

Appendix

Solidarity in the Public Sphere: A Discourse Network Analysis of German Newspapers (2008–2017)

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Table A1. Descriptive statistics of the discourse network, 2008-17

Category	Value
number of nodes (actors/issues)	37 (21/16)
number of edges (among/with)	306 (135/171)
network centralization	0.83
mean degree centrality (network density)	16.54
median degree centrality	10.0
number of clusters (size)	1 (37)

Table A2. Eigenvector centrality in the solidarity among- and solidarity with-discourse, 2008-17

Solidarity among (2008-17)		Solidarity with (2008-17)	
government	1.000	<i>political protest</i>	1.000
<i>migration</i>	0.931	citizen	0.980
<i>civic rights & freedom</i>	0.338	government	0.882

<i>security</i>	0.305	civil society	0.714
European Commission	0.302	<i>migration</i>	0.650
<i>finance</i>	0.238	<i>welfare</i>	0.588
citizen	0.211	<i>security</i>	0.567
<i>welfare</i>	0.210	<i>civic rights & freedom</i>	0.532
<i>social bond</i>	0.195	legislative	0.477
<i>public goods</i>	0.169	public figure	0.394
legislative	0.169	<i>finance</i>	0.331
refugee	0.166	<i>other</i>	0.282
public figure	0.160	religious actor	0.246
<i>economy</i>	0.146	<i>religion</i>	0.245
<i>international politics</i>	0.141	<i>public goods</i>	0.241
business	0.133	<i>international politics</i>	0.189
journalist	0.127	journalist	0.183
civil society	0.095	business	0.165
religious actor	0.083	<i>humanitarianism</i>	0.154
polity	0.082	<i>economy</i>	0.146
<i>civic engagement</i>	0.070	<i>social bond</i>	0.099
other politician	0.067	other actor	0.080
European Council	0.055	other politician	0.072
European Parliament	0.055	polity	0.058
international organization	0.054	international organization	0.056
expert	0.032	expert	0.055
<i>media</i>	0.028	<i>media</i>	0.054
other actor	0,024	<i>civic engagement</i>	0,050
<i>other</i>	0,020	European Commission	0,037
<i>religion</i>	0,015	trade union	0,007

private finance	0,014	<i>sports</i>	0,004
ECB	0,014		
<i>humanitarianism</i>	0.013		
judiciary	0.012		
trade union	0.009		

Note: Actors and issues are sorted by the eigenvector centrality. Issues are shown in italics in order to increase the readability of the table.

Table A3. Eigenvector centrality of the solidarity discourse 2008-17

Actors & issues	Value
government	1.000
<i>migration</i>	0.811
citizen	0.563
<i>security</i>	0.495
<i>political protest</i>	0.420
<i>civic rights & freedom</i>	0.414
<i>welfare</i>	0.402
civil society	0.354
<i>finance</i>	0,339
legislative	0,311
<i>public goods</i>	0.260
public figure	0.250
<i>social bond</i>	0.229
<i>international politics</i>	0.185
business	0.177
journalist	0.176
religious actor	0.162

European Commission	0.161
<i>economy</i>	0.158
<i>other</i>	0.122
<i>religion</i>	0.100
<i>humanitarianism</i>	0.093
polity	0.076
refugee	0.075
international organization	0.074
other politician	0.061
expert	0.059
<i>civic engagement</i>	0.058
other actor	0.057
<i>media</i>	0.048
European Council	0.025
European Parliament	0.025
private finance	0.010
ECB	0.010
trade union	0.010
judiciary	0.007
<i>sports</i>	0.002

Note: Actors and issues are sorted by the eigenvector centrality. Issues are shown in italics in order to increase the readability of the table.

