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Why Care Matters:

Analysing the German Response to the European Refugee Crisis from
a Global Ethics of Care Perspective.

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to introduce a global reading of the feminist Ethics of Care and its theoretical conceptualisation as framework for the political response to the global migrant crisis. To pursue this end, the thesis starts by indicating the need for a joint political response to the global migrant crisis, the lack of compassion on political level for refugees fleeing from conflict and persecution, and the dominance of exclusion within political discourses. The second section discusses the feminist Ethics of Care in regard to its conceptual ability to serve as global ethics. Caring ethics should not be merely associated with the private sphere, but raised to the political level because of its concern for social inequalities, the moral responsibility for the individual and the respect towards the global interdependence of social relations it entails. The theoretical framework is subsequently employed by a discursive psychological analysis of German chancellor Angela Merkel and her response to the European refugee crisis. The findings suggest that the global interdependence at the heart of the relational ontology of a global Ethics of Care has the theoretical-conceptual power to overcome traditional political discourses. A global Ethics of Care challenges the hegemonic forms of masculinity within political discourses, while its practical applicability is limited by the same.

Key words: Ethics of Care, relationalism, feminism, globalisation, global migrant crisis, discursive psychology

List of Abbreviations

ARD	Consortium of public broadcasters in Germany
BAMF	German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DP	Discursive Psychology
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FAZ	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
GG	Global Governance
Syria	Syrian Arab Republic
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

List of Figures

Page

Figure 1:

*World Refugees and internally displaced persons as of end 2014
(EC, 2015).*

7

Figure 2:

*Number of (non-EU) asylum seekers in the EU and EFTA
Member States, 2014 and 2015 (thousands of first time applicants).*

9

Table of Contents

Abstract	II
List of Abbreviations	IV
List of Figures	IV
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Aims and Objectives	3
1.2 Philosophical Considerations	5
1.3 Limitations	6
2 The Global Migrant Crisis.....	7
2.1 The German Response	11
3 Ethics of Care	13
4 Global Ethics	18
4.1 The Global Ethics Debate	18
<i>Deontological Ethics</i>	19
<i>Utilitarianism</i>	20
<i>Virtue Ethics</i>	21
4.2 A Global Ethics of Care	22
<i>The Universal Experience of Care</i>	24
<i>Caring Beyond Borders</i>	25
<i>Care and the Self</i>	27
<i>Politics of Difference</i>	29
<i>From Exclusion to Interdependence</i>	31
5 Methodology	33
5.1 Selection of Material	37
6 A Discursive Psychological Analysis of Angela Merkel.....	40
6.1 Function	42
6.2 Variation	53
6.3 Construction	55
7 Why Care Matters	57
8 Bibliography	63
8.1 Literature	63
8.2 Figures	70

1 Introduction

If you care about other people, that's now a very dangerous idea. If you care about other people, you might try to organize to undermine power and authority. That's not going to happen if you care only about yourself. Maybe you can become rich, but you don't care whether other people's kids can go to school, or can afford food to eat, or things like that. (Chomsky, 2013)

This statement was made by the US-American linguist, philosopher and political activist Noam Chomsky in 2013 on the Occupy Wall Street movement¹ in the USA (Chomsky, 2013). However, his perception of care seems to be equally relevant to the current global migrant crises. In the public discourse on the European refugee crisis, caring about other people who have been forced to flee conflict and persecution should be logically at the heart of the response to the crisis. Instead, the political discourse on the European refugee crisis is centred around questions of border security, asylum rights and political power struggles, while the question of need for humanitarian assistance and asylum seems to be completely disregarded in the political discourse. But why do compassion and caring for the fate of the refugees give way to arguments of security policies and national political power struggles in the political discourse? Is it because caring is ‘a very dangerous idea’?

In the case of the German political response to the European refugee crisis, the German chancellor Angela Merkel was criticised for her exceptional decisions (Wagstyl, 2015) which resulted in Germany being faced with the highest number

¹ Occupy Wall Street is a social movement with the declared aim to protest against social and economic inequalities. It started in September 2011 in the USA. Today, it is considered a global movement. Protesters aim to “fight back against the richest 1% of people that are writing the rules of an unfair global economy that is foreclosing on our future” (OccupyWallStreet, 2016).

of refugees seeking asylum across Europe (EC, 2016:1). These highly controversial decisions in the European refugee crisis were exceptional across Europe and in terms of traditional political discourse. Merkel's argumentation seemed to be guided foremost by moral responsibility and care instead of argumentations framed by security concerns and power struggles. In accordance with this, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon praised Merkel's decisions in the European refugee crisis by saying she was "a true moral voice, not only of Europe but in this world" (Bundesregierung, 2016). The European refugee crisis actually is a crisis of global scope in which Merkel and the German political response became internationally known for its surprising and exceptional open-borders discourse. Due to its global scope, the European refugee crisis will serve as an example in order to study the applicability of a global Ethics of Care to the political response to the global migrant crisis.

The global migrant crisis with over 60 million people fleeing persecution, conflict, violence, and human rights violations in 2015 (UNHCR, 2015a:3) is not least a consequence of the amplifying globalisation process: people worldwide experience an increasing interdependence of economic, political, social and cultural values². Even so and despite people all over the world being more closely connected than ever before in such terms, the migrant crisis, politically speaking, is increasingly considered a national crisis by all actors involved. Despite the fact that agenda-setting as much as decision-making in foreign security policies has gradually shifted towards a Global Governance (GG) level, the stream of Syrian refugees seeking asylum in Europe is still understood as a national problem or as an inter-national problem at most. Factors of globalisation such as capitalism, ra-

² As Scholte (2005) states, the globalisation process is a process of 'respatialization' that "entails a reconfiguration of social geography with increased transplanetary connections between people" (Scholte, 2005:16). For the increasing migration flow of global scale, respatialisation can serve as a comparably precise definition for globalisation in terms of the global migrant crisis.

tionalism, industrialism, etc. are often understood as an automatised globalisation process in terms of ‘modernisation’³ and remain unquestioned (Scholte, 2005:16). In contrast, the migration flow mainly departing the Global South is questioned critically and understood not only as a crisis for those forced to flee their homes, but also as a crisis for destination countries, such as the member states of the European Union (EU).⁴ EU politicians failed to anticipate and prepare for the one million refugees seeking asylum in Europe in 2015 (UNHCR, 2015b); the migrant crisis seems to have hit the EU all of a sudden. However, when understanding the process of globalisation, it becomes apparent that the global migrant crisis has by no means simply confronted the EU member states or other destination countries of the global migrant crisis, but should instead be understood as one factor of globalisation, just as much as capitalism or industrialism. Hence, the global migrant crisis should be regarded as a result of the increasing interdependence rather than as an external factor. Only then can the global migrant crisis be addressed and taken as a new chance for politics to learn how to respond to all kinds of globalisation factors in a humane and sustainable manner.

1.1 Aims and Objectives

Due to the complexity of the global migrant crisis and the global interweaving of actors, a minimum of shared values is necessary for the development of a common political response on a global level. Thus, the thesis at hand attempts to develop a theoretical framework for a globally applicable response to the migrant cri-

³ Many researchers use the term ‘westernisation’ to criticise the western imperialism that factors of globalisation, such as capitalism and industrialism, imply (Scholte, 2005:16).

⁴ Due to the common use of the term migrant crisis within public discourse, it shall be the term of use within the underlying thesis while referring to the current process of global migration. When referring to the migration processes towards the EU departing third countries, the term European refugee crisis will be used.

sis. Based on the example of the European refugee crisis, as it is first and foremost a humanitarian crisis, a theoretical framework shall be developed which offers an alternative approach for a political response aiming at a global ethical framework. After giving an overview over the relevant voices within the global ethics debate, the theoretical tradition of the Ethics of Care shall be presented below as an alternative approach within the global ethics debate, as traditional ethical concepts seem to give no effective guidance for an ethical response to the global migrant crisis. The principle aim of the thesis is, therefore, the development of a global Ethics of Care as theoretical framework for a political response to the global migrant crisis. Following from this, the main research question underlying this thesis is therefore:

To what extent can a global Ethics of Care offer a political response to the global migrant crisis?

In order to answer the research question, Merkel's response to the European refugee crisis will be analysed as an example. On the basis of the theoretical framework developed, a comprehensive analysis of Merkel's political discourse on the European refugee crisis will show to what extent Ethics of Care can offer a globally applicable response to the European and any other migrant crisis. Three main objectives will direct the research endeavour underlying this thesis towards the development of a global Ethics of Care in the migrant crisis: Firstly, the conceptualisation of a global Ethics of Care will be pursued by critically discussing existing research on the political applicability of Ethics of Care and subsequently using it as a point of departure for the development of Ethics of Care of global scope. Secondly, the theoretical framework will guide a discourse analysis of Merkel's political response to the European refugee crisis. Based on the theory, the analysis will identify to what extent a global Ethics of Care can be detected within Merkel's discursive repertoire. Thirdly, the discourse analysis will investigate which obstacles may come up in the practical employment of a global Ethics

of Care in political discourse. Analysing the German discourse on the European refugee crisis will help to understand the applicability of such a theoretical framework in political discourse and why care might be considered “a very dangerous idea” to discourses of power and authority. The application of a global Ethics of Care to the discourse analysis of the German response to the European refugee crisis allows to illustrate as well as critically assess the applicability of the beforehand developed theoretical framework. Subsequent to the analysis, the results will be discussed.

1.2 Philosophical Considerations

The assumptions and conclusions made within the scope of this thesis both arise from and are based on an epistemological perception of social constructionism:

[T]hat all knowledge is discursively produced and therefore contingent, and that there is no possibility of achieving absolute or universal knowledge since there is no context-free, neutral base for truth-claims. (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:175)

A social constructionist perspective allows for an alternative academic debate on global ethics, opening up the research for criticism of the world as it is today. From a social constructionist perspective, four ontological and epistemological premises found the discourse: Social constructionism assumes that people perceive and understand the world in categories that are socially constructed by discourse. Thus, the world becomes criticisable and contingent. Furthermore, social constructionism understands the categories as being constructed over time by social processes, such as history and culture, which enable the categories to change over time and to create different social worlds. These two factors again enhance possible criticism (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:45). Hence, people and their perception of the world are socially constructed by social processes. Finally, this under-

standing of the world frames and recreates our social behaviour (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:6;55;67;99).

Therefore, instead of searching for universal truths in terms of moral behaviour within the migrant crisis, this thesis attempts to open up categories while respecting the contingency of the world and the categories through which it is perceived. New categories can be followed by new truths as much as new untruths which can foster criticism and change individual social perception and behaviour leading towards new social processes. The feminist Ethics of Care criticises the existing and dominant moral theories. By understanding the specific case of the current migrant crisis from a social constructionist perspective of the world, a critical scholarly assessment of the status quo and possible alternatives becomes feasible.

1.3 Limitations

The present thesis will contribute to the research on ethical behaviour in political discourses. The chosen example of Merkel and the political discourse on the European refugee crisis shall serve as a case study in order to study the applicability of a global Ethics of Care on a political level with special regard to the global migrant crisis. It is therefore necessary to read the findings of the present thesis within the temporal and social context of the case study. Hence, while the generalisability of the results is limited, the thesis rather aims at contributing to the construction of a global Ethics of Care on a political level by developing a theoretical framework and testing its applicability exemplary.

The research and its findings are further situated within the social constructionism underlying the thesis. The present scientific thesis is both product and producer of discourses within wider social contexts and does not claim universal truths for its results. The knowledge produced within this thesis is as much a product of academic discourses as well as discursively constructed by the social reality of the

researcher (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 116). Nonetheless, it is scholarly and socially relevant, as it aims at inducing discourse on alternative ethical perspectives to draw attention to and critically address dominant discourses within scholarly theories and social and political contexts.

