



# Protect

The Right to International Protection

Frames and Cleavages in Media  
Coverage of Migration



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# Frames and Cleavages in Media Coverage of Migration

## (DRAFT INTERIM REPORT)

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### Abstract

The analysis reported in this paper is part of a wider study in which we used the Event Registry news intelligence platform to provide a contextual insight into how the media around the world perceived and reported on migration in the period from 2015 to 2022. The analysis was mainly focused on five selected countries during the periods of the strongest waves of the European migration crisis and the adoption of international agreements for their (political) solution. Its main goal is to find out what are the basic tendencies in migration reporting and whether we are witnessing an increasing content similarity or diversification of news about migration in five different countries and languages: France, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, and UK. We analyzed the similarity of media coverage based on the most prominent terms denoting individuals and concepts that appeared in news about “refugees” and “migrants”, and contextual distances between them. The co-occurrence of both terms reveals that different migration periods and events are interpreted differently in the media of the studied countries. The clustering procedures carried out revealed some common cleavages in media discourses about migrants and/or refugees: national, regional (EU) and international (military conflicts) cleavages.

### Introduction

The literature on media coverage of migration and migration-related issues, which is quite extensive in different areas of communication research and in different national contexts, lacks research that compares migration-related discourses in traditional and social media in cross-temporal and cross-cultural perspectives. Such comparative knowledge of media coverage on migration is essential in efforts to assess the role of media framings in, among other things, policymaking, public attitudes, and the re-construction of political cleavages. This research report examines the (dis)similarity of coverage of migration-related issues in traditional and social media in terms of the presence and prominence of migration-related topics in the media of nine EU Member States, as well as their framing in different “cleavage systems”, conceptualized by Stein Rokkan (Lipset and Rokkan 1970) and adapted to the theme of migration and international protection by others (Sicakkan 2008, 2020; Sicakkan and Heiberger 2022).

The analysis reported in this paper is part of a wider study in which we used the Event Registry news intelligence platform to provide a contextual insight into how the media around the world perceived and reported on migration in the period from 2015 to 2022. The analysis was mainly focused on five selected countries during the periods of the strongest waves of the European migration crisis and the adoption of international agreements for their (political) solution. Its main goal is to find out what are the basic tendencies in migration reporting and whether we are witnessing an increasing content similarity or diversification of news about migration in five different countries and languages: France, Germany, Italy, Slovenia, and UK.

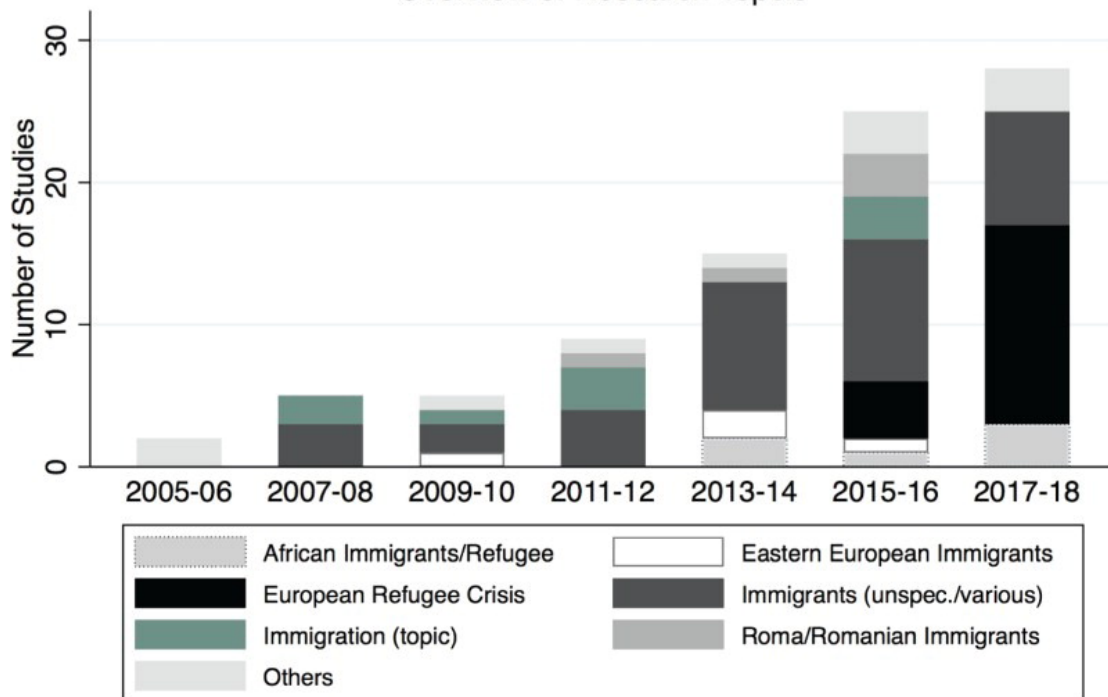
Our previous research suggests that news factors or values arising from specific social contexts have a more significant impact on media coverage of migration than theoretical conceptualizations in migration research (Mance and Splichal 2023). The study found that conceptual innovations in migration research are only weakly present in media coverage of migration around the world and that reporting on migration is primarily situated in a national

political context. The most news about migration occurs during mass and/or politically important events, such as the migration-refugee wave to Europe, Trump's Muslim immigration ban, and Russian aggression in Ukraine.

In general, the use of the term “migrant” was found to be more common in media coverage of migration compared to the use of the word “refugee”, but while the two terms often overlap in journalistic discourse, which indicates the lack of a clear conceptualization of migration in the media, they are also marked by a clear geopolitical difference. Indeed, the two terms are not used interchangeably in the media. The study suggests that the use of the term “refugee” was prominent in the news during the “first refugee wave” to Europe in the fall of 2015, but in later periods, there was a gradual increase in the use of the term “migrant” at the expense of the term “refugee.” This changed when reporting on “refugees” from Ukraine due to Russian aggression, where the term “refugee” was used more prominently. This suggests that the choice of the term used in media coverage is influenced by the geopolitical context and events surrounding the migration. Additionally, the distinction between “refugees” and “immigrants” also reflects national linguistic peculiarities. In some languages, the media prefer to use indigenous terms such as “Flüchtling” and “Asylbewerber” in German, rather than “international” terms “Immigrant” or “Migrant” when reporting on migration.

Research on migration and refugees has a long history, with early studies focusing on the economic and demographic aspects of migration. More recent research has expanded to include the social, political, and cultural dimensions of migration, as well as the experiences of migrants and refugees themselves. Specifically, research on refugees has often focused on the causes and consequences of forced displacement, as well as the challenges faced by refugees in finding protection and solutions, such as asylum and resettlement. In recent years, research on migration and refugees has also increasingly focused on the global and regional dynamics of these movements, including the role of state and non-state actors, and the impact of migration on sending and receiving countries.

European Media Studies on Immigration  
Overview of Research Topics



Source: Jakob-Moritz Eberl et al (2018)

Research on media coverage of migration has increased significantly since 2005 (Eberl et al. 2018). Media studies on migration are mainly focused on the salience of (im)migration topics and how they are reported by traditional media such as print (Vliegthart, Boomgaarden & Boumans 2011) and television (Ruhrmann, Sommer & Uhlemann 2006), whereas journalists' perceptions of the representation of migration in the media were seldom investigated (Arcila-Calderón et al 2021). Research on media interrelationships within "hybridized media systems" (Chadwick 2013) on the polarization and/or alignment of attitudes toward immigrants found that traditional media assert a greater impact on extreme positions than social media news (Iannelli, Biagi & Meleddu, 2021).

Existing research on migration-related media topics appears to be almost exclusively anchored in national demarcations. National studies tend to define, conceptualize and contextualize migration-related issues within national borders and with national actors, while comparative analyses that would examine migration discourses in different (European) countries in traditional and social media in cross-cultural and cross-national perspectives (with the exception of Helbling's study (2014)) are lacking (Eberl et al. 2018).

Studies on the representation of migration in the media have mostly been based on theories of agenda-setting (McCombs and Shaw 1972) and framing (Goffman 1974; Entman 1993). Research on agenda setting in the context of migration has shown that the media, while "setting the agenda" by selecting which issues to cover, and how much coverage to give them, often focuses on certain types of migration stories, such as those that involve crime or conflict, while underreporting other stories, such as those that involve successful integration or the positive contributions of migrants. Studies on how the media "frame" migration issues by highlighting certain aspects of them, while downplaying or ignoring others, have shown that the media often uses negative frames, such as the "economic burden" or "security threat" frames, which can perpetuate negative stereotypes and misconceptions about migrants. Both agenda setting and framing approach suggest that media coverage of migration can play a powerful role in shaping public perceptions and understanding of this issue, and that media coverage can often be biased and distorted. They also suggest that it is important to critically analyze media coverage in order to understand the ways in which it informs and misinforms the public about migration.

The body of research studies that make use of these two perspectives is widespread in the field of political communication. These types of studies aim to explain how public debates about (im)migration influence public opinion and the potential impact of these issues on voting decisions and public policies regulating (im)migration (for a literature review, see Eberl et al., 2018). Critical research that focuses on how migrants are reported by analyzing discursive practices in the media is concerned with the process of othering of (im)migrants. The most prominent frames are economic, e.g., the economic impact of migration, or validity frames, e.g., when refugees are more often associated with and as exploiters of social programs (Lawlor and Tolley 2017) or the causes of/for a crisis (Cottle 2000). Famulari & Major (2022) note that the most prominent frames in media discourse about (im)migrants are those that criminalize them and construct them as threats, or victimize them and emphasize their vulnerability.

### **News Values and the Construction of Cleavages in Media Coverage of Migration**

Migration is a complex and multifaceted issue that can be approached from a variety of angles. News organizations use news values as a yardstick for deciding which stories to cover and how to present them. These values are often used as guidelines for gatekeeping decisions in newsrooms and may include: the relevance of the story to current events, the geographic proximity of the story to the audience, the status or fame of the people or organizations involved in the story, the presence of disagreement or controversy in the story, the possibility that the story evokes emotions or personal connections from the audience, the uniqueness or

unusualness of the story, and its relevance in relation to recent events. For example, when reporting on migration, editors may choose to focus on the human stories of individual migrants, the political and economic factors that drive migration, or the social and cultural consequences of migration, among other things (Staab 1990; Harcup & O'Neill 2017). These editorial values are not set in stone and may vary between different news media, and political and cultural contexts.

In the online digital environment, the determination and control of “newsworthiness” of events is increasingly shaped by sophisticated algorithms that analyse vast amounts of data from various news sources to identify and prioritize newsworthy topics (Splichal 2022, 122). These algorithms take into account a variety of factors, such as audience engagement, historical data, and patterns of news consumption, to determine the relevance and importance of a particular story for specific users. As a result, the process of gatekeeping and decision-making in newsrooms is becoming increasingly data-driven, with algorithms playing a critical role in shaping the stories that are presented to the internet users. Nevertheless, algorithms are not completely independent of human intervention, as they are human-made and constantly monitored and adjusted by newsroom teams to ensure compliance with editorial policy and journalistic principles.

The tension between these two aspects of news-making – that is, audience-focused algorithms and editorial policy-based journalism – constitute the port of entry through which political cleavages, that is enduring structural cultural, economic, ideological conflicts and divides in society, diffuse into the news. While the audience-interest focus of algorithms is likely to generate news reporting that mirrors the political cleavages prevalent in society, editorial intervention may weaken, reinforce, or re-construct these cleavages, and even create new cleavages (Wadahl and Aardal 2004), through news framing and agenda setting. Diffusion of political cleavages into media news happens through the mechanism of newsworthiness of conflict and polarization. News-framing based on the discourses and preferences of groups that are positioned against each other along the existing cleavages is motivated by, among other things, the market logic behind newsworthiness. In other words, media framings can be regarded as being partly constructed by political cleavages and truncated by the filter of newsworthiness determined by algorithms and newsrooms. This perspective brings into the equation of the role of the cleavages in news-making.

One should, then, expect overlaps between how issues are perceived in society and how they are framed in media. However, as earlier research on hybridization shows (Farjam et al. 2023), and as expected, there are differences between the frames in editor-controlled media and the free (social) media sphere. Editor-controlled media better reflects the established cleavage structures and suppresses the extreme positions whereas social media mirrors better the most conflictful views and the extreme poles. Regarding issues related with migration, a good litmus test for the true cleavage-colours of media framings is how they distinguish between, or conflate, the terms “migrant” and “refugee”.

### **The Distinction versus Conflation between “Refugee” and “Migrant” as a Political Tool**

In media coverage of migration, migrants and refugees are often confused, meaning that the terms “migrant” and “refugee” are used interchangeably, despite the fact that they refer to different groups of people. Whether or when the two terms are used interchangeably in the media, or whether one or the other comes to the fore, mainly depends on the geopolitical contextualization of reporting on migration.

This conflation of migrants and refugees can lead to confusion and misperceptions about the nature and causes of migration and the legal and policy issues involved. For example, conflating migrants with refugees can lead to the assumption that all migrants are in need of

protection, or that all migrants are seeking asylum. This can lead to the neglect of the specific protection needs of refugees, and can also perpetuate the idea that all migration is illegal, which is not always the case. Furthermore, the conflation between migration and protection, or between migrants and refugees, can also lead to the portrayal of all migrants and refugees as a homogeneous group with similar experiences and motivations, which is not accurate. This can lead to the neglect of the diversity and complexity of migration and refugee experiences, and can also perpetuate stereotypes and misconceptions about these groups. Overall, the conflation between migration and protection in media coverage can lead to a distorted understanding of these issues, and can perpetuate stereotypes and misconceptions about migrants and refugees.

The conflation of migration and protection is a phenomenon that finds its roots in the “quest for control” European states have been committed to since the 1970s’ (Castles et al. 2014, 210). In this framework, asylum was gradually less perceived as a humanitarian matter and more as a migration issue, thus confusing protection purposes and border control objectives (Morris 2002)—a phenomenon that accelerated with the terrorist threat after 9/11, 2001. The terms “migrant” and “refugee” have different implications for governments’ obligation to help refugees, their readiness to act, their policy options, and their room for maneuver regarding foreigners’ entry and movements in their territory. In the context of international law, the term refugee connotes states’ legal obligation to let refugees into their territory and provide international protection to them. The term migrant, on the other hand, implies state sovereignty in matters of foreigners’ entry and movement in a state’s territory. In the former case, once a person or a group is designated as refugees, this means that they have been forced to leave their country that they have a right to international protection, and that state sovereignty over their movement is limited by the international refugee law. In the latter case, when a group of people are designated as migrants, this means that their mobility is voluntary, and it is mostly up to the affected government to decide on the respective group’s entry into its territory.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, preferring one term over the other has serious implications for a state’s options and a person’s rights. When international protection and migration are treated together as part of the same policy package or discourse frame, the rights of refugees are prone to be diluted within concerns about immigration. Therefore, for those involved in international refugee protection work, the conflation of refugee and asylum policy with (im)migration policy is a growing concern; it is a development that may lead to a shrinkage of the refugees’ legal right to international protection. Indeed, a shift towards such conflation of “refugee” and “migrant” is observed in policy. But its existence in other social spheres such as action, public discourse, and citizen attitudes, tend to legitimate its presence in policy, thus further threatening the very permanence of a right to protection from persecution.

