

The space of migration discourse in the European press Lessons from the “refugee crisis”

Jan Fredrik Hovden¹  & Rafal Zaborowski²  ³

1. Professor (dr. polit.), Department of Information Science and Media Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Bergen, jan.hovden@uib.no
2. Senior Lecturer in Digital Culture, Department of Digital Humanities, Faculty of Arts and Humanities, King’s College London, rafal.zaborowski@kcl.ac.uk
3. The authors appear in alphabetical order as both contributed to this article in equal parts.

Abstract

In this article we offer a new analysis of two not previously combined datasets on press coverage of the “refugee crisis” in Europe in 2015. Consisting of twenty-nine newspapers from eleven countries, the data provides an unprecedented sample of the European press in a time of crisis. Using forty-six characteristics of frames, agents, aids, and protective measures mentioned in the articles, we demonstrate an innovative analytic approach, where multiple correspondence analysis is used to construct and explore main differences in a European statistical space of articles (N = 1,674) and a sevenfold statistical typology of stories concerning the crisis. The findings indicate that while national and regional differences in the coverage are salient in explaining the balance of humanitarian or securitisation attitudes, it is the intra-national differences that emerge as particularly significant, revealing rich complexity of texts and contexts. Analysing the structuration of stories as space of press coverage allows us to move beyond isolated variables and look at how individual articles are more divided in their fundamental narratives.

Keywords

crisis, migration, refugee crisis, multiple correspondence analysis

Introduction

In times of crisis, the media should assume a dual responsibility: They are not only expected to provide accurate and comprehensive information but also to play a crucial educational role facilitating the connection between different groups in society as well as between decision-makers and the public (Council of Europe, 2007). This role becomes even more crucial considering the evolving landscape of our media consumption. Despite the emergence of digital platforms and new media forms, traditional forms of media and legacy media outlets still constitute significant portions of our media reception and continue to wield substantial influence in shaping sociopolitical discourses within societies. The narratives presented through mediated stories impact our perceptions of crises, particularly in the context of divisive issues like migration, framing the way we perceive the predicament of migrants as well as the way we think, feel, and act towards them (Chouliaraki, 2013; Kondor et al., 2022).

However, this critical role of the media is challenged by a diminishing overall trust in media institutions, with news media experiencing a steady decline in credibility (Newman et al., 2023). This erosion of trust is compounded by debates surrounding media ownership, capital accumulation, and the proliferation of numerous outlets in an ever-changing mediascape. Consequently, and particularly during pivotal moments of “media events” or “crises”, the mediated public sphere becomes fragmented, leading to deliberate or hastily crafted narratives that polarise, assign blame, and create an “other”. This is particularly evident in the coverage of migration, where frames of deservingness, threat, and/or victimhood are often applied to depict asylum seekers and migrants (Holzberg et al., 2018). Similar dichotomies can be observed in the discursive strategies employed by international refugee organisations (Ongenaert et al., 2023) and in news platforms in relation to migrants and Covid-19 (Bonhomme & Alfaro, 2022). These polarising frames and discourses oversimplify complex global and historical contexts, reducing multifaceted issues to one-off “crisis events”, with the media itself becoming a manifestation of the crisis (Zaborowski & Georgiou, 2016).

In this article, we argue that a comprehensive approach is essential for a nuanced understanding of crisis representations. Rather than viewing data as a singular snapshot from particular media outlets, we advocate for an approach which can allow us to explore relationships between newspapers and countries by multivariate, relational, and visual analyses of differences between the articles. To this end, we employ multiple correspondence analysis, drawing from data from a collaborative, multi-method study of European press. Our intention is to delve into media narratives surrounding the European refugee crisis and to offer a systematic, analytical approach for studying crises in future research. Specifically, we aim to understand 1) the fundamental differences in the European media discourse on immigration operationalised as a *space of newspaper articles*, and 2) how newspapers covering the “crisis” differ in the context of frames, measures, and temporal

changes. Finally, and through all this, we want to propose ways in which multiple correspondence analysis can aid media analyses of texts better than traditional approaches.

In the following sections, we first review relevant literature on the 2015 “refugee crisis”, focusing on gains and gaps in scholarship. Then, we introduce our methodological approach to data collection and its background by contrasting it with traditional approaches to textual data. Finally, we discuss our findings on the space of migration coverage in the context of existing studies and ways forward both analytically and methodologically.

Crisis, migration, and the news

In 2015, over a million refugees and migrants arrived at European shores, predominantly from the Middle East and Africa (UNHCR, 2015). Triggered directly by wars in Syria, Libya, Iraq, and other conflicts, the geopolitical situation produced the greatest international refugee streams since the Second World War and presented the European community with large humanitarian, logistic, financial, and security challenges. The events of 2015 were also marked by increased media coverage and narratives surrounding migrants and refugees in news journalism, intensifying particularly after two tragic shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea in the spring of 2015. Stories on migration in European press shaped perceptions of refugees and asylum seekers within the European continent and reflected a discursive struggle surrounding “the crisis” and its characteristics.

While the reality for refugees trying to reach Europe by sea became even more tragic in the following years, it was summer and autumn of 2015 that was characterised by rare intensity in the journalistic coverage of refugees. As the vast majority of Europeans encountered incoming refugees through the media, the ways in which newcomers were seen to speak, act, and interact with the presumed “us” shaped possibilities of recognition and communication across various symbolic borders. These possibilities were accentuated differently across different periods of 2015: In July, media coverage reflected competing frames of humanitarianism and securitisation, September was dominated by emotional rhetoric following the tragic drowning of the three-year-old boy Alan Kurdi, while in November, media texts focused on security measures and border control in the aftermath of Paris terrorist attacks (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017).

Whereas the structural and historical realities clearly demonstrate the weakness, if not ignorance, of referring to the complex, multifaceted situation as a “crisis”, it was precisely a frame of crisis which was employed by the media covering the events. The exact nature of the crisis was rarely explained explicitly or given a historical context. Despite taglines emphasising “crisis” in mainstream media, there was little coverage defining what constituted it or what its roots or features were. To a reader of news, this absence of discussions offered several interpretative pathways to understanding the “crisis” (humanitarian, geopolitical, historical) with a privileged, preferred meaning suggesting its most concern-

ing aspect was the influx of people into the European community and a need for policy response. In other words, the frames through which the situation was presented to the European public were fragmented and “in themselves signified crisis and a shifting set of anxieties” (Moore et al., 2018, p. 90).

On the one hand, this practice transcends the specific context of 2015, extending into a broader discussion of discourses of and around crisis. The inherent ambiguity surrounding the parameters defining “crises” poses a significant challenge, obscuring our understanding of the complexity behind their underlying causes, features, and consequences. The lack of conceptual and contextual clarity presents a multifaceted problem, as the “pluralism of concepts [...] hampers efforts to build up more systematic knowledge about how news media cope with these non-routine events” (Olsson, 2010, p. 88). Moreover, this ambiguity impedes the role of the media in informing and educating the public, disrupting meaningful connections between people and decisions made in their name. This is exacerbated by the intertwining of geopolitical and humanitarian crises with crises in journalism – the latter, indeed, a near-permanent fixture of modern journalism (Alexander, 2015).

On the other hand, there now exists a substantial body of scholarly work focused on the representation of refugees in European press during the events of 2015. Multiple studies have investigated European countries comparatively in this aspect (among others, Berry et al., 2016; Chouliaraki et al., 2017; Cock et al., 2018; Heidenreich et al., 2019; Hovden et al., 2018; Kluknavská et al., 2021; Lams, 2019). There have also been numerous studies dedicated to refugee media coverage within specific national contexts, as exemplified by work of Gray and Franck (2019), Holzberg et al. (2018), Šarić (2019), Tsitsanoudis-Mallidis and Derveni (2018), and others. Scholarly work in this area typically employs a variety of textual analysis methods to understand press coverage with a focus on identifying prominent frames and narratives of the “refugee crisis”. Most research follows traditional content analysis through codebooks and manual coding. For instance, in the study conducted by Mike Berry and colleagues, media coverage of five European countries (Spain, Italy, Germany, the UK, and Sweden) was examined to identify differences in key themes and the tone of coverage (finding that the Swedish press portrayed migrants most positively, while the UK press most negatively). Research approaches have also often included discourse analytical methods, such as in a study by Alena Kluknavská and colleagues (2021), who analysed refugee-related content in newspapers in Central Europe (in Austria, Slovakia, and Czechia) using claim analysis to conclude that discourses were confined to national public spheres, with some preliminary emergence of European discourses. Some studies employed corpus-based statistical methods, such as LDA topical modelling, to identify media frames directly from the texts (e.g., Heidenreich et al., 2019, who studied five countries).

