

The Refugee Crisis in Scandinavian Newspapers

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Paper presented to the NordMedia conference 17-19 August 2017,
Division 8: Political Communication
Tampere, Finland

Introduction

Triggered by a full-blown civil war, in which the atrocities committed by the Assad regime and the savagery of the neighboring, self-pronounced Islamic State combined to produce the largest international refugees streams since the Second World War, the Syrian migration crisis presented the international community with enormous humanitarian, logistical, and public order/security challenges. This article maps and analyses, quantitatively and qualitatively, how Scandinavian news press covered the crisis in the spring, summer, and autumn of 2015. The research reported supplements 'The European migration crisis and the media' project (henceforth M&M), carried out by the London School of Economics in 2015, which studied coverage by 20 European newspapers in eight countries¹ over the same period, none of which were Scandinavian. A main finding in the M&M project was that while coverage varied across countries, European press coverage increasingly focused on the humanitarian aspects of the crisis throughout the spring and summer of 2015, but shifted markedly to its security implications for Western countries after the November Paris terror attacks (Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017). Overall, we find that the Scandinavian press writes less often about the negative consequences of refugees coming than European press in general. However, Danish print media more often mentions the negative economic consequences of the arrivals, and Swedish press the positive moral ones, while Norway appears to occupy a middle ground in the Scandinavian discourse. However, the humanitarian aspects of the crisis became less prominent in Scandinavian press over time, as in the rest of Europe. Taken together, our findings are consistent with observed differences in media structure, immigration policy, and public discourse between the three Scandinavian countries. Also in the coverage of the Syrian migration crisis, Denmark and Sweden occupy polar positions in terms of their newspapers' emphasis, with the former appearing more negative towards the refugees, and the latter more positive. Again, the Norwegian case is found in-between these.

In the sections that follow, we first review past literature on media coverage of immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers. Second, we discuss the Scandinavian context per 2015 as it relates to the media landscape, immigration policies, and public discourses of the three countries. Next, we account for the research design. Results are presented and discussed in the fourth section. The conclusion summarizes our findings and discusses the implications.

Literature on Media Coverage of Immigrants, Refugees, and Asylum-Seekers

A key premise of this article is that the concept of framing is essential to the analysis of media coverage of the migration crisis. We define framing as a news organization's specific (re)presentation of a political issue, whereby it more or less explicitly encourages

the audience to consider some aspects of the issue over others, thus giving 'meaning to an unfolding strip of events' (Gamson and Modigliani 1987, 143, see also e.g. Chong and Druckman 2007). While it is beyond the scope of this article to provide an exhaustive review of the multi-faceted existing research on media coverage of immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers, we situate our study within the context of a number of selected and very different studies that consider the portrayal of immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers over time and in a variety of geographical settings.

A consistent finding across this literature is that the media, whether in the form of press or TV, tends to apply a threat or victim frame to its coverage of immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers. Hufker and Cavender (1990), in their analysis of the 125 000 Cuban Mariel immigrants arriving in Florida in 1980, find that media coverage shifted from positive to negative, as the perception spread that the Castro regime was ridding itself of 'social undesirables'. While initially presented as political refugees in need of help, the Cubans were later collectively described as deviants upon the characterization of some as criminals, homosexuals, or mentally ill. In a comparison of immigration coverage by English- vs. Spanish-language newspapers in the US, Branton and Dunaway's (2008)'s results indicate that the former covers it less and more negatively, and more negatively slanted, than the latter. In another US study, Cisneros (2008) argues that immigrants are metaphorically portrayed as 'pollutants' by US news media, and notes that they 'are also portrayed as invaders, criminals, diseases, infestations, physical burdens, and destructive flood waters' (p. 593).

