that Hesse is in favor of Trichet, but at the same time expresses his displeasure with the situation with statements such as “Trichet’s Kehrtwende ist wichtig, und doch hat sie einen bitteren Beigeschmack”. He also expressed his concerns that other countries could get into difficulties as a result of these decisions. By creating new bubbles due to the low interest rates on the euro. On the other hand, Trichet is giving other countries time to restructure their budgets. Countries such as Spain and Ireland will be particularly affected by this due to their poorer financial situation (SZ 25.03.2010).

In another article, Hesse wrote:

“Auch Trichet der Kraft seines Amtes stets verklausuliert und vorsichtig formuliert, wird dann erstaunlich deutlich, was er vom heutigen Finanzminister Wolfgang Schäuble und von Deutschland insgesamt erwartet” (SZ 30.04.2010).

in the attempt to stop the collapse of the single currency, the Euro. The French architect of the Euro places particular emphasis on Germany.

In general, it can now be observed that the author Martin Hesse has not changed his views on the codes “support” and “reciprocity” in the course of the period we are concerned with. Hesse was already critical of many decisions and actions at the beginning, which we could see at the beginning of the elaboration. During the data period, Hesse continued to maintain a critical view of the issues he dealt with in connection with the financial crisis. Also, as explained at the beginning, it has become apparent that Hesse writes his articles in a purely informative manner when he publishes them in collaboration with other authors.

Finally, we want to answer our question "*Did the authors change their use of the terms “solidarity” and “reciprocity” over time?*". If we take a closer look at the three selected authors, Gerstin Gammel, Martin Hesse or Nicolaus Piper, changed their opinions and views on the codes over the course of the period under investigation. It is possible that the reason for this is, on the one hand, the small number of cases of the articles examined and the proximity in time in which the authors' articles were written and therefore the use of the codes did not obviously change over the course of the investigation period. Another relevant aspect that we have seen throughout this study is the close connection between the meanings of the codes “support” and “reciprocity”. It should be noted here that the authors examined may not have written their articles with the intention of a nuanced spelling of the codes and it is therefore difficult to create a strict separation of the codes in the coded segments.

6.6 Change in justification for terms “support” and “reciprocity” by authors

Within the scope of this research project, the investigation encompasses examining whether individual authors have altered their perception and, consequently, their argumentation regarding the use of specific narratives surrounding the financial crisis over its course. For this purpose, the following research question was formulated:

Have the selected authors changed their justification for using the following terms?

Therefore, we will analyse the publications of a total of six authors: Cerstin Gammelin from SZ, Martin Greive from WELT, Martin Hesse from SZ, Tobias Kaiser from WELT, Catherine Hoffmann from SZ, and Werner Mussler from FAZ. This selection was made due to these authors collectively composing the most frequent publications on this topic, thereby providing the largest corpus of articles for an in-depth analysis. The conducted analysis encompasses both qualitative and quantitative aspects.

Hesse & Kaiser

In the following section, the argumentation of the two authors Martin Hesse (SZ) and Tobias Kaiser (WELT) will be analysed. To assess potential trends or developments, the initial focus will be on the quantitative distribution of the codes. As can be seen in Figures 1 and 2, almost all of the developed codes can be found in the publications of the mentioned authors, indicating that the codebook as a whole can be considered valid. Furthermore, it is noticeable that both the absolute number of assigned codes and their distribution overall increase over time. This implies that in the course of the study period, both authors began to illuminate a greater variety of aspects in their publications than they did initially.

Figure 8: Number of coded segments Hesse 2009 - 2010

Codesystem	Hesse-2009	Hesse-2010
support		3
reciprocity		1
availability/ability		
practicability	1	2
obligation	1	3
need	1	3
deservingness		2
fairness/equality		1
conditionality	2	1
cost-benefit		4
convergence as a goal/consequence	1	2

Source: MAXDA based on own representation.

Figure 9: Number of coded segments Kaiser 2009 – 2010

Codesystem	Kaiser-2009	Kaiser-2010
support	2	1
reciprocity	1	
availability/ability	1	1
practicability		2
obligation	3	1
need		2
deservingness		
fairness/equality		1
conditionality		
cost-benefit		3
convergence as a goal/consequence	1	

Source: MAXQDA based on own representation.

When considering the number and distribution of assigned codes by both authors overall, as depicted in Figure 3, it becomes apparent that no specific code was disproportionately assigned; instead, there is a relatively uniform distribution. This suggests that neither of the two authors favours a consistent pattern of argumentation that is limited to one or a few aspects of the discourse.

Figure 10: Number of coded segments Hesse & Kaiser overview

Codesystem	Hesse	Kaiser
support	3	3
reciprocity	1	1
availability/ability		2
practicability	3	2
obligation	4	3
need	3	2
deservingness	2	
fairness/equality	1	1
conditionality	3	
cost-benefit	3	3
convergence as a goal/consequence	3	1

Source: MAXQDA based on own representation.

Following this, a qualitative analysis of the two codes “practicability” – “cost-benefit” will be conducted to assess whether any changes in the justification for using these terms can be identified among the selected journalists throughout the Euro crisis. It’s important to note that this examination is conducted as an exemplary analysis, and the selection of the two chosen terms was also influenced by the quality of available data, which, in parts, was unsuitable for intended analysis. Through this approach, we seek to shed light on potential shifts in argumentation strategies regarding these terms, while acknowledging the limitations imposed by data quality.

Let's begin the analysis with the code "practicability" which refers to the suitability of aid for the recipient. For this purpose, there are two text segments available in the case of Kaiser, which will be presented below:

“Dennoch haben die Regierungen richtig gehandelt, als sie in der Finanzkrise Rettungsschirme über die Banken gespannt und Milliarden in die Wirtschaft gepumpt haben, um Konjunktur und Vertrauen zu stärken. Mit ihrer konzertierten Aktion haben die Regierungen eine Depression verhindert und die Folgen der Krise gedämpft - besonders hierzulande. Ohne diese schuldenfinanzierten Staatsausgaben wäre die Weltwirtschaft kaum so schnell auf den Wachstumspfad zurückgekehrt” (WELT 26.05.2010).

“Als mögliche Kandidaten gelten bei der Weltbank die hoch verschuldeten Eurozonen-Länder Griechenland, Italien, Irland, Spanien und Portugal. Die Hilfen und die Pakete genügen, um die betroffenen Länder in den kommenden Jahren mit Liquidität zu versorgen. Ein Bankrott oder eine Umschuldung sind deshalb nicht notwendig” (WELT 10.06.2010).

In both segments, discussions revolve around the practical implementation of government measures during the Euro crisis and their impact on the affected countries. Based on these segments, there appears to be no clear change in the justification for using the "practicability"-term. Kaiser highlights the necessity of government intervention during the crisis to prevent or mitigate negative economic impacts. The aid packages are perceived as feasible, as they have indeed yielded positive effects. Although the arguments in the segments may vary, there is no clear change reflected in the justification for the use of the "practicability"-term.

How does it fare with Hesse? Three segments are available, from which those indicating a change will now be quoted:

“Zum dritten Mal binnen eines Jahres ist der Bund bei einer Bank eingestiegen, um ihre Pleite und dramatische Folgen für den Rest der Branche und für die Wirtschaft zu vermeiden. Erst kaufte der Bund ein Viertel der Commerzbank, dann verstaatlichte er die Hypo Real Estate (HRE), jetzt kontrolliert Berlin erstmals eine Landesbank. In jedem der Fälle gab es zu der Rettung keine Alternative. Doch wenn Bund, Länder und Sparkassen nicht bald eine Vorstellung davon entwickeln, wie das deutsche Bankensystem in Zukunft aussehen soll, dann hat dieses System trotz aller kurzfristigen Rettungsaktionen keine Zukunft” (SZ 17.05.2010).