The value of these studies is undoubtedly significant, as they have outlined the main frames employed in migration coverage and have contributed to important discussions of

power imbalances and conditions of voice. The body of scholarly work has also shed light on the rapidly evolving narratives driven by singular events and amplified by media framing. Notably, existing studies have uncovered systematic misrepresentations of refugees and migrants, with mediated discourses oscillating between portraying them as helpless victims or as security threats (Horsti, 2016; Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017; Berry et al., 2016). A recurring theme in this scholarship has also been the scarcity of refugee voices in media narratives and coverage (Horsti, 2016; Cock et al., 2018), although some studies note instances where refugees were afforded more voice and opportunities to speak (Kluknavská et al., 2021).

While the aforementioned studies of media content offer valuable insight, they come with certain limitations, which this article aims to address. The first substantial limitation pertains to the breadth of countries and outlets studied. Given the large differences among European countries' media systems, political contexts, immigration politics, and histories with refugees, examining one or a handful of countries is often not sufficient to confidently argue whether the immigration coverage and framing reflect more national, regional, or trans-European trends. Moreover, many of the studies offer only a snapshot, lacking comparisons across different time periods. In contrast, our study uses a large sample spanning eleven countries and twenty-nine newspapers across three time periods, making it, to our knowledge, the most comprehensive dataset currently available on the subject. This approach allows for a more thorough understanding of the European variations in media coverage of the crisis including some of the responses to it.

The second limitation is methodological. While in existing scholarship there is considerable variation in the textual approaches used to *characterise* press articles, the statistical *analyses* of immigration coverage are predominantly variable-centred (Blumer, 1954). That is, they tend to focus on how single, isolated characteristics of the texts (e.g., negative framing of refugees) vary by "independent" variables, such as countries, newspapers, or genres, either using cross tables or regression techniques. To clarify, this critique applies to text characteristics identified by traditional manual coding as well as those registered semi-automatically by modern computational methods – it is the logic of analysis that matters here. In this article, we will demonstrate an alternative analytic approach using multiple correspondence analysis, which seeks to capture the totality of differences between articles on the migration issue based on the specific profile of their combined characteristics.

Hence, the purpose of this study stems from the two discussed threads: the ambiguity surrounding attributes of "crisis" in general and the current state of textual research on the "refugee crisis" in particular. By conducting a comprehensive comparison of the characteristics of media texts pertaining to migration coverage over a large sample of European countries and newspapers, we aim to provide a more nuanced and multifaceted exploration of the complexity behind the "refugee crisis" in European media.

Data and method

The sample and data

The data in this article was first collected through the LSE Media and Migration project (Chouliaraki et al., 2017), which aimed to sample the news press coverage of the “refugee crisis” in three time periods of 2015 assumed to be particularly formative for the thematisation and framing of news coverage: a period following three months of intense coverage of the refugee crisis, including the mass drownings in the Mediterranean Sea (July); the death of Alan Kurdi (September); and the Paris attacks (November). Twenty relevant articles from each newspaper were collected for ten weekdays following the initial events in each of the three periods, in total 60 for the entire period and 120 for each country.

The original dataset included twenty newspapers in eight European countries (Czechia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Serbia, the UK, and Ireland) and European Arabic-language media. This data was later expanded with nine Scandinavian newspapers (covering Denmark, Sweden, and Norway), resulting in a dataset of eleven countries, twenty-nine newspapers, and 1,674 articles. The newspapers were selected for their national importance and for their variety, where available, in political leanings and newspaper formats (Table 1). Most articles were from print issues¹ and included a mix of regular news items (63%), opinion pieces (15%), and feature and other genres (22%). For more details on the sample and coding, see Chouliaraki et al. (2017) and Hovden et al. (2018).

Table 1. Newspapers included in the sample.

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Multinational | <i>Al-Araby Al-Jadeed</i> (I)*, <i>Al-Hayat</i> (I)* |
| Greece | <i>EFSYN</i> (L), <i>Kathimerini</i> (R) |
| Serbia | <i>Blic</i> * (I), <i>Večernje novosti</i> * (I) |
| Hungary | <i>Magyar Nemzet</i> (R), <i>Népszabadság</i> (L) |
| Czechia | <i>Lidové noviny</i> (R), <i>Právo</i> (L) |
| Germany | <i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i> (R), <i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i> (L) |
| France | <i>Le Figaro</i> (R), <i>Le Monde</i> (L) |
| UK | <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> (R), <i>The Guardian</i> (L), <i>The Independent</i> (M), <i>The Times</i> (R) |
| Ireland | <i>Irish Independent</i> (R), <i>The Irish Times</i> (M) |
| Denmark | <i>Ekstra Bladet</i> (M), <i>Jyllands-Posten</i> (R), <i>Politiken</i> (L) |
| Sweden | <i>Aftonbladet</i> (L), <i>Dagens Nyheter</i> (L) |
| Norway | <i>Aftenposten</i> (R), <i>Dagens Næringsliv</i> (R), <i>Klassekampen</i> (L), <i>VG</i> (M) |

Editorial stances: I = Independent, L = Left-leaning, M = Centrist, R = Right-leaning.

* = Online only.

The codebook included an uncommonly rich sample of article characteristics, combining formal attributes (e.g., newspaper, time period, genre, the presence/absence of images) and a wide range of measures pertaining to content (both in text and in images), includ-

ing framing and themes (e.g., policies/measures to aid the refugees or protect Europe/host countries), reasons given for the refugee arrivals, agents mentioned or quoted, social categories and terminology used for the immigrants, and the presence of emotions in text or images.

The following analysis was based on forty-six active variables we found particularly salient in describing the differences between the newspaper articles. This included five variables on *the framing of immigrants coming to Europe*:

- *Negative Economic* (“Social security system overload”, “Negative consequences for job and financial markets”, “Strain on health and education services”);
- *Negative Geopolitical* (“Terrorist attacks”; “Loss of border control”);
- *Negative Cultural* (“Population strain”, “Fears of indefinite stay”, “Racism”); and
- *Negative Moral* (“Europeans being taken advantage of”, “Deceitful migrants appearing as refugees”)
- *Positive Moral* (“Building on European traditions of providing asylum to refugees”, “Responsibility of care”).

Furthermore, eight variables registered mentions of various *forms of aid to refugees* (Organising transport to other countries; Donating money; Offering asylum to refugees in Europe; Providing food and clothes, medical care, childcare, education, entertainment; Lobbying; Intensifying search and rescue operations; Open borders; Helping refugees with registration procedures), and six variables recorded various *protective measures for the national states and Europe* (Closing borders and keeping them closed; Sending refugees back; Building actual fences/Reinforcing border physical control; Heightening security measures; Sending military to deal with situation; Upping police, army, border guard presence). Finally, two sets of variables were used for *agents mentioned* (seventeen variables) or *quoted* (ten additional variables) *in the story* (Governments in countries of conflict*; National Government; European Union Government; Governments of other countries; International Governing bodies [e.g., NATO, UN]; NGOs and health organisations; Volunteers; Activists; Terrorist and resistance groups*; Citizens of other countries in Europe*; National citizens*; Refugees; Military, police, coast guards and other authorities; Media; Community and religious leaders*; Minority groups in Europe/host country*; Smugglers*).² All variables were coded as dummies (absence or presence of the characteristic).

The relational analytical approach

To analyse patterns in the coverage, after coding, the press articles were subjected to a specific multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010) using the aforementioned 46 dummy characteristics of the individual articles to construct a *European space of newspaper articles*. This French statistical technique, invented in the 1960s,

was for many decades relegated to “splendid [national] isolation”, but regained international interest through the work of Pierre Bourdieu (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010, p. 3). While it has seen some use in subsequent decades among sociologists outside France, it remains a marginal method in media studies, and when it *is* used, it is almost always to study differences among people (for a recent Nordic example, see Sivertsen, 2023), not texts. At the same time, the method, as argued by its inventor Jean-Paul Benzécri, is able “to address any type of issue related to the form, meaning or style of texts” (cited in Bécue-Bertaut, 2019, p. 105).