Regarding policy, conflation of international protection with migration is discernible in EU policy since the adoption of the first Schengen agreements in the 1980s’, which explicitly connected immigration and asylum with terrorism, transnational crime and border control (Bigo, 2002). It was more recently reaffirmed in the EU’s New Pact on Migration and Asylum (Sicakkan et al. 2020). Similarly, the fact that migration control is embedded within the EU development policy has proven to have a negative impact on refugees’ right to international protection (Guild and Grunder 2022).

Regarding action, research about the determinants of the work scope of civil society organizations shows that those organizations who see refugees as a distinct category have a larger repertoire of action for providing help to refugees than those who see refugees as migrants or as part of a bigger human rights project (Usherwood et al., 2023).

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<sup>1</sup> Freedom of mobility within the EU and EEA may be seen as an exception to the latter. However, within the EU, people moving between the EU are no longer called migrants but second country nationals.

Regarding public discourse, while the social media users in the networks around the UN see refugee protection as a theme in itself, the users in the network around the EU see it as a matter of migration (Heiberger et al. 2022). Similarly, dilution of the conceptual boundary between “refugee” and “migrant” in public opinion through the effect of migration issue salience, that is framing refugees as migrants and in terms of national migration policy, leads to the weakening of public support to international protection (Cappelen et al. 2023).

This article is concerned with another, yet complementary, facet of the phenomenon: conflation between migration and asylum in traditional and new media. We show that a similar shift is observed in this social sphere, too. Said conceptual shift from “refugee” to “migrant” and vice versa during the aforementioned particular events (e.g., the first and second migration waves, and the war in Ukraine) should be interpreted as part of a power struggle among global, regional, and national political actors over foreigners’ entry into states’ territory.

**Table 1: Themes of struggle about international protection in the global cleavage system**

	Nativists	Nation-statists	Regionalists	Globalists
What is most worth to protect?	<u>Ethnic Belonging</u> Dispersed nations’ rights in terms of ethnic/ diasporic identification, language, and territorial belonging	<u>National Belonging</u> Citizens’ rights and duties in terms of civic culture; states’ interests; and the international order	<u>Individual Autonomy</u> Individuals’ rights and interests in terms of dignity, lives, liberties, and estates in a civil society	<u>Individual Autonomy</u> Individuals’ rights and interests in terms of dignity, lives, liberties, and estates in a civil society
Approach to protection	<u>Protection of co-ethnics as duty</u>	<u>Charity approach</u>	<u>Charity and human entitlement</u>	<u>Human entitlement approach</u>
Responsibility for protection	<u>Co-ethnic states</u> Individual states that have historical relations with certain diasporas and the states where these diasporic groups reside are responsible for refugees, hence <u>unilateral</u> or <u>bilateral</u> state actions.	<u>Intergovernmental</u> Individual states primarily, and the international community secondarily have responsibility for refugees, hence <u>unilateral</u> , <u>bilateral</u> , or <u>multilateral</u> state cooperation.	<u>Intra-regional</u> States in the affected region are primarily responsible for the region’s refugees, hence <u>regional multilateral</u> cooperation among states; and economic aid and relief from unaffected regions.	<u>Supranational</u> The international community has responsibility for all refugees, hence an organized fair burden-sharing between states through <u>global multilateral</u> binding cooperation.
Policy tools	<u>Ethnicization of the refugee problem</u> Territory and autonomy claims on behalf of diasporic groups; population exchanges; unilateral actions such as condemnation and intervention, and bilateral agreements	<u>Nationalization of the refugee problem</u> Focus on root causes; preventive diplomacy, economic relief, forced / voluntary repatriation, military aid, and intervention	<u>Regionalization of the refugee problem</u> Focus on root causes; extensions of sovereignty to stateless communities; regional devolutions; temporary collective protection; creating regional safe zones; repatriation	<u>Universalization of the refugee problem</u> Focus on universal human rights; individual protection; cooperation across borders; preventive diplomacy; economic aid and relief; voluntary repatriation schemes.
Governance modes and actors	<u>State-centric centralist governance</u> - Identity-centric - States - Other states in bilateral agreement - Nativist non-state	<u>State-centric corporatist governance</u> - States - Other states in bi- and multi-lateral agreement	<u>Region-centric pluralist governance</u> - Regional organizations - States - International organizations	<u>Global corporate-pluralist governance</u> - International organizations - Regional organizations - States

Source: Adopted from Sicakkan (2008)



The term “migrant” was instrumental in legitimizing the push-back operations on refugees arriving from non-European countries during the second migration wave. The sudden shift from “migrant” to “refugee” helped provide public support to the temporary protection measures for the Ukrainian war escapees.

The power struggle on control over territorial borders can be better understood in terms of political cleavages (or ideological tensions), between the proponents of globalization and its discontents, as summarized in Table 1. The *globalists* idealistically insist that refugee protection is a shared responsibility of humanity, and they strive for achieving an internationally coordinated, global refugee protection system. The three opponents of globalization and its idea of shared responsibility for refugees are the *populist-nativists*, *nation-statists*, and *regionalists*. Indeed, together with the globalists, these are the four main groups with competing ideological visions about the future world order, whose presence has been documented in previous research (Hooghe and Marks 2018, Kriesi et al. 2006, Piketty et al. 2021, Sicakkan 2016, Sicakkan and Heiberger 2022, Zürn 2019).

The populist-nativists want the natives’ preferences to determine the fates of the asylum seekers and refugees who are knocking on the doors of their country. They also claim “we” do not have a protection responsibility for the world’s refugees because they are seen as migrants rather than rights-bearing refugees. The nation-statists see refugee protection as a shared responsibility but claim more sovereignty over determining their refugee and asylum policies. Thus, they may often tend to designate refugees as migrants when the refugees are perceived as a threat to their national interests. The regionalists, e.g., those who want to give more supranational powers to regional entities like the EU and AU, are pragmatic in their approach and seek regional solutions for the challenges posed by refugee inflows. The regionalists accept responsibility for protecting the refugees fleeing conflicts in their own region. In this sense, the EU hospitality to the Ukrainians fleeing the Russian invasion, while at the same time calling non-European refugees “migrants”, is a regionalist response. Thus, all but globalists may tend to designate refugees as migrants out of socio-tropic concerns. In this sense, the shifts between “refugee” and “migrant” in the media are often not coincidental; it is highly probable that they reflect some ideological reflexes in society that are connected to the cleavage system.

## **Research Methods and Procedures**

### *Identification of specific periods of analysis*

Media coverage consists of numerous stories, some more prominent than others, and the peaks formed do not represent only one event. Single events with significant but brief media coverage (such as Trump's immigration ban) exhibit the shape of a "needle" in the long-term visual presentations, with a steep rise and a steep decline, while more complex events of public interest, such as the so-called European migrant crisis, often lead to subsequent events that result in a longer duration of public discourse and expand media coverage, creating numerous peaks.

The analysis includes two periods that appear to be the most prominent according to the distribution of the number of articles published daily per specific country containing the term *refugee*: the so-called European refugee and migrant crisis, which gained prominence at the end of August 2015, and the beginning of the Ukrainian war at the end of February 2022. Therefore, we analyse two months at the beginning of the two events, from August 22 to October 22, 2015, and February 20 to April 20, 2022.

We start the analysis by examining the frequency distributions of news articles containing both analysed terms, namely *refugee* (and the plural form "refugees") and *migrant* (which, in addition to the plural, also contains a form denoting the process of "migration") in the media of the five analysed countries: the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Slovenia. The articles were selected by basic search mode in Event Registry and selecting the country

affiliation of the source. The corresponding terms in the languages of the selected countries were identified using the "Asylum and Migration Glossary 6.0" developed and published by the European Migration Network (2018).

**Table 2.** The list of keywords used in the search procedure

	<b>refugee</b>	<b>migrant</b>
<b>UK (English)</b>	refugee refugees	migrant migrants migration
<b>Germany (German)</b>	Flüchtling Flüchtlinge Geflüchteter Geflüchtete	Migrant Migrantin Migranten Migrationen Migration
<b>France (French)</b>	réfugié réfugiés	migration migrant migrants
<b>Italy (Italian)</b>	rifugiato rifugiati	migrante migranti migrazione
<b>Slovenia (Slovene)</b>	begunc begunca beguncu beguncem begunci beguncev begunce beguncih	migrant migrantu migranta migranti migrantov migrantom migrantih migracije migracij migracijah migracijam

In addition to the significant number of news sources collected, the data also includes identified entities that appear in the text, as each news article is tagged with information about geographic locations (countries/cities), people, institutions, and concepts that appear in the text, for which ER uses information generated in Wikipedia. The entity detection feature available in Event Registry enabled us to use the detected people and concepts in the text of articles, only if the respective entity were included in Wikipedia in a form of a Wikipedia page. The "wikification" of a news article, where each Wikipedia page represents an entity and the relationships between the occurring entities are defined by internal URLs to other Wikipedia pages, membership in specific categories, and cross-language links (Brank et al., 2017). This allows not only the comparison of, for example, the most prominent actors associated with a particular event, but also the comparison of article content in different languages.

We were able to analyse the similarity of media coverage by first detecting the most prominent terms denoting individuals, and concepts that appeared in news articles about refugees and migrants. In addition, based on the identified terms, we were able to analyse the similarity of coverage by performing the terms co-occurrence networks where the links between the terms represented the instances where the two entities appeared in the same article. In the generated visualisations, the width of the links is proportional to the frequency of co-occurrence of two terms.

We excluded the term refugee from the list of all entities that appear in news articles that talk about refugees (and thus also excluded the term migrant from the list of entities that appear in news articles that talk about migrants), since their presence in each article offers no explanatory value to the analysis. On the contrary, by excluding these two terms, which are associated with every other term in the network, we contributed to a greater clarity of the connections within the network, which helped us better in identification of a network structure.

The network is visualized with Gephi software using a MultiGravity ForceAtlas 2 algorithm that distributes nodes within the network according to a vector generated by two opposing forces: the attractive force, based on the edge weights of the nodes, and the repulsive force, generated by neighboring nodes. In this way, nodes that occur more frequently and coincide with a larger number of other nodes are drawn closer together, while those that occur less frequently are drawn farther apart. In the resulting graphs, the size of the node labels is proportional to the number of all edges connected to the node.

*Measuring similarity in news reporting*

Clusters, or modules of entities/terms within the network, were detected on the basis of structural properties of the network—with their (uneven) distribution based on the number and weight strength of links connecting them. Modules contain nodes with a higher density of stronger links among themselves, separated from neighboring clusters by a weaker and lesser number of edges (Blondel et al 2008). Modularity index designates the quality of segmentation of a network into modules, where a higher modularity index indicates higher fragmentation of the network (more dense links between particular groups of nodes and weaker links between neighboring groups). The resolution parameter, on the other hand, adjusts the algorithm's sensitivity and defines the number of modules (Lambiotte et al 2015).

Eigenvector centrality indexes were adopted to represent the importance of particular node within the network, as take take into consideration cases where a particular unit /term has only few connections, but can have a very high eigenvector centrality if those few connections were to very well-connected others (Hansen et al., 2020).

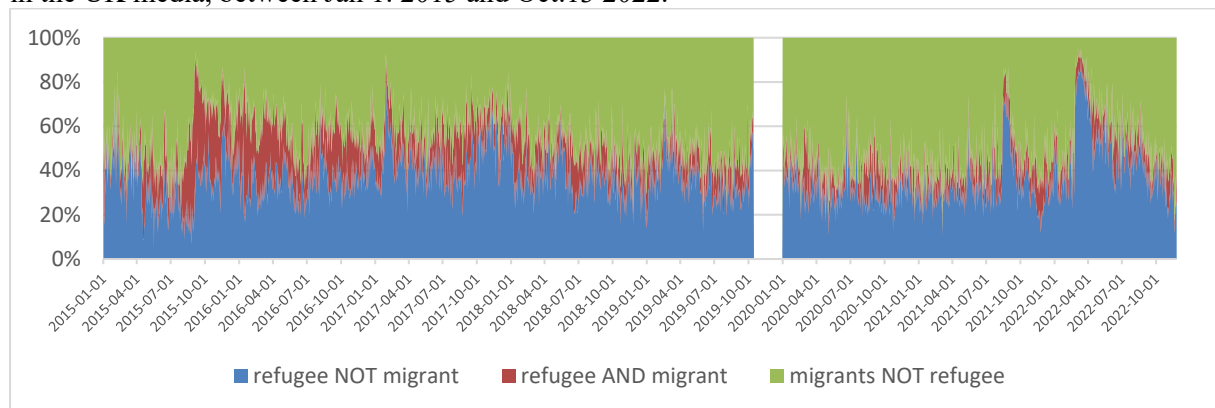
Preceding the network analysis, we present a 7-year distribution of articles containing the words refugee and migrant, together with the indication, if the concepts appear in separated articles or together, indicating their semantic proximity. Furthermore, with the identification of top 15 concepts co-occurring with both terms in both analysed periods, we define the core semantic space in which both terms are contextualized.

**Results**

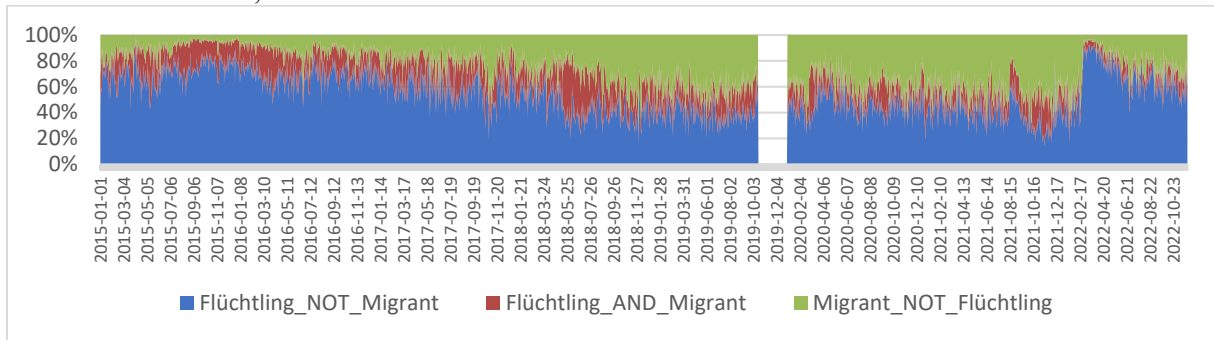
*Co-occurrences of refugees and migrants in the media discourse*

The highest number of co-occurrence of the terms refugees and migrants (shown in red in Fig.1.-5.) in the news articles occurred mainly at the beginning of the so-called "European refugee crisis", which started in late summer 2015. On the other hand, the two peaks in the later analysis period, September 2021 and March 2022, show a high number of articles containing the term refugee (in blue) and a much lower number of articles containing both terms.