Table A4: Comparison of eigenvector centrality in one-mode projections (actor network/issue network) of the German solidarity discourse, 2008-17

Actor network		Issue network	
actors	centrality	issues	centrality

government	1.000	civic engagement	1.000
citizen	1.000	economy	1.000
public figure	1.000	media	1.000
legislative	0.973	welfare	1.000
civil society	0.973	social bond	1.000
European Commission	0.973	public goods	1.000
other politician	0.921	civic rights & freedom	1.000
expert	0.921	religion	0.968
business	0.913	political protest	0.968
religious actor	0.913	other	0.968
polity	0.913	international politics	0.968
journalist	0.870	humanitarianism	0.968
other actor	0.817	finance	0.968
international organization	0.756	security	0.968
European Council	0.744	migration	0.968
European Parliament	0.744	sports	0.492
refugee	0.744		
judiciary	0.586		
trade union	0.461		
private finance	0.449		
ECB	0.449		

Note: The actor network consists of 21 actors and 160 edges, the issue network consists of 16 issues and 112 edges.

Table A5. Number of solidarity with- and solidarity among-statements, based on issue

Issue	Solidarity Among (%)	Solidarity With (%)	Total Numbers
civic rights & freedom	48	52	33
economy	58	42	24

finance	48	52	21
international politics	40	60	10
media	43	57	7
migration	61	39	46
public goods	47	53	15
religion	30	70	10
security	41	59	32
social bond	78	22	23
welfare	39	61	33
political protest	0	100	29
humanitarianism	14	86	7
civic engagement	75	25	4
sports	0	100	1
Other	18	82	11

Table A6. Comparison of eigenvector centrality in the three phases of the German solidarity discourse

2008-09		2010-14		2015-17	
node	value	node	value	node	Value
citizen	1.000	government	1.000	<i>migration</i>	1.000
<i>welfare</i>	0.746	<i>political protest</i>	0.703	government	0.944
<i>security</i>	0.626	<i>finance</i>	0.594	<i>security</i>	0.388
<i>political protest</i>	0.590	citizen	0.561	European Commission	0.316
legislative	0.368	<i>civic rights & freedom</i>	0.466	citizen	0.291
business	0.342	civil society	0.463	<i>civic rights & freedom</i>	0.220
civil society	0.281	<i>welfare</i>	0.451	refugee	0.172
polity	0.245	legislative	0.417	legislative	0.155
<i>religion</i>	0.233	<i>public goods</i>	0.403	religious actor	0.154

<i>social bond</i>	0.211	public figure	0.366	<i>welfare</i>	0.149
religious actor	0.191	<i>security</i>	0.360	public figure	0.145
<i>economy</i>	0.188	<i>migration</i>	0.349	civil society	0.135
<i>media</i>	0.099	<i>social bond</i>	0.319	business	0.135
public figure	0.081	<i>international politics</i>	0.308	polity	0.080
journalist	0.080	journalist	0.232	<i>public goods</i>	0.079
<i>other</i>	0.075	religious actor	0.156	other politician	0.079
other actor	0.064	<i>humanitarianism</i>	0.126	expert	0.074
government	0.052	<i>other</i>	0.111	journalist	0.067
<i>civic engagement</i>	0.039	<i>religion</i>	0.111	<i>social bond</i>	0.064
<i>migration</i>	0.020	<i>economy</i>	0.089	European Council	0.057
other politician	0.015	other actor	0.074	European Parliament	0.057
private finance	0.000	international organization	0.042	international organization	0.057
<i>finance</i>	0.000	expert	0.042	<i>international politics</i>	0.054
		European Commission	0.035	<i>other</i>	0.054
		ECB	0.035	<i>humanitarianism</i>	0.043
		<i>civic engagement</i>	0.033	<i>economy</i>	0.039
		business	0.033	<i>religion</i>	0.034
		other politician	0.019	<i>finance</i>	0.033
		<i>media</i>	0.018	<i>media</i>	0.017
		trade union	0.010	<i>political protest</i>	0.016
		polity	0.005	other actor	0.008
		<i>sports</i>	0.004	judiciary	0.004

Note: The discourse network in 2008-09 consists of 23 nodes and 39 edges, the discourse network in 2010-14 consists of 32 nodes and 148 edges, and the discourse network in 2015-17 consists of 32 nodes and 119 edges. Issues are shown in italics in order to increase the readability of the table.