“Die Spekulation auf einen Absturz oder gar eine Pleite Griechenlands hielt die Märkte erneut gefangen. Das auf 110 Milliarden Euro ausgeweitete Hilfspaket von Euro-Staaten

und Weltwährungsfonds IWF hatte die Anleger nur vorübergehend beruhigt“ (SZ 08.06.2010).

The first segment discusses the practicability of government measures to rescue banks during the financial crisis and their impact on the economy. Hesse emphasizes the necessity of government intervention and argues that there was no alternative to these rescue actions. In the second segment, the market's reaction to the Greek bailout package is discussed, with the observation that investors were only temporarily reassured. This suggests that the bailout package may not have been as practical as initially presumed, as it did not permanently alleviate investor concerns. Overall, both segments underscore the idea that government measures during crises should be practical to achieve positive outcomes or prevent negative repercussions. However, the difference lies in how effectively the aid packages were in practice, leading to a slightly different justification for the use of the “practicability”-term.

The second term examined here is “cost-benefit”. This focuses on a cost-benefit calculation and thus on the balance of the helper. In this case as well, there is no change in Kaiser's argumentation or justification for the use of this term. As exemplified in the following text segment, where he mentions that banks in various European countries hold significant credit claims against highly indebted Eurozone countries and that a substantial loss of value in these claims could jeopardize the solvency of many banks. This implies that it would be advantageous for these banks if the debts of these countries were settled to maintain the stability of the financial system. Therefore, Kaiser suggests that from an economic perspective, it could be beneficial to assist these countries to avoid negative impacts on the global financial system as a whole.

“Solch ein Zusammenbruch könnte nach Ansicht der Weltbanker Banken in anderen europäischen Ländern ins Schwanken bringen und eine schwere weltweite Krise auslösen: Allein Banken in Österreich, Belgien, Frankreich, Deutschland und den Niederlanden halten Kreditforderungen gegenüber den fünf hoch verschuldeten Euro-Ländern (...) Ein großer Wertverlust dieser Forderungen könnte die Zahlungsfähigkeit vieler dieser Banken gefährden und das könnte das gesamte weltweite Finanzsystem destabilisieren. Sollte es zu solch einer - unwahrscheinlichen - Krise kommen, erwarten die Weltbanker, dass die globale Wirtschaft 2011 um 3,1 Prozent schrumpft und 2012 noch einmal um 4,1 Prozent“ (WELT 10.06.2010).

Kaiser remains consistent with this justification throughout the entire study period. For him, it appears clear that providing financial support to over-indebted countries or their banks is definitely advantageous. Self-interest plays obviously a relevant role in this justification.

Similarly, in Hesse's case, a comparable justification or use of this term can be found, as illustrated by the following text segment:

“Wie können Regierungen und Notenbanken gegensteuern? Griechenland wird um eine Umschuldung nicht herumkommen. Es wäre besser, dieses kleine Land von einem Teil seiner Schulden zu befreien, als die Probleme in die Zukunft zu verschieben. Um eine Ansteckung anderer, größerer Staaten zu verhindern, müssen die Notenbanken und der Internationale Währungsfonds jetzt starke Signale senden. Sie sollten zeigen, dass sie bereit sind, Geldengpässe von Staaten genauso entschlossen zu überbrücken wie bei den Banken“ (SZ 08.05.2010).

Based on the statements made by Hesse during the study period, it can be observed that he maintains his justification for using the “cost-benefit”-term, namely self-interest, particularly concerning Germany. The statements suggest that Hesse is convinced that it is in the interest of the parties involved to provide financial support to other countries to avoid significant economic damage. This implies that Hesse advocates for supporting other countries not only for altruistic reasons but also because he believes it is beneficial for Germany in the long run to promote stability and growth in the Eurozone.

In conclusion, the analysis of the authors Martin Hesse and Tobias Kaiser suggests a consistency in their argumentation regarding the use of specific terms surrounding the financial crisis. Both Hesse and Kaiser maintain a steadfast justification for the use of the “practicability” term, emphasizing the necessity of government intervention during crises to prevent adverse economic impacts. Additionally, they advocate for financial support to other countries or their banks, driven by self-interest and the belief that it is beneficial for their respective countries in the long term to promote stability and growth in the Eurozone.

Gammelin & Greive

In the following paragraph, we will discuss whether the author Cerstin Gammelin has changed the rationale for using the term of “solidarity” or “reciprocity” over time. Cerstin Gammelin grew up in Saxony and studied materials engineering at Chemnitz University of Technology. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, she became a journalist and worked for Deutscher Fachverlag, the magazine Energie und Management, Die Zeit and Der Spiegel, among others. Since 2008, she has worked as a European correspondent in Brussels for the SZ. The articles that are relevant to this analysis also stem from her time at the SZ. Her first article entitled “Die Angst vor den Zeitbomben”, which falls within our analysis period, was published on December 4, 2009, relatively at the beginning of the crisis. At that time, public debt was rising sharply under the new Greek government. In addition, Greece was

downgraded by the rating agencies during this time, which fueled speculation of a sovereign default (Kunstein/ Wessels 2011: 313). In this article, she writes about the intensification of the global financial crisis. The text focuses primarily on the crisis in Greece and its impact on the European Union. At this point in time, the article speculates about a possible bankruptcy of Greece. In the article, the term of solidarity is described three times with the code “need”. The recipient's needs refer mainly to Greece, but also to Europe in general. For example, she writes:

“Bedrohlich gewachsen ist das griechische Defizit. Das Euro-Land wird im kommenden Jahr mit einem Schuldenstand von 125 Prozent des Bruttoinlandsproduktes zum größten Schuldner unter den Euro-Staaten wachsen. Aufgrund der verschlechterten Kreditwürdigkeit muss die Regierung unüblich hohe Zinsen für neue Finanzanleihen zahlen” (SZ 08.12.2009).

In January and February, there were no major changes in the rationale for the “solidarity” or “reciprocity” term. However, it published only a few articles on this topic in these two months. From the end of March, she published significantly more articles on the topic of the euro crisis. During this period, she also began to change her justification for the term of “solidarity”. The codes “conditionality” and “cost-benefit” appear here for the first time. In April, she then published most of the articles on the topic. The codes “conditionality” and “cost-benefit” were very dominant. The codes “practicability”, “obligation” and “fairness/equality” have also become relevant. This is partly due to the fact that the EU members committed to a bilateral loan for Greece on March 25 and 26, 2010. On April 23, Greece finally accepted the aid and committed itself to a course of reform and austerity, which was to be monitored by the ECB, the IMF and the EU Commission. As a result, Greece received a rescue package of 45 billion euros (Kunstein/ Wessels 2011: 309). In her article entitled “Greece asks for 45 billion” from April 24, 2010, for example, she discusses the conditions attached to the aid. She writes, for example:

“Nach einem Telefonat mit dem griechischen Premier sagte sie, die EU könne erst helfen, wenn die Regierung in Athen ein auf mehrere Jahre angelegtes, glaubwürdiges Sparprogramm vorgelegt habe” (SZ 24.04.2010).

She uses the cost-benefit rationale, looking at the helper's balance sheet and why the EU member benefits from solidarity with Greece. In April alone, she used the code seven times. One example is:

“So ist absehbar, dass zuerst griechische Banken in die Knie gehen würden, wenn man Anleihe-Gläubiger zu einem Verzicht zwänge. Zusätzlich zur Schulden-krise hätte das

südosteuropäische Land und damit die Eurozone – dann auch noch eine Bankenkrise zu lösen” (SZ 28.04.2010).