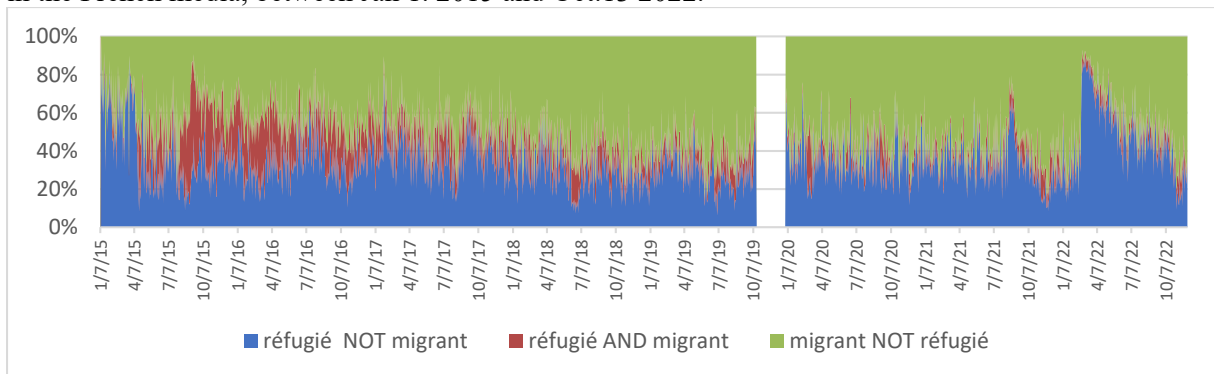
**Figure1.** Relative distribution of news articles referring only to refugees, only to migrants and both in the UK media, between Jan 1. 2015 and Oct.13 2022.



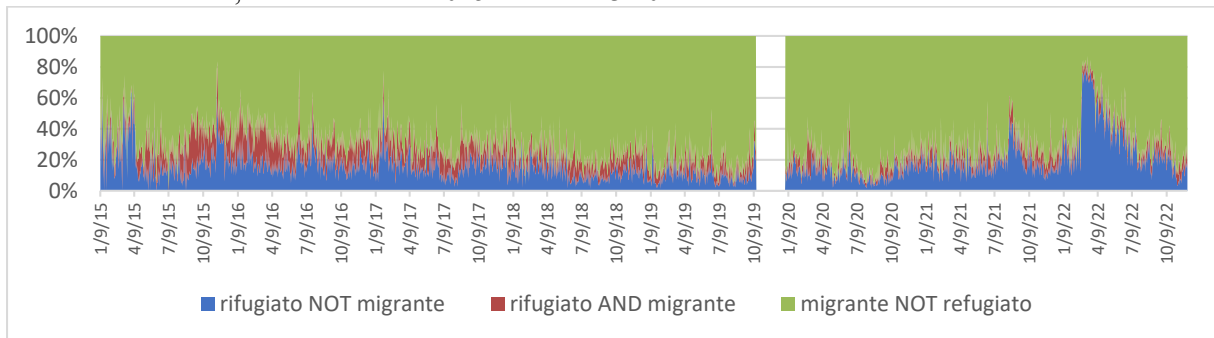
**Figure2.** Relative distribution of news articles referring only to refugees, only to migrants and both in the German media, between Jan 1. 2015 and Oct.13 2022.



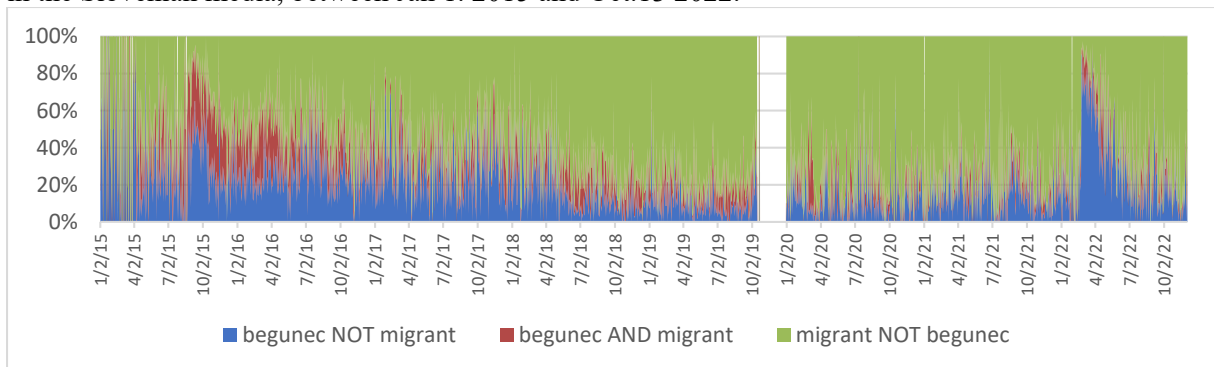
**Figure3.** Relative distribution of news articles referring only to refugees, only to migrants and both in the French media, between Jan 1. 2015 and Oct.13 2022.



**Figure 4.** Relative distribution of news articles referring only to refugees, only to migrants and both in the Italian media, between Jan 1. 2015 and Oct.13 2022.



**Figure 5.** Relative distribution of news articles referring only to refugees, only to migrants and both in the Slovenian media, between Jan 1. 2015 and Oct.13 2022.



The number of articles containing both searched terms shows that the beginning of the so-called EU refugee crisis was interpreted differently in the media of the countries studied. While in Germany the number of articles mentioning refugees as opposed to migrants was 4:1, in Slovenia the ratio was lower at about 2:1. In the United Kingdom and France, there were roughly equal numbers of articles referring to refugees and migrants, while in Italy the common term for people leaving their country was migrant, which appeared in media articles twice as often as the term refugee (Table 1).

**Table 1.** The numbers of published articles containing refugee and migrant during the so called European refugee crisis and Ukrainian crisis in analyzed countries

	EU refugee crisis		Ukrainian crisis	
	Refugee	Migrant	Refugee	Migrant
<b>UK</b>	15,366	13,144	33,240	8,964
<b>Germany</b>	63,855	15,841	65,933	8,630
<b>France</b>	16,025	15,069	18,888	4,946
<b>Italy</b>	3,469	7,401	11,514	5,055
<b>Slovenia</b>	1,825	972	3,246	1,082

The number of articles referring to people leaving their homes as migrants was substantially lower in the media of the analyzed countries during the Ukrainian crisis, the ratios of articles referring to refugees versus migrants were about 8:1 in Germany, roughly 4:1 in France and in the UK, 3:1 in Slovenia and 2:1 in Italy.

### Framing refugees at the beginning of the European refugee and migration crisis

A comparison of the words most frequently associated with refugees and migrants in news articles in the media of the studied countries shows an almost identical semantic context, as at least 13 of the 15 most prominent words associated with both terms in the first period are identical in media coverage during the so-called first wave in all studied countries (Tables 2a-d), while the similarity is lower during the period of the Ukraine crisis, as only 6 of the most prominent words associated with the analyzed terms are common to both terms.

**Table 2a.** 15 most related terms with refugees and migrants in the UK media reporting in both analyzed periods (brackets - number of articles particular term appears; bolded terms - appearing in both samples within a period)

EU refugee crisis (Aug. 20.-Oct. 20. 2015)		Ukrainian crisis (Feb. 22 – Mar. 22. 2022)	
Refugee	Migrant	Refugee	Migrant
Refugee (13,868)	Refugee (7,905)	Refugee (30,067)	Human migration (2,797)
<b>Eur. migrant crisis</b> (5,838)	<b>Immigration</b> (4,864)	<b>Vladimir Putin</b> (11,476)	Asylum seeker (1,769)
<b>Immigration</b> (3,905)	<b>Eur. migrant crisis</b> (4,811)	<b>Ukrainians</b> (10,693)	Immigration (1,646)
<b>Right of asylum</b> (2,804)	<b>Human migration</b> (3,104)	<b>Humanitarian aid</b> (7,720)	Right of asylum (1,637)
<b>David Cameron</b> (2,743)	<b>Right of asylum</b> (2,583)	Kyiv (7,546)	<b>Boris Johnson</b> (1,618)
<b>Pound sterling</b> (2,271)	<b>David Cameron</b> (2,212)	<b>Travel visa</b> (7,379)	<b>Vladimir Putin</b> (1,448)
<b>Asylum seeker</b> (2,235)	<b>EU member state</b> (1,925)	Volod. Zelensky (6,389)	<b>Home Secretary</b> (1,447)
<b>Syrian Civil War</b> (1,992)	<b>Asylum seeker</b> (1,894)	<b>Economic sanctions</b> (5,624)	Coronavirus (1,400)
<b>Human migration</b> (1,991)	<b>Pound sterling</b> (1,751)	Soviet–Afghan War (5,516)	<b>Priti Patel</b> (1,362)
<b>Angela Merkel</b> (1,938)	<b>Angela Merkel</b> (1,735)	<b>Boris Johnson</b> (5,418)	Human rights (1,274)
<b>EU member state</b> (1,843)	<b>Euro</b> (1,472)	World War II (4,257)	<b>Ukrainians</b> (1,241)
<b>Chancellor of Ger.</b> (1,623)	<b>Chancellor of Ger.</b> (1,452)	<b>Home Secretary</b> (4,036)	<b>Travel visa</b> (1,039)
World War II (1,481)	<i>Balkans</i> (1,366)	Presid. of Ukraine (3,848)	<b>Humanitarian aid</b> (944)
<b>Euro</b> (1,445)	<b>Syrian Civil War</b> (1,288)	War in Donbas (3,817)	P.M. of the U.K. (853)
Refugee camp (1,284)	<i>Schengen Area</i> (1,222)	<b>Priti Patel</b> (3,720)	<b>Economic sanctions</b> (851)

The most prominent terms in the media discourse on refugees in the first period of analysis indicate the *relativization* of the refugee status through labeling and frequently employing

terms such as European migration crisis (UK, Germany and France), immigration (UK, Germany and Italy), human migration (UK, France and Italy), migrant (Germany), right of asylum (UK, Germany, France and Italy) and asylum seeker (UK and Germany) as one of the most prominent words associated with refugees in news articles in the beginning of European refugee crisis.

Besides the most prominent national political actors/functions indicating national frame in media reporting on refugees in the beginning of the European refugee-migration crisis are referrals to *Angela Merkel* as a person, the *Chancellor of Germany* as a concept denoting her political function and *social integration* (Germany) indicate the prominence of an idea of “multikulti” society and integration of refugees she advocated echoing in all national contexts.

**Table 2b.** 15 most related terms with refugees and migrants in German media reporting in both analyzed periods (number of articles particular term appears (in brackets); bolded terms - appearing in both samples within a period)

EU refugee crisis(Aug. 20.-Oct. 20. 2015)		Ukrainian crisis (Feb. 22 – Mar. 22. 2022)	
Refugee	Migrant	Refugee	Migrant
<b>Refugee</b> (61,995) <b>Asylum seeker</b> (20,984) <b>Eur. migrant crisis</b> (15,996) <b>Chancellor of Germany</b> (1949–) (14,865) <b>Right of asylum</b> (14,267) <b>Police</b> (13,703) <b>Angela Merkel</b> (13,086) <b>Minister-president</b> (11,464) <b>Euro</b> (11,074) <b>Migrant</b> (8,560) <b>Municipality</b> (8,446) <b>Bundesebene (Deutschland)</b> (7,732) <b>Innenminister</b> (7,643) Social integration (7,308) <b>Immigration</b> (7,125)	<b>Refugee</b> (14,104) <b>Migrant</b> (9,577) <b>Asylum seeker</b> (6,804) <b>Right of asylum</b> (6,454) <b>European migrant crisis</b> (5,917) <b>Chancellor of Germany</b> (1949–) (4,983) <b>Angela Merkel</b> (4,652) <b>Police</b> (4,292) <b>Immigration</b> (4,256) <b>Minister-president</b> (4,229) <b>Euro</b> (3,674) <b>Innenminister</b> (3,168) <b>Bundesebene (Deutschland)</b> (2,926) Thomas de Maizière (2,887) <b>Municipality</b> (2,579)	<b>Refugee</b> (58,851) <b>War in Donbas</b> (23,442) <b>Vladimir Putin</b> (15,762) <b>Euro</b> (15,476) <b>War of aggression</b> (11,505) <b>Municipality</b> (10,363) <b>World War II</b> (9,225) Volodymyr Zelensky (9,164) Chancellor of Germany (8,654) President of Ukraine (8,445) Sanctions (law) (8,360) <b>Bundesebene (Deutschland)</b> (8,271) Minister-president (8,117) Invasion (7,748) Bus (7,636)	<b>Human migration</b> (3,732) <b>War in Donbas</b> (2,755) <b>Migrant</b> (2,599) <b>Vladimir Putin</b> (1,975) <b>Euro</b> (1,673) Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (1,420) <b>World War II</b> (1,224) <b>War of aggression</b> (1,190) <b>Police</b> (1,096) Coronavirus (1,060) Asyl (1,025) <b>Municipality</b> (992) The Greens (987) <b>Bundesebene (Deutschland)</b> (968) Interior minister (963)

Moreover, the prominence of words such as *euro* (all countries), *pound sterling* (UK), and *money* (Slovenia) suggests that the discourse on refugees (and migrants) was framed within a cost and expenditure frame. Other dimensions of framing argue for the presence of securitization frame, indicated with words such as *police*, *border*, *border checkpoint*, *border restrictions*, and different religious orientation of refugees with the use of words such as *Islam* (France).