2 The Global Migrant Crisis

In 2015, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has declared “the world at war” (UNHCR, 2015c). At the end of 2014, 59.5 million people had been forced to flee their homes due to ongoing and new conflicts and persecution with over half of the refugees being children under the age of 18. This is the largest number of refugees that has been recorded by the United Nations until

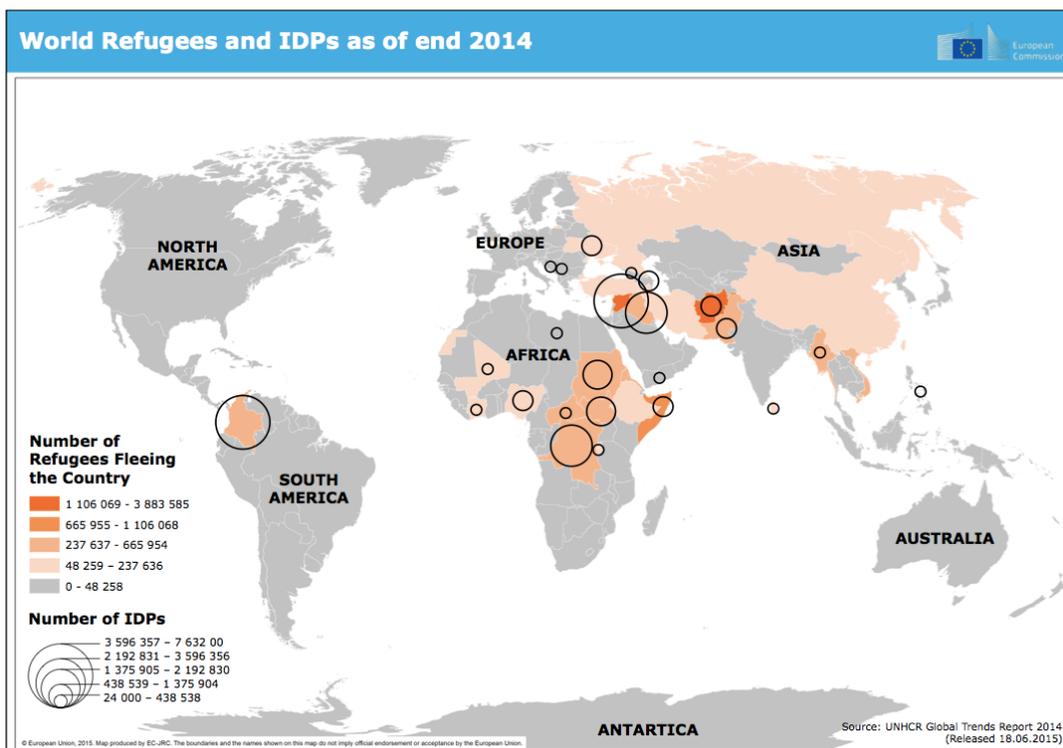


Figure 1: World Refugees and internally displaced persons as of end 2014 (EC, 2015).

then, with a further increase in 2015⁵ and following years to be expected. In 2014 alone, 13.9 million people have been newly displaced, while the number of people who were able to return to their countries of origin was the lowest since 1983 with 126,800 returnees (UNHCR, 2014:2,8). The global migrant crisis is truly global in scope (compare figure 1) with UNHCR refugees residing areas divided into Asia and the Pacific, Central Africa and the Great Lakes, the Americas, Middle East and North Africa and Europe (UNHCR, 2014:10).

The ongoing crisis in the Syrian Arab Republic (Syria) led to the highest number of refugees coming from Syria with 3.88 million people and at least 7.6 million Syrians internally displaced in 2014 (UNHCR, 2014:3,8). As the largest source of people fleeing their country in 2014, Syria is followed by Afghanistan (2.59 million refugees) and Somalia (1.11 million). In sum, these three countries are the source for more than half of all refugees worldwide (53%) in 2014. The largest number of hosted refugees were registered in Turkey (11%), followed by Pakistan (10.5%) and Lebanon (8%) in 2014 (UNHCR, 2014:8).

Despite the global scope of the migrant crisis, it is especially the European refugee crisis that is dominant in current public discourse in Europe. According to the European Commission (2016), a “record number” of over 1.2 million asylum seekers in total reached the EU in 2015 (EC, 2016a:1), with the most asylum seekers coming from Syria. Considering the number of Syrian refugees who flee to Syria’s bordering countries, however, the number of refugees arriving in Europe still remains low with only about 10% of all Syrian refugees fleeing to the member states of the EU, Norway, Switzerland and the Balkan countries (UNHCR, 2016). With the begin of the Syrian conflict in early spring 2011, the EU+⁶

⁵ The annual Global Report by UNHCR providing reliable numbers of refugees for 2015 has not been published yet (status: May 2016).

⁶ The member states of the EU (according to the date referred to 27 or 28) plus Norway and Switzerland.

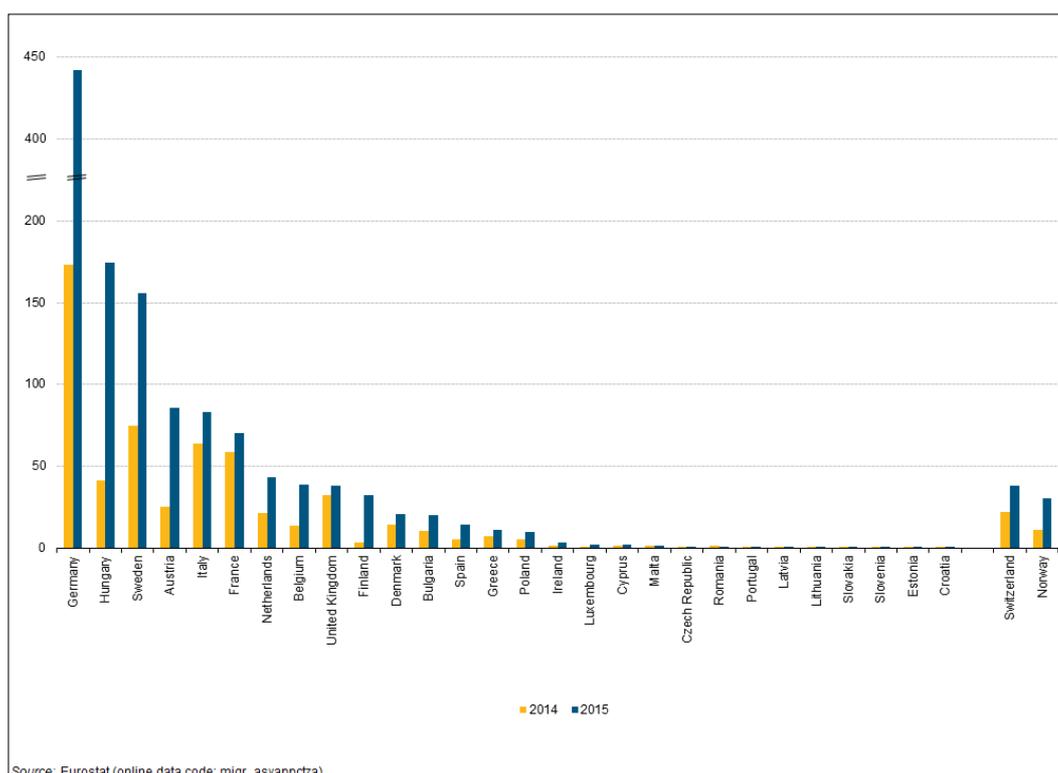


Figure 2: Number of (non-EU) asylum seekers in the EU and EFTA Member States, 2014 and 2015 (thousands of first time applicants) (EC, 2016).

countries received first asylum applications of 432 Syrians in April 2011. In comparison, in January 2015, the number of new Syrian asylum applications increased to 11,961, with a cumulative number of applications since April 2011 of 219,186 applicants. The number of applications peaked in September and October 2015, when over 60,000 new applications were filed, and the total number of Syrian asylum applications to the EU+ increased to 494,199 persons in October 2015. Today⁷, the total number of asylum applications filed by Syrian refugees since April 2011 is 653,442, 59% of which were filed in Germany and Sweden. Following from this, the highest number of Syrian asylum seekers coming to the EU+ was registered in 2015 with a total of 377,905 applications (UNHCR, 2016). In 2014 and 2015, the highest number of asylum applications by non-EU citizens were filed in Germany, while the number of applicants in all of Europe increased

⁷ (status: February 2016)

significantly from 2014 to 2015 (EC, 2016:1). The increase in the number of applications was not only significant regarding Syrian refugees, whose number of applications in 2015 had doubled to 2014, but also the numbers of applicants from Afghanistan and Iraq which had been multiplied by 4 and 7 respectively (EC, 2016:1). The numbers stated above are examples for the dramatic increase in the number of people who were forced to flee from conflict and persecution worldwide in the last couple of years leading to the biggest number of refugees since World War II. The crisis in Syria is one of the most recent, with the highest number of refugees caused in a short time, and has added almost a third of new asylum applicants to the EU in 2015⁸ (EC, 2016:3).

While the reasons for the dramatic increase of refugees worldwide and in particular potential solutions to such reasons are highly relevant and should be a focal point of today's research in political science, this thesis rather aims at addressing the significance of the political response to the influx of refugees to the EU. The political responses undertaken by the member states of the EU differed vastly in the case of the refugee crisis, from closed borders and thus a de facto suspension of the Schengen agreement⁹ (Traynor, 2016), to the exceptional act of neglecting the Dublin III agreement¹⁰, when thousands of unregistered refugees in Hungary were accepted by Austria and Germany in September 2015 (Al Jazeera, 2015).

⁸ In Germany for example, 158,655 asylum applications of a total number of 441,800 applications were filed by Syrians in 2015, which is about 36% (EC, 2016:3).

⁹ The Schengen Agreement was signed in 1985 and founded the Schengen Area that today comprises 26 states within the geographical area of the EU. The Schengen Area stands for total abolishment of border controls and free movement of its citizens (EUR-lex, 2009).

¹⁰ Dublin III is the common name of the Regulation (EU) No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council that establishes the responsibilities of member states for processing asylum applications in one of the EU member states by a third-country citizen or stateless person (EUR-lex, 2013).

2.1 The German Response

It is the extraordinary decisions made by the German chancellor Merkel in September 2015 that are at the heart of the analysis in this thesis: In a political solo, Merkel has been claimed to have taken unusual and unpopular decisions in the case of the European refugee crisis (Wagstyl, 2015). Her decision of taking in thousands of refugees stranded in Hungary in early September 2015 is the most prominent example. Merkel has been one of the most powerful politicians of the past decade: She has been in office as chancellor of Germany since 2005 and was ranked as the second most powerful person in the world in 2015 by Forbes list. By now she has been ranked as the most powerful woman for five years in a row (Forbes, 2016). However, despite her success in international and national politics, criticism remained strong calling Merkel a “political chameleon”, and creating the German neologism ‘merkeln’ (to merkel), which means “to put off big decisions” (The Economist, 2015). Indeed, her political decisions especially regarding international politics could often be categorised as political timidity (The Economist, 2015). For this reason, her boldness in the European refugee crisis in the summer and fall of 2015 was even more surprising. The Economist called her “the indispensable European”, being the only European leader that held up European values (The Economist, 2015). Time Magazine awarded her the title ‘Person of the year’ 2015, honouring her as the “chancellor of the free world” and “de facto leader of the EU” (Calabresi, 2015).

As shown above, Germany took in more refugees than any other European country in 2015. The highest numbers of asylum applications was recorded from August until November 2015 (UNHCR, 2016). These numbers correlate with the decisions by the German government in late August and early September 2015. While the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) announced in late August to stop sending back refugees to their first-asylum country in accordance with the Dublin III regulation (EUR-lex, 2013), Merkel justified the

decision with her famous statement “Wir schaffen das” (We can do this) in the traditional summer press conference by the German government on 31 August 2015 (Bundesregierung, 2015b). Merkel’s following overnight decision to accept thousands of unregistered refugees from Hungary in the face of the humanitarian emergency has been heavily criticised in public discourse by international media as much as by Merkel’s own party members (Wagstyl, 2015). These decisions and the following increase of refugees coming to Germany have been at the centre of attention in the German public discourse. Merkel defended her infamous and unexpected decisions in numerous press conferences, government statements, political speeches and personal interviews, which will be the material analysed in the following discourse analysis in order to understand the moral source of reasoning for Merkel.

Despite the bold but unexpected decisions by Merkel presented above, it needs to be stated that this thesis’ underlying analysis will be specifically focussing on Merkel’s decisions regarding the refugee crisis during the couple of weeks in early fall 2015. Since then, many decisions have been made by chancellor Merkel, the German government and by the EU that can clearly disregard global caring ethics. Such decisions, however, let the events in late 2015 appear to be even more unusual and worth analysing. To what extent did a global Ethics of Care guide her early responses in the refugee crisis? And what are the limitations to an implementation of a global Ethics of Care in public discourse? By analysing Merkel’s reasoning in public discourse regarding the refugee crisis from a discursive psychological perspective, these questions shall be answered.

3 Ethics of Care

The empathy shown by Merkel in the European refugee crisis and especially during summer and early fall 2015 was unusual for a powerful political leader. Merkel's sentence of "We can do this" has been often referred to as proof for her weakness in responding to the crisis (Dempsey, 2016). It is this empathy and the fact that it is so often equated with weakness on a political level, which is at the heart of the feminist Ethics of Care theory. Dominant moral theories are highly influenced by rationality, justice and principles, while consequently leaving out what is commonly associated with 'female' or 'soft' values, such as relational and emotional values that did not find any considerations within former ethical debates (Held, 2005:25). The inadequacy of rights-based and justice ethics for ethical dilemmas though disclosed such a lack of consideration and made space for alternative feminist ethics (Robinson, 1999:49).