In contrast to a regression approach – which, to quote Bourdieu (1984, p. 103) “tend[s] to dissimulate the complete system of relations that make up the true principle of the force and form specific to the effects recorded in such and such particular correlation” – MCA is a fundamentally *relational* method. It constructs a geometrical space of differences using chi-square metrics where, in our case, each article’s position is due to its particular combination of *all* the included variable properties (i.e., its statistical profile) and its difference from other articles. In this space of articles (which is analogous to a space of discourses in Foucault’s [2013] sense, modelling the regularity of material expressions of the underlying discursive formation), articles which are similar tend to be close, and those with opposing characteristics farther away. MCA then proceeds by identifying the main oppositions (the principal axes), which explains most of the statistical variance. In essence, MCA aims to reduce a complex table of individuals and variables into a smaller set of variables (axes) which can best explain the structures in the data.

Correspondence analysis in this way offers an attractive methodical alternative to traditional table- and regression-based analysis of data. It is a particularly powerful explorative technique, and it involves very few statistical assumptions compared with other categorical techniques. It can uncover groupings of variable categories in the high dimensional space, providing key insights on latent relationships and oppositions through simultaneous consideration of multiple characteristics of the individual texts rather than via single variables. For more details on the method, see Le Roux and Rouanet (2010), and for some other examples of MCA being used to study differences in press articles, see Bastin and Bouchet-Valat (2014), Hovden (2020), and Mancini et al. (2021).

Here, the variables used to construct the space are called *active variables*, and contextual variables like country, period, genre, and newspaper are later included as *passive variables* to add descriptive richness and aid in the interpretation of the differences between the articles. Note that, in this way, the analysis does not take into consideration anything outside the text itself.

In the following empirical sections, we will first explore the main differences between the articles (the space of press coverage) and its structuration by secondary variables (e.g., country and newspaper), before constructing a cluster typology of press stories. This will be followed by a more detailed reading of the differences between the newspapers, focusing on negative and positive frames, the discussed measures (various ways to help

migrants or to protect against them) and changes over time. Statistical details are provided in the analysis and the appendix.

The European space of newspaper articles on the refugee crisis

Interpretation of the axes

Taking into consideration the forty-six characteristics of the newspaper articles – their framing, the agents mentioned or quoted, and the mentions of protective measures and forms of aid – we find three main divides in the article corpus.³ The first and third oppositions are visualised on the map in Figures 1 and 2 – the first showing the variables and the second the individual articles and the typology, which we return to later.

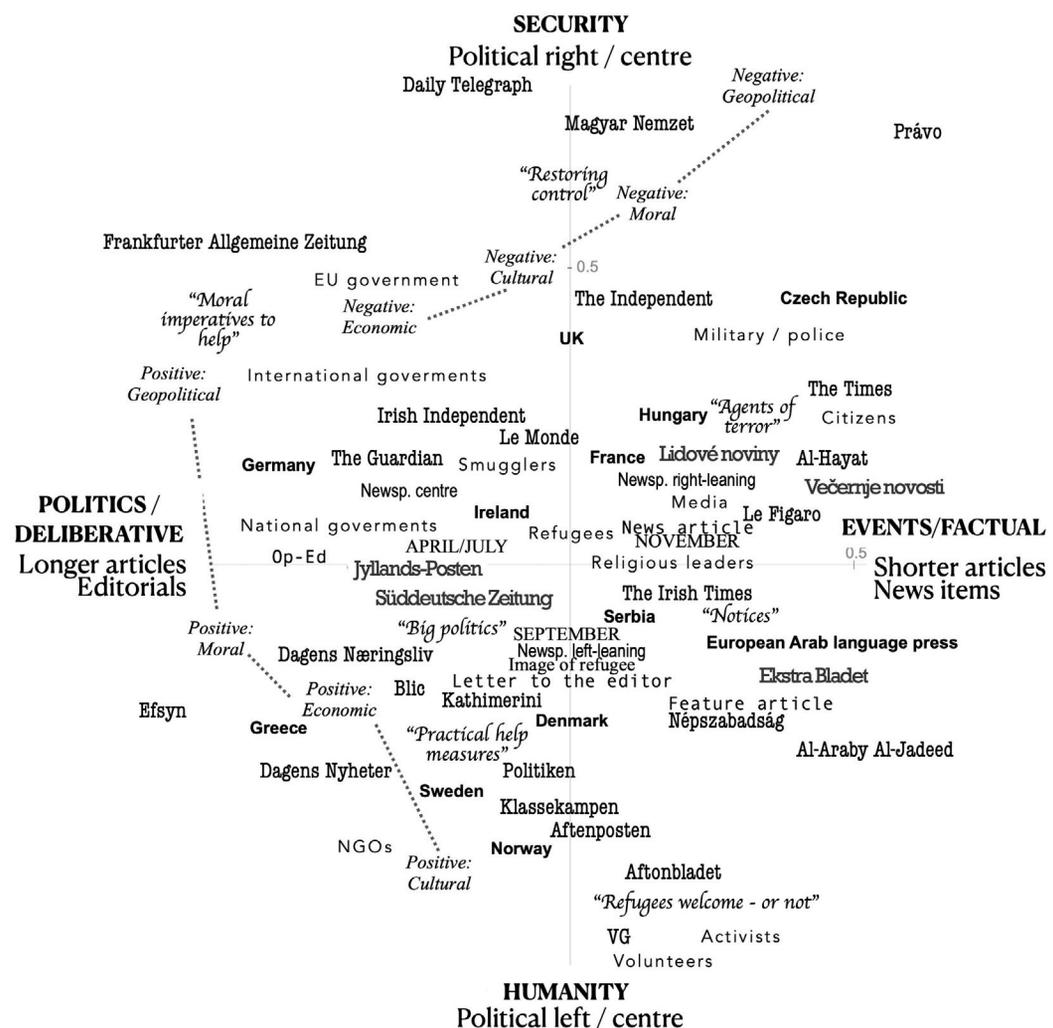


Figure 1: The European space of newspaper articles covering the “refugee crisis” of 2015. MCA, axis 1–3. Active and illustrative variables.

The first divide (the vertical axis in Figure 1) confronts discourses of *humanitarianism* and *securitisation*, opposing Europe's responsibilities towards the refugees and the structural responsibilities to protect European people. The first type of texts (in the lower part of the map) focus on the plight of the refugees and the large scale of the tragedies ("Shocking images of drowned Syrian boy show tragic plight of refugees", *The Guardian*, September 4⁴) and the moral imperative to help and discuss practical measures to assist the refugees. Volunteers, NGOs, and migrants are often part of these stories as sources and are present in the accompanying images. The second type of texts (in the upper part) tend instead to focus on security measures ("Refugees will be vetted", *The Daily Telegraph*, November 16), the need to "restore control" (e.g., keeping the borders closed and well-manned), or the possibility of terrorists posing as refugees. Sources from the military and police are commonly featured.

The second divide (not shown) *separates the shorter from the longer articles*, where the number of categories of agents mentioned or quoted explains almost all the variance. "Two migrants drown trying to swim to Britain from Calais" (*The Independent*, September 8) is a typical example of the former, short type of story; "EU ministers fail to agree on how to redistribute 40,000 migrants" (*The Daily Telegraph*, November 10) exemplifies the latter type. Aside from the obvious importance of the breadth of arguments, framing, and agents given by such longer articles for public deliberation, the axis does not separate the various forms of framing, measures, or types of agents mentioned.

The third divide (the horizontal axis in Figure 1) separates stories of a *more political-deliberative nature from more event-oriented and routine/factual reporting of events*. In the first category of stories (to the left), governmental and transnational political agents emerge as central sources, with discussions commonly revolving around economics, asylum politics, and geopolitics. These articles often discuss various forms of aid to the refugees (such as the possibility of offering asylum, keeping borders open, intensifying search and rescue operations, etc.) and the moral imperative for such aid ("The world's eyes are upon us, warns Merkel", *Irish Independent*, September 15). Such discourses frequently link back to national and international governmental bodies on the European level. Conversely, articles towards the right side of the axis typically focus on single events ("Germans clap and sing to welcome 10,000 arrivals", *The Daily Telegraph*, July 16), often portraying interactions between refugees and security agents (police, coast guards, military), and are usually quite short in length. In this way, the axis exhibits some aspects of opposing thematic and episodic framing (cf. Iyengar, 1994).