**Table 2c.** 15 most related terms with refugees and migrants in French media reporting in both analyzed periods (number of articles particular term appears in (in brackets), bolded terms – terms appearing in both samples within the same period (bolded))

EU refugee crisis(Aug. 20.-Oct. 20. 2015)		Ukrainian crisis (Feb. 22 – Mar. 22. 2022)	
Refugee	Migrant	Refugee	Migrant
<b>Refugee</b> (14,180) <b>Human migration</b> (8,729) <b>Right of asylum</b> (4,749) <b>Government</b> (4,445) <b>Eur. migrant crisis</b> (4,272) <b>Border</b> (3,,381) <b>Police</b> (3,109)	<b>Human migration</b> (11,829) <b>Refugee</b> (9,476) <b>Eur. migrant crisis</b> (4,531) <b>Right of asylum</b> (4,161) <b>Government</b> (3,938) <b>Border</b> (3,630)	<b>Refugee</b> (16,160) <b>Vladimir Putin</b> (5,485) Humanitarian aid (3,810) <b>War in Donbas</b> (3,760) Bombardment (3,559) <b>Ukrainians</b> (3,299) <b>Border</b> (3,267)	<b>Human migration</b> (35,329) <b>Refugee</b> (16,749) Coronavirus (6,409) <b>Government</b> (5,939) <b>Euro</b> (5,619) <b>Ukrainians</b> (5,609) <b>Border</b> (5,249)

<b>François Hollande</b> (3,085) <b>Angela Merkel</b> (2,,601) <b>Euro</b> (2,490) <b>Chancellor of Germany</b> (1949–) (2,388) <b>Prime minister</b> (1,894) <b>Minister of the Interior</b> <b>(France)</b> (1,747) President of France (1,559) Islam (1,505)	<b>Police</b> (3,382) <b>Angela Merkel</b> (2,404) <b>François Hollande</b> (2,387) <b>Euro</b> (2,373) <b>Chancellor of Germany</b> (1949–) (2,102) <b>Prime minister</b> (1,757) <b>Minister of the Interior</b> <b>(France)</b> (1,554) Balkans (1,529) Manuel Valls (1,370)	Volodymyr Zelensky (3,061) Mayor (2,817) <b>Emmanuel Macron</b> (2,698) <b>Government</b> (2,525) Port (2,452) <b>Journalist</b> (2,091) <b>Euro</b> (2,022) Media (communication) (1,942)	<b>War in Donbas</b> (5,139) <b>Vladimir Putin</b> (5,129) Police (5,089) <b>Emmanuel Macron</b> (5,059) Right of asylum (5,029) <b>Journalist</b> (4,219) Law (4,179) Human rights (3,579)
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### Framing of refugees during the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis

Terms that were associated with refugees at the beginning of the so-called European refugee and migration crisis, such as *immigration*, *European migrant crisis*, *human migration*, *right of asylum* and *asylum seeker*, are not found among the main terms related to refugees in news articles in all countries studied at the beginning of the Ukraine crisis. The absence of terms that would indicate a public discourse on granting refugee status (or the need for it) is due to a policy measure that was adopted without public discussion and implemented by the EU to protect Ukrainian refugees – if they can technically be considered refugees at all, since they were granted tourist visas?

**Table 2d.** 15 most related terms with refugees and migrants in Italian media reporting in both analyzed periods (number of articles particular term appears (in brackets); bolded terms - appearing in both samples within a period)

EU refugee crisis(Aug. 20.-Oct. 20. 2015)		Ukrainian crisis (Feb. 22 – Mar. 22. 2022)	
Refugee	Migrant	Refugee	Migrant
<b>Immigration</b> (2,270) <b>Refugee</b> (2,218) <b>Human migration</b> (939) <b>Right of asylum</b> (877) <b>Police</b> (731) <b>Prime Minister of Italy</b> (706) <b>Angela Merkel</b> (629) <b>President</b> (609) <b>Euro</b> (573) War (512) <b>Border</b> (476) <b>Family</b> (474) <b>Sea</b> (402) <b>Law (principle)</b> (368) Train (319)	<b>Immigration</b> (5,466) <b>Human migration</b> (2,619) <b>Refugee</b> (1,621) <b>Police</b> (1,527) <b>Prime Minister of Italy</b> (1,253) <b>Right of asylum</b> (1,227) <b>President</b> (1,027) <b>Euro</b> (1,011) <b>Border</b> (953) <b>Family</b> (854) <b>Angela Merkel</b> (852) <b>Sea</b> (841) Mayor (768) <b>Law (principle)</b> (752)	<b>Immigration</b> (4,227) <b>World War II</b> (3,969) <b>War</b> (3,746) <b>Family</b> (2,984) <b>Vladimir Putin</b> (2,967) <b>Euro</b> (1,813) Bombardment (1,590) <b>Mayor</b> (1,527) <b>President (government title)</b> (1,438) Solidarity (1,226) <b>Law (principle)</b> (1,217) Kremlin (1,112) <b>Society</b> (987) Airplane (977) Hospital (970)	<b>Immigration</b> (1,596) Human migration (1,323) <b>War</b> (1,211) <b>Family</b> (901) <b>Euro</b> (782) <b>World War II</b> (630) <b>Vladimir Putin</b> (602) <b>President (government title)</b> (582) Pandemic (543) <b>Society</b> (541) <b>Law (principle)</b> (521) Ship (482) <b>Mayor</b> (480) Ministry of the Interior (Italy) (476) Right of asylum (464)

On the other hand a high prominence of words such as *war in Donbas* (UK, Germany and France), *war of aggression* (Germany), *war* (Italy and Slovenia), *invasion* (Germany), *bombardment* (France and Italy), *airplane* (Italy) and *hospital* (Italy) indicate victimization of Ukrainian refugees (which is largely absent from the beginning of the European refugee-migrant crisis) and *humanitarian aid* (UK, France), *solidarity* (Italy), *civilian* (Slovenia) indicate humanitarian frame which is also largely absent from the framing of refugees in the first period of the analysis. To the contrary, *immigration* appears as the most prominent term in news articles referring to refugees in this period of analysis in Italian media which may be a specific linguistic trait.

**Table 2d.** 15 most related terms with refugees and migrants in Slovenian media reporting in both analyzed periods (number of articles particular term appears (in brackets); bolded terms - appearing in both samples within a period)

EU refugee crisis(Aug. 20.-Oct. 20. 2015)		Ukrainian crisis (Feb. 22 – Mar. 22. 2022)	
Refugee	Migrant	Refugee	Migrant
<b>Refugee</b> (1581) <b>State</b> (polity) (1187) <b>Police</b> (609) <b>Minister</b> (government) (534) <b>Cabinet</b> (government) (497) <b>Politics</b> (469) <b>President</b> (344) <b>Prime minister</b> (318) <b>Euro</b> (283) <b>Train</b> (278) <b>Citizenship</b> (258) <b>Border checkpoint</b> (253) Family (219) Money (214) <b>Bus</b> (211)	<b>Refugee</b> (729) <b>State</b> (polity) (704) <b>Police</b> (397) <b>Minister</b> (government) (364) <b>Cabinet</b> (government) (313) <b>Politics</b> (258) <b>Prime minister</b> (217) <b>Train</b> (185) <b>President</b> (184) <b>Citizenship</b> (179) <b>Border checkpoint</b> (165) <b>Euro</b> (146) <b>Bus</b> (145) Hungarians (134) Statute (115)	Refugee (3003) <b>State</b> (polity) (2135) <b>President</b> (government title) (1215) Cabinet (government) (1045) <b>Minister</b> (government) (971) Ukrainians (963) Military (822) <b>Prime minister</b> (712) Politics (690) Vladimir Putin (673) Russians (649) <b>Citizenship</b> (642) War (620) <b>Euro</b> (605) Civilian (576)	<b>State</b> (polity) (660) Cabinet (government) (408) Human migration (345) Politics (332) <b>Citizenship</b> (301) <b>President</b> (government title) (300) <b>Minister</b> (government) (285) <b>Euro</b> (262) Police (232) <b>Prime minister</b> (205) Economy (197) Legislation (194) Money (192) Election (190) Law (179)

### Framing of Migrants during the Ukrainian conflict

The framing of migrants during the second period of the analysis is influenced by the Ukraine conflict, as terms such as *Vladimir Putin* (UK, Germany, France and Italy), *war in the Donbas* (Germany and France), *Ukrainians* (UK and France), *war of aggression* (Germany) are highly associated.

In the news articles on migration published during the Ukraine war in all countries except France, the word refugee is missing. Likewise, the term refugee does not seem to be recognized in news articles published in the Italian media. Instead, the term immigration is as present in articles about refugees as in articles about migrants. Furthermore, in German dataset the term refugee is the most frequently recognized term in articles about migrants, and even more frequent than the latter. These cases could indicate linguistic peculiarities as well as an imprecision in the entity recognition program in the Event Registry.

### Identifying the main frames of reporting on refugees and migrants

In the following chapter, network analyses based on the co-occurrences of terms were conducted to identify the main clusters of entities that appear in media discourses about refugees and migrants and to identify the cleavages that form these clusters.

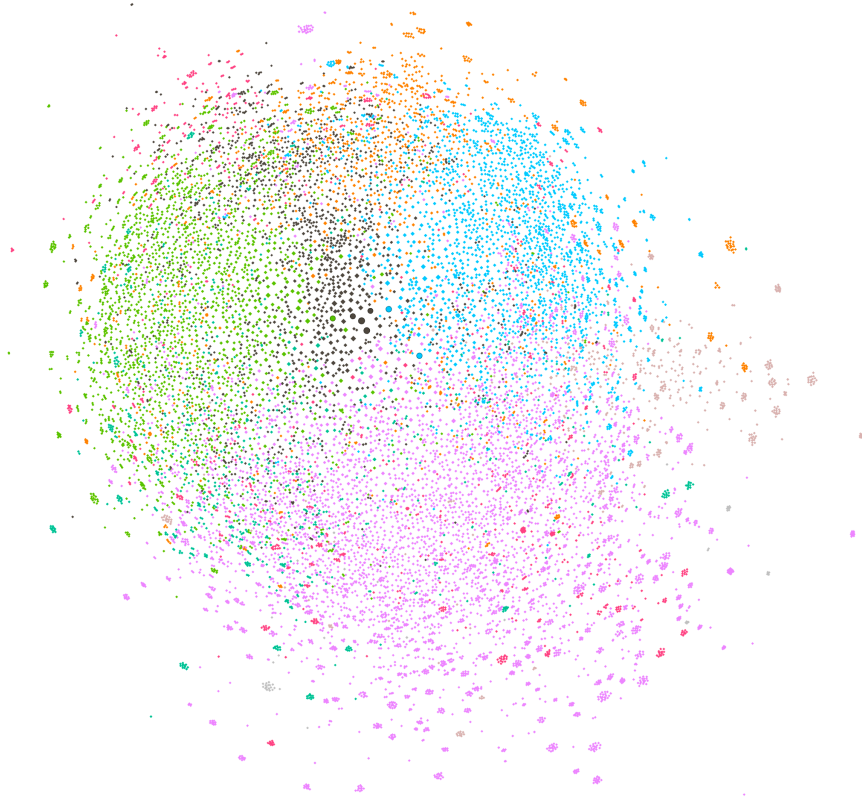
The clustering procedures conducted revealed some common cleavages in media discourses about refugees. The common cleavages in the reduced networks of concepts and people appearing in news articles about refugees and migrants in the first period of analysis are national, regional (EU) and international (military conflicts) cleavages.

Due to differences between countries, i.e., the uneven number of media analysed in Event Registry, the size of news articles, the extent of different-language Wikipedias and interconnectivity between different Wikipedia pages, etc., the analyses conducted on the national sample cannot be directly compared by cluster size. Nonetheless, the identified clusters are useful for drawing indicating basic cleavages in media discourses about refugees and migrants.



## Framing of refugees in British media during the beginning of so called European migrant – refugee crisis

**Figure 6a.** Overview of the clustered network of co-occurring concepts and individuals in the articles referring to refugees in the UK media from 20. Aug. – 20. Oct. 2015



The modularity clustering procedure resulted in the identification of 20 communities, of which only 8 contained more than 1% of nodes and met the established criteria for further analysis.

1. **Regionalist/European frame** (black, 10.1% of all nodes) contains most of the key terms in the network indicating the presence of discourse on international protection of refugees, such as *European migrant crisis* (1.0), *immigration* (0.943), *right of asylum* (0.762), *asylum seeker* (0.736), *economic migrant* (0.475), *illegal immigration* (0.418), *deportation* (0.455), *criminalization* with terms such as *smuggling* (0.466), *people smuggling* (0.450), *human trafficking* (0.389), *religious (non)orientation* of refugees, such as *Muslim* (0.596), *Christianity* (0.462), but also terms indicating a more *receptive frame towards refugees*, such as *Angela Merkel* (0.720), *human rights* (0.601), *racism* (0.481), *conservatism* (0.463), *xenophobia* (0.402), *far-right politics* (0.401), and *nationalism* (0.395).

2. **National policy frame** (blue, 14.3% of all nodes). In addition to national political actors such as *David Cameron* (0.849), *Jeremy Corbyn* (0.561), and *Theresa May* (0.438), the cluster also includes indicators that relate the discourse on refugees to the *Brexit referendum*, with terms such as *referendum* (0.424), *independence* (0.350), *Brexit* (0.297), *Euroscepticism* (0.290), and *public opinion* (0.273), but also *antagonism between Conservatives and Labourists* indicated by *socialism* (0.351), *economic inequality* (0.297), and *radicalism* (0.290), among others.

3. **Localization of humanitarianism frame** (purple, 36.6%) contains indicators of the localization of news discourses about refugees that deal with humanitarian aspects. The most central term in this cluster, *pound sterling* (0.816), indicates discourse revolving around *costs and expenses*, but also *victimization* and *humanitarianism* (0.613), the *death of Alan Kurdi* (0.525), *charitable organization* (0.503), *non-governmental organizations* (0.417), *humanitarian crisis* (0.385), *tragedy* (0.377), *sanctuary* (0.339), *tent* (0.309), *aid* (0.279), and *multiculturalism* (0.261), aspects of *communication*, either non-mediated, such as *French language* (0.524), *English language* (0.498), *Greek language* (0.353) or/and mediated communication, indicated by *social media* (0.531), *newspaper* (0.416), *journalist* (0.407), *internet* (0.401), *radio* (0.323), *television* (0.278), *local governance*, such as *local government* (0.468), *infrastructure* (0.435), *health care* (0.394), *mayor* (0.389), and *councillor* (0.344), among others.