Analyzing visual portrayal of refugees on the front pages of two major Australian newspapers in 2001 and from 2009 to 2011, Bleiker et al. (2013, 1) find that 'asylum seekers have primarily been represented as medium or large groups and through a focus on boats'. Consequently, they argue, the refugee issue is seen 'not as a humanitarian disaster that requires a compassionate public response, but rather as a potential threat that sets in place mechanisms of security and border control' (ibid, 2). Similarly, Fair and Parks (2001, 35, 37) argue that US TV news outlets' use of close-range and long-range aerial images to report on Rwandan refugees in 1994 'represented refugees as a deterritorialized mass unanchored from Rwanda's 1994 genocide', and that consequently 'the U.S. public was kept distant and safe from any actual conflict, and from the complications of explanation'. Gabrielatos and Baker's (2008, 5) corpus analysis of the discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers in British press from 1996 to 2005 'point to a number of (mainly negative) categories of representation'. Haynes et al. (2006, 17) apply frame analysis to Irish print media coverage of recent immigration to Ireland and conclude that 'the bulk of media coverage makes use of negative frames when communicating about immigrants'. More generally, in a literature review in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Wright (2014, 4) notes with respect to photographic coverage that 'many of the media representations of refugees appear to have been left in a time-warp, often visually represented in a manner reminiscent of biblical iconography: the much repeated 'Madonna and Child' image (...)', and that '[d]espite the scale of a refugee crisis or humanitarian disaster, one of the problems in reporting is that much of the visual imagery promulgated by the mainstream media remains the largely the same' (ibid). Moreover, he claims they are rarely heard, but rather spoken about by NGO representatives, politicians, and the reporters themselves.

There are exceptions to the general finding that coverage of immigration tends to be negative. For instance, Spoonley and Butcher (2009) show that reporting on immigration

to New Zealand by its mass media became more positive after 2000, although they stress that exceptions to that shift remain. Moreover, media may make distinctions between groups. Lawlor and Tolley (2017, 967), studying Canadian print media framing of immigrants and refugees from 2005 to 2015, find that the two groups are covered differently; whereas the former is framed in economic terms, 'greater attention is focused on the validity of refugee claims, potential security threats, and the extent to which refugees "take advantage" of social programs'.

Finally, three reports look specifically at the media coverage of most recent mass migration to Europe. The UN Refugee Agency (UNCHR) analyzed press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis in Spain, Italy, Germany, the UK, and Sweden and find that Swedish coverage was most positive, while 'Britain's right-wing media was uniquely aggressively in its campaigns against refugees and migrants'. Moreover, the report finds, 'humanitarian themes were more common in Italian coverage than in British, German or Spanish press', while '[t]hreat themes (such as to the welfare system, or cultural threats) were the most prevalent in Italy, Spain and Britain' (UNCHR 2015, 1). White (2015, 6), reviewing coverage by Bulgarian, Italian, Turkish and British media, claims that European media 'have missed opportunities to sound the alarm to an imminent migration refugee crisis', and also failed to provide balanced coverage when 'political leaders respond with a mix of bigotry and panic'. Finally, the study most relevant to our is the M&M, which must be discussed in some detail. It finds that European press tended to treat the refugees either as vulnerable or dangerous outsiders, and that '[p]ress coverage that promoted hate speech and hostility towards migrants and refugees was systematic and persistent in a proportion of the press', particularly, but not exclusively, in some of the Eastern European press (p. 3). Moreover, as noted above, the humanitarian perspective became much less prominent over time, as security concerns and fear largely replaced the focus on human suffering. Refugees were more talked about than heard themselves, typically '[r]epresented in images as silent actors and victims' (ibid), and female voices were hardly heard at all. Finally, the backgrounds of the arrivals and the context of their plight received scant coverage. In the next section, we explain how comparatively modest, but significant differences in media structure, immigration policies, and public discourses shapes journalistic news coverage in Scandinavia.

[Scandinavian references to be added]

The Scandinavian Context in 2015

While it is beyond the scope of this article to offer an exhaustive explanation of the observed variation in coverage of the Syrian migration crisis by the Scandinavian news press, the numerous similarities between these three countries allow us, first of all, to rule out what cannot explain these patterns, directing our attention instead to their dissimilarities, following a Most Similar Systems Design-comparative approach (Przeworski and Teune 1970; Landman 2004). The premise of this method is that what is similar between units of analysis cannot account for what is dissimilar; it thus highlights commonalities and differences, while controlling for the former. With overlapping histories, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden are relatively homogenous polities as it relates to political systems, media institutions, culture, language, and ethnic and religious make-up. This description needs to be nuanced as it relates to features that can be expected to matter for journalistic coverage and public debate. First, with regard to their media systems, the three Scandinavian countries all belong to what Hallin and Mancini (2004) label the "democratic corporatist model" along with Finland, the Netherlands, Belgium,

Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. This model is characterized by high newspaper circulation, tied to early development of mass-circulation press, and historically strong party press. The countries have seen a shift toward a politically neutral commercial press, but retained strong public service broadcasting institutions with substantial autonomy. They are marked by strong media/journalistic professionalization and institutionalized self-regulation, but also by strong state intervention, with protection of press freedom. Press subsidies are, according to Hallin and Mancini, particularly generous in Scandinavia.