Carol Gilligan was among the first feminists pioneering an alternative feminist ethical theory, the Ethics of Care, opening up the ethical debate for the recognition of such above stated 'soft' values. While working with the development psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg in the late 1970s, Gilligan questioned his definition of moral maturity and his findings, which suggested that girls were more slowly progressed in acquiring moral maturity than boys, and that women thus often showed a lower stage of moral development than men (Gilligan, 1993:2,27). Kohlberg's findings were based on the assumption that the highest level of moral maturity was similar to the Kantian moral reasoning¹¹ (Held, 2005:27-28). With her work "In a different voice" (first published in 1982) Gilligan not only criticised Kohlberg for his framework of psychological stages of moral development to be

¹¹ In the advent of enlightenment period, Kant developed what is known as deontological ethics which moved the philosophical dilemma into the sphere of reason (Kant, [1785] 1997). The Kantian categorical imperative became the principle of moral reasoning, an attempt to create a universal norm of 'right' versus 'wrong' behaviour (Held, 2005:58). For more, see chapter 4.

favourable of principlism related to the Kantian categorical imperative but also for the lack of female participants in his studies. “In a different voice” was also the first scholarly work arguing for different ethics based on emotions, such as care and interrelatedness, which were often assigned to feminine behaviour and thus less valued in society than the dominant moral theories based on justice and rationality like the Kantian moral theory, ethics typically associated with masculine behaviour (Held, 2005:26; Gilligan 1993:28-29).

Gilligan argued for Ethics of Care as an alternative approach to established ethics of justice as a female voice to be heard in ethical debates, because, she stated, girls were more concerned with caring relations due to their socially enhanced close relationship and emphasised similarity with their mothers. In contrast, boys mainly experienced difference in their relationship to their female care-takers and therefore rather developed an individual conscience instead of an interconnected social conscience¹² (Gilligan, 1987:25). However, Gilligan is essentialising girls and women as caring personalities in contrast to boys or men in her studies. This essentialism by Gilligan and the early Ethics of Care has been strongly criticised and will not be picked up in the present thesis (Robinson, 1999:164; Sjoberg, 2012). Instead, the disregard to essentialism within the following theoretical discussion and the subsequent analysis will show its redundancy for the conceptualisation and application of the Ethics of Care. It is far more the matter of interdependence which is emphasised in Ethics of Care that marks the fundamental difference to rights-based or justice ethics. Robinson (1999) calls them the “systematic devaluing of notions of interdependence, relatedness, and positive involvement” (Robinson, 1999:7). More feminist scholars took up the approach of researching an alternative, emotion-based and situational perspective on moral thinking, focussing on particular situations and relations instead of striving for universal principlism (Held, 2005:27; Robinson, 1999:16,18; Hekman, 1995:7).

¹² Gilligan’s work was later criticised for the essentialising of women and girls as caring personalities (Robinson, 1999:164; Sjoberg, 2012).

In order to pursue an in-depth analysis of the characteristics of Ethics of Care, certain key terms shall be defined within the framework of this thesis. The terms *ethics* and *morality* are used adjacently in the following, hence the following definitions will be considered: Ethics are defined as rules of conduct or principles for right behaviour that serve as behavioural guidance and suggestions in broader society (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016a: online), morality is defined as the basis of situational right or wrong behaviour of an individual (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016b: online). Within the scope of this thesis, the terms ethics and morality will hence be understood in accordance and will further evolve in terms of caring ethics.

Ethics of Care does not only offer an alternative theoretical framework for right and wrong behaviour beyond the dominant ethics of justice, it also fulfils the function of opening up the theoretical discourse on ethics towards caring behaviour, defining care as a value and describing caring practices (Held, 2005:29). Even though Ethics of Care theorists have not agreed on one universal definition of care, many different attempts of defining care have been made in approaching the notion of care. An approach to define care for the purpose of this thesis shall be made by starting with Diemut Bubeck's considerations of care as being the most precise attempt of defining care.

[C]aring for is the meeting of the needs of one person by another person, where face-to-face interaction between carer and cared-for is a crucial element of the overall activity and where the need is of such a nature that it cannot possibly be met by the person in need herself. (Bubeck, 1995:129)

Bubeck's definition of care not only includes two actors, the carer and the cared-for, in direct interaction and therefore inherently contains the relationalism that is part of the Ethics of Care, it also highlights the dependence of the cared-for. Beyond that, the need of the dependent person is at the centre of the interaction without postulating dependence and weakness as negative attributes. In this sense, Bubeck defines care as a social interaction and leaves out any particular require-

ment for emotional engagement by both the carer and the cared-for. Therefore, Bubeck's definition of care offers a fairly precise but bare description of the practice of care for now. It also limits care in terms of particularism to a direct face-to-face interaction, as it is usual for an orthodox understanding of Ethics of Care. This 'orthodox' Ethics of Care which has its roots in the private sphere and that caring behaviour is commonly related to, will be challenged later on in this thesis towards a global Ethics of Care in a political sphere.

Other Ethics of Care scholars, in contrast to the above stated definition of care by Bubeck, understand care not only as a practice but precisely and foremost as an emotional value that allows for the creation of an ethical theory around care in the first place. Joan Tronto (1993) conceptualises caring ethics in four sections: A caring person cares about others and shows attentiveness towards their needs and their dependence. They then take agency by taking on responsibility. This responsibility will then result in a caring practice of care-giving that Tronto defines as caring competence. In order to prevent an Ethics of Care to become too paternalistic and defined by power relations, the fourth dimension of care, the responsiveness of the cared-for, is important (Tronto, 1993:105-108, 127-136; Scuzzarello, 2010:47-48). Scuzzarello emphasises the interdependence of caring relations by demonstrating that "a person's position as care-giver or care-taker shifts in time and space" (Scuzzarello, 2009:66). Being the engine of caring relations, the competence of responsibility is of further special importance to caring ethics and will be elaborated in a later section.

Though care is primarily associated with the private sphere of the family, caring values as the source of moral behaviour inhabit a certain universal context that allows to open up the discussion of caring values to the public discourse and ultimately to a global context. Sarah Scuzzarello therefore provides a rather political definition of care as following:

[A] concrete political activity guided by a moral and theoretical framework that sees responsibilities as the very basis for our existence as relational and moral beings. (Scuzzarello, 2009:64)

The global scope of Scuzzarello's definition of care is further emphasised by other scholars, such as Tronto, who argues for caring values and practice as being "at the center of our political and moral universe" (Tronto, 1993:154), Iris Young (1994) who promotes caring values for the "public world of social policy" (Young, 1994:41) and Virginia Held (2005) who states that "every conscious human being has been cared for as a child and can see the value in the care that shaped him or her" (Held, 2005:21). Even though the degree of caring experience may differ strongly among people, a minimum of care must have been given to and received by any person alive worldwide, which makes the Ethics of Care a theory based on one universally shared experience and at least theoretically applicable on a global scale. "This experience of care gave him or her a future", Held explains about the moral value of caring and that "every thinking person can recognise" care which allows for a positive association with the moral value of care (Held, 2005:21;158-159). So why not allow for Ethics of Care to serve as a moral framework for ethical dilemmas on both the personal, and the political, hence, ultimately the global level? Ethics of Care offers a framework for analysing Merkel's unusually empathetic response to the refugee crisis: To what extent this has been constructed on the foundations of a global Ethics of Care shall be analysed later on. Before, the theoretical conceptualisation of a global Ethics of Care needs to be undertaken.

4 Global Ethics

After giving an overview over the relevant voices within the global ethics debate, the theoretical tradition of the Ethics of Care shall be presented below as an alternative approach of global ethics. Following from this, previous research on the global scope of care ethics shall be briefly reviewed. Based on the findings, a global Ethics of Care applicable to the political response to the migrant crisis shall be developed.

4.1 The Global Ethics Debate

The global migrant crisis is certainly a crisis which response requires to be based on moral reasoning. Having this in mind, it could even be seen as a crisis of ethical behaviour specifically in GG lacking a common moral justification as basis for a unified political response. With the acceleration of the process of globalisation, numerous new or altered political issues occurred that could not be faced by national governances on their own any longer. Migration, but also climate change, the war on terror, new types of warfare, child labour, the global economy and humanitarian interventions are just some of these new challenges to global politics (Scholte, 2009:190). GG structures today, therefore, heavily rely on a minimum of shared values that are necessary for common responses to such complex issues of global scope. The global ethics debate in science thus has become imperative in the light of these new challenges especially over the past century, with the current global migrant crisis aggravating the need for a joint response (Ape, 2000:138). While the ethical question of ‘How ought we to live?’ has always been at the centre of attention to philosophy, the increasing complexity of issues within the process of globalisation requires a rethinking of these ethical approaches towards global ethics (Ape, 2000:138; Dower, 2007:7-8).

While global ethics can be of very different nature, Drydyck (2014) emphasises the “ethical discussion of global problems” by global ethics overall (Drydyck, 2014:17), while Hutchings (2010) defines global ethics more detailed in terms of “a field of theoretical inquiry that addresses ethical problems arising out of the global interconnection and interdependence of the world’s population” (Hutchings, 2010:1). Widdows (2011) further perceives them as not just global in scope but linking theory to practice (Widdows, 2011:7). To be global in scope, global ethics has the globe as locus, however, noting that global ethics is a methodology of process recognising that impartial and imperfect ethical solutions need to be made in the process towards a truly global morality (Widdows, 2011:8; Singer, 1972:242). Further, global ethics provide theoretical considerations up to the meta level of philosophical thinking, but do also link theory to practice, by analysing and ultimately changing the practice. (Widdows, 2011:11). In addition, Dower (2007) stresses the need for universally shared values as discussed above on the one hand, and global responsibilities within social relations of global scope on the other hand (Dower, 2007:2). Hence, regarding its relationalism it is especially Dower’s attempt to define global ethics that stands in line with a global reading of the Ethics of Care. Before conceptualising a global Ethics of Care, dominant theories of global ethics will be discussed in the following.

Deontological Ethics

With the increase of global ethical concerns, ethical approaches focussing on universalism have become especially popular in literature (Ape, 2000:139). A universalist ethical theory typically relies on a minimum of moral values which are shared in the global context and paid attention to by the global discourse (Widdows, 2011:32; Scholte, 2005:57). The most famous tradition of universalist ethics is the Kantian ethics. With the advent of the enlightenment period, Immanuel Kant’s deontological moral theory moved the philosophical dilemma into the sphere of reason (Kant, [1785] 1997). The Kantian categorical imperative be-

came the principle of moral reasoning, an attempt to create a universal norm of ‘right’ versus ‘wrong’ behaviour (Held, 2005:58). By behaving in accordance to the categorical imperative, people would categorise behaviour to be right if it could also be applied as a possible universal law, and base their behaviour on this reasoning. Only behaviour that has the potential to become a universal law for everyone to act accordingly, would make an action right. Moral duty based on the categorical imperative is at the heart of this deontological theory. Rationality and reasoning are placed above human feelings and other emotions or “justification by consequences” (Widdows, 2011:54-55).

In sum, Kantian ethics provide a very suitable framework for the global ethics debate by offering a tool for universally applicable right and wrong behaviour. However, it reduces moral behaviour to rules, and consequently categorises such rules as absolute truths. Answers to the conflicts between moral duty and actual behaviour or how to solve moral dilemmas, such as deciding between two options of wrong behaviour however, are not addressed. Furthermore, its determined truths do not fit the constructionist epistemology of this thesis.

Utilitarianism

Besides the deontological Kantian ethics, another famous tradition of global ethics is utilitarianism. Utilitarianism is a universalist ethical theory and a specific form of consequentialism. Consequentialism measures right and wrong behaviour by its consequences. The principle of utility is the core of utilitarianism as defined by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill (Mill, [1863]1987). The question of right and wrong behaviour ought to be answered by action in line of maximising happiness of the parties in question; meaning that the consequence of any right behaviour should be that as much people as possible end up as happy as possible. The universalism of utilitarianism goes as far as total impartiality or “the principle of impartiality” (Widdows, 2011:44). For a global ethic, utilitarianism understands

everyone of morally equal value, no matter if people are near or far (Mill, [1863]1987). However, its biggest disadvantage may be its failure to protect the individual. The happiness of a single refugee, for example, would be valued less, if limiting their luck would mean greater happiness for a bigger number of people. Held sums up deontological and utilitarian philosophies as the dominant moral theoretical traditions in the second half of the twentieth century focussing on individual ethical behaviour, requiring total impartiality and rationality and being centred around one universal principle (Held, 2005:23). Both traditions are attempts of structuring the complexity of global issues in regard to the increasing process of globalisation. They do so by reducing complex moral issues into categories of right and wrong based on rules and principles becoming blind to the grey shades between right and wrong. They ignore the possible upcoming of ambivalence between two rules and are too mechanical to consider individuals' needs in their reasoning and in particular situations (Widdows, 2011:59).