In the months that followed, she did not change her rationale for the terms. This is partly because she no longer published as many articles on the topic and the articles she had published on the topic no longer contained as many of our codes. In May and June 2010, there were only 8 coded segments in total. In contrast, there were 21 coded segments in April. To summarize, the rationale for the terms has changed. This change is closely linked to the first bailout package for Greece.

Table 3: Number of codes over months Cerstin Gammelin

Month	support	reciprocity	availability/ability	practicability	obligation	need	deservingness	fairness/equality/conditionality	cost-benefit	convergence as a goal/consequence
Oct 09										
Nov 09										
Dez 09		1				3				
Jan 10		2								
Feb 10						1	1		1	
März 10	4		1					1	1	1
Apr 10	4		1	3	3	1	3	4	7	
Mai 10									1	
Jun 10			2	1	1	1		2		
Jul 10										

Source: own illustration.

In the following section, we discuss the author Martin Greive and whether he has changed the rationale for using the term “solidarity” or “reciprocity”. Martin Greive was born in 1982 and began working as a freelancer for the Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft in Cologne in 2002. From 2003 to 2009, he worked as a freelance journalist for WELT, WELT am Sonntag, Handelsblatt, Rheinischer Merkur and the City of Cologne. From January 2009 to February 2012, he worked as a correspondent for WELT in the Money and Economy section in Frankfurt am Main. The articles relevant to this analysis also date from this period. Martin Greive shows no real change in the justification of the term of “solidarity” or “reciprocity”. In his case, the code “conditionality” with 5 codes predominates as a justification for the term “solidarity” and the code “convergence as a goal/consequence” with 5 codes slightly predominates for “reciprocity”. He also used these justifications from the outset and did not deviate significantly from them. Already in November, even before the first aid package for Greece was on the agenda, he used the code “conditionality”, but also in January and February. For example, he wrote on 20.01.2010 in an article about the financial crisis:

“Die EU hat jetzt die Nase voll. Sie will den Griechen dreimal im Jahr auf die Finger schauen, ob die Haushaltssanierung vorangeht” (WELT 20.01.2010).

In December, he also used the code “convergence as a goal/consequence”. He also used this code twice in May, in one of his last articles in our analysis period. In general, we can see

that almost all of Martin Greive's justification codes occur in similar numbers. Only the two codes mentioned above are slightly dominant in his reasoning. The only code that he does not use for justification is the code “fairness/equality”.

Table 4: Number of codes over months Martin Greive

Month	support	reciprocity	availability/ability	practicability	obligation	need	deservingness	fairness/equality	conditionality	cost-benefit	convergence as a goal/consequence
Okt 09											
Nov 09			1						1		
Dez 09		1				1				1	3
Jan 10	1	2			1		1		2		
Feb 10						1	1		2		
Mrz 10											
Apr 10											
Mai 10				1			1			1	2
Jun 10					1	1					
Jul 10											

Source: own illustration.

Mussler & Hoffmann

In the following paragraph, we will address how the author Werner Mussler’s justification for the use of the terms “solidarity” or “reciprocity” has changed over a timeframe. The mentioned timeframe is from December 2009 to June 2010.

Werner Mussler was born on May 25th 1966 in Schwenningen an der Neckar and completed his studies in economics in Konstanz, Fribourg in Switzerland and Freiburg im Breisgau successfully. He joined the FAZ economics department in 2002 and has been working as an economic correspondent in Brussels since March 2004. The first article relevant to the analysis is “Griechenland muss sich selbst retten” from December 12th, 2009. At this time, Mussler wrote that Greece could only hope for solidarity by implementing a radical austerity program:

“Auf Hilfszahlungen der EU oder anderer Mitgliedsstaaten könne das Land nicht hoffen. Die Politiker sagten dem neuen griechischen Ministerpräsidenten Giorgos Papandreou allerdings Unterstützung für den angekündigten harten Sparkurs zu“ (FAZ 11.12.2009).

Mussler clearly states that the term of “solidarity”, in this case, “deservingness”, should only benefit the Greeks in the context of a self-imposed austerity program. As the title suggests, solidarity is only extended to measures where the Greeks “save themselves”.

Over the observed timeframe, on February 12, 2010, another relevant article for the project was published, titled “In vielen EU-Staaten ist es selbstverständlich von der EU versorgt zu werden” in the FAZ. In this article, Mussler discusses the reciprocity of EU aid:

“Als Lettland, dessen Wirtschaft in ähnlichem Umfang eingebrochen ist wie unsere, Hilfe vom IWF brauchte, war das für uns erst recht Ansporn, es ohne Hilfe zu schaffen. Im Herbst hat die EU-Kommission noch befürchtet, dass das litauische Staatsdefizit in

diesem und im kommenden Jahr so hoch bleibt wie 2009, als es etwa 9 Prozent des Bruttoinlandsprodukt (BIP) betrug“ (FAZ 12.02.2010).

In this statement, similar to the previous article in December, Mussler emphasizes that states must show initiative. It is also important to note that he not only considers self-help desirable but also economically sensible.

Another relevant article, “Merkels Ultima Ratio wird europäisch”, was published on March the 27th, 2010. In this article, Mussler writes about the possible mechanisms available to European states to help countries in crisis. Again, an argument of reciprocity is used, as was found in the two previous articles, because “Die Hoffnung ist weiterhin, dass dieser ‘Mechanismus‘ nie benötigt wird“ (SZ 27.03.2010). This familiar argument, that aiding struggling states in solidarity is neither desired nor planned, resurfaces here.

The last article falling within our designated timeframe is “Almunia erwartet neue Rettungsaktionen für Banken” from July 18, 2010. Here too, Mussler writes that “Eine Hilfsaktion der Union für ganz Spanien aber nicht nötig sei” (SZ 18.07.2010).

Thus, again at last it is clear that the author Werner Mussler did not change his justification for the lack of solidarity in his case over the course of the crisis. The term that affected states should help themselves first, for example through austerity programs, is carried through all of his works within the examined timeframe. He also argues that this is the best way for affected states to recover from the crisis.

In the following paragraph, we will address how the author Catherine Hoffmann's justification for the use of the term “solidarity” or “reciprocity” has changed over a timeframe. Catherine Hoffmann is the longtime economics editor of the SZ in Munich. She has over 25 years of experience, including at other publications such as the FAS and the Tagesspiegel. She successfully obtained a doctorate in economics and has written various articles during the period under examination.

The first notable article to mention is “Angriff auf den Euro”, published in February 2010. There, she argues that aid should flow, for example, from Germany, as the affected countries alone cannot cope with the crisis (Hoffmann 2010: 30)

“Das alleine wird aber wohl nicht reichen – zu groß ist die Geldnot. Als mögliche Retter nennen Volkswirte den IWF, die EU und einzelne EU-Länder, allen voran Deutschland” (SZ 27.02.2010).

Thus, the term of solidarity is justified by a helplessness and need that can only be ended by the actors mentioned.

The next relevant article for us is from May 11th, 2010, titled “Rettungspaket für die Eurozone: Wo die Gegner der Regierung sitzen”. In this article, the author discusses how the European Central Bank is now buying government bonds. She equates this to the bank printing money (Boehringer; Hoffmann 2010:107). A similar pattern of explanation can be found in her justification, as in the previous article from February.

“Doch die drohende Spekulationswelle gegen weiter klamme Euroländer an den Kapitalmärkten ließ den Währungshütern offenbar ad hoc kaum eine andere Wahl” (SZ 11.05.2010).

Here, one can clearly see the continuation of her argumentative approach, which justifies solidarity in a similar manner to the previous article with a stark need.