Main differences by nation, newspaper, and genre

Incorporating the newspapers, periods, and genres into the map in Figure 1 provides some crucial context. Unsurprisingly, longer features and stories focusing on "politics proper" (i.e., the actions of the national and international governments) and deliberation (e.g., discussions on who and how many refugees to receive, the form of aid or protec-

tive measures needed) were more often found in op-eds, whereas regular news articles tended to be shorter and more event-oriented. Typically, broadsheet papers such as *Le Monde*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, or *The Guardian* were more likely to include longer articles than the tabloids and online-only publications. Moreover, the coverage tended to lean towards lengthier pieces and large-scale political issues in Greece and Germany compared with the coverage in other regions. The European Arab-language press and Eastern/Southeastern European countries were more likely to feature shorter pieces and event-driven stories.

Regarding discourses of securitisation versus humanitarian perspectives, the Greek and Scandinavian press – those in regions most and least affected by the events, respectively – were most likely to offer humanitarian framings, with securitisation appearing more commonly in politically right-leaning newspapers in British or Hungarian press, including the *The Daily Telegraph* and *Magyar Nemzet*. Feature articles and letters to the editor were more often focused on humanitarian suffering. The latter we found unexpected: While feature articles are known for providing ethnographic insights into people's lives, often representing a more positive framing of immigration (Riegert & Hovden, 2019), the positive tone of the letters was somewhat surprising. Previous research has indicated that such letters often serve as platforms for venting frustrations and expressing disagreement (Grey & Brown, 1970), particularly on the issue of immigration (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2004; Hovden & Mjelde, 2022). This suggests that the mediated events of 2015 were quite exceptional, likely due to the large-scale death and tragic suffering vividly and globally reported.

A typology of press stories on immigration

Using a cluster approach on the articles' position in the space above, we can group the press articles into seven types, each emphasising a particular mix of framings, measures, and agents.⁵ The clusters are shown in Table 2, with notes on some statistically overrepresented properties. They are visualised in the previous space in Figure 2, including some exemplary headlines taken from UK⁶ newspapers. Together, they provide some nuance to the earlier discussions of the divisions in the corpus. The deliberative side of the horizontal axis in Figure 1 is associated with three types of stories: "*large-scale political handling of the crisis*" along with two kinds of deliberations/discourses: "*moral obligation to help*" and "*practical help measures*". The second (vertical) axis instead opposes two security-focused clusters – "*the refugee as an agent of terror*" and "*the need to regain control*" (e.g., securing borders) – versus two more humanitarian-focused clusters – "*practical help measures*" and "*refugees welcome–or not*" (the latter concerned with the reception of refugees in European countries).

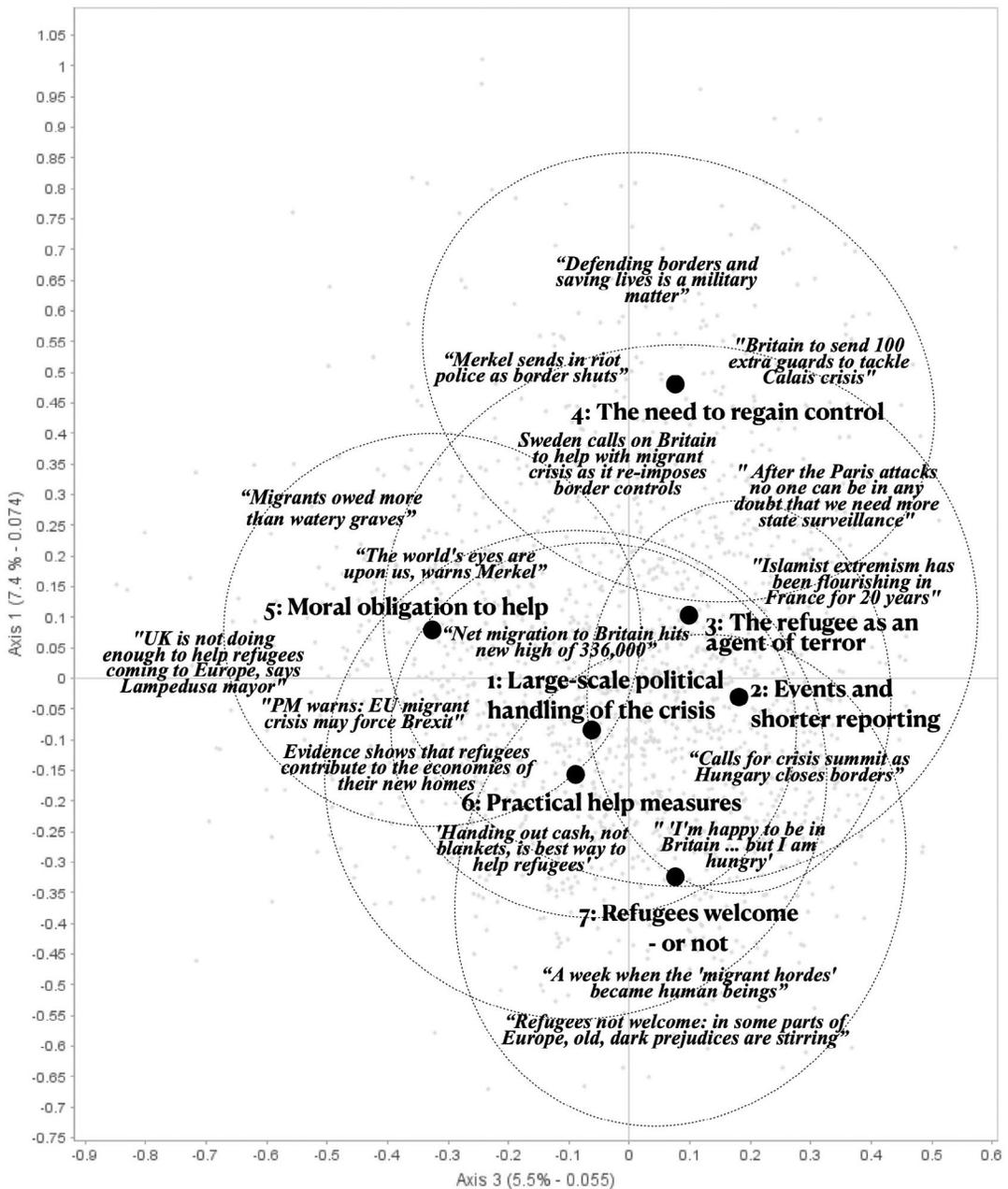


Figure 2. The European space of immigration coverage. MCA, axis 1–3. Individual articles, clusters, and exemplary headlines from UK newspapers.

Framing and measures in the newspapers

Consistent with existing literature on migration coverage, more than half of the analysed articles in our study focused on the problems and potential consequences of receiving migrants, but only one in three had a positive framing. In the case of the latter, the argument for the moral importance of helping was almost always present, often mentioning

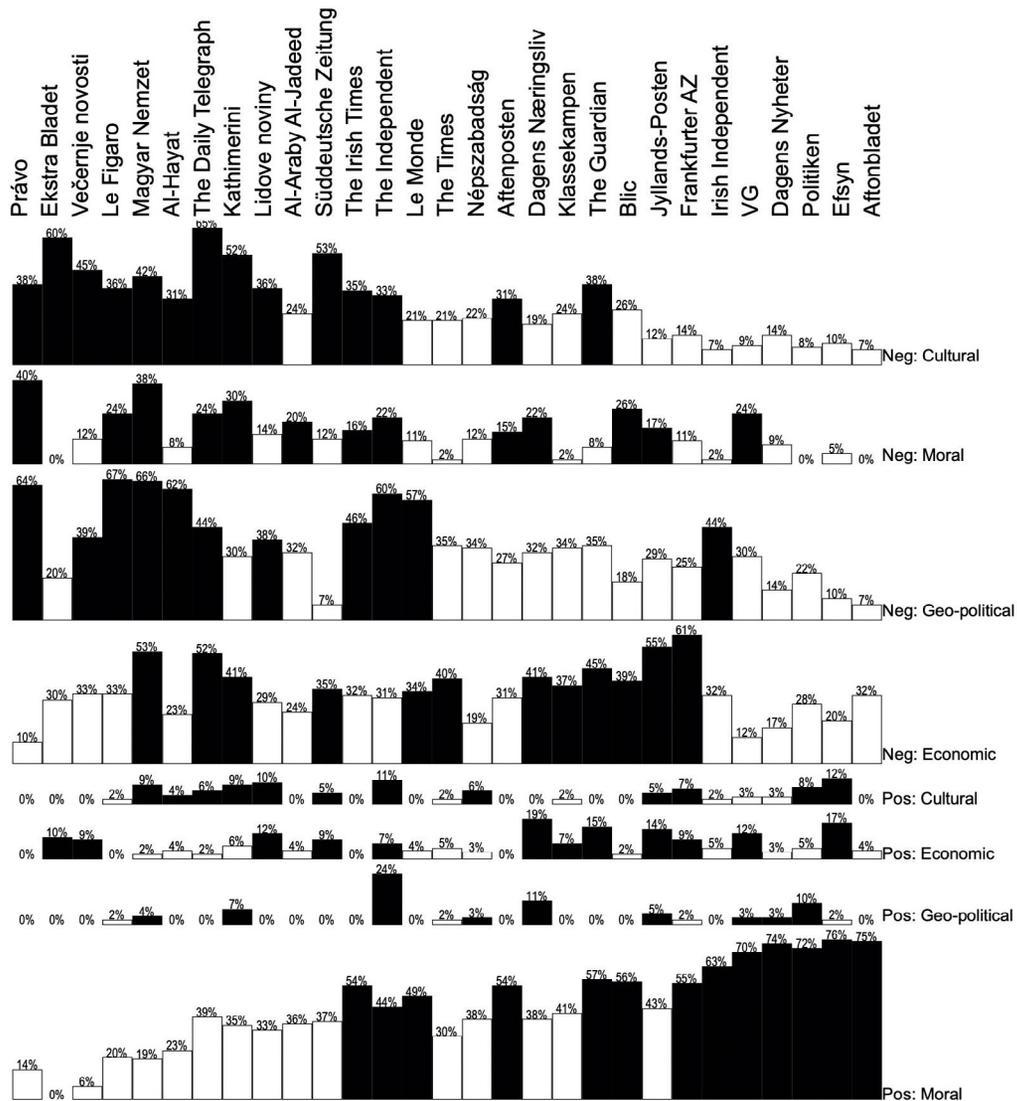
Table 2. A typology of European press stories on refugees in 2015