4. **Global governance frame** (green, 15.4%): includes terms related to the Syrian conflict, ie, *Syrian civil war* (0.752), *Bashar al-Assad* (0.663), *civil war* (0.642), and major political actors in *global governance*, such as *Barack Obama* (0.576), *Vladimir Putin* (0.466), *coalition* (0.422), *international community* (0.405), *geopolitical antagonism* between the *Western world* (0.394) and *Islam* (0.485), *Arabs* (0.421), and/or *the Arab world* (0.346), supplemented by *extremism threat* indicators, ie, *terrorism* (0.651), *Isis* (0.423), *Islamism* (0.385), *murder* (0.370), *jihād* (0.359), *extremism* (0.352), and *jihādism* (0.330).

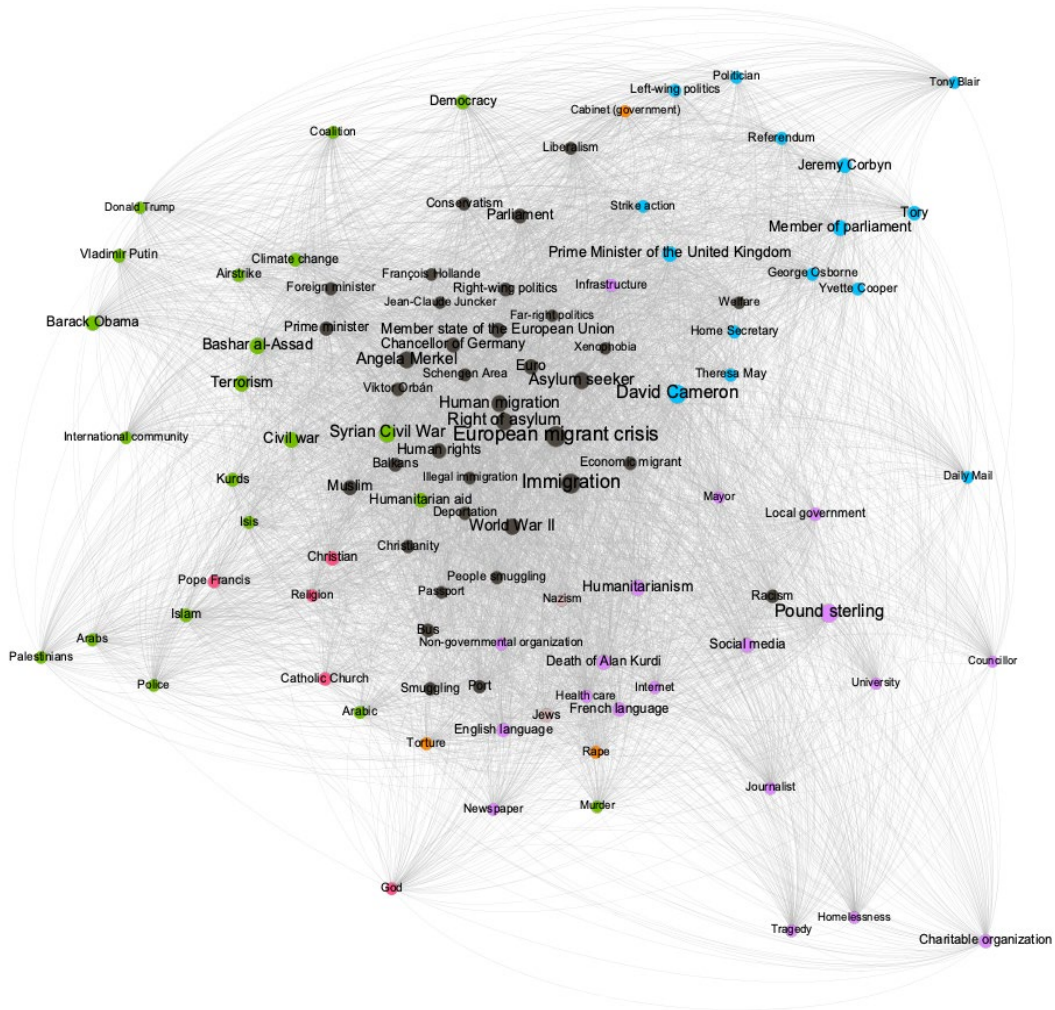
5. **Election campaign frame** (pink, 8.0%): contains Australian political actors such as *Tony Abbott* (0.207), *Malcom Turnbull* (0.133), and minister for Immigration on the tie, *Peter Dutton* (0.111), but also Canadian, *Justin Trudeau* (0.166). Some of the most central concepts are *climate change* (0.470), *rape* (0.406), *economics* (0.271), *economic growth* (0.261), while the terms obtaining highest centrality scores in the cluster and relating to issues of immigration are *citizenship* (0.306) and *immigration detention* (0.172).

6. **Historical frame** (not visible, 6.3%), contains the most important terms referring to the World War period II, with terms such as *Jews* (0.476), *Nazism* (0.399), *Adolf Hitler* (0.297), *Holocaust* (0.262), *fascism* (0.213), etc.

7. **Religious frame** (pink, 5.4%) is defined by most of the central terms in the cluster, such as *Christian* (0.512), *Catholic Church* (0.452), *Pope Francis* (0.436), *God* (0.402), *religion* (0.400), but also *discrimination* (0.252).

8. **Election campaign frame** (not visible, 4.0%): the debate on refugees is contextualized between key Canadian political actors such as *Stephen Harper* (0.212), *Justin Trudeau* (0.165), and *Tom Mulcair* (0.129), among others; with the main issues related to refugees are *citizenship* (0.306), the **economy** ie. *economics* (0.271), *recession* (0.158), *bankruptcy* (0.144), *central bank* (0.144), *emerging markets* (0.114), *interest rate* (0.106), *world economy* (0.103), and various **(global) crises** such as *natural disaster* (0.170), *drought* (0.139), *greenhouse gas* (0.132), *Köppen climate classification* (0.107), *pollution* (0.096), etc.

**Figure 6b.** Reduced network of concepts and individuals co-occurring in the news articles mentioning refugees in the UK media, Aug. 20. – Oct.20, 2015 (res.=1, n=104/0.72% of all nodes)



### Framing of migrants in British media during the beginning of so called European migrant – refugee crisis

**Figure 7a.** Overview of the clustered network of co-occurring concepts and individuals with migrants in the UK media from 20. Aug. – 22. Oct. 2015

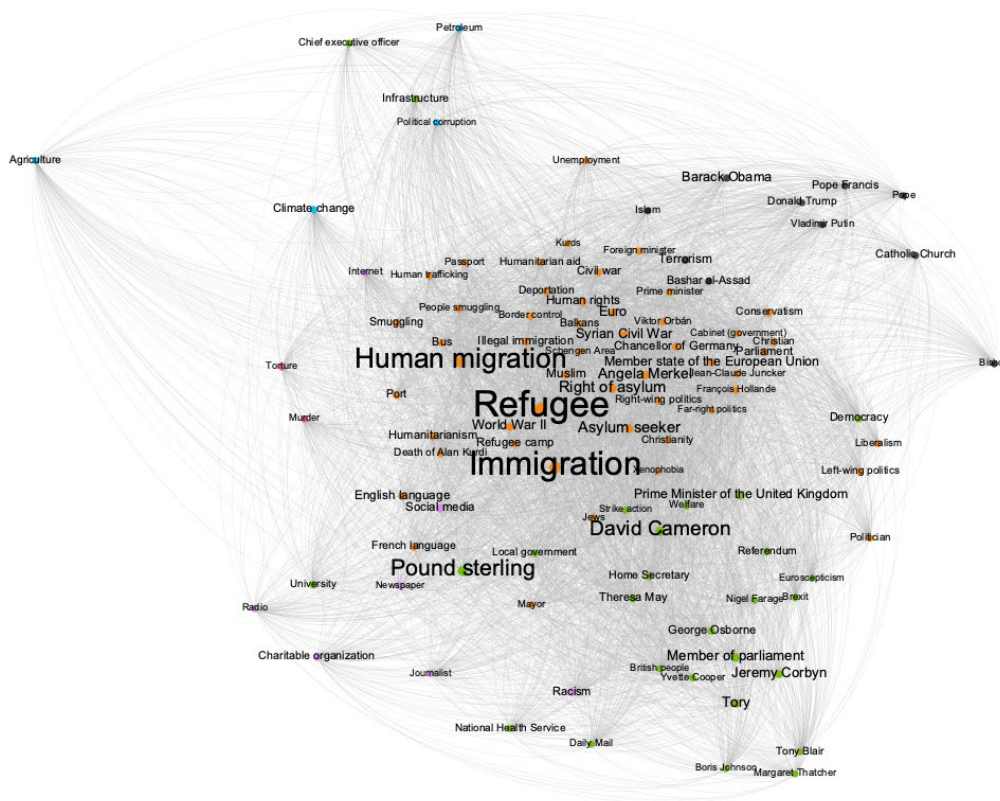


Of the 9 clusters identified, 7 contained more than 1% of terms and were selected for further analysis.

1. **Regionalist/European frame** (orange, 11%) acts as the central cluster in the network, bringing together different aspects and frames of the so-called **European refugee/migrant crisis**, e.g. *refugee* (1.0), *immigration* (0.958), *human migration* (0.862), *right of asylum* (0.627), and *asylum seeker* (0.620). The most prominent political actor in this cluster is *Angela Merkel* (0.597), along with *Viktor Orbán* (0.394), *Jean-Claude Juncker* (0.381), and *François Hollande* (0.357). In addition to indicators describing the movement of people, such as *Balkans* (0.436), *bus* (0.429), *port* (0.413), the cluster also combines indicators of **humanitarian frame**, such as *human rights* (0.494), *humanitarianism* (0.458), *humanitarian aid* (0.405), *death of Alan Kurdi* (0.398), **securization** frame, with *Schengen area* (0.388), *terrorism* (0.496), *deportation* (0.410) and **criminalization of migrants**, i.e., *illegal immigration* (0.463), *smuggling* (0.428), *people smuggling* (0.372), and their **religious (non)orientation**, i.e., *Muslim* (0.485), *Christian* (0.376), and *Christianity* (0.376).
2. **National frame** (green, 23.4%): Terms with the highest eigencentality values include *pound sterling* (0.761), indicating a **cost and expenditure frame**, and national political actors, i.e., *David Cameron* (0.749), *Tory* (0.535), *member of parliament* (0.533), *Jeremy Corbyn* (0.532), *Theresa May* (0.450), and the terms indicating withdrawal of the UK from EU, *Brexit* (0.331), *treaty* (0.330), *eurocepticism* (0.324), *UK EU membership* (0.300), and *foreign policy* (0.319), among others.
3. **Humanitarian frame** (purple, 26.6%) with indicators denoting **media and information**, such as *social media* (0.459), *internet* (0.341), *journalist* (0.315), *newspaper* (0.309), *radio* (0.301), *freedom of speech* (0.219), **charity**; *charitable organization* (0.389), *tragedy* (0.287), *homelessness* (0.259), *tent* (0.224), *hell* (0.231), *famine* (0.220), **criticism of anti-immigration discourse** indicated by *racism* (0.410), *prejudice* (0.175), *political corectness* (0.156), and *morality* (0.154), among others.
4. **Global crises frame** (blue, 17.7%) include indicators of broader global crises, such as *climate change* (0.403), *agriculture* (0.344), *petroleum* (0.313), *political corruption* (0.307), and *health care* (0.290), among others.
5. **International military conflict frame** (black, 12.0%) includes indicators for global governance actors *Barack Obama* (0.483), *Bashar al-Assad* (0.447), *Vladimir Putin* (0.357), *Donald Trump* (0.350), and the military conflict frame *airstrike* (0.317), with **securitization** frame, such as *terrorism* (0.496), *extremism* (0.287), *Isis* (0.280), *jihad* (0.262), and **religious** frame, such as *Pope Francis* (0.388), *Catholic Church* (0.386), *Islam* (0.367), and *Islamism* (0.298), among others.
6. **Election campaign frame** (pink, 5.9%): contains *torture* (0.327), *murder* (0.310), *rape* (0.295), *judge* (254), *activism* (0.244) with political actors such as *Tony Abbott* (0.207), *Malcom Turnbull* (0.133), and minister for Immigration on the tie, *Peter Dutton* (0.111).
7. **Sports and Entertainment frame** (not visible in Figure 7b, 3.4%) includes indicators such as *Association football* (0.212), *Premier League* (0.124), *Silvio Berlusconi* (0.088), *Rugby world cup* (0.082) and *Sunderland A.F.C.* (0.082) among others.

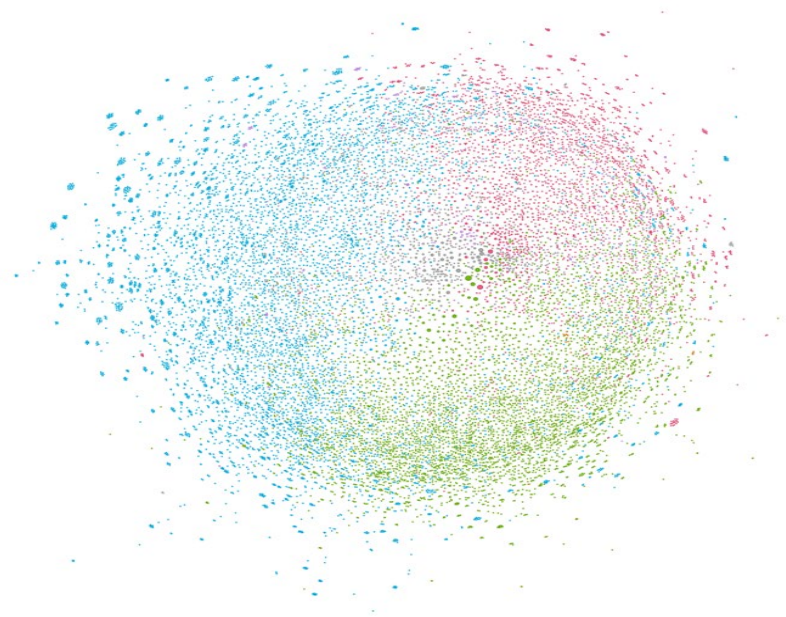


**Figure 7b.** Reduced network of concepts and individuals co-occurring in the news articles mentioning migrants in the UK media, Aug. 20. – Oct.20, 2015 (res.=1, n=103 (0.44%))



### Framing of refugees in German media during the beginning of so called European migrant – refugee crisis

**Figure 8a.** Overview of the clustered network of co-curring concepts and individuals with refugee in German media from 20. Aug. – 22. Oct. 2015



Of the 14 identified clusters with 15,992 terms connected by 713,334 edges, only 5 contained more than 1% of terms.