The last relevant article for us is from June 1, 2010, titled “Bändigt die Kontrolleure!”. While Hoffmann strongly warns to be cautious, as the title implies, she nevertheless returns to the argument that the situation before the aid was so catastrophic that the aid was necessary to prevent state bankruptcy:

“Für einen Staat wird es dann schwieriger, sich Geld zu leihen. Griechenland wurden nach der Herabstufung seiner Anleihen auf Ramschstatus zweistellige Renditen abverlangt, bevor die Euro-Gemeinschaft mit milliardenschweren Garantien einen Staatsbankrott abwendete” (SZ 01.06.2010).

Thus, it can be confirmed that the author Catherine Hoffmann, like Werner Mussler, has not changed her justification for solidarity. In the period under examination, she repeatedly returns to a similar line of argumentation in various articles.

6.7 Predominance of certain codes in the argumentation of each newspaper

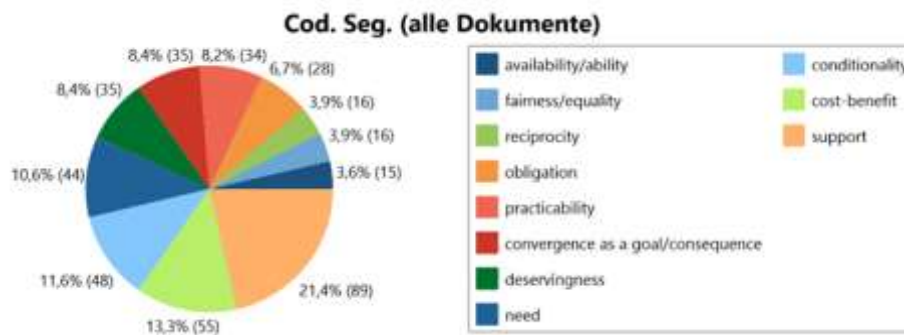
The last of the individual questions seeks to comprehend if there were certain codes, that dominated the argumentation in each newspaper and if so, why. To do so, the authors divided the respective newspapers between each other.

6.7.1 Süddeutsche Zeitung

We analysed our data set asking if there are dominant codes within the newspaper SZ and if so, what motives are there for these codes being dominant in the reporting. To determine these motives, we analysed different narratives used in articles with dominant codes as well as other factors concerning the publishing process, political opinions of journalists as well as party lines within news outlets and their target audiences.

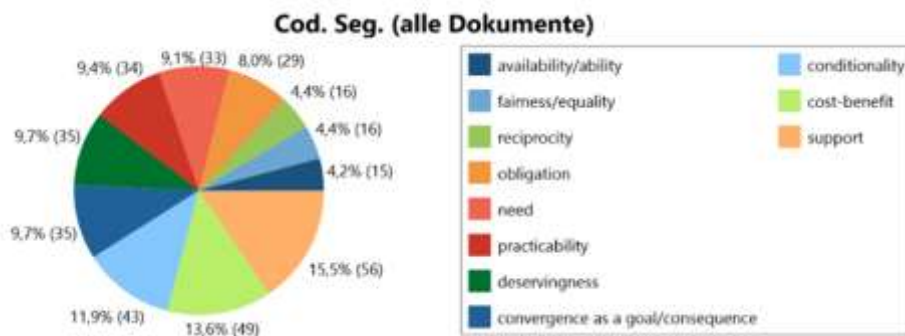
As we analysed the data set for SZ we had to delete as well as newly encode several coded segments because of encoding mistakes. In the data set we initially found 415 coded segments, after considering all encoding mistakes this number decreased to a total set of 361 coded segments within 156 documents to be relevant for our analysis. We determined codes with an incidence over 10 per cent as dominant. We determined three dominating codes. The dominating codes were *support* with 15.5 per cent, *cost-benefit* with 13.6 per cent and *conditionality* with 11.9 per cent. The amount of hits for the code *support* changed from initially 89 coded segments to 56 coded segments. This shows a decrease from initially 21.4 per cent to 15.5 per cent. The second most common code we found was *cost-benefit* with 49 of initially 55 encodings. This amounts to an increase of 0.3 percentage points from initially 13.3 to 13.6 percentage points in the overall distribution. The amount of percentage points for our third most common code *conditionality* increased as well from 11.6 to 11.9 percentage points while we had to delete 5 coded segments from initially 48 coded segments in this set of codes. While we determined *need* as the fourth most common code in our initial data set with 10.6 per cent, after deleting 10 false encodings within this set *need* did not show up as dominant anymore.

Figure 11: Initial Distribution of codes for SZ, MAXQDA 2022



Source: own illustration.

Figure 12: Distribution of codes for SZ after correcting encoding mistakes



Source: own illustration.

a. Support

We identified three main narratives tied to the use of *support*.

The first narrative tied to the use of *support* refers to the reactions of perceived EU leaders like German chancellor Angela Merkel and French prime minister at the time Nicolas Sarkozy as well as other political figures, to the possibility of Greece going bankrupt. These reactions show an understanding of financial support towards Greece as an obligation in order to stabilize the European union. The fear of a financial collapse of Greece that could expand to other member states results in a paradigm shift that begins to show in February of 2010- here is an excerpt of an article from February 11, 2010:

“Wenn an diesem Donnerstag die europäischen Regierungschefs wieder in Brüssel zusammensitzen, dann wird keiner der Teilnehmer noch ernsthaft glauben, die griechische Krise sei allein Sache der Regierung in Athen und niemand sonst müsse sich kümmern” (SZ 11.02.2010).

Whereas a few months before a lot of politicians rejected commitments to financial support the sentiment seems to change as the gravity of the situation unfolds. This excerpt from March 10, 2010 illustrates the dramatic shift in perspective:

“In der Nacht zum Samstag vollzogen die Staaten der Währungsunion nichts weniger als einen Paradigmenwechsel. Sie wollen ab sofort gemeinsam ihre Währung verteidigen. Sie wollen ein gemeinschaftliches Instrument nutzen, um schwächelnde Mitglieder im Notfall zu retten” (SZ 10.03.2010).

A second motive tied to the use of *support* appears when political commentators are expressing their own convictions that supporting Greece is the “right thing”- here is a quote of an opinion piece from former German finance minister Hans Eichel (1999-2005) published on April 28, 2010: “Das Grundgesetz verpflichtet die Deutschen, am vereinten Europa mit zu-

bauen – handeln wir danach!” (SZ 28.04.2010). We can point to another example from Dierk Hirschel, chief economist of the German union confederation (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) who writes in a guest commentary on April 29, 2010: “Doch so weit darf es nicht kommen. Die größte europäische Volkswirtschaft muss jetzt solidarisch gegensteuern” (SZ 29.04.2010).

A third motive for the use of *support* factors in that our encoding guidelines also mark segments in which the code is used negatively- i.e. statements in which support is denied or rejected. We found this motive more frequently before the perspective shift described around February. Here is an example from an article published on December 12, 2009:

“Der Maastricht-Vertrag sieht zwar keine Rettung eines Mitglieds der Währungsunion vor, die Haftung für die Schulden eines anderen Euro-Staates ist ausgeschlossen” (SZ 12.12.2009).

b. *Cost-Benefit*

For the use of *cost-benefit* we identified two main narratives. The first narrative refers to the need for taking certain actions to prevent or at least manage negative outcomes to a degree. In a lot of cases this refers to the risk of destabilizing the Euro and with that the stability of the EU. Here is an excerpt from an article published on April 27, 2010: “Dabei ging es der Kanzlerin gar nicht in erster Linie um die Hellenen, sie sorgte sich vielmehr um die Stabilität des Euro” (SZ 27.04.2010) Here is another example from June 18, 2010:

“Scheitert ein Euroland, beschädigt es die gemeinsame Währung, scheitern mehrere, ist der Euro in existentieller Gefahr. Und, um das Gedankenspiel zu Ende zu bringen: Ohne den Euro stünde die Existenz der Europäischen Union auf dem Spiel” (SZ 18.06.2010).