| Clusters and overrepresented newspapers and genres | Overrepresented agents, discussed consequences, and measures |
|--|--|
| 1: Large-scale political handling of the crisis (22%) <i>Süddeutsche Zeitung, Aftenposten, Klassekampen, Politiken</i> | National governments & citizens Prime ministers, ruling party politicians Negative economic consequences |
| 2: Events and shorter reporting (27%) <i>Al-Araby Al-Jadeed, Al-Hayat</i> Short articles/notices | Governments in affected countries, press agencies |
| 3: The refugee as an agent of terror (5%) <i>Lidové noviny, Právo</i> Editorial or comment section | Communities and religious leaders, established minority groups, terrorist groups, activists, military, police, media Images of refugees in fear, frustration, and distress Negative geopolitical consequences. Measures to protect country / Europe |
| 4: Restoring control (13%) <i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Z., Le Monde, Magyar Nemzet, Právo, The Daily Telegraph</i> | Military / police, EU government Negative geopolitical, moral, economic, and cultural consequences Heightening of border security |
| 5: Moral obligation to help (11%) <i>EFSYN, Dagens Nyheter</i> | Governments (EU, UN, and national) Positive moral consequences. Measures to help migrants Inadequate resources, deaths, mentions of disease, images of suffering |
| 6: Practical help measures (10%) <i>Irish Independent, The Guardian, Jyllands-Posten</i> | EU and international governments, NGOs Positive moral consequences, measures to help migrants Inadequate resources, deaths, suffering. Focus on migrant children, families Images of migrants |
| 7: Refugees – welcome or not (10%) <i>Lidové noviny, Népszabadság</i> Longer feature articles | Volunteers, activists, refugees, national citizens Positive moral consequences Emphasis of solidarity and empathy (among citizens), focus on migrant children, families. Images of grateful, happy, or tired migrants. |

Overrepresented categories have positive test-values (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010).

the European tradition of providing asylum to refugees and the moral responsibility to offer help. Arguments proposing that refugees can positively contribute to European societies, for example, as skilled workers or by providing cultural diversity, or the notion that borders should be open were exceptionally rare, appearing in less than 2–4% of the articles. Negative frames mostly focused on the potential of migrants to become physical threats (25%), negative economic consequences (24%), or cultural consequences (20%). Some articles (10%) also suggested emerging moral problems, such as the idea that illegal immigrants could hide among the refugees.

Article: The space of migration discourse in the European press



Which of the following frames is given for the consequences of refugees coming for Europe/host society?

Negative:
Economic (Social security systems, strain on job market, financial strain, strain on services health, schools)
Geo-political (Terrorist attacks; loss of border control)
Cultural (Population strain, indefinite arrivals/stay, racism)
Moral (being taken advantage of; deceitful migrants appearing as refugees)

Positive:
Economic (arrival of needed new workers; people to do jobs no one else wants to do; new skills)
Geo-political (open borders being good; cross-European collaboration, possible military training to return and fight back)
Cultural (cultural diversity; multi-culturalism; intercultural dialogue)
Moral (building on European tradition of providing asylum to refugees; responsibility of care; recognition of responsibility to deal with Others' suffering)

Figure 3. Positive and negative framing in the newspapers. The Bertin graphs shows the distribution of framings (Figure 3) and mentioned measures (Figure 4) in the newspapers. An evolvment of a regular cross table, its interpretation is aided by emphasising in black all values which are above average for the category, and optimising the diagonal of the matrix by seriation techniques.

The newspapers⁷ appeared to form largely three blocks regarding frames (Figure 3). One block, composed of a smaller sample of mostly left-leaning newspapers (including Greek *EFSYN* and the Scandinavian *Politiken* and *Dagens Nyheter*), was overarchingly concerned with the moral obligation to help suffering migrants, and as such, it rarely included negative frames. The second, larger block brought together multiple newspapers on the political right (for instance, *Ekstra Bladet*, *Le Figaro*, *The Daily Telegraph*) focusing on negative frames, with some variations. For example, *The Daily Telegraph* articles in the sample often focused on negative economic consequences, whereas items in *The Independent* seldom did so. A smaller block in the middle focused on negative economic consequences, yet those were often mixed with more positive moral framings. *Frankfurter Allgemeine* and *The Guardian* were two of the clearest examples of this.

If we examine the more detailed themes of the newspaper articles – specifically, the measures discussed either to aid migrants or to protect the EU and/or European countries from them – the picture becomes more complex (see Figure 4). The same newspapers that tended to lean towards negative frames exhibit similarity in their measures, emphasising security policies, such as strengthening borders (or closing them) or increasing the presence of police and the military. Conversely, the discourse of aid appears more fragmented and diverse. For instance, *EFSYN*, geographically situated at the hotspot of the arriving migrants, in its articles primarily focused on measures to prevent the loss of life (through search and rescue operations), to provide basic necessities, and to assist refugees on their journeys to a safe destination (including discussions on the need for the EU to offer the migrants asylum). In contrast, tabloids, particularly those far removed from the realities on the ground in Greece, were more preoccupied with coverage of the “rescue at sea” operations, often accompanied by vivid photos highlighting the suffering and perilous situations of individuals. This tendency often led to a focus on human interest stories – classic elements of tabloid discourse (Rowe, 2011). Traditional broadsheet newspapers, such as *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *The Guardian*, and *Le Monde*, stressed more the political process, discussing grounds for offering asylum and lobbying efforts towards a political solution. To sum this section up, the coverage of measures demonstrates not only numerous differences between the newspapers but also illustrates how these measures were intertwined with a complex array of factors, including some of national significance, others related to the newspapers’ editorial stances, and still others linked to the more traditional differences between newspaper formats.