Therefore, despite the fact that utilitarian and Kantian moral theories entered the social, political, legal and even economic sphere in order to give guidance in all kinds of moral dilemmas, a growing number of scholars started to review these dominant moral theories in the second half of the twentieth century in regard to their shortcomings and disadvantages (Held, 2005:24): Other theories entered the scientific debate on global ethics criticising the dominant theories' "foundational principlism" being linked to situational blindness and disregarding social interconnectedness (Rest et al., 1999:n.a.; Widdows, 2011:44;58).

Virtue Ethics

Two of the earliest and most popular philosophical agents in Western culture were Plato and Aristotle, who both aimed for a more holistic approach to morality. Starting with the question of "What makes a person good?" virtue ethics refers to Plato and Aristotle by beginning its ethical theorising with this question. By con-

sidering the ‘right’ character as point of departure for ethical behaviour, virtue ethics believes in the personality, the ‘self’, as agent of ethical behaviour (Widdows, 2011:59-60). Virtue ethics respects the complexity of moral dilemmas and responds to it by a more individualised, context-based ethical analysis of right behaviour than the above stated deontological and utilitarian ethics (Held, 2005:20). This contextualisation, however, comes with a high degree of relativity which is one reason that hinders virtue ethics to serve easily as global ethics. Even though virtue ethics may be suitable for addressing global issues, assuming that some virtues may be shared globally, another point of criticism is that virtue ethics requires a great extent of moral maturity or moral education in order to act ethically. On a global scope, virtue ethics therefore struggles with its universal applicability that requires a global scope of a shared moral education (Widdows, 2011:64). Virtue ethics thus can be seen as potential global ethics that needs constant theoretical and practical work in order to reach a global scope of shared virtues while preserving its agent and context based relativity.

4.2 A Global Ethics of Care

For a number of theorists, care ethics is one type of virtue ethics. According to one of the most famous virtue theorists, Michael Slote, care is the primary virtue on which basis a strong morality can be developed, creating a general concept of right and wrong behaviour (Slote, 2001:5). Furthermore, virtue ethics and care ethics have several similarities, such as analysing the relationship between moral values and practices as well as concentrating on reforming practices on the basis of moral values instead of creating rules-based conducts (Held, 2005:19). However, care theorists emphasise the differences between virtue ethics and care ethics and point out how care ethics alone can contribute to the creation of global ethics in a new and alternative way.

In contrast to virtue ethics which is strongly agent-based and which focusses on the individual character as basis for moral behaviour, care ethics' conceptualisation starts by acknowledging the relations of persons and the particularity of any ethical dilemma (Held, 2005:19). The particularity and relational character of caring ethics is often understood as standing in stark contrast to the typical universal character of global ethics. Nonetheless, recent research has been addressing the potential of caring ethics to serve as global ethics in a post-patriarchal society. Many scholars agree that caring ethics should not be merely associated with the space of the private, but raised to a global and political level, recognising that caring and being cared for are central and inevitable to human relations and human existence (Robinson, 2006:21; Tronto, 1993:145). Fiona Robinson is one of the most famous agents of global care ethics in research. In her book "Globalizing Care: Ethics, Feminist Theory, and International Relations" (1999), Robinson argues for a globalisation of the relational ontology that is at the heart of care ethics. In contrast to the common criticism of relational care ethics as being too narrow and person-based to be able to offer moral guidance on e.g. a GG level, Robinson states that relational care ethics serves as a source for moral maturity and responsiveness in any social interaction and hence on a global level as well. It is this moral value of care and the perception of the self in relation to others that offer a unique theoretical starting point for a political response in the migrant crisis. Building on the epistemological starting point of this thesis that all knowledge is socially constructed, global care ethics is capable of further nurturing and consolidating moral practice in relations with others (Robinson, 1999:2;8;110;140).

In her later works Robinson positions care ethics in contrast to neo-liberalism and hegemonic forms of masculinity that do not accept care as a source of morality but rather link it to inability and weakness. By shifting the structural disapproval of caring values towards respect for both the value and the practice of care on a political level, Robinson suggests that a greater well-being on a global scale could

be achieved (Robinson, 2013:133-134;142). Furthermore, global care ethics provides the ability to focus on the individual and to respect the interdependence of social relations worldwide. People in power positions are thus morally responsible for existing structures and need to exert such responsibility in order to achieve caring social relations. Hence excluding and marginalising social relations would fall within their area of responsibility (Robinson, 1999:47). Laura Sjoberg (2008) supports this argument by explaining that feminist scholars study global politics through “gendered lenses”. The concern of subordination becomes central in global politics and entails social emancipation which is necessary for social interaction of global scope (Sjoberg, 2008:7). However, a global Ethics of Care in this sense can be certainly considered “a very dangerous idea”, as Chomsky puts it, since it challenges the current neo-liberal global structure and highlights uncomfortable interdependences which may result in a loss of privileges for the powerful in order to gain greater equality of all. What is being highlighted as an objective by the theoretical discourse on Ethics of Care does not necessarily need to be shared by someone who employs Ethics of Care in practice: Merkel’s response to the migrant crisis being based on a global Ethics of Care means that she justified her actions on the basis of caring values. It does not mean, however, that Merkel deliberately agrees with such a “dangerous idea”. Instead it may be identified as the obstacle to a continuation of her empathetic response to the European refugee crisis.

The Universal Experience of Care

It is the very experience of care that enables Ethics of Care to serve as global ethics in the first place. As mentioned above, care gave every human being a future. We all share the mere experience of being cared for. By experiencing care and relating it to the source of our pure existence as a “thinking person”, people worldwide would agree on the positive character of care (Held, 2005:22;158). At the same time lack of care is associated with a negative experience, one that too

many children worldwide have experienced. Therefore, understanding the presence of care as the *right* behaviour can be defined as a universal understanding and is the enabler for responsiveness by the cared-for in a caring relation (Tronto, 1993:132). Following from this, care can be understood as one value that is shared beyond the borders of culture, nation or religion. Being cared for is the one universal experience that every living human being has experienced and that offers a potentially shared value of global scope. Thus, being cared for serves as point of departure for a strong global Ethics of Care by providing such a globally shared value and the ability of responsiveness in caring relations. Following this train of thought, we do not only experience caring practices but, as Held explains it, “caring practices should gradually transform children and others into human beings who are increasingly morally admirable” (Held, 2005:42). While Held identifies a moral maturity based on care within her statement, experiencing care does not alone create moral maturity but is still an ought-scenario. In any case, experiencing care creates a moral ‘recipe’ of *right* behaviour that we can refer to when we need to be responsive to care and when attentiveness for moral responsibility is necessary; a moral ‘recipe’ that does not require any kind of culturally shaped, identity-bound education or abstract reasoning. Caring behaviour in a global humanitarian crisis therefore seems to be a suitable ethical framework for political responses of “institutions, societies, even global levels of thinking” (Tronto, 1993, 145).

Caring Beyond Borders

However, what makes an Ethics of Care global in scope? This question needs to be answered for the purpose of this thesis, and in order to create an analytical framework based on a global Ethics of Care. There is a dual commitment that lies in a global Ethics of Care, which is the global ethical obligations on the one hand and caring for individual needs in times of increasing globalisation on the other hand. Many feminist scholars attempt in their research to bring these two obliga-

tions together. I will draw my conclusions for a potential global Ethics of Care within the global migrant crisis from these theoretical considerations. Martha Nussbaum is one of the proponents of combining a universalist feminist philosophy based on cross-border ethics of justice with a strong particularist approach within the local sphere (Nussbaum, 2000:7). The combination of two so vastly different ontological perspectives seems odd on first sight. The feminist relational ontology however offers the potential to combine particularism in the relation with the other with global ethics: The critical confrontation with gendered border politics and national jurisdiction based on inclusion and exclusion by feminist theorists led to a theoretical deconstruction of masculine power politics (Bergman Rosamond, 2013:321).

Women's primary responsibility for care-giving across boundaries of state and nation, culture and power gives them specific and significant moral insights which also cut across those boundaries. (Hutchings,2007:94)

This is what Hutchings states about the deconstruction of borders through caring behaviour. The relational ontology on which such caring behaviour is based, provides an alternative theoretical framework for particular moral behaviour that the universal claims of other ethical theories cannot fulfil (Bergman Rosamond, 2013:324). Caring behaviour as response to the refugee crisis may be understood as the employment of morality beyond borders by overruling masculine border discourses in the global sphere by caring. If Merkel based her surprisingly empathetic response to the refugee crisis on care, this may have been a rare moment of feminist practice in the public sphere. Such feminist practice in politics is highly needed in order to lead to a deconstruction of the masculine borders of power by raising the need of the individual over national and cultural borders and power-related exclusion.

Care and the Self

In her definition of care, Scuzzarello (2010) emphasises responsibility as the basis for the theoretical framework that would guide ethical behaviour and create relational and moral beings (Scuzzarello, 2010:47-49). Hence, it can be concluded that caring behaviour requires a relational and moral person to take on responsibility for others and themselves. Merkel for example would employ caring ethics if she takes on responsibility for others and herself. The relational ontology at the heart of Ethics of Care therefore incorporates a responsible self besides interdependence. This allows the caring person to understand and translate interdependence into their actions while operating as responsible subjects that perceive themselves in close relation with others (Scuzzarello, 2010:45). Scuzzarello is thereby reviewing the orthodox understanding of the relational ontology of Ethics of Care that rejects a moral self which is independent and autonomous. In order to better understand the idea of a caring person who argues on the basis of an Ethics of Care itself, the fusion of relational and autonomous identity shall be further explored. Merkel's empathetic response to the refugee crisis can only be analysed from a discursive psychological perspective later on, if her actions are understood as source of both her responsible self and her close interaction with others in the first place (Sevenhuijsen, 2000:6,10; Scuzzarello, 2010:45). Analysing Merkel's response to the refugee crisis requires the assumption that her action is based on her personal judgement. Hence, it is necessary to understand the caring subject to be responsible for their behaviour. By experiencing ourselves as moral individuals, as moral persons in relation with the social world, we become aware of the moral responsibility and take agency in order to fulfil this moral responsibility. Ethics of Care sees us as morally responsible persons when situating ourselves within the social world and in relation with other people. It enables us to take agency based on the experience of care (Held, 2005:45-47).

But how do we experience ourselves as morally responsible individuals? In line with the constructionist epistemology of this thesis, Susan Hekman (1995) defines a discursive subject which strongly implies and is based on the notion of the relational self within Ethics of Care (Hekman, 1995:109): By recognising the contingency of identity and the self as a discursive mix, we are responsible for the creation of our self by choosing impartially discursive truths even beyond the traditional power discourses (Hekman, 1995:84). Based on Foucault's conception of the self, we have to "create ourselves as a work of art" that according to Hekman ideally leads to a "politics of difference" (Foucault, 1982:287; Hekman, 1995:159-60). The relational ontology of Ethics of Care is central to this argument since the self is constructed in relation to and by the constant interaction with others and context (Kinnvall et al., 2009:282). The conceptual view of a contingent self may be logically followed by the desire of creating the best version of the self: For Ethics of Care this would imply the embeddedness in social interdependence as a caring person. The notion of "politics of difference" allows to recognise the particularity of the other as a possible truth that may influence a contingent and morally responsible self. Sevenhuijsen explains this contingent concept of the self from the perspective of social interaction: "They can only exist as individuals through and via caring relationships with others" (Sevenhuijsen, 2003:183). Thus, Ethics of Care itself incorporates its concept of interdependence: The relational ontology leads to a socially responsible self, while a responsible self in terms of caring ethics can foster the interdependence with others. A responsible self and social interdependence are therefore interdependent. In sum, a global Ethics of Care requires a responsible self that becomes a caring subject through social interaction with others. The subsequent analysis of Merkel's response to the European refugee crisis will be carried out by employing discursive psychology, which again allows to study the discursive action by Merkel in regard to its wider social context and on grounds of such interactionism.

Politics of Difference

The notion of “politics of difference” allows for a global reading of the Ethics of Care. It identifies differences and otherness as a contingent factor of the identity of the other and possible truth for the discursive identity of the self. The unconditional relational ontology of Ethics of Care includes the interdependence of human beings worldwide regardless of cultural, religious or political differences. It offers the best option available for understanding human relationships and the needs of all parties involved (Bergman Rosamond, 2013:324). However, in past research, many conceptual tools, such as cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism have been applied to create a framework of global obligations that serve as a conceptual counterpart to the Ethics of Care in order to lift caring behaviour to a political and global level.