On September 25, 2010 EU-Währungskommissar Olli Rehn is quoted with this answer about the consequences of a possible bankruptcy of an EU-state: “Warum ist es eigentlich so katastrophal, wenn ein Euro-Land Pleite gehen sollte?”, fragte Wirtschaftsprofessor Michael Ben-Gad von der City University London. Rehn entgegnete, dass ein solcher Fall die Stabilität des gesamten Finanzsystems aufs Spiel setzen könnte und nur vergleichbar sei in der privaten Wirtschaft mit dem Kollaps der US-Investmentbank Lehman Brothers vor zwei Jahren. Deshalb sei der milliardenschwere Schutzschirm für hoch verschuldete Euro-Mitglieder unverzichtbar” (SZ 25.09.2010).

A second motive for the use of *cost-benefit* as a narrative is tied to the arguments made by different commentators for as well as against Greece exiting the EU and the perceived

benefits that come with the respective decisions. Here is an example of such a statement by Cerstin Gammelin in the SZ edition from April 27, 2010:

“Würde Griechenland aus der Währungsunion hinausgedrängt – ein Rausschmiss wäre rechtlich ohnehin nicht möglich –, wäre das also nicht nur eine eklatante Verletzung der Verträge, es wäre auch ein großer Schritt zurück in der Entwicklung der EU” (SZ 27.04.2010),

The same article describes representatives of the German government suggesting a Greek exit from the European Union referring to “benefits for both sides”:

“Vertreter der deutschen Regierungsparteien haben der Regierung in Athen nahegelegt, ihre selbstverschuldete Finanzkrise am besten allein zu lösen, den Euro wieder herzugeben und aus der Währungsunion auszutreten. Sie argumentieren, dies biete Vorteile für beide Seiten” (SZ 27.04.2010).

Dierk Hirschel chief economist of the German union confederation (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) calls for the states in crisis to take measures for increasing their competitiveness in a guest commentary on April 29, 2010:

“Ein Weiter-so sprengt die Europäische Währungsunion. Wenn Athen, Madrid und Lissabon nicht wirtschaftlich leistungsfähiger werden, dann versinken sie im Schuldenmeer” (SZ 29.04.2010).

c. Conditionality

For the use of *conditionality*, we identified one dominating narrative used frequently. This narrative concerns the perception that every measure of financial support is accompanied by conditions that must be implemented by the state receiving the financial support. The politicians referred to in the reporting clearly state that their support is tied to certain ideas and expectations. In a guest commentary on April 28, 2010, Hans Eichel proposes a mechanism that if certain measures are not implemented could limit funds for states in crises. He states: “Wenn die Griechen unsere Hilfe wollen, müssen sie ihren Staat mindestens so ausstatten, wie das der Durchschnitt der Europäer tut” (SZ 28.04.2010). This narrative extends to the IWF enacting conditions on giving financial support to bankrupt states. Here is a quote from May 13, 2010:

“Der IWF erhält damit sozusagen einen Sitz im Finanzministerium eines jeden überschuldeten Landes. Denn Geld gibt’s nur im Ausgleich für Sparen, Haushaltsdisziplin und niedrige Inflation” (SZ 13.05.2010).

This narrative appears again and again – here is an example from April 24, 2010:

“Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel reagierte ausgesprochen zurückhaltend auf Papandreous Rede. Nach einem Telefonat mit dem griechischen Premier sagte sie, die EU könne erst helfen, wenn die Regierung in Athen ein auf mehrere Jahre angelegtes, glaubwürdiges Sparprogramm vorgelegt habe. Zudem müssten die EZB und der IWF übereinstimmend zur Überzeugung kommen, dass ohne eine Rettungsaktion die gesamte Währungsunion in Gefahr sei” (SZ 24.04.2010).

d. Other factors

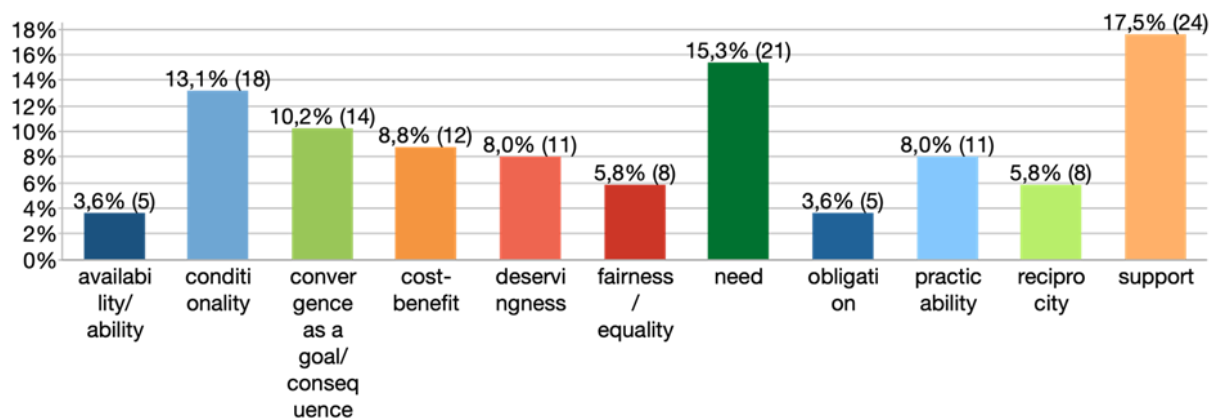
There are also other factors that can be considered for the use of certain codes. These factors can refer to the publishing process, personal factors like political stances of journalists as well as party lines within media outlets and their target audiences.

Concerning the publishing process there is the argument that newspapers put out an amount of articles per day that is bound to result in the reuse of content. A lot of content is commonly taken from media agencies or press releases. The acceleration of media production results in journalists and media outlets focusing more on the quick distribution of exclusive content rather than making deeper analysis. There is also the hypothesis that political opinions of journalists are activated when reporting on relevant political issues and in conclusion color their reporting on these issues. This hypothesis is referred to as *instrumentalization-distortion-hypothesis* (Engelmann 2010: 529). The activation of political opinions can also influence journalists in selecting what content is relevant for publication. (Engelmann 2010: 530) Regarding party lines within media outlets there is the assumption that the implementation of certain political stances via owners, shareholders or members of supervisory boards can happen indirectly through appointing personnel to leadership positions or through direct outlines given to the editorial staff. Given that editorial stances are implemented by socialization and social control most of the times these influences of media companies and owners are difficult to recognize from an outsider’s perspective (Reinemann/Baugut 2014: 489). At the same time there is an argument regarding the target audience of a newspaper as a factor of influence. The structure of the political market within the target audience influences the political positions of the media outlet creating a more one-sided or balanced policy within the outlet (Van Kempen 2007: 303-320). As a result of increasing media co-orientation mainstream preferences for certain topics and positions are more likely to be reproduced by journalists which weakens their ability to shape the party line within their outlets (Reinemann/Baugut 2014: 502).

6.7.2 taz

The analysis of the newspaper taz has shown that there are certain codes that were assigned more than others. It also showed that the two most dominant codes were assigned more than others by a slightly larger margin. At the same time, the differences in percentages and absolute numbers of all coded segments are not very large. The analysis of the assigned codes also showed that a small number of the most frequently assigned codes were coded incorrectly. These are not included in the analysis. However, this did not result in a shift in the dominant codes, which is why the overall proportions are still correct. Now we get to the description of the results.

Figure 13: Statistics of the codes assigned in the taz



Source: own illustration.