1. **Local frame** (green, 30.7%) contained indicators of *international refugee protection*, such as the most central term within the network, *asylum seeker* (1.0), *right of asylum* (0.878), *Abschiebung* (deportation) (0.606), *asylum in Germany* (0.603), *Erstaufnahmeeinrichtung* (initial reception facility) (0.588) with quite an emphasis on *social integration* (0.814), *volunteering* (0.679), *Willkommenskultur* (welcoming culture) (0.538), *Arbeitsmarkt* (labor market) (0.454) and the *local community* indicated by the *municipality* (0.780), *mayor* (0.745) and *national governance*, i.e. *Bundesebene* (federal level) (0.647) and *state* (0.613) among others.

2. **European migrant crisis frame** (pink, 15.9%) describes refugees by *costs and expenditures*, indicated by *Euro* (0.918), *European migrant crisis* (0.856), *immigration* (0.766), *migrant* (0.693), but also *solidarity* (0.602), *human rights* (0.485), contextualised in a discourse of *military conflict*, indicated by *civil war* (0.486), *Syrian civil War* (0.433), and *Bashar al-Assad* (0.419), among others.

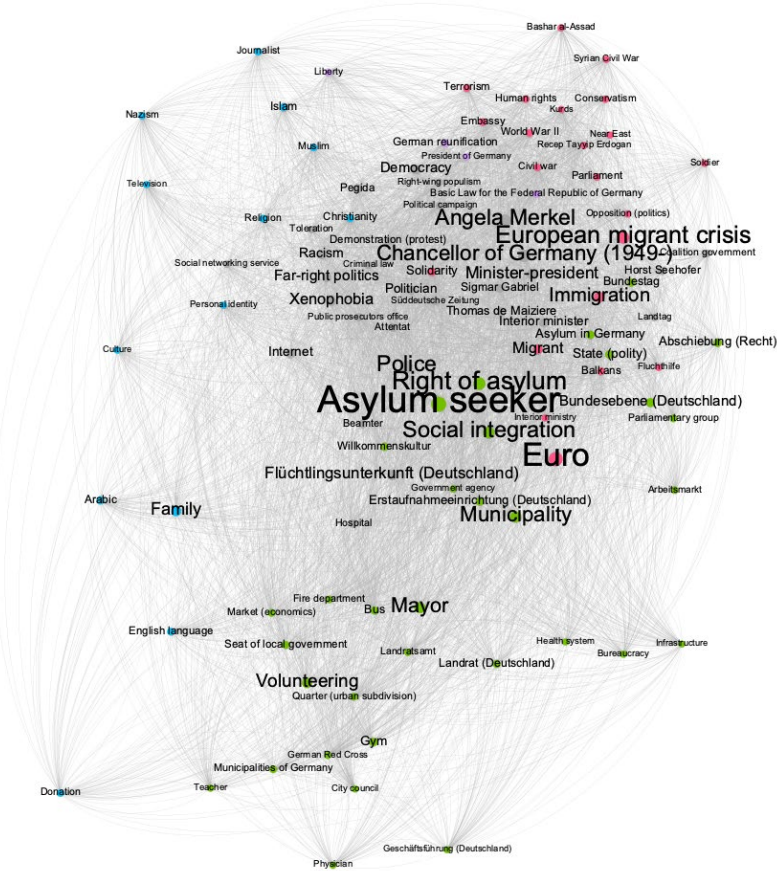
3. **National policy frame** (grey, 8.2%) appears as the most central cluster and includes national political actors, such as *Angela Merkel* (0.820), *chancellor of Germany* (0.816), *Minister-president* (0.722), minister of interior of the time, *Thomas de Maizière* (0.609), *Sigmar Gabriel* (0.580), *Horst Seehofer* (0.560) together with indicators of *criticism of anti-migration frame* with terms such as *xenophobia* (0.684), *Flüchtlingsunterkunft* (refugee accommodation) (0.681), *far-right politics* (0.653), *democracy* (0.635), *racism* (0.596), *demonstration* (0.529), *Pegida* (0.528), *toleration* (0.474), *right-wing populism* (0.450), and *hatred* (0.402), among others.

4. **Religious frame** (blue, 42.9%) among the most prominent terms according to their centrality scores contains *family* (0.677), *religious Islam* (0.533), *Christianity* (0.507), *Arabic* (0.489), *Muslim* (0.475), and *religion* (0.471) among others.

5. **Constitutional frame** (purple, 2%) the terms with the highest centrality values in the cluster indicate *key events in the country's history*, such as *German reunification* (0.526), *key political figures*, e.g., the function of *president of Germany* (0.441), (former president) *Joachim Gauck* (0.412), and *laws and key principles*, e.g., *the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany* (0.505), *liberty* (0.447), *constitution* (0.356), *social equality* (0.252), *freedom* (0.201), *ecumenism* (0.160), and *secularism* (0.134), among others.

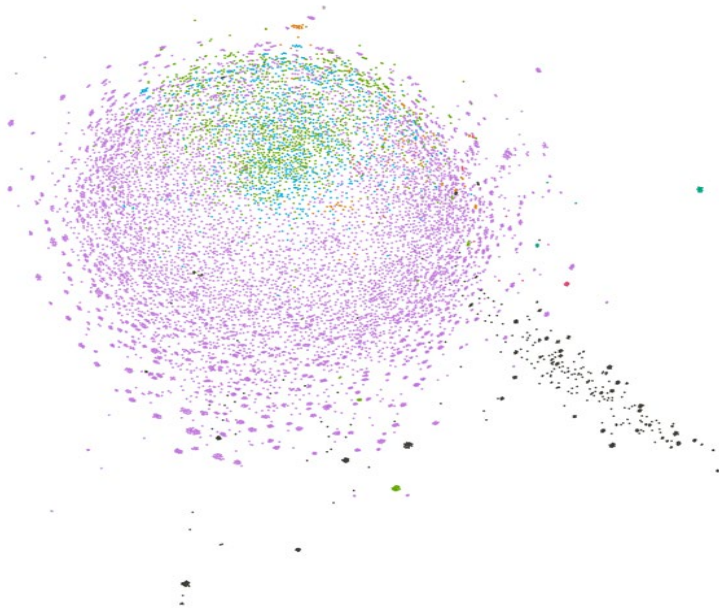
The central frame of the discourse on refugees at the beginning of the so-called European migration crisis was led by the most prominent national politicians who offered a critique of the anti-migrant discourse.

**Figure 8b.** Reduced network of concepts and individuals co-occurring in the news articles mentioning refugees in German media, Aug. 20. – Oct.20, 2015 (res.=1, n=101 (0.63%))



**Framing of migrants in German media during the beginning of so called European migrant – refugee crisis**

**Figure 9a.** Overview of the clustered network of co-curring co-occurring in the news articles mentioning migrants in German media from 20. Aug. – 22. Oct. 2015

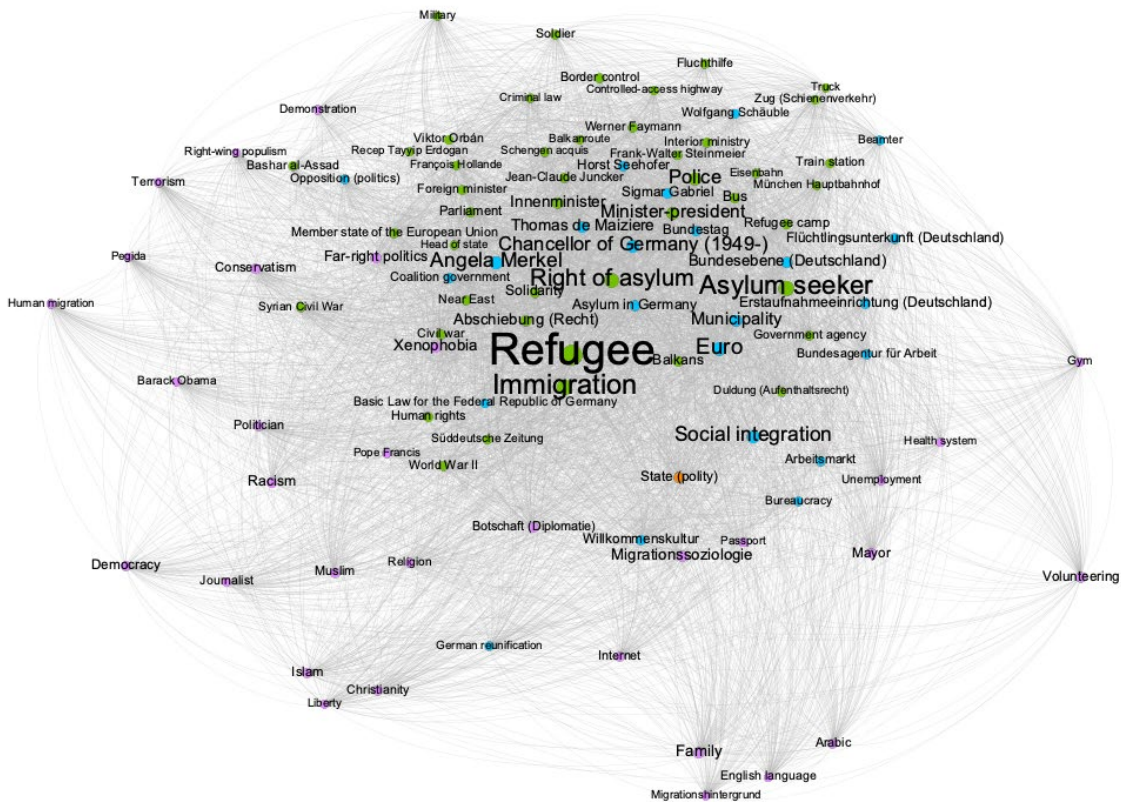


Of the 11 identified clusters with 10,539 nodes connected by 461,087 edges, only 4 contain more than 1% of the nodes. Although the fourth cluster (black) contains 5% of the nodes in the network, it contains nodes that indicate the use of the term migration for technological purposes, such as data migration, and was therefore excluded from further analysis.

1. **Regionalist / EU frame** (green, 11.6%) contains terms, such as *refugee* (1.0), *asylum seeker* (0.810), *immigration* (0.807), *right of asylum* (0.769), and *Abschiebung* (deportation) (0.565), **EU and non-EU leaders**, such as *Jean-Claude Juncker* (0.466), *Viktor Orbán* (0.440), *François Hollande* (0.375), *Donald Tusk* (0.370), *Recep Tayyip Erdogan* (0.369), *Werner Faymann* (0.422), **national political actors**, *Frank-Walter Steinmeyer* (0.435), among others), *Balkan migration route developments* (0.515), *bus* (0.506), *refugee camp* (0.485), *München Hauptbahnhof* (Munich main train station)(0.400), *Balkan route* (0.392), **securitization** indicators; *police* (0.675), *border control* (0.457), *Schengen acquis* (0.393), **military conflict frame**; *soldier* (0.435), *civil war* (0.428), *Bashar al-Assad* (0.408), *military* (0.357), and others. The cluster overlaps strongly with the National Politics cluster (Figure 9a), indicating a close relationship between the national and EU levels.
2. **National policy frame** (blue, 7.7%) contains important national political actors: *Angela Merkel* (0.713), *Thomas de Maizière* (0.591), *Sigmar Gabriel* (0.580), *Horst Seehofer* (0.493), and *Wolfgang Schäuble* (0.425), as well as a prominent opponent of refugees acceptance, *Markus Söder* (0.339). The terms with the highest centrality scores in the cluster indicate a positive attitude toward accepting migrants, such as *social integration* (0.678), *asylum in Germany* (0.529), *Willkommenskultur* (welcome culture) (0.452), *Pro Asyl* (0.350), and others.
3. **Globalist-nativist frame** (pink, 73.8%). Except for *Barack Obama* (0.367), there are no other political actors among the 50 terms with the highest centrality scores. The terms with the highest centrality values indicate discourse that includes **criticism of anti-migration movements**, such as *xenophobia* (0.549), *Migrationsoziologie* (0.529), *far-right politics* (0.512), *racism* (0.467), *conservatism* (0.434), *right-wing populism* (0.351), *toleration* (0.331), **humanitarianism** with terms such as *family* (0.503), *aid agency* (0.331), *German Red Cross* (0.301), **victimization** of migrants such as *arson* (0.299), but also the presence of different **religious orientations** of migrants in the discourse, i.e. *Islam* (0.441), *Muslim* (0.423), *Christianity* (0.382), *religion* (0.360), *Pope Francis* (0.343), *Islamism* (0.300), *Catholic Church* (0.299), *ethnicity Arabic* (0.401). On the other hand, the cluster also contains dimensions of **securitization**, such as *terrorism* (0.395), indicators of **anti-immigration discourse**, such as *Pegida* (0.328), *terror* (0.316), *Migrationshintergrund* (migration background) (0.308), *personal identity* (0.306), *Islamism* (0.300), and others.



**Figure 9b.** Reduced network of concepts and individuals co-occurring in the news articles mentioning migrants in German media, Aug. 20. – Oct.20, 2015 (res.=1, n=101 (0.96%))



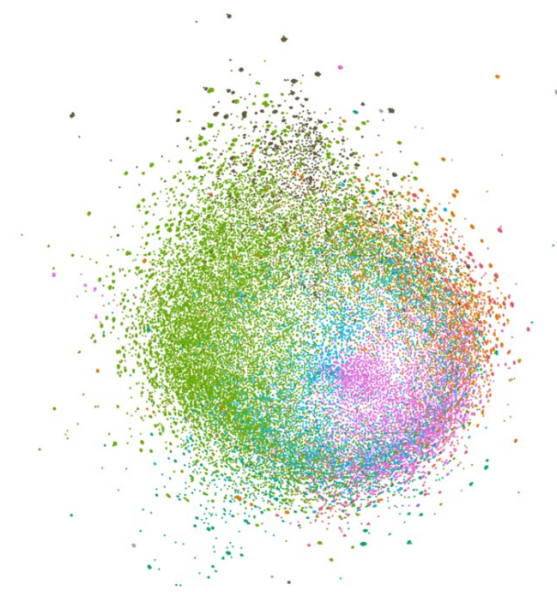
The most central discourse about refugees during the outbreak of the so-called European migrant and refugee crisis in the British media (in black, Figure 6a) is contextualized in the regional/European framework, with the terms European migrant crisis and immigration receiving the highest centrality scores. In Germany, on the other hand, the terms with the highest centrality values in the network are asylum seeker, euro, and right of asylum (Figure 8a) and are in the local frame (green). Analysis of UK coverage also suggests criminalization of refugees, indicated by the criminalization frame (orange), which is relatively strongly associated with the regionalist / EU frame (indicated with an overlap in Figure 6a). Indicators of criminalization do not appear to be included in the terms that achieve the highest centrality scores in the German network. There appear to be common patterns of framing in relation to political cleavages, as we identified local and national frames of refugees. Apart from the UK, where we identified regional/European frame, the German subset shows the absence of prominent EU political leaders from the media coverage of refugees during the outbreak of the so-called European migrant and refugee crisis. Instead, what is recognized and referred to as the European migrant crisis frame includes prominent regional political actors such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Bashar al-Assad. While we were able to identify the global governance frame (green) in the British subset, global political actors are absent from the central terms in German coverage of the refugee related issues during the beginning of the so-called European migrant and refugee crisis. Instead, we were able to identify religion and constitution among the main frames impacting the coverage of refugees in Germany during the first period.