Still, there are also some differences within this category generally, and within Scandinavia specifically, that might be significant in this context. Denmark is different from Norway and Sweden in two ways. It has historically had lower newspaper readership and a stronger position for local free (advertising-based) papers. Also, its national tabloids, *Ekstra-Bladet* and *BT*, are much more like the German *Bild* and British *The Sun* than their Norwegian and Swedish counterparts. The latter newspapers (Norwegian *VG* and *Dagbladet*, Swedish *Expressen* and *Aftonbladet*) all have a tradition for "quality" reporting in certain areas such as political or cultural journalism, and so they are sometimes referred to as "schizophrenic" tabloids. Taken together, these differences suggest a somewhat more socially stratified public in Denmark and a stronger position for typical tabloid styles in public discourse.

Furthermore, the three Scandinavian countries entered 2015 with quite different immigration policies and public discourses on immigration. These had developed over time and were related to a variety of historical differences in terms of economic development and socio-cultural conditions post- WW2. Sweden had a much longer history of labor immigration than the other two, and thus higher numbers of inhabitants born outside of the country. This is probably also one of the reasons why its policies concerning refugees and asylum-seekers were markedly more liberal than those of its Scandinavian neighbors, although Norway is often seen as occupying a middle-position in terms of both policy restrictiveness and tone of debate (see Brochmann and Hagelund 2012). But what characterizes 2015 in all three countries is the relatively rapid swings in general attitudes as the perception of refugee situation appeared to change from a tragedy to some sort of "invasion".

Both in the SCANPUB project as a whole and in this sub-project on the 2005 refugee crisis, one of the research questions asked is whether or to what extent these difference in press structure, immigration policies, and public discourses on immigration between Denmark on the one hand, and Sweden and Norway on the other, can be seen as contributing to observed differences in journalistic coverage and public debate. We return to this question in the conclusion. First, we present our research design and data.

Research Design

Our study supplements the M&M project, and we have therefore adopted its overall research design (Georgiou and Zaborowski 2017), although with one important modification. The purpose of the M&M project was to sample and gauge news press coverage of the Syrian migration crisis over selected periods of time. From the events assumed to be particularly formative with respect to the thematisation and framing of news coverage, three periods in 2015 were selected: A period in July following three months of intense coverage of the refugee crisis, including the mass drownings in the Mediterranean sea in April and May, the death of Syrian toddler Alan Kurdi (September), and the Paris attacks (November). Accordingly, M&M sampled news articles related in some way to these events on the 10 following weekdays, excluding editorials.

M&M collected 20 articles from each newspaper for each of the three periods, in total 60 for the entire period and 120 for each country, based on five relative criteria: first page placement, non-editorial, weekday publication, relevance to refugee crisis, and length. Going by the main keywords 'refugees', 'migrants' and 'asylum seekers', articles exceeding 500 words, preferably two per day and located on the first page of the publication, were chosen. Shorter articles were included when necessary. First, one article was selected for each date; this was then repeated for the second article. Where only one article was available on a given date, the second article was chosen from surplus articles on the following dates. This scheme was repeated until all 20 articles for that period had been collected.²

The LSE research design originally included the period following the first mass drownings in the Mediterranean (19 April 2015), but this was later changed to July due to a lack of relevant articles in many of the countries involved³. For the Scandinavian project, however, we kept the April period, so that in Scandinavia, the following dates were sampled³:

- *Period 1 (first mass drownings)*: April 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, May 1
- *Period 2 (death of Alan Kurdi)*: September 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16
- *Period 3 (Paris attacks)*: November 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27

Following the research design laid out above, we initially sampled six Scandinavian newspapers: VG, Aftenposten (Norway); Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter (Sweden); Ekstrabladet, Jyllandsposten (Denmark). The newspapers were chosen according to two criteria: relevance and diversity (George and Bennett 2005; Gerring 2007; King et al. 1994). As leading national and/or regional publications in each country, as measured by geographical coverage and readership, the broadsheets Aftenposten, Dagens Nyheter, and Jyllandsposten and the tabloids VG, Aftonbladet, and Ekstrabladet all reach a mass audience. The articles were searched for and accessed using the Retriever newspaper archives service, which stores Norwegian and Swedish newspaper articles, and using the two Danish newspapers' own online archives. Two additional newspapers in Norway were included in the study (financial newspaper Dagens Næringsliv and leftist newspaper Klassekampen), but will not be part of the analyzed material in this paper.