The code *support* is the most dominant and was assigned a total of 24 times in the coding of taz articles. This corresponds to a percentage of 17.5 per cent. This was closely followed by the code *need* with a total of 21 codes. This corresponds to a percentage of 15.3 per cent. The third most frequently assigned code is *conditionality* with a total of 18 codes and 13.1 per cent. The other codes assigned include *availability/ability*, *convergence as a goal/consequence*, *cost-benefit*, *deservingness*, *fairness/equality*, *obligation*, *practicability*, and *reciprocity*. In fourth place among the most frequently assigned codes is *convergence as a goal/consequence* with 14 codes, which corresponds to 10 per cent. The fifth most common code is “cost-benefit” with 12 codes, which corresponds to 9 per cent. We will not go into the other codes further in the analysis of the research question but will concentrate on the three most dominant codes.

The term *support* can mean a lot of things. For example, support can refer to a human level or a purely financial level. In the specific case of the financial crisis, it would seem obvious that the financial dimension of the term is probably more dominant here. If you look at the

individual articles in which the code *support* has been assigned, this assumption is confirmed. In most cases, this coding refers to the pure fact that either countries have simply adopted aid packages or that there is an obligation to show solidarity with the Greeks, for example. For example, the well-known journalist Ulrike Herrmann said in an article: “Our culture originated long before neoliberalism and the economization of all life and is based on the Greeks and Romans. Where is the solidarity?” (taz 08.03.2010). When analysing the assigned *support* codes, normative statements are also conspicuous alongside purely descriptive ones.

The second most frequently assigned code is *need*. With these assigned codes, the presentation and argumentation in the sense of “we need to” predominates in the articles. For example, it is often argued that there is a need to help Greece. If the rest of Europe does not do this, it will ultimately be even worse for the rest of Europe. This argument is more in line with a selfish interpretation of the “we need to” narrative. But many articles also argue in a different sense. For example, it is argued that Greece needs further aid and aid packages, otherwise the Greek state would not survive.

The third most common used Code is *conditionality*. Conditionality is generally understood to mean the assurance of a consideration or the fulfillment of conditions in return for aid. This is exactly what the analysis of articles with the coding *conditionality* is about. Most of the coded articles refer to corresponding conditions or agreements that presuppose aid for countries severely affected by the financial crisis, such as Greece, Ukraine, or Hungary. In addition to this argumentation of conditions relating to states, there are also articles that apply conditionality to the bank bailouts. One argument that could be identified was that banks should only be rescued, for example, if the state is the owner after the rescue.

After we have figured out which codes are the most dominant in the taz, we move on to the second sub-question: Why? We have already discussed the form in which the codes were assigned and the arguments behind them. But why are the assigned codes *support*, *need* and *conditionality* the most frequently occurring codes in the taz? A partial answer to this question can be found first and foremost by looking at the political orientation of the taz, or rather the orientation that is attributed to it. When looking at which major German newspapers are assigned to which political camp, the taz can be categorized as more to clearly left-wing and social-justice-oriented (Clauß 2021: 319; Waldendorf 2023: 9,15). It is therefore not surprising that the most frequently assigned codes of the taz, a left-wing newspaper, in connection with the financial crisis are *support* and *need*. When analyzing the respective coded sections, the argumentation that “support”, for example, stood for unlimited financial support for the countries suffering from the financial crisis also emerged. If we look at existing analyses of the categorization of German newspapers, the taz, for example, stands out alongside the SZ

with particularly frequent argumentation structures that are legal and moral (Kühne 2011: 255). The moral argumentation is clearly recognizable in the assigned codes *support* and *need*. However, the political classification of the Taz can also be used as an answer to the why in the third most common code *conditionality*. The arguments expressed here that the state should be the owner after the banks have been rescued are part of an economic and financial policy that can be classified as rather left-wing. Other studies that analysed arguments in German newspapers at the time of the financial crisis also concluded that virtually all major German newspapers and large sections of the public portrayed Greece's bailout as a problem. Only the taz and a few smaller newspapers presented a different argument. The taz wanted to make it clear that Greece is just a symptom of a global crisis (Bickes et al. 2014: 426). The taz also had the most positive assessment of Greece in analyses of German journalists' assessments of the Greek government. For example, 36 per cent of taz journalists took a positive stance on the Greek government and 38.9 per cent were balanced. In comparison, only 5.9 per cent of taz journalists had a positive stance about the Greek government. The study also analysed the fact that the SZ and taz had published many articles criticizing Germany's stance towards Greece or expressing solidarity with Greece (Teschendorf et al. 2023: 15-16). To summarize, many studies indicate that the taz is fundamentally more left-wing but has also taken a different position on the financial crisis compared to many other newspapers. The dominant codes *support*, *need* and *conditionality* are therefore not surprising.

6.7.3 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

There are only a few studies that look at how newspapers are categorized in the political spectrum. The Pew Research Center produced a data sheet on “Datenblatt: Nachrichtenmedien und politische Haltungen in Deutschland | Pew Research Center”. The survey was conducted between October 30th and December 20th, 2017, in eight European countries (Denmark, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, France, Italy and Spain, see Pew Research Center 2018). However, it should be noted that this study is based on the responses of the newspapers' audiences and other individuals, so it is not an exact classification of how the newspapers would classify themselves.

On a scale of 0 (very far left) to 6 (very far right), the FAZ's audience gave itself an average score of 2.9. This means that it is pretty much in the center but leans slightly to the left. Other people gave the FAZ an average rating of 3.2 on the above scale, i.e. a slight tendency to the right (cp. Pew Research Center 2018, figure 5).

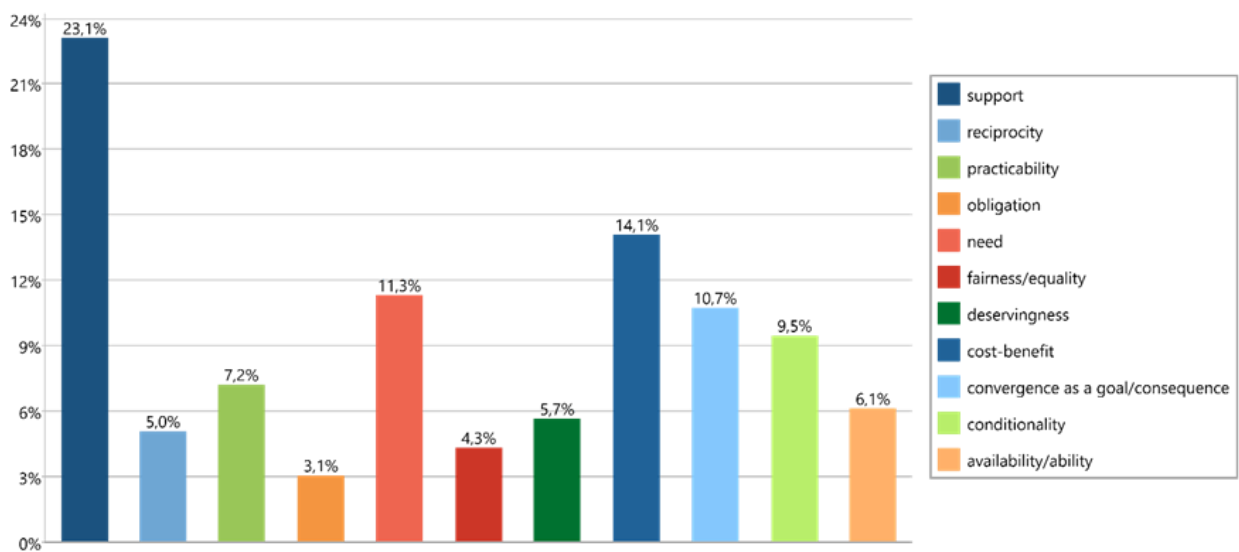
However, this survey does not provide a holistic picture. Another source is the research “Deutscher Journalismus: linksgrün und abgehoben” by “Katapult Magazin”. According to this research, the most widespread newspapers are economically liberal and conservative.