In the coverage of migrants in Germany during the first analysed period (Figure 9a), the regionalist EU frame (green) contains the most central concepts such as *refugee* and *immigration*, but overlaps almost completely with the national policy frame (blue), indicating

a strong intertwining of both discourses. Contrary to the regionalist /EU frame identified in the British sample, consisting mostly of European political leaders, regionalist frame in German news media contains mostly political leaders and concepts indicating the Balkan migrant route. On the other hand, the third frame, labelled globalist-nativist, contains almost  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the terms within the network and forms the third cleavage combining indicators of globalist and nativist discourse (*far-right politics, xenophobia, terrorism, Pegida*). News coverage of migrants, in which they were also referred to as refugees (Figure 9b), was mostly associated with *immigration, xenophobia, deportation*, but also with *asylum* and *asylum seeker*.

### Framing refugees in the UK media during the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis

**Figure 10a.** Overview of the clustered network of co-occurring concepts and individuals with refugee in the UK media from 22. Feb. – 22. Mar. 2022



Of the 22 identified clusters (res.=1) with 31,036 terms connected by 1,375,033 edges, 7 contain more than 1% of terms.

1. **International military conflict frame** (purple, 12.4% terms) contains the term with the highest centrality value, *Vladimir Putin* (1.0) and *Volodymyr Zelensky* (0.664), along with other (former) leaders of world powers, such as *Joe Biden* (0.619), *Emmanuel Macron* (0.457), *Donald Trump* (0.449), *Liz Truss* (0.445), terms denoting **military conflict**, such as *Soviet-Afghan war* (0.735), *war in Donbas* (0.715), *Russo-Ukrainian war* (0.556), *war crime* (0.510), *tank* (0.495), and *siege* (0.494), among others.

2. **National frame** (blue, 12.2%), the most central term is *Ukrainians* (0.875), with national political leaders including *Boris Johnson* (0.725), *Priti Patel* (0.543), *Michael Gove* (0.384), *Keir Starmer* (0.367), and *Rishi Sunak* (0.326), among others. The terms with the highest centrality values denote discourse about a **national refugee entry policy**, such as *travel visa* (0.650), *immigration* (0.521), and **international protection of refugees**, such as *right of asylum* (0.505), *human rights* (0.486), *asylum seeker* (0.486), *international law* (0.362), **victimization**; indicated by *poverty* (0.316), *torture* (0.314), *human trafficking* (0.305), *rape* (0.300), *discrimination* (0.282), and **religious orientation**, *Christianity* (0.299).

3. **Humanitarian frame** (green, 49.8%) contains terms referring to **media and information**, such as *social media* (0.661), *journalist* (0.430), *news agency* (0.334), *internet* (0.334), **humanitarianism**, with terms such as such as *charity* (0.607), *humanitarianism* (0.487),

humanitarian crisis (0.364), internally displaced person (0.536), forced displacement (0.358) and others.

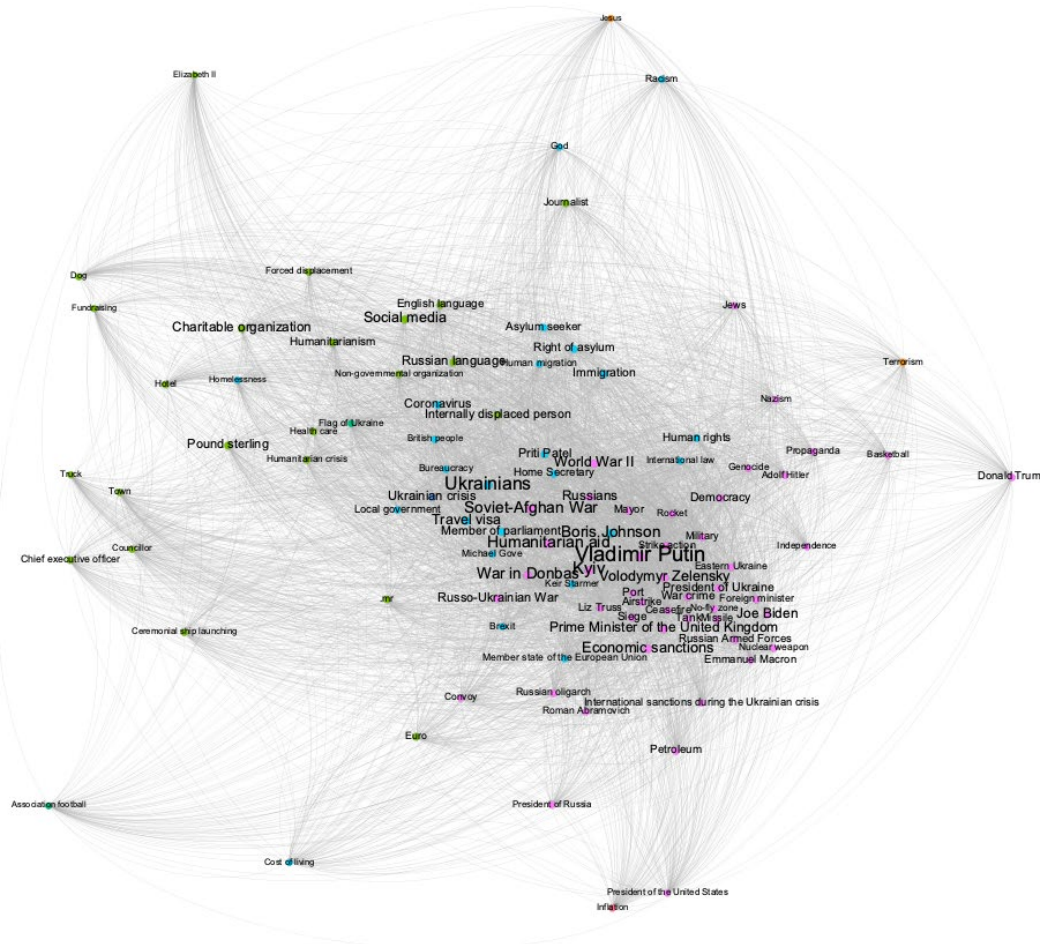
4. **Israeli-Palestinian frame** (orange, 9.2%) contains *terrorism* (0.356), *Catholic Church* (0.318), *Jesus* (0.286), *church* (0.258), *Muslims* (0.256), *far-right politics* (0.251), *Israeli-Palestinian conflict* (0.249), *Fake news* (0.247), *right-wing politics* (0.283), *fascism* (0.240), and other.

5. **Entertainment frame** (brown, 6.5%) contains terms of which those with the highest centrality values refer to entertainment events, such as *documentary film* (0.228), *gold* (0.227), *academy awards* (0.222), *Will Smith* (0.165), *Mila Kunis* (0.130), and *Eurovision Song Contest* (0.132).

6. **Sports frame** (dark green, 5.1%) contains terms that are mostly related to sports, such as *Association football* (0.211), *boxing* (0.178), *tennis* (0.163), but also prominent Russian oligarchs in some way related to sports clubs in the UK, such as *billionaire* (0.211), *Oleg Deripaska* (0.201), in addition to the most central term of the cluster, the *flag of Ukraine* (0.373).

7. **US economy and crime frame** (pink, 3.9%) contains terms of which those with the highest centrality values are associated with the U.S. economic situation, such as *inflation* (0.332), *recession* (0.170), *interest rate* (0.142), *financial crisis (2007-2008)* (0.139), but also indicators of *securization*, such as *police officer* (0.250), *sheriff* (0.186), and *racial affiliation*, such as *African Americans* (0.229).

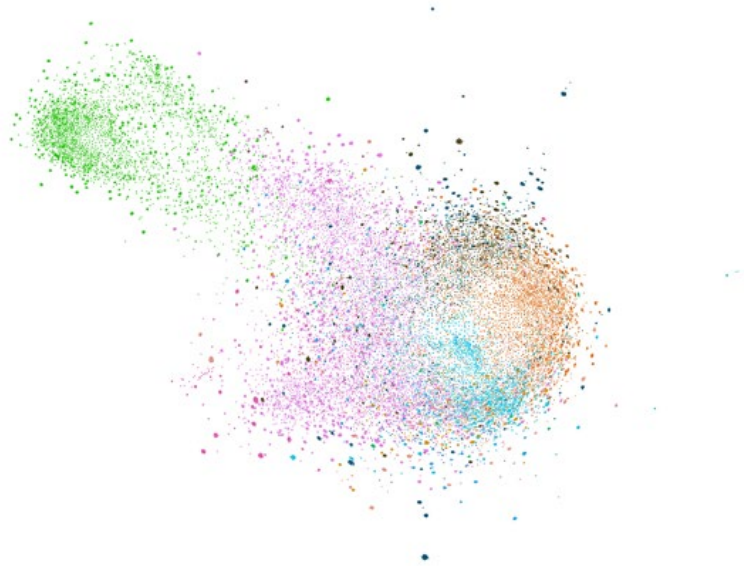
**Figure 9b.** Reduced network of concepts and individuals co-occurring in the news articles mentioning refugees in the UK media, Feb. 22. – Apr.22, 2022 (res.=1, n=100 (0.32%))





## Framing of migrants in the UK media during the beginning of Ukrainian crisis

**Figure 11a.** Overview of the clustered network of co-occurring concepts and individuals in the articles referring to migrants in the UK media from 22. Feb. – 22. Mar. 2022



Of the 15 identified clusters (res.=1) with 22,348 nodes connected by 733,385 edges, where 10 contained more than 1% of the terms. Green cluster (3,984/17,8% of the terms) (Figure 11a) contained terms referring to biology and medicine i.e., cell migration and was therefore excluded from the further analysis.

1. **National frame** (blue, 8.8% terms) the most prominent national political actors, such as *Boris Johnson* (0.735), *Pritti Patel* (0.557), *Home Secretary* (0.484), the most central term in the whole network, *human migration* (1.0), *immigration* (0.758), *coronavirus* (0.705), with terms indicating international refugee protections, such as *right of asylum* (0.651), *Ukrainians* (0.644), *asylum seeker* (0.628), *human rights* (0.567), but also *travel visa* (0.594), *Pound Sterling* (0.487) *illegal migration* (0.481), *deportation* (0.449), and *Brexit* (0.415) among others.

2. **Global crises frame** (purple, 32.4% of terms), the political actor among the terms with the highest centrality values is *António Guterres* (0.233), along with the terms that refer to the discourse on the **global causes of migration** or *forced displacement* (0.288), whether **economic**, such as *inflation* (0.381), *US dollar* (0.253), *finance* (0.242), *GDP* (0.236), *economic inequality* (0.188), current and worsening **natural disasters** such as *climate change* (0.337), *flood* (0.288), *agriculture* (0.337), *famine* (0.250), and **energy crisis** indicated by *fossil fuel* (0.266), *electricity* (0.224), *mining* (0.201), and *coal* (0.187), and others.

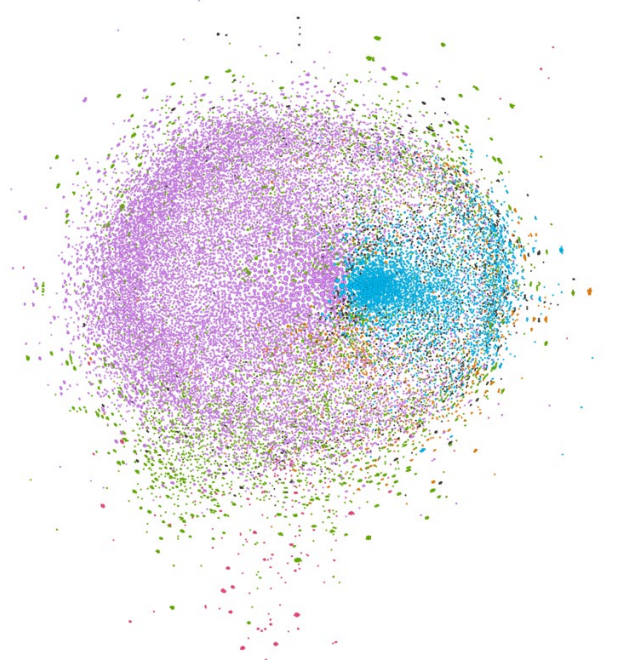
3. **International military conflict frame** (orange, 12.2%) refers to the conflict in Donbas, Ukraine, with key global political actors such as *Vladimir Putin* (0.883), *the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom* (0.716), *Joe Biden* (0.673), *Volodymyr Zelensky* (0.543), and *Emmanuel Macron* (0.498), migrants as *internally displaced persons* (0.443), and the need for *humanitarian aid* (0.586), due to the **military conflict**, indicated by *strike action* (0.398), *siege* (0.394), *war crime* (0.375), *ceasefire* (0.337), *economic sanctions* (0.600), and others.

4. **U.S. migration frame** (black, 7.7% terms) with indicators of the most prominent political figures, such as *Donald Trump* (0.567), *presidency of Joe Biden* (0.297), *Kamala Harris* (0.242), *liberalism* (0.336), *murder* (0.326), *Mexico-US state border* (0.319), and others.