Cosmopolitanism is an ontological framework that serves as a conceptual tool for a global reading of Ethics of Care. A key assumption of cosmopolitanism stated by Bergman Rosamond (2013) is that “all human beings are members of a universal moral order and there is no real distinction between the inside and the outside of that cosmopolitan polity” (Bergman Rosamond, 2013:323). Since this ontological premise does not contradict the relational ontology of Ethics of Care, it offers a plausible application of the *global* to caring ethics by removing borders from the cosmopolitan polity. A cosmopolitan ontology further stresses the presence of all human beings and, therefore, facilitates a feminist voice - and thus caring ethics - to be included within a universal moral order. While the “grand vision of joint universal projects” of an orthodox reading of cosmopolitanism may seem too abstract, the application of cosmopolitanism to global politics may further the process of globalising ethics (Bergman Rosamond, 2013: 323). This relative application of cosmopolitanism arises from the efforts of cosmopolitan theorists to combine global obligations with respect for differences and, thus, to make cosmopolitanism applicable to more concrete ethical dilemmas (Bergman Rosamond,

2013:320). While cosmopolitanism covers the sphere of global obligations, a combination with Ethics of Care and its relational ontology allows for responding to differences.

Responding to differences and respecting diversity while adapting to the globalisation of cultures is also at the heart of the caring multiculturalism by Sarah Scuzzarello (2009): While the western academic debate around multiculturalism is flourishing, the problems of othering, superiority and inferiority emerged within the discourse on multiculturalism (Scuzzarello, 2009:62). A caring multiculturalism, as suggested by Scuzzarello, provides the relational ontology to overcome an independent and autonomous self in opposition to the other that confirms the process of othering. Further, multiculturalism provides the Ethics of Care with a global framework, in which caring ethics' interdependence can then overcome the dependence of the cared-for situated within global power structures (Scuzzarello, 2009:77, 78). Cultural differences become integrated within the interdependence of caring relations and result in cross-cultural dialogues. The relational ontology of Ethics of Care can prevent asymmetric caring relations due to the exercise of power through its scope of interdependence (Scuzzarello, 2009:77).

While these philosophical concepts of global scope provide useful starting points for transferring the relational ontology to a global level beyond borders, I argue that the global migrant crisis and within this thesis particularly the European refugee crisis, require a response of global scope itself. The process of globalisation in terms of respatialisation becomes evident in the mass migration flows across continents. Robinson (1999) identifies the source for upholding the division between ingroups and outgroups as in the abstract, international and universal ethical theories that reject personal relations as moral guidance from international relations. The definition of an ingroup and an outgroup is also common to the current migrant crisis. Robinson suggests that "we must acknowledge the necessity of rethinking and reconstructing care ethics in the face of the inadequacy of strict-

ly rights-based or justice ethics” (Robinson, 1999:49). The Ethics of Care provides a relational ontology that is of global scope when it moves beyond theory into practice. By applying it to the global migrant crisis, the global scope of the relational ontology of caring ethics becomes less theoretically abstract.

From Exclusion to Interdependence

“From a universalist and cosmopolitan point of view, however, boundaries, including state borders and frontiers, require moral justification” (Benhabib, 2006:19): Benhabib’s statement relies strongly on a Kantian ethical tradition and, therefore, on ethics of justice. However, it helps to identify how the discourse on borders differs in the case of Ethics of Care and the dominant ethical theories. From the perspective of a global Ethics of Care, borders and frontiers do not necessarily require moral justification anymore. Rather, these borders become permeable by being subordinated to caring ethics which regardless of borders understand any individual as relational other. A global Ethics of Care, in theory, may have the potential to implement moral behaviour on the basis of the universal experience of care that is beyond structural thinking of modernity and real politics but a natural behaviour of closely interdependent individuals. A truly globalised world requires this extended understanding of interdependence of a global Ethics of Care that may revise dominant discourses and adapt them to the challenges of a globalised world, such as the current migrant crisis: Firstly, the agent of a global Ethics of Care is a morally responsible and discursive self whose moral understanding is initially constructed by the universal experience of care. This caring individual is related to other discursive selves on the basis of caring values which construct a global civil society of interdependent individuals. Secondly, this globally-connected group of caring identities leads to a relational ontology where borders may still exist, but where the interdependence in a global context becomes the primary fundament of a discursive identity and supersede the dominant power discourses. Thirdly, a global Ethics of Care is thereby able to understand the glob-

al scope of the migrant crisis and offers a theoretically tailored moral response to the crisis by acknowledging global interdependence. Such interdependence is irrefutably illustrated in the influx of refugees to European member states and requires a particular response to the situation of these individuals.

By applying a global Ethics of Care, distant others become equivalent to the particular other and will be treated as members so that exclusion is averted. The person deciding to care in a particular relational situation with the other in need is capable of taking on responsibility for the related other. It is interdependence which is at the heart of Ethics of Care and that offers the first alternative approach to overcome the ontological dichotomy of ‘us’ and ‘them’, while the common suggestion “that only an impersonal, impartial, universal-prescriptive ethics is useful in large-scale contexts is what maintains and upholds our disposition to ‘keep strangers strange and outsiders outside’” (Robinson, 1999:49; citing Walker, 1995:147). As argued earlier, the scope of interdependence has already been increased by the process of globalisation. It further becomes global through the moral responsibility felt by a caring person that does not create their self within the realm of dominant discourses but beyond those power relations and domination (Hekman, 1995:84; Robinson, 1999:121). In sum, a global Ethics of Care understands persons as embedded in the context of their family as much as in the context of global interdependence of individuals and their selves.

Following from the theoretical discussion above, some key statements can be made about how the response by Merkel to the refugee crisis on basis of a global Ethics of Care would look like: Merkel acts on the assumption that the refugees coming to Europe and the European citizens, institutions and governments are interdependent. By understanding the close interdependence between herself and the people in need, she takes on responsibility for their needs, shows empathy and caring behaviour towards them. This originates from the relational ontology of caring ethics that incorporates all human beings beyond differences. The unlimit-

ed interdependence can be described by conceptual tools such as cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism. However, the relational ontology of the feminist Ethics of Care itself inhabits this global scope that such tools offer externally and leaves their theoretical application optional. The “dangerous idea” by feminist Ethics of Care theorists of applying caring practice to the political sphere is defined by its radical employment of the relational ontology which has the theoretical-conceptual power to overcome neo-liberalism and hegemonic forms of masculinity. Even the mere application of caring practices on a global level makes the Ethics of Care global in character. A caring response to the global migrant crisis therefore incorporates the understanding of the self as relational and constantly discursively constructed leaving no room for essentialism, exclusion or bordering.

5 Methodology

The methodology chosen for the underlying thesis is a qualitative method. In order to apply a theoretical framework of ethical behaviour to a discourse on the migrant crisis a more in-depth analysis of social behaviour beyond mere numbers is required (Backhouse and Fontaine, 2010:96). While qualitative methodology offers different approaches of analysing social behaviour from a social constructionist view, mere textual analysis would be missing the analysis of context and silences, things that have been left unsaid, but are still relevant and present within the discourse (Backhouse and Fontaine, 2010:116).

Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) give a very preliminary definition of discourse as “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:1). By employing discourse analysis for the purpose of the present thesis, it is not only the act of talking and the language which can be analysed but also the perception of the world. Based on the social constructionist epistemology employed within this thesis, it allows for a more

comprehensive analysis of the discourse on the migrant crisis in Germany and presents alternative truths that are constructed by and are constructing the discourse on the migrant crisis. At the same time, the contingency of truth in discourse is central in order to open the research debate up to global ethics (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:7). Discourse analysis, therefore, allows for a comprehensive application of the theoretical framework and investigation of both text and context within the German discourse on the migrant crisis.

However, there are three main traditions of discourse analysis that deserve to be considered before purposefully selecting the right method for the underlying thesis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Fairclough (2010) is an in-depth approach focussing on the analysis of power relations and the production and reproduction of social inequalities (Fairclough, 2010:48-50). The global migrant crisis is beyond question an effect of social inequalities not only on a national but rather global level. Furthermore, the global migrant crisis reproduces such inequalities which are symptomatic of the status quo of global power relations. These assumptions may be of strong interest to the research on the global migrant crisis, which would make CDA suitable for such a research endeavour. However, in the case of the present thesis, the research already departs from exactly this understanding of social and political inequality within the migrant crisis (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:64, 77). It is rather the identification of a specific meaning fixation within the discourse that is the aim of the analysis which makes CDA less suitable of an approach. Another type of discourse analysis is Discourse Theory, a concept developed by Laclau and Mouffe. This type of discourse analysis can be used in order to identify not only the fixation of meaning but also its exclusions and silences. Therefore, discourse theory is a suitable tool to analyse political interactions in order to identify the impact of various dimensions of agency and the need for different aims of meaning fixation (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:20). However, this is a rather broad approach and more suitable for the analysis of interaction

of political actors on all levels in public discourse. Since the aim of the present thesis is to create the theoretical framework of a global Ethics of Care, the identification of any discourse of care within the migrant crisis is of central interest to underpin the theoretical assumptions with evidence. The following analysis will, therefore, focus on the discursive utterances by Merkel and aims at drawing a comprehensive picture of the construction of her discursive self and the impact of context. Discourse theory would miss the focus on the individual self within discourse and how it is constructed by and constructing discourse. However, the unmasking of hegemonic discourses and the identification of power struggles upon meaning fixation in the global ethics debate in regard to a global Ethics of Care could be of central interest for further and much needed research on the implementation of a global Ethics of Care in global politics beyond the scope of this thesis.

After considering the above stated two discursive analytical tools, it is discursive psychology (DP) that shall be employed for the following analysis. Discursive psychology is a methodology for conducting discourse analysis and was developed by Potters and Wetherell (1987). It was developed to present an alternative social psychological framework to cognitivist psychology. While cognitivist psychologists understand language as a reflection of the external social world, discursive psychologists understand language to construct social interactions and social worlds (Potters and Wetherell, 1987:1). While it shares the constructionist framework underlying this thesis, discursive psychology offers a conceptually appropriate method for researching the use of Ethics of Care in public discourse. Discursive psychology argues that our social psychological identities and perceptions of the world are historically and socially constructed, which makes the social world contingent and open to change at any time (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:99). The conceptualisation of discursive psychology, therefore, not only allows for the adoption of alternative ethical frameworks in discourse, but it also shares the con-

cept of the discursive self presented above, which is crucial to the relational ontology of Ethics of Care. Furthermore, discursive psychology is the ideal tool to analyse differences between discourses in contexts and the rhetorical organisation of text and talk.

Discursive psychology treats talk as social action; that is, we say what we do as a means of, and in the course of, doing things in a socially meaningful world. Thus, the questions that it makes sense to ask also change. (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:170)

Moreover, Potters and Wetherell emphasise the focus on consistency and inconsistency in discursive psychology: People may contradict themselves within and across different social interactions. These inconsistencies as much as the consistencies may be used for the rhetorical organisation of text and talk and as a tool for producing a specific discourse in specific social context (Potters and Wetherell, 1987:38). Due to the analytical approach by discursive psychology, Potters and Wetherell introduced the term of “interpretative repertoire” to discourse analyses. Interpretative repertoire is used within discursive psychology analogously to discourse in order to emphasise the flexible employment of different discourses within different social contexts and interactions (Potters and Wetherell, 1987:138).

However, there are two different discursive psychological approaches, one of which relies on a poststructuralist understanding of discourse in a rather abstract manner, while the other understands discourse in terms of interactionism. The poststructuralist approach therefore concentrates on the construction of the world and the self through discourse and its social consequences, while the interactionist approach focusses on conversational interaction as construction of the social world and the purposeful use of rhetoric for meaning fixation (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:105). A third branch of discursive psychology fuses these two former approaches. This synthetic approach of discursive psychology seeks to identi-

fy not only the use of interpretative repertoire within social interaction, but the poststructuralist adoption allows for analysing the construction of the self and the social context of discourse as well (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:104-106). Hence, analysing the German response to the European refugee crisis with a synthetic approach of discursive psychology allows for a coherent and comprehensive study of the use of interpretative repertoire within the political discourse in regard to social interaction as much as to discursive social structures. Discursive psychology further understands people as producers and products of discourse, which allows to analyse Merkel as possible product of caring discourse as much as to analyse her role as producer of caring discourse within the European refugee crisis (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:104). The role of a product thereby refers to the poststructuralist understanding of the discursive self, while the role as a producer derives from the discursive psychological orientation towards the interactionist position that understands people as actively using interpretative repertoire as producers of discourse (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:104).

In order to underpin the development of the theoretical framework of a global Ethics of Care with evidence from the discourse, the analysis seeks to identify the use of interpretative repertoire of Ethics of Care in regard to the specific social interaction and wider social context of the texts analysed. To what extent caring concepts are discursively constructed and employed as interpretative repertoires can therefore ideally be analysed by the use of discursive psychology. In addition, discursive psychology offers the optimal tool to also analyse typical non-discursive categories, such as discursive silences (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:177).