Changes over time

The initial coverage of migrants and refugees surrounding the 2015 “refugee crisis” primarily centred around overarching, large-scale political concerns and actors. However, in a matter of months, the coverage shifted towards more humanitarian themes. The terrorist attacks of November then seemed to trigger a backlash, resulting in a prevalence of threat

Article: The space of migration discourse in the European press

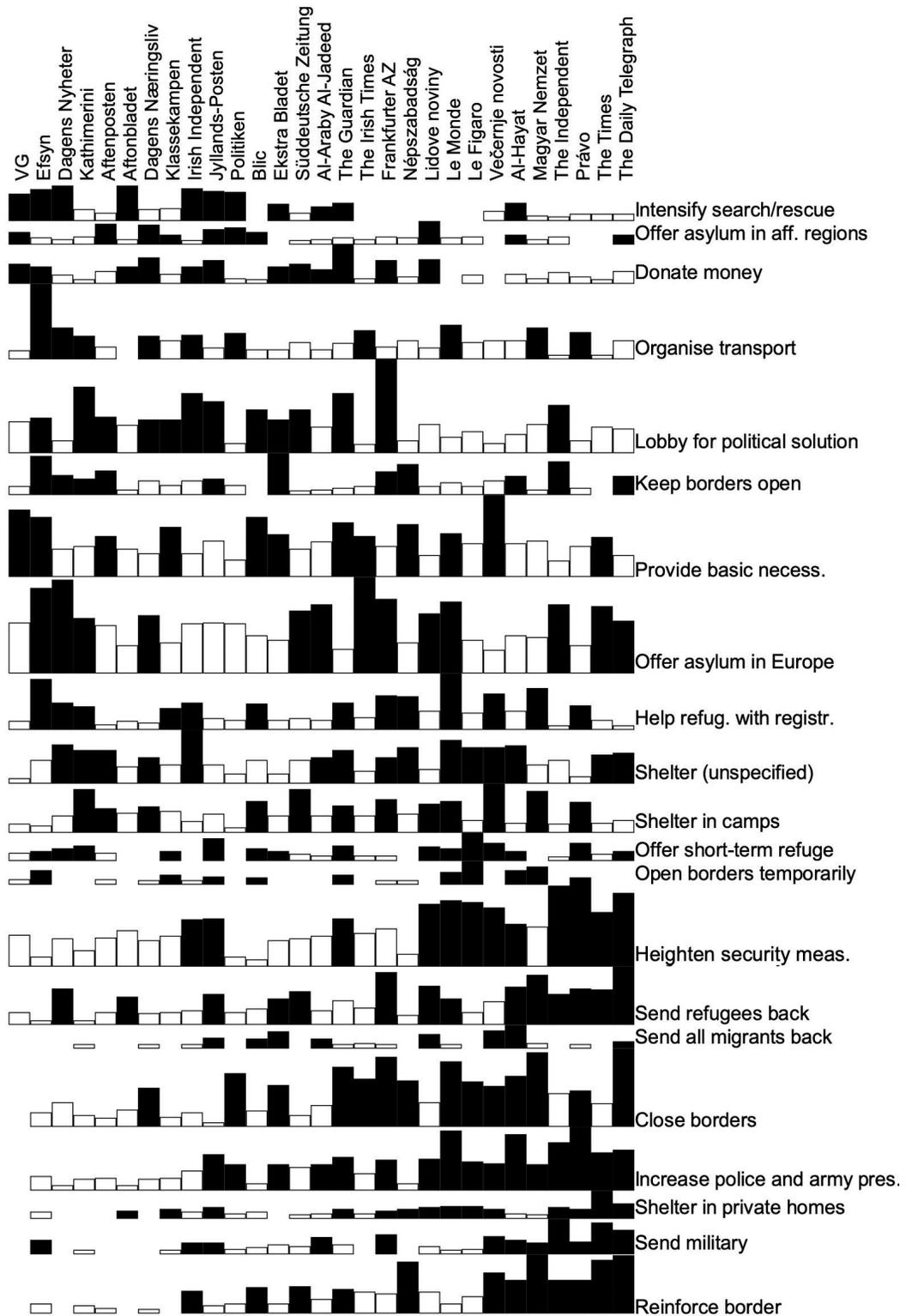


Figure 4. Measures to help refugees and protect Europe/the country in the newspapers. Bertin graph (percentages).

Article: The space of migration discourse in the European press

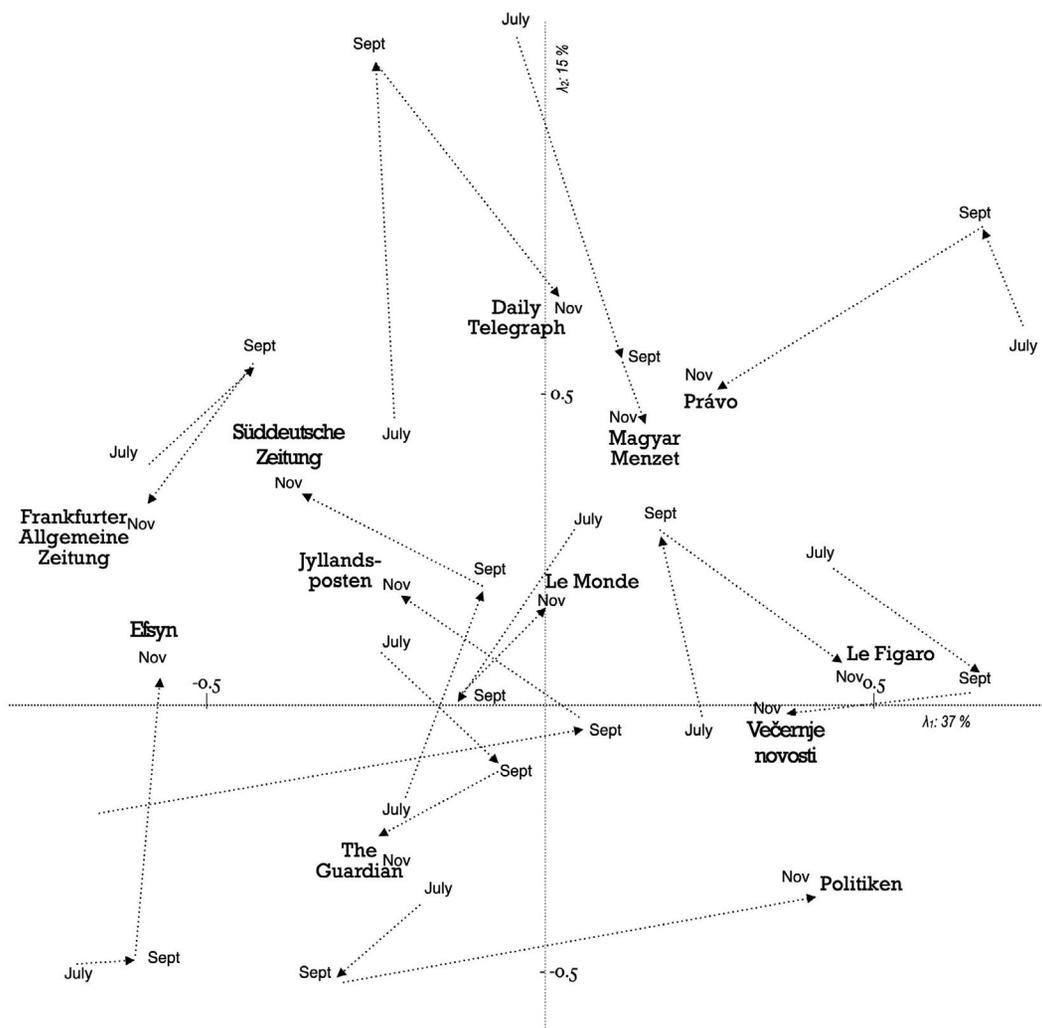


Figure 5. The European space of newspaper articles covering the “refugee crisis” of 2015. MCA, axis 1–3. Movement of some newspapers by sample period.

frames and a shift towards more event-focused reporting. Nevertheless, these changes exhibited some variation across countries and newspapers, with specific examples provided in Figure 5.

As we can observe in this map, newspapers generally maintained a consistent reporting stance, emphasising their distinct sets of themes, framings, and agents. This underscores the importance of the national context in shaping news outlets’ reporting on the issue. While the discursive “backlash” is evident in most newspapers, with articles in November and July exhibiting similar patterns, the September period in the media – remembered for the tragic image of the drowned boy Alan Kurdi – proved politically polarising. Overall, left-leaning (and centrist) newspapers often shifted focus towards the humanitarian aspects of the conflict and emphasised moral obligations to provide assis-

tance. In contrast, right-leaning news outlets tended to stress security measures and the problematic aspects of immigration even more than before. However, this trend was not uniform, and temporal variations within some media outlets revealed intriguing patterns. For example, while newspapers such as *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in Germany or *The Guardian* in the UK exhibited relative discursive stability or minor oscillations within similar thematic spaces along the factual-deliberative spectrum, others (such as *Politiken* in Denmark) displayed more dynamic fluctuations in their coverage. This suggests a responsive approach to evolving events and discourses surrounding migration.

Discussion and conclusion

To summarise the points raised in previous sections, our multiple correspondence analysis of 1,674 articles from 12 countries and 29 newspapers reveals a complex picture of voice, representation, and responsibility. The questions of who speaks and who is silenced, who acts and who is acted upon, and finally, how the actors are portrayed and characterised (if at all) emerge as key analytical dimensions in the mediated discourse of the refugee “crisis” in Europe. The findings suggest that while national and regional differences in the coverage are salient in explaining gaps in complexity, nuance, and the balance of humanitarian or securitisation attitudes towards refugees, it is the inter- and intra-national differences (newspaper type, editorial stance, format) which emerge as particularly significant.