## Framing refugees in German media during the beginning of the Ukrainian crisis

**Figure 12a.** Overview of the clustered network of co-occurring concepts and individuals in the articles referring to refugees in German media from 22. Feb. – 22. Mar. 2022



Of the 38 identified clusters (res.=1) with 28,342 terms connected by 1,490,484 edges, where 6 contained more than 1% of the terms. The most prominent clusters in the network of individuals and concepts related to media coverage of refugees are:

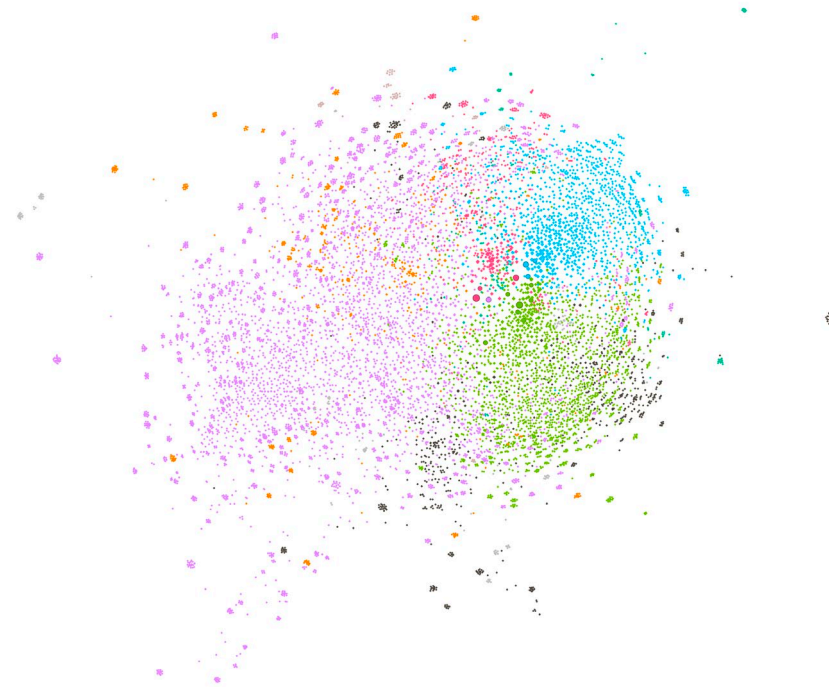
- 1. International military conflict frame** (blue 11.5%): In addition to the term with the highest centrality score, *war in Donbas* (1.0), the cluster contains the individuals with the highest centrality scores in the network, such as *Vladimir Putin* (0.912), *chancellor of Germany* (0.539), *Olaf Scholz* (0.500), *President of Ukraine* (0.481), *Volodymyr Zelensky* (0.513), *Joe Biden* (0.475). The most prominent terms included in the cluster, among others, denote **military conflict frame**, such as *war of aggression* (0.730), *invasion* (0.607), *sanctions* (0.594), *soldier* (0.579), *civilian* (0.567), *military* (0.523), *aerial warfare* (0.485), *rocket* (0.482), *tank* (0.451), *bombardment* (0.413).
- 2. Local frame** (purple, 59.9%) indicates the use of terms related to the reception of refugees locally, for example, **cost and expenditure frame**, such as *Euro* (0.892), **humanitarianism**, such as *solidarity* (0.745), *donation* (0.744), *family* (0.722), *volunteering* (0.624), *aid agency* (0.593), *social integration* (0.580), **localization**; *mayor* (0.749), *lord mayor* (0.574), **victimization**; *psychological trauma* (0.507), *bomb* (0.497), *hospital* (0.542) among others and the **indicators of international protection of refugees**, such as *Asyl* (asylum) (0.543), *asylum seeker* (0.428), *Erstaufnahmeeinrichtung* (initial reception centre) (0.416), *Flüchtlingsunterkunft* (accommodation of refugees) (0.373), *Asylbewerbersleistungengesetz* (Asylum-seekers Benefits Act) (0.328), *Pro Asyl* (0.177), *Asylum in Germany* (0.166) and *Migrant* (0.384).
- 3. Charity frame** (green, 17.6%) contains terms with the highest centrality values, including *Easter* (0.405), *social networking service* (0.354), *theatre* (0.328), *movie theater* (0.266), *hunger* (0.289), *NGO* (0.288), *Kampagne* (campaign) (0.284), *activism* (0.258), *charity* (0.247), *singing* (0.214), *revenue* (0.209), and *musician* (0.182), indicating fundraising and charity work.





## Framing of migrants in German media during the beginning of Ukrainian crisis

**Figure 13a.** Overview of the clustered network of co-occurring concepts and public actors in the articles referring to migrants in German media from 22. Feb. – 22. Mar. 2022



Of the 12 identified clusters (res.=1) with 9,932 terms connected by 302,849 edges, where 7 contained more than 1% of the terms. The most prominent clusters in the network of individuals and concepts related to media coverage of migrants are:

1. **National frame** (green, 18.8%) contains terms with the highest centrality values referring to *Ukrainian refugees*, such as *refugee* (0.39), *social integration* (0.525), *Federal Office for Migration and Refugees* (0.506), *solidarity* (0.471), *Asyl* (asylum) (0.470), *UNHCR* (0.454), *forced displacement* (0.323), *travel visa* (0.341), *immigration* (0.341), *volunteering* (0.325), and *asylum seeker* (0.325) among others.
2. **International conflict frame** (blue, 11.9%) contains political actors, with the highest centrality scores given to *Vladimir Putin* (0.753), *Volodymyr Zelensky* (0.437), *Joe Biden* (0.424), and *Olaf Scholz* (0.413), among others. The terms included in the cluster denote *military conflict*, e.g. *War of aggression* (0.558), *invasion* (0.438), *soldier* (0.381), *military* (0.377), but also *victimization*, *humanitarian aid* (0.336), *emergency evacuation* (0.296), *hospital* (0.281), and *criminalization of aggressor frame*, such as *sanctions* (0.457), *war crime* (0.330), and *international law* (0.292).
3. **Criminalization frame** (black, 6.9%) contains terms that indicate the *criminalization of migrants*, such as *Poder Judicial* (pillar of justice) (0.195), *court* (0.191), *public prosecutors office* (0.154), *prison* (0.120), *crime* (0.115), *judge* (0.101), and *criminal law* (0.095).
4. **Climate crisis frame** (orange, 5.7%) contains terms denoting the global climate crisis, such as *poverty* (0.245), *global warming* (0.237), *António Guterres* (0.211), *agriculture* (0.176), *climate change mitigation* (0.174), *energy* (0.106), *drought* (0.080), and others.
5. **French election campaign frame** (pink, 4.4%) contains the term with the highest centrality value, *human migration* (1.0), contextualized with the most prominent political actors within the cluster, such as *Emmanuel Macron* (0.422), *Marine Le Pen* (0.205), and *Éric*

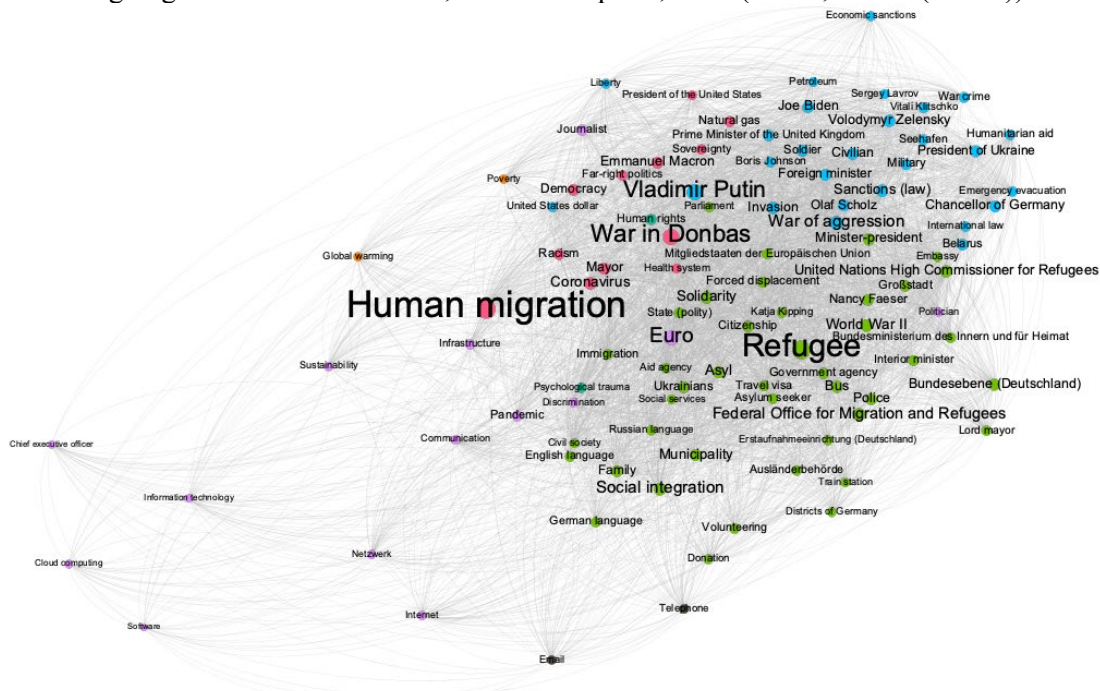


Zemmour (0.174) and terms such as *racism* (0.350), *far-right politics* (0.298), *xenophobia* (0.158) on the one hand, and *personal identity* (0.224), *terrorism* (0.221), and *extremism* (0.179) on the other, indicate a pro- and anti-migration discourse in the French national election campaign.

6. **Victimization frame** (dark green, 2.0%) contains terms with the highest centrality values, such as *human rights* (0.342), *psychological trauma* (0.267), *famine* (0.141), *authoritarianism* (0.135), *freedom of speech* (0.167), *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (0.068), and others.

7. **Residual cluster** (purple, 47.7%) contains nodes denoting more general concepts that appear in news articles. The concepts with the highest centrality values include *Euro* (0.670), *journalist* (0.339), *pandemic* (0.339), *infrastructure* (0.276), and *politician* (0.264).

**Figure 13b.** Reduced network of concepts and individuals co-occurring in the news articles mentioning migrants in German media, Feb. 22 – Apr.22, 2022 (res.=1, n=101 (1.36%))



According to cluster centrality (Figure 10a), the most prominent frames in the coverage of refugees in the British media during the Ukraine crisis are the international military conflict (purple), the national policy (blue) and humanitarian frame (green). The cluster analysis of refugee coverage in the German media (Figure 12a) also shows the central presence of the international military conflict frame (blue), which is one of the most prominent. However, the most prominent German politicians are found within the aforementioned frame. Coverage of refugees in a national context is presented in the frame labelled national energy crisis, which also includes the most prominent German politicians dealing with the questions of energy. German coverage of refugees also differs from that of the UK, as the other two most prominent groups of indicators place them in the local (purple) and charity (green) contexts.

In the British media, the overall portrayal of migrants (Figure 11a) is most influenced by the national frame (blue) over the same period. However, migrants are also most often portrayed in the context of global crises (purple) and international military conflicts (orange), which do not appear in the main clusters during the period of the so-called European migrant and refugee crisis. The most central terms shaping coverage of migrants in the German media (Figure 13a) during the same period are national (green) and international (blue) frames, to which we can also add the French election frame (pink).

The international military conflict frame and the humanitarian/ frame are more prominent in coverage of refugees during the Ukraine war, while coverage of refugees during the outbreak of the European migrant/refugee crisis is part of a larger European crisis frame in the German media and part of the global governance frame in the British media. However, the terms included in the international military conflict frame at the beginning of the Ukraine crisis represent the horrors of war by including terms denoting weapons such as tank, airplane and military actions such as bombardment, siege, airstrike, strike action, ceasefire, and war crime. Indicators of military conflict are not prominent in frames on refugees during the so-called European migrant and refugee crisis, despite the equally horrific war. The Global Governance Frame in the UK media, for example, contains indicators of the Syrian conflict, but no indicators representing specific war atrocities. Instead, this frame contains a geopolitical, antagonistic frame in which indicators point to a demarcation between the Western and Arab worlds, with indicators of a religious devaluation of Islam with terms that point to religious extremism, such as terrorism and jihad. Terms indicating a contrast between religious orientations are ( obviously ) not found in media coverage of Ukrainian refugees, probably because the common religion in Ukraine (as in Britain and Germany) is Christianity.

Terms related to the criminalization of refugees during the so-called European migrant and refugee crisis are most closely tied to the regionalist/European frame in the British media, with terms such as smuggling and human trafficking. During the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis, indicators of criminalization are less prominent; in the German sample, they are included in the so-called national justice frame, along with indicators of anti-immigration discourse and terms related to the Syrian civil war. In the British media, on the other hand, criminalization indicators are not found among the terms that achieve the highest centrality scores in certain clusters during the same period.

The third obvious difference when comparing media coverage of refugees between the two periods is the prominence of the humanitarian and/or charity frame, which emerged as one of the most prominent frames but was less prominent in the first period.

Apart from the coverage of refugees in the British media, there was a relatively strong presence of the solidarity frame in the German media during the outbreak of the so-called European migrant and refugee crisis, as well as a clear critique of the anti-migration frame within the larger national policy frame and a localization of the humanitarian frame in the UK.

## **Conclusion**

The analysis shows that the designation of refugees as migrants is more frequent in the period of the so-called European migrant and refugee crisis, indicating the relativization of their legal status and the presence of an anti-migration discourse.

The analysis of the most frequently associated words with the two analyzed concepts and within the two analyzed periods confirms these findings, as a significant semantic similarity between the two concepts is found in the first period than at the beginning of the Ukraine crisis. News about refugees fleeing war-torn Syria and Afghanistan often contained frames that emphasized religious differences and the criminalization of refugees. On the other hand, the framing of the international military conflict with terms of denoting (military attacks), which was one of the most prominent at the beginning of the Ukraine crisis, can be interpreted as a strong refugee victimization frame. While the number of articles related to migrants is lower, the public debate on the legitimacy of refugee status was absent (also because the decision was made at the EU level to grant Ukrainian refugees tourist visas). Furthermore, the indicators of criminalization were absent from the public discourse, while a strong presence of humanitarian and charity frames was detected.

The coverage of migrants in the second period is more diverse than in the first. For example, the analysis shows a presence of the "global crises" frame in the coverage of migrants,

denoting global causes of migration such as economic inequality, natural disasters, and energy crises (in the British media) and the "climate crisis" frame (in the German media).

However, the sample of articles referring to migrants also includes terms denoting Ukrainian refugees, especially within the discourse shaped by the military conflict and national politics, proving that refugees and migrants are still used interchangeably, albeit to a lesser extent.

The central frames identified in the samples of news articles about migrants and refugees largely correspond to the cleavage theory-inspired typology. The contents of the observed national, regional, international, and humanitarian frames are very similar to, respectively, nation-statist, regionalist, and globalist categories that are described in Table 1. Under these observed frames, we also see frames that correspond to nationalization, regionalization, and universalization of the refugee and asylum related matters. What comes closest to the nativist category in Table 1 is the observed frames othering refugees by ethnicizing them, including the use of national, ethnic, and religious identities where applicable. The content of the observed localization frame appears to be part of the national frames of de-centralized political contexts like Germany. On the other hand, being more similar to the globalist category in Table 1, humanitarian frames of refugees generally contain terms indicating local and media actors and rarely national political actors. Thus, our litmus test displays a good match between the deployment of the term "migrant" in the media and the policy objective of limiting refugee and asylum seeker inflows. When there is a need for such limitation, the term "migrant" is used rather than "refugee" or "asylum seeker".

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