The FAZ is the third strongest medium here and is described as “liberal-konservativ” (cp. Haupt 2019).

The FAZ does not publicly self-classify. Instead, they state on their website that it is the editors' task to determine the political, economic and cultural orientation of the newspaper, and that this could have an influence (cp. FAZ GmbH 2024).

As the Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung (FAS) is only the Sunday version of the FAZ, the above categorization only refers to the FAZ. However, the categorization applies to both versions. In the following analyses, however, both the FAZ and the FAS are taken into account.

Figure 14: Statistics of the codes assigned in the FAZ



Source: own illustration.

The chart shows the percentage shares of the various codes.

It can be clearly seen that the code “support” occurs most frequently in the FAZ articles analysed, with a share of 23.1 per cent. At only 3.1 per cent, the code “obligation” has the lowest frequency. The second most frequent code is “cost-benefit” with 14.1 per cent, which is 7 percentage points less than “support”. A total of 11.3 per cent of the coded segments were assigned the code “need” and 10.7 per cent “convergence as a goal / consequence”.

The exact percentage code breakdown is as follows:

Table 5: Statistics of the codes assigned in the FAZ

Code	Percent
support	23.1
cost-benefit	14.1
need	11.3

convergence as a goal/consequence	10.7
practiability	9.5
conditionality	7.2
availability/ability	6.1
deservingness	5.7
reciprocity	5.0
fairness/equality	4.3
Obligation	3.1

Source: own illustration.

In our work, we look at the four most common codes, each of which scored at least 10 per cent: support, cost-benefit, need and convergence as a goal / consequence. When analysing the four dominant codes, we noticed that some of them were coded incorrectly. We excluded these incorrect codes for the subsequent analysis and only continued to work with the correctly coded segments. As this type of wrong coding is to be expected for all codes listed in the table, we nevertheless assume in the following that the dominant codes mentioned above remain the most frequently occurring codes. The extent to which the frequency of the dominant codes changes due to incorrect coding is explained in more detail in the respective subsections.

a. Support

The coding support appeared a total of 151 times in all FAZ articles. Of these, 111 segments are usable, the rest were either coded incorrectly or are off topic. This means that around 26.5 per cent of the coding was not correct and around 73.5 per cent of the original 151 segments were coded correctly. The most frequent use of the code support was in connection with the Greek financial crisis. In order to work out the narratives more precisely, we randomly selected every tenth article from the 111 remaining codes and thus analysed why the code *support* is dominant in this newspaper. The analysis of the 11 selected articles revealed the following. Basically, the articles can be divided into three different sections. Firstly, there are articles that simply report on the fact that countries have been helped or will be helped in the future. On the one hand, for example, there are reports on financial aid from the IMF or the ECB, which have either already provided support or would be prepared to help with emergency plans (cp. FAZ 16.02.2010). On the other hand, support from other countries or the EU is also reported or assumed (cp. FAZ 25.01.2010). Secondly, there are articles that argue against support and, thirdly, those that argue for support. The former have different reasons on why help should not be given (especially to Greece). One argument is based on a Eurosceptic background. Greece's financial collapse is due to joining the common currency and the only solution is support from other Eurozone countries. However, this is not justified,

as the taxpayers of another country should not have to shoulder the burden (cp. FAZ 28.04.2010). Another argument against aid being given to Greece is that a national bankruptcy would not have had any negative consequences. There would have been no impact on the global economy, the EU or the currency. Again, the reasoning is that taxpayers shouldn't have to pay if another country goes bankrupt (cp. FAS 23.05.2010). Another article is not necessarily negative about the aid, but its conditions. It states that the saving measures associated with the financial support will have negative consequences, such as lower incomes for Greek citizens (cp. FAZ 24.08.2010). The articles in favour of supporting also provide a variety of explanations. One article assumes that the monetary union will be threatened if Greece is not helped. It can therefore be concluded that the euro countries will provide support (cp. FAZ 25.01.2010). Another article argues that Germany is helping Greece in order to save itself (cp. FAS 28.02.2010). In conclusion, it can be said that the code *support* was used for three reasons. Either to describe existing or potential support or to argue against support or to justify it. It is noticeable that, regardless of the focus of the argumentation, the narratives are of an economic nature and have less social or ethical motivation.

b. Cost-benefit

The review of the coded segments revealed that out of 93 cost-benefit codes, only 19 codes in 14 articles are appropriate. This means that of the 93 codes, around 17.7 per cent are correct. After analysing these coded segments, it is noticeable that most of the articles deal with Greece's national debt. For this reason, we took a closer look at every third article on a random basis. This analysis clearly shows that the central motive of the *cost-benefit* code is to protect the euro. For example, in the article "Höhe der Hilfen für Griechenland noch offen", the following accurate coding can be found:

"Bundesfinanzminister Wolfgang Schäuble hat die Finanzhilfe für Griechenland verteidigt. Mit der Unterstützung Athens werde gegenwärtig 'die Stabilität des ganzen Euroraums verteidigt', sagte Schäuble den ARD-Tagesthemen" (FAZ 29.04.2010).

Similar phrases can also be found in other articles, for example the FAS writes that Merkel justifies the financial aid for Greece with the protection of the euro and Europe (cp. FAS 23.05.2010). In this context, the costs refer to the monetary resources required to prevent Greece from becoming completely indebted. The benefit consists of ensuring the stability and security of the euro by maintaining its value. The sample suggests that this issue is not just about safeguarding the euro. It also shows that in the event of debt, more people are harmed by the non-provision of financial support than by the provision of these funds:

“Letztlich kommt eine voll ausgeprägte Schuldenkrise alle Beteiligten, auch die deutschen Steuerzahler, teurer zu stehen als die jetzt erforderliche Kredithilfe” (FAZ 26.04.2010).

c. *Need*

Of the 75 coded sections of the code need, 20 sections in 16 articles remained that were correctly coded. We also took a random sample for this code, this time from 6 articles. This time, however, the sample was not as clear as for the *cost-benefit* code. Five of the six articles in the sample deal with the Greek debt crisis. The other article deals with Iceland's accession to the EU, whose financial crisis was to be cushioned by the EU (cp. FAZ 26.01.2010). The unclear sample can be explained by the fact that the code *need* can be defined more broadly than, for example, *cost-benefit*. While *cost-benefit* is clearly linked to the cost-benefit ratio, only the neediness of a state is sufficient for need, and this can be defined more broadly. For example, need may be “Ich war immer sicher, dass Kanzlerin Merkel Griechenland helfen würde, wenn es nötig wäre” (FAZ 25.05.2010), but it can also be:

“Commerzbank-Analyst David Schnautz hält die Emission nur einer Anleihe über 8 Milliarden Euro für nicht ausreichend, um die im April anstehenden Tilgungen von rund 12 Milliarden Euro abzudecken. Seiner Einschätzung zufolge benötigt Griechenland mindestens noch eine zweite Schuldtitelemmission” (FAZ 02.03.2010).

To summarize, it can be said that the neediness of a state is not determined by a general definition but is rather an individual assessment of whether a country is classified as needy.

d. *Convergence as a goal / consequence*

After removing the invalid codes, only two codings remained from the original number of 70. Even if it can be assumed that mistakes have occurred in all of the codings in the FAZ, the code *convergence as a goal / consequence* can no longer be considered a dominant code. For this reason, the code is excluded from the consideration of dominant codes in the FAZ.