5.1 Selection of Material

One of the most popular and most discussed political responses to the current European refugee crisis was the exceptional decisions made by German chancellor

Merkel in September 2015. Namely the decisions made in the first week of September 2015. The decisions to suspend the Schengen agreement and to pause the Dublin III regulation (EUR-lex, 2013) were at the centre of the discourse on the European refugee crisis in the German government, media, society and the European and global context. By focussing on Merkel's utterances in different contexts in the public, discursive psychology allows to analyse the main actor within the exceptional political discourse: her subjective psychological realities and her use of interpretative repertoires (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:103).

Regarding the chosen case within the underlying thesis, naturally occurring material will be analysed. In this case, it will be utterances about the European refugee crisis and the German political response to it that will be analysed. The material to analyse was chosen in accordance with Merkel's exceptional decisions in the refugee crisis during late summer and early autumn 2015 but especially during the de facto suspension of Dublin III regarding the refugees coming from Hungary. The text genres are political speeches, press statements and interviews from the end of August until early October 2015. In total, seven texts produced by Merkel between 26 August 2015 and 7 October 2015 make up the foundation for the following discourse analysis. This corresponds to a time of about six weeks in late summer 2015 during which Merkel spoke about the refugee crisis in public. The specific timeframe was selected in accordance to the exceptional and controversial decisions made by Merkel in September 2016. The starting point is Merkel's first visit to a refugee shelter in Germany, after being criticised for her absence in public. Since this visit was exceptional in causing aggression against Merkel in person and her political response to the refugee crisis, it may be of interest for her further argumentations in the refugee crisis. The following texts were produced as response to the increasing influx of refugees to Germany, and especially as response to the controversial decisions in relation to the refugees who were accepted from Hungary on 5 September 2015. These texts are all framed by the context of

the refugee crisis. The last text marks the first extensive interview with Merkel after those events by the public German TV station ARD on 7 October 2015. The seven texts are therefore chosen in accordance with famous events that have taken place during that time in relation to the refugee crisis. They differ in their social context and text genre. The texts analysed are two press statements, two press conferences, one government declaration in the German National Parliament, one political speech in the European Parliament and one personal interview with the German journalist and anchor woman Anne Will in TV.

The first political statement by Merkel stems from her visit to an emergency shelter for refugees in Heidenau, a small town in the German state of Saxony on 26 August 2016 (Bundesregierung, 2015a). It was the first visit to a refugee shelter by Merkel. In her speech she addressed the volunteers and full-time helpers at the emergency shelter in Heidenau. A few days prior to Merkel's visit, the shelter had become known for hate speeches and riots against arriving refugees (FAZ, 2015). When Merkel arrived in Heidenau, a couple hundred right-extremist protestors insulted her as traitor as they were demonstrating against the accommodation of refugees in town (Tagesschau, 2015). The second of the chosen texts was produced on 31 August 2015 during the yearly conducted summer press conference by Merkel. While it is traditionally the main press conference of the year where the chancellor responds to questions by media representatives concerning internal and external policy affairs, the entrance speech by Merkel was dominated by the topic of the European refugee crisis and so were the questions posed (Bundesregierung, 2015b). The conference was timely preceded by the recalculation of the number of incoming refugees up to 800,000 for the year 2015, as well as the tragedy of 70 dead refugees in a heavy goods vehicle in Austria (Bundesregierung, 2015b). The third text has been a press statement made by Merkel on 7 September 2015 following a meeting of the German government coalition on the European refugee crisis (Bundesregierung, 2015c). On the weekend preceding

the meeting thousands of unregistered refugees who had been stranded in Hungary were accepted by Germany and Austria, de facto suspending the Dublin III regulation (Zeit, 2015). One week after these events, Merkel met with the Austrian chancellor Werner Faymann about the situation of the refugees coming from Hungary and held a press conference on 15 September 2015, which is also part of the analysis. The two heads of government had met in order to find a joint political response to the emergency situation of refugees arriving in Austria and Germany (Bundesregierung, 2015d). The fifth text to be analysed is the government declaration by Merkel in front of the German national parliament (Bundestag) on 24 September 2015 (Bundesregierung, 2015e), in which she explained her governmental decisions on the refugee crisis in front of the members of parliament. A similar text type that is also part of the analysis is the political speech by Merkel in front of the European Parliament on 7 October 2015, in which she addressed both the role of the 25th anniversary of the German reunification for the EU as well as the European refugee crisis (Bundesregierung, 2015f). Merkel was accompanied by French president François Hollande in order to promote a joint European response to the refugee crisis. The last text of the chosen material is a personal interview with Merkel by the German journalist and anchor women Anne Will in the German public TV station “ARD” (ARD, 2015). 3.45 million viewers watched the interview that had a market share of 13.8 % (Quotenmeter, 2015).

6 A Discursive Psychological Analysis of Angela Merkel

Since discourse analysis focusses on the constructive and flexible use of language, the construction and employment of interpretative repertoires by Merkel will be focussed on in the following. In order to identify possible interpretative repertoires of caring ethics, the analysis will closely argue along the lines of the theoretical framework conceptualised above. In order to identify coherent themes

within the chosen material and reach a comprehensive scale of discourse analysis, discursive psychology requires to read the material several times. While reading, for a rather inductive analysis discursive psychology requires to be open for other themes apart from the theory-related as well. Hence, besides the potential identification of caring themes within the texts analysed, other themes may be identified in addition to or competition with caring interpretative repertoires.

In line with Potters and Wetherell's framework for discursive psychology as analytical method, the results of the discourse analysis will be presented according to the structure of function, variation and construction within discourse (Potters and Wetherell, 1987:32-34): Merkel's use of language will be analysed in terms of its function to construct a specific argumentation. In the following, the variations between contexts will be studied. On basis of these findings, the analysis will conclude by interpreting the construction of specific truths and untruths within the discourse and thereby, the construction of the social world. The themes that are identified within the analysis are part of a categorisation of the social world. This categorisation is central to social psychologists who concentrate on the cognitive processes and consequences of such categorisation. The realist approach of most cognitive scientists in social psychology understands this categorisation as a naturally occurring phenomenon. For discursive psychology, however, categorisation is a social construction and therefore a central part of the contingency of discourse and discursive action. The flexible use of categories within one's interpretative repertoire is thus part of the social construction of discourse and, eventually, the social world (Potters and Wetherell, 1987:116-117). Hence, the use of categories will be central to all three stages of the discourse analysis, the function, variation and construction. The use of discursive psychology also allows analysing Merkel's identity - how it is constructed and how she actively constructs it through her own use of language.

6.1 Function

The analysis of the function of language use does not only consider conversational behaviour by categorisation of text into themes, but further concentrates on the context in which the discourse is situated (Potters and Wetherell, 1987:32).

The broader social context of the discourse analysed is the European refugee crisis. However, the discursive psychological analysis will focus on Merkel as the producer of the material analysed. The interpretative repertoires used by Merkel in the chosen material will therefore be analysed in accordance to their function within the interaction and the social context. In order to better understand the argumentation and use of interpretative repertoires by Merkel her personal social and historical context needs to be addressed. Merkel's personal identity can at first glance be categorised into the categories woman, experienced politician, chancellor, Christian-democrat, doctor of physics, (Eastern) German, and daughter of a Protestant priest (Bundeskanzlerin, 2016). These categorisations are rather obvious to the German public and the political sphere, the addressees of the material analysed based on the public discourse produced by and about Merkel over the past years of her public career. However, there might be more relevant repertoires which Merkel draws on in her discourse on the European refugee crisis in order to position herself and attain a specific function with it. In the analysed texts Merkel mostly speaks in the third person plural. By employing the 'we' perspective, she constitutes herself as a member of a certain entity, as much as she creates an entity of *togetherness* herself. She thereby draws on specific interpretative repertoires to create the function of an in-group.

Together we will make every effort to make it clear that Germany will help where help is needed. (Bundesregierung, 2015a)¹³

¹³ Examples from the chosen material are translated by the author, with the exception of examples from the political speech in front of the European Parliament that has been conducted in English originally.

While this example is taken from the press statement on 26 August 2015 it is representative for the dominant use of the pronoun ‘we’ within the discourse of Merkel in the refugee crisis. Merkel employs the ‘we’ pronoun especially during the political speeches and press conferences. However, even in the personal interview led by the journalist Anne Will, Merkel uses the ‘we’ pronoun constantly yet a little more often replaced by the singular pronoun ‘I’ (ARD, 2015). Furthermore, the use of ‘we’ may point towards a subject position within different interpretative repertoires. Hence, Merkel may draw on a German identity while speaking of ‘we’. The function here would therefore be to enhance and recreate the discourse of an *ingroup* based on German identity, as in the example above. A discursive closure in terms of identity fixation occurs by the use of ‘we’ in the specific argument with the aim of creating an *ingroup* for German selves. In addition, the German identity is further discursively constructed through the reference preceding the chosen example in which Merkel relates concretely to the local politicians in Saxony and rather abstract to the helpers in the refugee centre (Bundesregierung, 2015a).

This has been made clear again by the mayor, the Prime Minister and everyone I have met here today. (Bundesregierung, 2015a)

In this example the *ingroup* of German selves is reduced to active members of the civil society that are helping the arriving refugees. However, this identity closure would only be temporary from the perspective of discursive psychology, since identities are socially constructed on the basis of differing interpretative repertoires (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:111). In this case of interpretative repertoire, Merkel constructs a discursive identity with her sense of self by choosing a specific interpretative repertoire of a German identity in combination with the interpretative repertoire of an active civil society that is helping in the refugee crisis. The function of creating this specific self of a German civil society that is helping in the refugee crisis is to create a strong feeling of belonging to this identity and to

reinforce the discourse of *togetherness*. Such discourse of *togetherness* has two major functions, one of which is to create a supportive social group for political decisions within the refugee crisis, and two is the creation of a strong civil society against hate speeches by right extremists against the refugees. Another function of the use of ‘we’ may be that Merkel wants to position herself discursively as a member of society that still belongs and knows social reality. This discursive construction of her self in the above stated example is coherent with the criticism prior to her visit in Heidenau which accused her of estrangement from social reality. Overall, the interpretative repertoire of *togetherness* that Merkel makes use of in this example does not only create an *ingroup* as discussed above, but also produces a purposeful *exclusion* of the right-extremists demonstrating in Heidenau that day. This function is strengthened by the employment of a no tolerance repertoire in regard to the protestors:

There is no tolerance for those who question the dignity of other people.
There is no tolerance for those who are not willing to help where law and human help is imperative. (Bundesregierung, 2015a)

These examples of the construction of identity fixation by the use of different interpretative repertoires by Merkel demonstrate how the discursive construction of identities can lead to the specific creation of *inclusion* and *exclusion*. Furthermore, the created *togetherness* may function as a tool for Merkel to situate herself close to the addressees of the discourse - to relate to them and to create a discursive situation of an *ingroup* and *togetherness*.

However, the discursive identity closure identified above is only temporary, and therefore other uses of the ‘we’ pronoun in order to construct *togetherness* are based on identity construction throughout the discourse on the refugee crisis. Within the material chosen the use of ‘we’ changes as well as the closely connected function of *exclusion* which changes accordingly throughout discourse. This is achieved by the employment of different interpretative repertoires such as Euro-

pean or global identity, and others depending on the context. These variations will be interpreted further within the subsequent section.