Returning to the aims of the article, we have argued that, firstly, differences between press coverage revealed rich complexity of texts and contexts. Secondly, analysing the structuration of migrant stories as *space of press coverage* allowed us to move beyond analysis of isolated variables and to look at how the individual articles, by their total *profile* (considering all its analysed characteristics), were more divided in their fundamental narratives. Thirdly, further investigating this space for the distribution of characteristics outside the texts (e.g., nation, newspaper, and genre) helped us uncover further patterns, often in line with previous studies on mediation of migration coverage.

The first important opposition here was between the most humanitarian appeals and concerns surrounding securitisation, which underscores the influence of national context on framing immigration discourse previously raised by scholarship (Moore et al., 2018; Yantseva, 2020). Editorial stances emerged as salient in our analysis, with left-leaning newspapers often emphasising humanitarian concerns and right-leaning media focusing more on security measures (cf. Maniou & Moutselos, 2024). We also considered the temporal aspect influencing these factors and the transformation of the mediated refugee from a victim to a threat, which becomes particularly relevant within the dynamically changing and reacting media landscape.

The second opposition demonstrated contrasting approaches to journalistic reporting, unveiling intricate dynamics between *deliberative* and *factual* reporting. While some of the findings here were somewhat anticipated (such as the tendency for longer articles

and op-eds to present more nuanced perspectives on migration in their narratives, including both supportive and critical viewpoints from multiple angles), others yielded less expected insights. For example, press outlets in Serbia, Hungary, and Czechia emerged from the analysis as favouring shorter, event-focused articles lacking in-depth discussions, but their discursive focus varied greatly, resulting in distinct positions of each outlet on the humanitarian–securitisation axis. Such observations – aided by our identification of seven clusters of immigration stories – allowed us to see the migration coverage with more nuance and attention to detail, demonstrating that the media narratives of migration are shaped by contrasting perspectives, framing techniques, and contextual factors often overlooked in simplified analyses.

This we consider a novel contribution to the field of media, journalism, and migration studies. We hope that the approach adopted in this article provides a foundation for a potential framework for future crisis analyses, offering a more comprehensive and detailed examination of media coverage. By applying similar analytical approaches to other crisis events, researchers can gain deeper insight into the complexities of media representation and the discursive sphere, offering a way to explore and dissect media responses to crises with greater detail and clarity.

Notes

- 1 The majority were regular print newspapers; four were online-only (*Al-Araby Al-Jadeed*, *Al-Hayat*, *Blic*, *Večernje novosti*). 84% (276) of the articles were from print issues and the rest from online editions (including 57 from the three online-only newspapers).
- 2 An asterisk (*) means the category was excluded and set as *passive* in the MCA analysis for the quoted agents due to a low number of responses (cf. Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010).
- 3 The first four principal axes explain 37%, 25%, 15%, and 9% of the substantial variance. For more information, see Table A1. The fourth axis is not given importance in the analysis as it appears to be a variant of the third axis.
- 4 We use representative headline examples from English-language newspapers to avoid translation issues.
- 5 Hierarchical agglomerative clustering using Ward's method (Euclidean distance) on the articles' positions on the axes of the MCA. The seven-cluster solution was chosen for providing best separation. After consolidation: Between variance rate was 28.1, with pseudo-F (Calinski-Harabasz) of 108.5.
- 6 Statistically speaking, the titles are *paragons*, taken from a list of the fifty articles best explained by the axis, using the criteria of test-values (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2010).
- 7 Our reason for focusing on newspapers instead of countries here is that the complexities of most countries' media environments make it difficult to argue that a sample of two (or even five) newspapers can be considered "representative" for a country.

References

- Alexander, J. C. (2015). The crisis of journalism reconsidered: Cultural power. *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 8(1), 9–31. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316050774>
- Bastin, G., & Bouchet-Valat, M. (2014). Media corpora, text mining, and the sociological imagination – a free software text mining approach to the framing of Julian Assange by three news agencies using R.TeMiS. *Bulletin of Sociological Methodology/Bulletin de Méthodologie Sociologique*, 122(1), 5–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0759106314521968>
- Bécue-Bertaut, M. (2019). *Textual data science with R* (1st ed.). Chapman and Hall/CRC. <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781315212661>
- Berry, M., Garcia-Blanco, I., & Moore, K. (2016). *Press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in the EU: A content analysis of five European countries*. Report prepared for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. <https://www.unhcr.org/protection/operations/56bb369c9/press-coverage-refugee-migrant-crisis-eu-content-analysis-five-european.html>
- Blumer, H. (1954). What is wrong with social theory? *American Sociological Review*, 19(1), 140–152. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2088165>
- Bonhomme, M., & Alfaro, A. (2022). ‘The filthy people’: Racism in digital spaces during Covid-19 in the context of South–South migration. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25(3-4), 404–427. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13678779221092462>
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Chouliaraki, L. (2013). *The ironic spectator: Solidarity in the age of post-humanitarianism*. Polity Press.
- Chouliaraki, L., Georgiou, M., & Zaborowski, R. (2017). *Project report: The European “migration crisis” and the media: A cross-European press content analysis*. LSE.
- Chouliaraki, L., & Zaborowski, R. (2017). Voice and community in the 2015 refugee crisis: A content analysis of news coverage in eight European countries. *International Communication Gazette*, 79(6-7), 613–635. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048517727173>
- Cock, R. D., Mertens, S., Sundin, E., Lams, L., Mistiaen, V., Joris, W., & d’Haenens, L. (2018). Refugees in the news: Comparing Belgian and Swedish newspaper coverage of the European refugee situation during summer 2015. *Communications*, 43(3), 301–323. <https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2018-0012>
- Council of Europe. (2007). *Guidelines of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on protecting freedom of expression and information in times of crisis*. Appendix 11. https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016805ae60e
- Foucault, M. (2013). *Archaeology of knowledge* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203604168>
- Georgiou, M., & Zaborowski, R. (2017). *Media coverage of the refugee crisis: A cross-European perspective*. Council of Europe. <https://rm.coe.int/1680706b00>
- Gray, H., & Franck, A. K. (2019). Refugees as/at risk: The gendered and racialized underpinnings of securitization in British media narratives. *Security Dialogue*, 50(3), 275–291. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010619830590>
- Grey, D. L., & Brown, T. R. (1970). Letters to the editor: Hazy reflections of public opinion. *Journalism Quarterly*, 47(3), 450–471. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769907004700302>
- Heidenreich, T., Lind, F., Eberl, J.-M., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2019). Media framing dynamics of the ‘European refugee crisis’: A comparative topic modelling approach. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 32(S1), i172–i182. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez025>
- Holzberg, B., Kolbe, K., & Zaborowski, R. (2018). Figures of crisis: The delineation of (un)deserving refugees in the German media. *Sociology*, 52(3), 534–550. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518759460>