The data for the six Scandinavian newspapers included 304 newspaper articles, with a slight underrepresentation of Denmark (Table 1 in the appendix), mainly due to a high number of days without relevant articles in Ekstrabladet in April and November ⁵. One should also note the high number of editorial column articles in Norway (30, versus 11 in Sweden and 17 in Denmark), which reflects the greater lack of regular news items related to the Syria refugee crisis in this period in the Norwegian newspapers, c.f. the sample criteria above. Mention should also be made of the high average length of the Jyllandsposten articles ($X=931$ words) and the very short average length of the articles in Ekstrabladet ($X=469$), with the rest of the newspapers varying from 651 to 698 words in mean length, resulting in a slightly higher average length for Danish articles overall (760 words) compared to the other two countries (662 in Norway and 679 in Sweden).

The coding was tested for reliability by every coder coding five articles selected for variety in genres and themes. Several variables were here found to have a lower than acceptable level of coder agreement (Krippendorff's $\alpha < .80$, c.f. Krippendorff [2004, 241]). These variables were either excluded from the analysis, or merged/simplified until they had acceptable reliability⁶.

Main Features of Scandinavian Press Coverage of the 2015 Syrian Migration Crisis

Given the background of the Syrian refugee crisis, it is not surprising that the refugees were often presented as victims of war or of broader economic instability in the region (Table 2). The refugees are generally humanized, e.g. the presence of children and families is often noted, in many cases also names, and their emotional reactions (suffering, fear, and concern about their future being the most common) are noted in one-third of the articles. Some similar tendencies can be seen in the photographs: Almost every article has at least one photo, and refugees are the main focus in more than half of these (and children of refugees are present in more than half of these again). The emotions of immigrants can be discerned in most photos. At the same time, refugees are mostly visualized as a group, often interacting only with each other, seldom interacting with the camera [7](#).

Negative consequences of refugees coming are just as likely to be mentioned as positive consequences - in both cases, in about one-third of the articles (Table 3). When negative consequences are mentioned, economic, geo-political (e.g. fear of terrorism), and cultural (e.g. population strain) are common. Of positive consequences, moral arguments - e.g. recognition of a responsibility to help when others are suffering - dominate.

Two-thirds of the articles discuss measures to help the refugees, most often offering asylum, or providing humanitarian aid in the form of food or shelter. One-third of the articles discusses measures to protect the European countries, most frequently heightening security measures or returning the refugees, closing borders, or increasing border control.

Like the refugees, governmental actors are mentioned in over ninety percent of the stories, most commonly in the form of national governments, followed somewhat less often by EU and other international governing bodies. Citizen groups (regular citizens, volunteers, activists) appear in a third of the stories, NGOs in every fourth story. When it comes to being quoted - having their own words being received by the reader - refugees are just as likely to be heard as EU government officials (one in five stories), but much less likely than national government representatives, who are quoted in almost every second story. NGOs and military/police/border guards and various citizens groups are all quoted in about one in ten stories.

The Space of Agents

To provide a starting-point for the discussion of the differences between the media coverage in the three countries and the three periods, we have constructed a *space of agents* (Figure 1), based on the distribution of the mention (not necessarily quote) of 11 types of agents in the 304 articles: (1) Governments in countries of conflict (e.g. presidents, legislature, ministers, political parties); (2) National Government (e.g. presidents, legislature, ministers, political parties); (3) European Union Government (e.g. presidents, legislature, ministers, political parties)[8](#); (4) International Governing bodies (e.g. NATO, UN); (5) NGOs/Health organizations; (6) Volunteers (individuals; ordinary people); (7) Activists (organized individuals/groups); (8) Terrorist/resistance groups; (9) Ordinary citizens; (10) Refugees (including reference to migrants fleeing, escapees, asylum seekers); and (11) Military/Police/coast guards and other authorities. The varying presence of these agents in the texts suggests how agents and themes have been differently emphasized in the three periods, in the different newspapers, and in the three Scandinavian countries. In addition to these later (passive) variables, we have also added to the map various indicators of different measures discussed (e.g. heightening security measures, providing food/shelter), the reasons given for refugees coming and the

consequences of their arrival, and the type of images and descriptions of the refugees (e.g. if the presence of children is noted).