Besides the dominant use of ‘we’ and the consequent construction of *ingroup* identities, Merkel returns to the use of ‘I’ in specific situations. The change in the use of pronouns can display a change in subject positions from one interpretative repertoire to another (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:125). It is a social reality that Merkel acts as the head of government in Germany. By referring to her role of *power*, Merkel changes the pronoun to ‘I’ in order to emphasise her self-awareness of this role and to point out her *power* that comes with the role:

I think my job as chancellor is on the one hand to take the fate of each individual seriously and still pay attention to the rules and overall context. (Bundesregierung, 2015b)

By the use of ‘I’ she distances herself from the interpretative repertoire of an *ingroup* identity, and shifts towards the application of an interpretative repertoire of *power*. However, beyond the identity discourse, the example above shows how Merkel conjuncts *power* with *responsibility* when placing herself in the subject position. By the use of interpretative repertoires of *responsibility* employed in the example above Merkel further constructs a subjective social reality of dual *responsibility*, for the individual other and for the *rule of law*. In the example above, Merkel compares the two types of *responsibility* and thereby constitutes a struggle between *responsibility* for the individual and for the *rule of law*. The duty of protecting the European external borders or following the German asylum law opposes the *responsibility* for the individual human security. This leads to contradicting obligations for Merkel:

Those in need of protection shall receive protection. Those who have no perspective to stay must leave our country again. (Bundesregierung, 2015c)

In the chosen material concerning the refugee crisis, Merkel emphasises the struggle between these, in her perspective, very different *responsibilities* repeatedly in order to emphasise the *challenge* of the refugee crisis for the political response. She further seeks to draw on interpretative repertoires that combine the two *responsibilities* logically. While she understands her personal *responsibility* as to lead the operations of the country based on the *rule of law* and to uphold the moral values that are the basis of the country, she comes back to the *responsibility* for the individual repeatedly within discourse:

Then, what we have in our laws gains human shape. Namely that every person who is politically persecuted or forced to flee from civil war has a right to fair treatment, to an asylum procedure or to being recognised as a civil war refugee. (Bundesregierung, 2015a)

Thousands of refugees applying for asylum in the EU and especially in Germany in such a short timeframe is a novum, as was discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis. It is therefore also a new situation for the head of government in Germany to address the situation of thousands of individuals arriving in the country to seek protection from war and persecution. It is a new situation that has not happened before in this extent in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany or the tenure of Merkel. Because of crisis, thousands of individuals enter Merkel's area of responsibility. While she acknowledges the fact of this increasing *responsibility*, as can be inferred from the example above, she draws on new interpretative repertoires in order to address this challenge. When she introduces the interpretative repertoire of *shared values* within the EU to the discourse on the refugee crisis, she constructs not only a European identity based on *values*, but shows *attentiveness* for the close *interdependence* within Europe:

But when someone says 'I'm not part of the whole thing, that's not my problem,' this cannot and must not be accepted in my view. Therefore, I will in any case and with all my strength ensure that Europe does not fail when it comes to this issue, but that Europe is our common shared Eu-

rope. Hence, we need to agree on shared values. (Bundesregierung, 2015b)

In this example Merkel aims at combining the political discourse on the European refugee crisis with an interpretative repertoire of *shared values* within Europe, instead of focussing on the *power* discourse and interpretative repertoire on *borders* and *exclusion* explicitly.

In addition, Merkel constructs a political discourse on the refugee crisis closely linked to the interpretative repertoire of *humanity*.

If we now need to start apologising for showing a friendly face in emergency situations, then this is not my country. (Bundesregierung, 2015d)

Both of the presented examples lastly reflect how Merkel draws on interpretative repertoire of *values* and *morality* and thereby introduces the discourse of *humanity* to the political *power* discourse within the refugee crisis. Both interpretative repertoires support the need for taking *responsibility* and combining the traditionally masculine category of *responsibility* through *power* with the typically more feminine category of *responsibility* through *empathy*. While the first statement was made during the summer press conference with the function of constructing a welcoming culture in Germany towards the arriving refugees, the second statement was made after the influx of thousands of refugees addressing the overnight decision by Merkel to accept the refugees stranded in Hungary on 5 September 2015. The function here is even more drastic: Merkel constructs an identity closure by threatening to leave the *ingroup* of the German identity. She deconstructs the German identity as it is known by threatening to deny it. The category of *humanity* becomes obligatory to the German identity as constructed in Merkel's interpretative repertoire. It may be a measure of last resort for a head of government to publicly disagree with one version of its country's national identity they are obliged to represent in office. In this example Merkel further uses the interpretative repertoire of her *power* position in order to merge the political *responsibilities*

for a country and for the individual, regardless of whether it is constructed around a German identity, as in the latest example, or a European identity, as in the example before. She does so in order to justify her unusual decisions to construct a social reality that conforms to the *values* she draws on in her interpretative repertoires. Such repertoires are framed by the *attentiveness* for human *needs* and the *responsibility* for the individual. This repertoire employed by Merkel in her discourse can be interpreted as *caring* interpretative repertoire:

I think this is right, and it has helped many people. (Bundesregierung, 2015d)

This example refers to the decision by Merkel to accept the refugees coming from Hungary. She acknowledges the fate of the individuals, is *attentive* to their *needs*, takes *responsibility* and shows the competency to *care* for the individuals. On the one hand the example above indicates how Merkel employs the *caring* discourse in order to justify her actions and possibly also to be considered as a ‘good’ person and politician. On the other hand Merkel introduces the interpretative repertoire of *care* to the political discourse on the refugee crisis. She becomes a producer of this alternative social reality which interrupts the common habits of political discourse by drawing on *caring* repertoires that she is both product and producer of. She is furthermore leaving the subject position in order to transfer the *caring responsibility* to the constructed social identity:

We must ensure that we are now meeting our humanitarian responsibilities and that we grant the right to humanitarian protection to those in need. (Bundesregierung, 2015b)

The repertoire of German identity employed in the example above is silent in the chosen example but becomes nonetheless obvious within the context of her argumentation. She then goes even further by aiming at fostering a European identity based on a system of *values* that incorporates the interpretative repertoire of *care* for the individual:

I believe that our value system in Europe is based on the dignity of the individual. (Bundesregierung, 2015b)

The example above again is an example for the use of the 'I' pronoun and a construction of her self as advocate of the European *value* system. She employs the rhetoric of the German constitution with the expression "dignity of the individual" which stems from its first paragraph. Moreover, rather silent, she employs a normative *power* position. The next example reflects her aim of constructing a lived reality of the European identity. This European identity requires a high extent of *interdependence* and commonality in order to find a forward-looking response to the refugee crisis:

Hence, it will be important that each of us commits himself to Europe and our commonalities, and then we will move forward. (Bundesregierung, 2015b)

One can interpret this statement as Merkel acknowledging the high extent of *interdependence* in regard to the refugee crisis. Another example demonstrates how she combines the interpretative repertoire of *caring responsibilities* with the high extent of *interdependence* deriving from an increasing globalisation:

We have to deal responsibly with Europe's gravitational pull. In other words, we have to take greater care of those who are in need today in our neighbourhood. (Bundesregierung, 2015f)

In her discourse, Merkel acknowledges the increasing global *interdependence* by drawing on the interpretative repertoires of *caring responsibilities* of the European identity and global *interdependence*. By the employment of the interpretative repertoire of *care as responsibility* in this context of global *interdependence*, Merkel creates a social reality in need of taking up *responsibility* in terms of global *care* in the refugee crisis.

However, she does not frame her discourse by the mere employment of *caring* repertoire within the refugee crisis. The constant application of *caring* discourses

and discourses of *rational politics* in close interaction can be interpreted as Merkel relying continuously on the *rule of law* in the refugee crisis.

The EU is a community of values and, as such, a community of rights and responsibility. (Bundesregierung, 2015e)

The application of *rule of law* and *rational political* discourse in the refugee crisis is certainly highly important in order to fulfil *responsibilities* and meet objectives to respond to and mitigate the refugee crisis. One can even regard it as a tool to translate *caring* competences into practice. Nevertheless, within her interpretative repertoire in the refugee crisis Merkel does not only rely on the construction of *ingroup* identities and *togetherness* or *responsibilities* based on *caring values*. Much of the interpretative repertoire which Merkel draws on in the refugee crisis further constructs a discourse of *securitisation* of the European external *borders* and European identity as social reality of *exclusion*:

To this extent I believe that on the one hand this impulse was right, but that on the other hand it is also natural to look further: What can I change so that our security interests will be maintained again? (Bundesregierung, 2015d)

and also:

Only together will we succeed in concluding EU wide return agreements, in order to get those people who will not be allowed to stay to return to their countries of origin. Only together will we succeed in distributing the refugees fairly and equally among all member states. (Bundesregierung, 2015f)

Both examples demonstrate how Merkel relates to the interpretative repertoire of European *securitisation* and fixation of *borders*. These themes are socially and historically dominant in political discourses, not least creating the social context in which Merkel's political career developed. She is therefore not only a producer of these *securitising* discourses on political and geographical *borders* and the re-

lated *power* discourses in Europe, but also a product of the same. However, discourse is contingent and alternative discursive repertoire can certainly be found in the chosen material. The first of the two text examples starts with the categorisation of the “impulse” to be right: This impulse is a reference to the admittance of the refugees from Hungary that Merkel categorises as the, morally speaking, ‘right’ thing to do. And even in the second example, which is highly dominated by the aim of constructing strong *border* and *power* discourses, the *attentiveness* for the *need* of the refugees is detectable in the second sentence.

The effect of the employment of *caring* ethics on national, European or even global level may be limited by the interpretative repertoires of *power* and *borders* and with it *exclusion*. Nevertheless, Merkel always frames her advocacy for *caring* ethics within the political sphere as moral basis for *responsible* political discourse. Even though it is an alternative employment of ethical interpretative repertoires in political discourses she manages to found her discursive argumentation on its truth. She shows this repetitively with the famous sentence below, for which she has been criticised many times:

I say again and again: We can do this and we will do this. (Bundesregierung, 2015d)

In the interview with the German journalist Anne Will Merkel justifies her actions during the European refugee crisis on basis of the European *values* she promotes throughout the discourse presented in the chosen example:

I do not want to participate in a contest to see who is most unfriendly to the refugees so that they will not come. I think that is not right, that is not what we as Europeans always claim as the base of our values. And yet, we have to achieve a fair distribution in Europe. (ARD, 2015)

This example offers quite a comprehensive summary of the interpretative repertoires Merkel draws on in her political response to the refugee crisis as well as their functions: On the one hand, it reflects the construction of *togetherness*, both

on a national and on a European level, and, on the other hand, it draws attention to the *responsibility* for the refugees and for the *values* and *rule of law* within Europe. Also, the *interdependence* not only within Europe but rather globally is highlighted by acknowledging the fact that refugees come from outside Europe. And furthermore, the *power* discourse within Europe on the rights for asylum, the *border* discourse, the construction of an *ingroup* identity and the consequent *exclusion* is enhanced.

Merkel wants to come to an agreement with the conservative roots of her party and the political system she is part of by drawing on the European *power* discourse, the construction of a strong *ingroup* identity and the interpretative repertoire of *exclusion*. All this reflects the social construct of a rather masculine account of *power*, economic interests and a neoliberal political culture. She is dependent on the support of the political and wider social context in order to remain in *power* and to secure her ability to act in the refugee crisis. Nonetheless, her use of interpretative repertoires of *caring* ethics points towards a social construction of a political discourse fused with a rather feminine account of *caring values*, emotional attachment to the particular other and the *responsibility to care*. This is what made her choices in September 2015 so exceptional to the public, and why she has been criticised so much: It is inconvenient and new to existing dominant political discourses. In the material analysed, Merkel's employment of interpretative repertoires allows for the interpretation of her reaction to the constant increase of globalisation and the *interdependence* that goes along with it in new categories, anticipating the contingency of discourse. However, it threatens the social realities within. Hence, the question arises of how Merkel reacts to the criticism. Does she limit the discourse to the dominant repertoires within the political context? Can variations be identified depending on the time and setting of the discourse? These questions will be discussed in the following.

6.2 Variation

Considering the variations within function, it will be of special interest to what extent these functions vary between contexts. Once variations between contexts can be identified the consistency or else inconsistency of the use of interpretative repertoires may shed further light on the use of language (Potters and Wetherell, 1987:33). Furthermore, the impact of social context on the purposeful use of interpretative repertoire can be studied (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:105).

When Merkel draws on the interpretative repertoire of *togetherness* she employs different scales of group identities from an *ingroup* of governmental politicians, to an *ingroup* of Germans, to one of Europeans, up to the ultimate ‘*ingroup*’ of a global identity. The construction of *togetherness* hereby relates to the wider thematic discourse it is situated in: When talking about the civil society actively helping refugees known as the ‘Willkommenskultur’ (welcoming culture) in Germany Merkel relates to the ‘we’ in the sense of the Germans helping in the refugee crisis (Bundesregierung, 2015d). When she is relating to the development of an EU wide response to the refugee crisis she refers to ‘we’ in terms of a *togetherness* of all member states. While addressing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development by the United Nations, the ‘we’ and therefore the *ingroup* identity is put into context of the United Nations, and hence, a global *togetherness* is constructed:

It is this very global challenge of the future what the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which we will adopt in New York this weekend, is about. (Bundesregierung, 2015e)

However, the use of interpretative repertoire of *togetherness* is not only linked to the thematic repertoires it is situated in. In her political speech in front of the European Parliament, Merkel solely constructs an *ingroup* identity of ‘we’ in terms of the member states of the EU (Bundesregierung, 2015f). This is an example for the responsiveness of interpretative repertoire to the social context that the dis-

course is set in. The addressees of the political speech are in fact the members of the European Parliament and, therefore, Merkel draws on the European identity as interpretative repertoire. However, while Merkel's use of different interpretative repertoires differs between the social realities the discourse is set in, the constructions of identity occur parallel to each other. The analysis of the chosen discourse shows how Merkel keeps up the construction of national discourse when drawing on interpretative repertoires of European or even global discourse as well. She emphasises the construction of a European or even global identity more than the national identity, which is historically and socially fixed and may, thus, not require the same extent of construction a European or even a global identity discourse requires:

We are neither dealing alone with a German challenge, nor with a European challenge, but with a global challenge that, in order to be overcome, demands from each region, each country, each political level, each institution to play its part. (Bundesregierung, 2015e)

Therefore, the discursive construction of different identities varies not only in regard to the social context Merkel's rhetoric action is set in. She also draws on different scales of identity within one speech act. These variations can be explained by considering the global scale of the refugee crisis. Merkel varies the use of interpretative repertoires in accordance to the different scales of identity. She thereby shows *attentiveness* to the *interdependence* on a national, European and global level. The last of which led to the current extent of the global migrant crisis.