Article: The space of migration discourse in the European press

- Horsti, K. (2016). Visibility without voice: Media witnessing irregular migrants in BBC online news journalism. *African Journalism Studies*, 37(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23743670.2015.1084585>
- Hovden, J. F. (2020). From wanderers to strangers: The shifting space of Scandinavian immigration debate 1970–2016. *Communications*, 45(s1), 814–840. <https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2019-0199>
- Hovden, J. F., & Mjelde, H. (2019). Increasingly controversial, cultural, and political: The immigration debate in Scandinavian newspapers 1970–2016. *Javnost – The Public*, 26(2), 138–157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2019.1589285>
- Hovden, J. F., & Mjelde, H. (2022). The immigration issue and the vox populi: Letters to the editor in six Scandinavian newspapers 1970–2016. *Journalism Studies*, 23(16), 2097–2118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2022.2140307>
- Hovden, J. F., Mjelde, H., & Gripsrud, J. (2018). The Syrian refugee crisis in Scandinavian newspapers. *Communications*, 43(3), 325–356. <https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2018-0013>
- Iyengar, S. (1994). *Is anyone responsible?: How television frames political issues*. University of Chicago Press.
- Kluknavská, A., Bernhard, J., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2021). Claiming the crisis: Mediated public debates about the refugee crisis in Austria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 34(1), 241–263. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez022>
- Kondor, K., Mihelj, S., Štětka, V., & Tóth, F. (2022). News consumption and immigration attitudes: A mixed methods approach. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(17), 4129–4148. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2022.2054786>
- Lams, L. (2019). Agency and power in the Dutch-language news coverage of the summer 2015 refugee situation in Europe: A transitivity analysis of semantic roles. In L. d'Haenens, W. Joris, & F. Henderyckx (Eds.), *Images of immigrants and refugees: Media representations, public opinion and refugees' experiences* (pp. 83–100). Leuven University Press. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/book.65934>
- Le Roux, B., & Rouanet, H. (2010). *Multiple correspondence analysis*. Sage. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412993906>
- Mancini, P., Mazzoni, M., Barbieri, G., Damiani, M., & Gerli, M. (2021). What shapes the coverage of immigration. *Journalism*, 22(4), 845–866. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919852183>
- Maniou, T. A., & Moutselos, M. (2024). Do media systems matter? A comparative study of editorials on the migration crisis in the UK, German and Greek traditional press. *Journalism*, 25(3), 620–649. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849221148319>
- Moore, K., Berry, M., & Garcia-Blanco, I. (2018). Saving refugees or policing the seas? How the national press of five EU member states framed news coverage of the migration crisis. *Justice, Power and Resistance*, 2(1), 66–95.
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Eddy, K., Robertson, C., & Nielsen, R. (2023). *Reuters Institute digital news report 2023*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.60625/risj-p6es-hb13>
- Olsson, E. (2010). Defining crisis news events. *Nordicom Review*, 31(1), 87–101. <https://doi.org/10.1515/nor-2017-0122>
- Ongenaert, D., Joye, S., & Machin, D. (2023). Beyond the humanitarian savior logics? UNHCR's public communication strategies for the Syrian and Central African crises. *International Communication Gazette*, 85(2), 164–190. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17480485221097966>
- Riegert, K., & Hovden, J. F. (2019). Identity, empathy and argument: Immigrants in culture and entertainment journalism in the Scandinavian press. *Javnost – The Public*, 26(2), 158–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13183222.2019.1589279>
- Rowe, D. (2011). Obituary for the newspaper? Tracking the tabloid. *Journalism*, 12(4), 449–466. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884910388232>

Article: The space of migration discourse in the European press

- Šarić, L. (2019). Visual presentation of refugees during the “refugee crisis” of 2015–2016 on the online portal of the Croatian public broadcaster. *International Journal of Communication*, 13, 991–1015.
- Sivertsen, M. F. (2023). Stratified public connections—Beyond the taste for news? *Journalism Studies*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2023.2216810>
- Tsitsanoudis–Mallidis, N., & Derveni, E. (2018). Emotive language: Linguistic depictions of the three year-old drowned refugee boy in the Greek journalistic discourse. *Interface: Journal of European Languages and Literatures*, 6, 1–38. <http://dx.doi.org/10.6667/interface.6.2018.52>
- UNHCR. (2015). *Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015*. <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/stories/over-one-million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015>
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2004). A ‘legitimate beef’ or ‘raw meat’? Civility, multiculturalism, and letters to the editor. *The Communication Review*, 7(1), 89–105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420490280161>
- Yantseva, V. (2020). Migration discourse in Sweden: Frames and sentiments in mainstream and social media. *Social Media + Society*, 6(4). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120981059>
- Zaborowski, R., & Georgiou, M. (2016). Migration crisis? Try crisis in the European press. *Open Democracy*. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/rafal-zaborowski-myria-georgiou/refugee-crisis-try-crisis-in-european-press>

Appendix

Table A1. The variances of axes 1–4 and share of contributions to axes by variable sets.

| | Axis 1 | Axis 2 | Axis 3 | Axis 4 |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Variance of axes (eigenvalues) | 0.074 | 0.064 | 0.055 | 0.048 |
| Explained variance (%) | 7.4 % | 6.4 % | 5.5 % | 4.8 % |
| Benzécri’s modified explained variance (%) | 36.7 % | 24.8 % | 15.0 % | 9.3 % |
| Cumulated modified expl. variance (%) | 36.7% | 61.5 % | 76.5 % | 85.8 % |
| Share of contributions to the construction of the axis by variable set (number of variables in parenthesis): | | | | |
| Q13: Positive frames (5) | 0.2 % | 0.2 % | 11.2 % | 0.0 % |
| Q14: Negative frames (1) | 11.4% | 0.3 % | 3.0 % | 11.0 % |
| Q18: Agents mentioned (17) | 23.6 % | 56.5 % | 25.4 % | 43.4 % |
| Q22: Agents quoted (10) | 16.6 % | 27.2 % | 16.6 % | 27.8 % |
| Q26: Measures - aid for refugees (7) | 5.2 % | 12.6 % | 41.2 % | 5.0 % |
| Q28: Measures - protective (6) | 43.1 % | 3.0 % | 2.3 % | 12.8 % |
| Sum of contributions | 100 % | 100 % | 100 % | 100 % |

Table A2. Variables and categories contributing the most to axis 1 and 3, in decreasing order (by contributions of variable (Ctr).

| Axis 1: Humanitarian–Securitisation | | | | Axis 3: Politics–Events | | | |
|---|-------------|---|------------|---|-------------|---|------------|
| Variables | Ctr of var. | Ctr of modalities (underlined = neg. coord) | | Variables | Ctr of var. | Ctr of modalities (underlined = neg. coord) | |
| | | Yes | No | | | Yes | No |
| Q28: Heightening security measures | 9.5 | 7.6 | <u>1.9</u> | Q26: Offering asylum in Europe | 13.7 | <u>10.1</u> | 3.6 |
| Q28: Upping police, army, border guard's presence | 9.0 | 7.9 | <u>1.2</u> | Q14: Moral (pos.) | 11.2 | <u>7.8</u> | 3.3 |
| Q28: Keep borders closed | 8.3 | 6.9 | <u>1.4</u> | Q26: Lobby for political situation | 10.3 | <u>8.5</u> | 1.8 |
| Q13: Geopolitical (neg.) | 7.2 | 5.4 | <u>1.8</u> | Q18: National government | 7.0 | <u>3.1</u> | 3.9 |
| Q28: Build fences | 6.3 | 5.6 | | Q22: National government | 5.6 | <u>3.5</u> | 2.1 |
| Q18: EU Government | 6.3 | 3.1 | <u>3.2</u> | Q18: EU Government | 5.0 | <u>2.5</u> | 2.5 |
| Q28: Send military | 5.2 | 4.9 | | Q26: Keep borders open | 4.0 | <u>3.7</u> | |
| Q28: Send refugees back | 4.8 | 4.2 | | Q18: Military, police | 3.9 | 2.2 | <u>1.7</u> |
| Q22: EU Government | 4.1 | 3.2 | | Q26: Transport to other countries | 3.7 | <u>3.3</u> | |
| Q22: Government of other country | 4.0 | 3.1 | | Q26: Donating money | 3.3 | <u>3.1</u> | |
| Q18: Government of other country | 4.0 | 2.2 | <u>1.8</u> | Q26: Help refugees with registration procedures | 2.5 | <u>2.2</u> | |
| Q26: Provide food, clothing, care | 3.8 | <u>3.1</u> | | Q22: Military, police | 2.4 | 2.1 | |
| Q18: Volunteers | 3.1 | <u>2.7</u> | | Q18: Terrorists, resistance groups | 2.3 | 1.8 | |
| Q22: Volunteers | 2.5 | <u>2.3</u> | | Q18: International government bodies (e.g., UN) | 2.2 | <u>1.7</u> | |
| Q18: Military, police | 2.4 | 1.4 | | Q26: Intensifying search and rescue operations | 2.1 | <u>2.0</u> | |
| Q18: NGOs | 2.1 | <u>1.6</u> | | Q22: Refugees | 2.0 | 1.7 | |
| Q22: Activists | 1.6 | <u>1.5</u> | | Q22: International government bodies (e.g., UN) | 1.9 | <u>1.7</u> | |
| Q18: Activists | 2.0 | <u>1.8</u> | | Q22: EU Government | 1.9 | <u>1.5</u> | |
| Q22: Refugees | 1.4 | <u>1.1</u> | | Q26: Provide food, clothing, care | 1.6 | <u>1.3</u> | |
| Q13: Cultural (neg.) | 1.5 | 1.2 | | Q13: Geo-political (neg.) | 1.6 | 1.2 | |
| Q13: Moral (neg.) | 1.4 | 1.2 | | | | | |

Variable contributions below the average for the axis (1/K variables = 2.17) are marked in italics. For the categories, only those with contributions above average for the axis are shown.