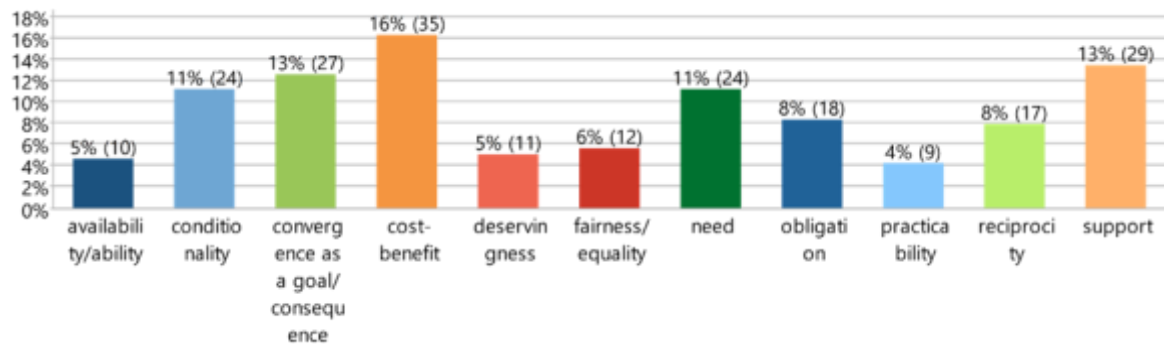
e. *Conclusion*

After analysing different text segments and codings, it turns out that there are dominant codes in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: support, cost-benefit and need. The categorization of the FAZ shows that it is rather conservative. One of the aims of conservative parties and institutions is to maintain the status quo (cp. Biebricher 2021). Based on this definition, it is not surprising that the dominant codes indicate that other countries must be supported in order to protect both themselves and the euro, and thus maintain the existing situation.

6.7.4 WELT

The German newspaper WELT certainly displays particularly dominant codes. The argumentation of the codes "cost-benefit", "convergence as a goal/consequence" and "support" dominate. In the following analysis, we will analyze the codes and the reasoning behind them in more detail, and then place them in the political context of the newspaper.

Figure 15: Statistics of the codes occurring in the newspaper WELT



Source: own illustration.

As already mentioned, the codes "cost-benefit", "convergence as a goal/consequence" and "support" are the most dominant. "Cost-benefit" is at the top with 16 per cent and 35 coded segments. "Support" with 29 coded segments and "convergence as a goal/consequence" with 27 segments share second place with 13 per cent. Just behind them are the codes "need" and "conditionality" with 11 per cent. We will not go into "need" and "conditionality" and the remaining codes below, as this would go beyond the scope of this report and is not necessary to answer the question. For the sake of self-explanation, we will concentrate on the three most dominant codes.

Let's start with the reasoning behind the "cost-benefit" code. This is about weighing up the costs and benefits. The helper draws up a balance sheet on which the decision in favour of or against solidarity measures is based. In principle, the reasoning behind this is almost always identical. Basically, the argument is always about solidarity measures for one's own protection. Especially within the eurozone, support for crisis countries is essential to save the currency and one's own country. For example, an article by Konrad and Zschäpitz states: "If an eurozone country becomes insolvent, this harms the other eurozone countries, for example, because they have to fear the turbulence that an eurozone country's insolvency or refusal to pay would cause for the common currency, the euro, and for the financial markets" (WELT 24.07.2010). Almost all articles containing the code "cost-benefit" are unanimous in their argumentation that aid brings benefits insofar as one's own state or system is at risk. Thus,

the first dominant argument in favour of solidarity in Europe, which can be identified, is characterized by one's own benefit and well-being.

The second dominant code we will look at is “support”. A closer look at the coded articles reveals that the argumentation corresponds to "no support". The code “support” also includes support in the negative sense. Let me explain: A majority of the articles argued that past support measures were not sufficiently recognized or even completely relied upon. In an interview with WELT, economist Thomas Mayer said: "Why should we tighten our belts when the Greeks are being cut out in the same way? Then the Irish, for example, who are currently restructuring their budget and not shying away from drastic pay cuts, could stop doing this and say: The EU is paying our losses anyway" (WELT 22.01.2010). The resentment is clear here. In general, the articles agree that rescue measures are not sufficiently appreciated and that states are resting on European solidarity. It seems as if they feel they have to bear the damage of other countries' crises again and again. The title of a WELT article from the 15th of February 2010 reads: “Germans want to deprive Greeks of the euro. Survey: 67 per cent of Germans are against financial aid”. This title represents a rather anti-solidarity attitude. The same article states: “Greece must help itself” (WELT 15.02.2010). The argument suggests that the willingness to show solidarity is limited and that unilateral aid is largely viewed critically.

Now to the last dominant code: “convergence as a goal / consequence”. Here, the argumentation can be divided into “convergence as a goal” and “consequence”. The majority of the coded arguments focus on “consequences”. There is repeated reference to the consequences of the debt of individual countries for all others. The focus is clearly on maintaining the monetary union and the measures required to achieve it. There is also often talk of sanctions. Debt in individual countries has consequences for the entire eurozone. It seems as if Greece is seen as a threat to its own prosperity. Once again, it is clear that solidarity serves the interests of its own. This means that the desire for convergence in Europe is also self-serving. No sincere intention of support can be identified. Rather, it comes across as an assignment of blame and a simultaneous concern for one's own existence.

If we take a closer look at the newspaper WELT, the dominant codes fall into place. WELT is categorized as politically conservative (Teschendorf et al., 2023). It is not surprising that a conservative newspaper emphasizes individual responsibility. And thus, for example, critically assesses the financial support for Greece. All three dominant codes show that the focus is on individual economic stability. In 2023, Teschendorf et al. mention “that the conservative newspapers in particular focused on the economic arguments, portraying the Germans as hard-working and the Greeks rather as corrupt and lazy” (Teschendorf et al., 2023, p. 19).

We can only agree with his observations. By analysing the most dominant codes, we come to the same conclusion.

The three most dominant codes, “cost-benefit”, “convergence as a goal” and “support/no support” are only conditionally in favour of solidarity in Europe. They argue in favour of solidarity measures when one economic power is in danger. The convergence of all European countries seems like a means to an end for their own prosperity. The argumentation claims that countries help themselves. Unilateral support is only favoured if it is necessary to maintain the monetary union. The entire argument fits into the conservative mold and provides a coherent overall picture.

7 Conclusion

Our project “Solidarity in Europe” is located within the context of numerous crises facing the European Union (EU), including the financial crisis and the phenomenon of “Brexit” among others. These crises have underscored the complexities and challenges inherent in the EU's structure and functioning. Additionally, there exist multifaceted relationships among various entities operating at different levels within the EU framework. Against this backdrop, our project aims to explore and analyse the dynamics of solidarity in Europe, seeking to understand how these crises and relationships shape the concept and practice of solidarity within the EU and its member states.

Our approach combined quantitative and qualitative analysis. This allowed us to examine diverse and latent factors to fully capture the impact of the Great Recession on perceptions of solidarity in Europe. The arguments in the respective newspapers seem to be quite similar, regardless of their position on the political spectrum. However, it is important to remember that some articles contain quotes from politicians and do not necessarily represent their own views. This coding can easily distort the results if articles are not opinions but reports. However, a political positioning can also be derived through a special focus on certain reports and quotes.

Our study figured out that narratives change over time because the understanding of the complexity of the crisis increases. Further research could take a closer look at how our findings change over time. In conjunction with our data, one could examine whether perceptions and reactions to aspects of solidarity have changed, for example, during the Covid-19 pandemic. Here too, countries in Europe were affected by the economic impact to varying degrees, especially Italy. This may reveal findings of more contemporary relevance, as our time frame only allowed us to examine a phenomenon well over ten years in the past.

By working together on such an extensive project, we were able to gain insights not only into the research process, but also into taking on different roles and understanding how complex it is to design and actually carry out such a project.

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