In each of the different text genres, varying from political speech to a press conference to a personal interview, a consistent use of the interpretative repertoires can be observed. This may be due to the overall social context the discourse is situated in. The intensity of the employment of the different interpretative repertoires however varies over time. While Merkel draws on the interpretative repertoire of *caring values* and *attentiveness* for the *need* of the refugees during the en-

ture analysed timeframe, the interpretative repertoire on *power* over asylum decisions and *border* discourse becomes more frequent in the later texts (Bundesregierung, 2015a; Bundesregierung, 2015b; Bundesregierung, 2015e; ARD, 2015). The increasing employment of the interpretative repertoire concerning *power* and *borders* can be explained with the growing public criticism towards Merkel after her decision to accept thousands of refugees from Hungary and the following heavy increase in the number of incoming refugees. By emphasising *power* and national or European *borders*, Merkel seeks to create a social reality of order and control within the refugee crisis.

It is also the task of a community of rule of law and responsibility to better control and organise the situation at the EU's external borders. These measures include an effective repatriation of those who are not entitled to protection by the European Union. (Bundesregierung, 2015e)

In conclusion, the analysis of Merkel's purposeful employment of various complex interpretative repertoires during the European refugee crisis points out how Merkel's subjective psychological reality was constituted by the use of interpretative repertoires. Moreover, it sheds light on her active use of discourse in order to produce a social reality that appears true to her and that is to become true for the addressees. The subsequent chapter will discuss exactly this construction of social realities within the European refugee crisis through the rhetorical use of discourse by Merkel.

6.3 Construction

The final stage of the discourse analysis considers the construction of the social world and the extent to which the social world is constructed by the purposeful use of interpretative repertoire (Potters and Wetherell, 1987:34). The social context of the European refugee crisis and Merkel's role as head of government of the most populous country in the EU constitutes a subject position for her based on

the interpretative repertoires she draws on within discourse and which she employs to construct a specific social reality. The known - rather passive - individual psychological identity that Merkel constructs in her role as chancellor in public discourse changes distinctly with the increasing pressure to react to the European refugee crisis. The exceptional case of a massive increase of asylum applications to the EU and more specifically to Germany increases the pressure within public discourse on the usual social reality which led to a noticeable change in Merkel's public rhetoric. In contrast to the rhetoric of a "political chameleon" that Merkel was publicly criticised as for before (The Economist, 2015), the social context of the refugee crisis led to a change in Merkel's rhetoric towards interpretative repertoires of *caring values* and *responsibility* for the individual refugee.

Merkel draws on the global migrant crisis as social context; and the related global *interdependence* in her rhetoric within the European refugee crisis becomes discursive truth (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:103). Merkel's self is constructed by a discourse of *attentiveness* and *responsibility* for the *needs* of the refugees, on the basis of which her discursive actions rely. The *caring* repertoire results from her understanding of global *interdependence*: She perceives herself as a *responsible* person in *power* and situated in a world of global *interdependence*. By employing interpretative repertoire that results from her individual self, Merkel constructs the public discourse on the refugee crisis. She thereby aims at creating a social reality for her in order to meet her *responsibilities*, and at the same time constructs a public discourse on the European refugee crisis that is heavily relying on Ethics of Care. She thereby pursues the aim of creating a strong interpretative repertoire of *care* as a flexible resource within the public discourse on the migrant crisis (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:104).

In order to frame the political and social discourse on the refugee crisis, Merkel insists on continuously producing a *caring* social context. By linking the interpretative repertoire of *care* and *caring responsibility* to the set of *values* on a Euro-

pean level, Merkel challenges the European discourse on *values of rule of law* and emphasises the *need* of the individual. She combines the interpretative repertoire of *caring responsibility* with the repertoire of *values* and thereby constructs a foundation of Ethics of Care to place the European *values* within. The political discourse by Merkel furthermore draws on such *caring values* as foundational characteristic of a European identity within the European refugee crisis. In combination with the employment of *power* discourse, she emphasises her *responsibility* and uses her authority as a person in *power* purposefully to construct a *caring* discourse in the refugee crisis. By doing so Merkel is able to construct herself as a moral role model on a political level in the refugee crisis. On the level of social identity construction, Merkel's rhetoric leads towards the discursive equivalence of *caring values* with the *values of rule of law*. *Empathy* and *care* become central elements of the political discourse on the refugee crisis and enter the discursive sphere of *rationality* and *rule of law* dominant in political discourse.

7 Why Care Matters

In the present study, the extent to which a global Ethics of Care can offer a political response to the global migrant crisis has been the focus of research. In order to find a valid answer to this research question, the theoretical framework of a global Ethics of Care was conceptualised first and subsequently applied to the case of the German political response to the European refugee crisis. By employing discursive psychology as methodology to analyse the case of the German discourse on the refugee crisis, it was possible to identify the use of a global Ethics of Care within the political discourse. Furthermore, the chosen methodological tool allowed to concentrate on obstacles to the use of a global Ethics of Care within political discourse which is relevant to the research endeavour of the present thesis as well.

The discourse analysis identified several dominant categories within the interpretative repertoire applied by Merkel in the refugee crisis as well as intersections of the different identified categories. Thus, the interpretative repertoire of *responsibility* is dominating the political discourse on the European refugee crisis by Merkel as head of the German government. The subject in need of taking responsibility thereby differs between the individual refugees, which is accompanied by the construction of a *caring responsibility*, and the *rule of law* and *power* system within the EU. Through the *attentiveness* of Merkel for the global scale of *interdependence* regarding the refugee crisis, the interpretative repertoire of a global Ethics of Care can be identified in her political response. However, this global Ethics of Care repertoire always intersects with the dominant political discourse of *power* and *securitisation* of national and European *borders*. While Merkel certainly constructs a caring discourse in the European refugee crisis she does so by further reassuring and reconstructing the *rule of law* and *responsibility* of *power* from a rational point of view.

The main obstacles to the employment of a global Ethics of Care within the migrant crisis therefore arise from the critical public discourse on such an emotional foundation for argumentation within the political sphere. The criticism mainly expressed by the media and fellow politicians categorised Merkel's behaviour to be too emotional and irrational. It accused Merkel to be incapable of offering solutions and strong political responses towards the refugee crisis and called her interpretative repertoire to be reinforcing the influx of refugees to Germany (Dobbert, 2015). One can understand the construction of such criticism as a result of the dominant political discourses of masculinity, the discourses of power and rationality, and ethically situated within the dominant deontological ethics. While it is unlikely that Merkel increasingly employed interpretative repertoire of power and securitisation of borders deliberately in order to reclaim her popularity due to political vanity, her political power position was threatened by the criticism none-

theless. She was targeted in her ability to take over political responsibility and was endangered to be deprived of power which would have led to the loss of her competences to act responsibly in the refugee crisis. One could argue that she could have resisted the domination of such power discourse if she really had emancipated herself from these repertoires. However, Merkel might have anticipated another reason for limiting the employment of Ethics of Care towards the refugees in favour of the dominant employment of national power discourse. Possibly, being head of government of Germany, the pressing fear and concerns as well as the needs of the German citizens were of higher priority to her as opposed to the needs of the refugees, the rather 'distant' others. The question of how to respond to needs and how to distribute responsibilities accordingly might therefore be the main argument of criticism in the discussion of a global Ethics of Care especially in regard to its conceptual inabilities which would limit the employment of a global Ethics of Care. Then again, these limitations would be revoked by the ultimate understanding of interdependence on a global level and the equality of all humankind. It may be reasoned that Merkel's construction of a discursive self of a global Ethics of Care was too often put into context of the national identity that overruled the global interdependence level. Otherwise, she would have acknowledged that global interdependence leads towards the responsibility to care for refugees in ultimate need for political care. If this remains disregarded and unconsidered by global politics, the situation would be aggravated in the long term.

The present thesis analysed Merkel's interpretative repertoire in the European crisis during six weeks in late summer and early autumn 2015. The analysis has illustrated the development of increasing domination of power discourses the period of time of the underlying material. While the results are coherent within the time frame of the analysis, they do not correspond with the political discourse in Germany and the EU on the refugee crisis today. Decisions such as the EU-Turkey Agreement on 18 March 2016 no longer construct or represent the interpreta-

tive repertoire of a global Ethics of Care by Merkel (EC, 2016b). Nonetheless, the interpretative repertoire of a global Ethics of Care needs to be fostered further and implemented in public discourse, on private, social and political as much as academic level. Merkel's interpretative repertoire in the beginning of the European refugee crisis can be understood as a strong progression towards a global Ethics of Care on all societal levels. The results from the study demonstrate that a global Ethics of Care can indeed be employed as constructing interpretative repertoire in the political discourse on the migrant crisis. However, set in the wider political context the discourse of a global Ethics of Care has to face the dominant masculine discourses of power that are deeply rooted socially and historically. This is the main obstacle to be identified within the present study hindering the employment of a global Ethics of Care as a political response in the global migrant crisis.

While the present thesis is situated within the academic debate of feminist Ethics of Care it has set aside the role of Merkel as a woman within the analysis on a global Ethics of Care within Merkel's interpretative repertoire. Many Ethics of Care theorists emphasise the role of gender differences within the feminist theory of Ethics of Care. Especially Gilligan is criticised for the essentialising of caring emotions as typical female attribute to women's personality. Sjoberg (2012) calls for a non-essentialist feminist scholarship within international relations which this thesis seeks to contribute to (Robinson, 1999:164; Sjoberg, 2012). The essentialism of women is critically opposed in the present study by not being addressed throughout the thesis in order to argue for the needlessness of such essentialism for the theoretical conceptualisation and application of Ethics of Care. While it can be agreed upon a strong power discourse as being commonly perceived as categorisation of masculinity, emotional values such as caring behaviour are typically seen in stark contrast to the rationality and strength of masculine power discourses. However, it has not been proven that caring emotions solely originate from female biological attributes like the ability of motherhood. Women differ as

much as men in their expression of caring emotions. Hence, it could have been Merkel's upbringing as child of a Protestant priest or her political alignment of Christian-democrats as much as being a woman, or any other biographical, social or biological categorisation that contributed to her employment of a global Ethics of Care discourse within the European refugee crisis.

Further research may contribute to the findings of this thesis by studying the employment of Ethics of Care in political discourse of other countries or by continuing the discursive psychological analysis of Merkel's interpretative repertoires within the European refugee crisis over time. The chosen methodology as well as the chosen material provided suitable results for the research interest of the thesis. However, a broader context of the chosen material and the comparison between Merkel's political discourse and other actors of political discourse across political parties and countries would enhance the results. What has not been addressed within the present thesis is the common individual culture of political discourse in Germany and other countries worldwide. The analysis therefore only serves as a national case study which does not allow for generalisation in regard to the construction of political discourse in different social realities. The findings, however, point out the opportunities as much as the obstacles of a global Ethics of Care within political discourse with special regard to the European refugee crisis.

Overall, this thesis demonstrated that the construction of a global Ethics of Care collides with the discursive construction of power, rule of law and border politics. A global Ethics of Care challenges the power systems of countries like Germany whose political discourses are dominated by economic interests, the securitisation of borders and the masculine power discourse in general. The employment of the global Ethics of Care in political discourse is therefore a "very dangerous idea" indeed, in particular regarding the refugee crisis. In sum, "it has been said that arguing against globalization is like arguing against the laws of gravity" (Annan, in: Crosette, 2000). The employment of a global Ethics of Care occurs out of the un-

derstanding for the global interdependence that globalisation creates. A global Ethics of Care might be a dangerous idea, but it is now more necessary than ever and it becomes even more so in the global migrant crisis, with every second and every person who is forced to leave their home due to conflict and persecution. The world needs caring politics. Care matters. Now.

[Words: 19,765]

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8.2 Figures

Figure 1:

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Figure 2:

European Commission (EC), 2016. *Countries of origin of (non-EU) asylum seekers in the EU-28 Member States, 2014 and 2015* [online] Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics > Figure 3. [Access date: 2 April 2016].