Figure 1: The space of mentioned agents in coverage of the Syria crisis. Multiple correspondence analysis. N=3049



The resulting map suggest two main differences in the material. The first (vertical) dimension mainly shows that the November articles were much less focused on the concrete refugees and more on the role of politicians, generally more negatively framed, markedly shorter, and fewer of the listed agents were mentioned in the text. The second, (horizontal) dimension, suggests that the September period (following the death of Alan Kurdi) was characterized by a stronger humanitarian perspective, emphasizing the refugees as non-threatening, suffering, concrete human beings, with names, faces and families, and the role of citizens, activists, volunteers, and NGOs aiding these. April, by contrast, emphasized more strongly the role of political and other international governing bodies as agents, and when also discussing various forms of aid (including search/rescue operations, and the possibility for providing asylum), also had more emphasis on refugees as a problem for national security and border control.

Overall, the Norwegian and (particularly) the Swedish newspapers emphasized more strongly the humanitarian perspective in their coverage of the refugee crisis than the Danish newspapers. This perspective, furthermore, was particularly evident in the Norwegian and Swedish tabloids (VG and Aftonbladet), whereas the broadsheets were all quite similar in their coverage, leaning towards the political world. The Danish tabloid Ekstra Bladet, however, stands out with a clearly less humanitarian perspectives in their coverage.

It is also noteworthy that whereas the April coverage was quite similar in the three countries, the Danish coverage of the September and November events were again very different from the Swedish and Norwegian newspapers, focusing more clearly on threats to security etc.

Correlates of Media Coverage

When we control for the period, country, newspaper, and article length¹⁰, some nuances are added to this picture (Table 1).

Newspaper articles in November (following the Paris attacks) were, compared to the previous two periods, more than four times as likely to mention negative consequences of the refugees coming as those from the previous months, but not less likely to mention the positive aspects. November articles were three times more likely to mention measures to protect Europe (or the country), but not less likely to discuss measures to help the refugees. They were also more than three times as likely to have a photo of a government official/politician. Articles were only half as likely to have a photo of a refugee as April articles.

September articles (following Kurdi's death) were almost four times more likely to quote a refugee than April articles (Mass drownings), and more than six times more likely to do this than November articles. September articles were also twice as likely to picture a refugee as April stories, and four times more likely than November articles to do so.

Tabloid newspapers were generally twice as likely to quote or contain pictures of refugees as broadsheet newspapers, but only half as likely to discuss consequences or measures in regard to them.

Compared to Sweden and Norway, Danish newspapers were much more likely to mention negative consequences and measures to protect Europe/Denmark, and less likely to discuss measures to help the refugees. Swedish newspapers were much more likely to mention the positive consequences of refugees coming than the other two, but Norwegian newspapers were less likely than both to discuss protective measures.

Table 1a and b: Odds ratios for of various kinds of media coverage, by country, period, newspaper type (a) and publication (b) 11. Logistic regressions.

	Mentions negative consequences	mentions positive consequences	Mentions measures to help refugees	Mentions measures to protect Europe/ country	Quoted: Refugee	Quoted: Gov. official or politician	Pictured: Refugee	Pictured: Gov. official or politician
Article length	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00***	1.00	1.00***	1.00
Tabloid	0.55*	0.69	0.64	0.52*	1.97*	0.59*	2.14**	1.20
(april = 1)								
september	0.91	0.72	0.76	1.33	3.91***	0.83	1.94*	0.81
november	4.20***	0.89	0.73	3.11***	0.60	1.43	0.42**	3.37**
(Sweden=1)								
Norway	0.94	0.59	0.77	0.57	0.74	0.65	0.95	0.64
Denmark	2.27*	0.46*	0.47*	2.34**	0.57	1.33	1.27	0.74
N	303	303	303	303	303	303	303	303
Pseudo R2	0.11	0.03	0.03	0.10	0.16	0.04	0.11	0.08
Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness-of-fit†	.27	.42	.17	.03	.18	.66	.59	.82

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001, †=10 groups

	Mentions negative consequences	mentions positive consequences	Mentions measures to help refugees	Mentions measures to protect Europe/ country	Quoted: Refugee	Quoted: Gov. official or politician	Pictured: Refugee	Pictured: Gov. official or politician
Article length	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00***	1.00	1.00***	1.00
(april = 1)								
september	1.16	1.48	0.94	1.34	3.19***	0.98	1.67*	0.67
november	5.02***	0.89	0.58*	3.39***	0.61	1.28	0.42**	2.93***
(Aftenposten=1)								
VG	1.11	2.38*	1.01	0.63	1.96	0.45*	2.07	1.06
Klassekampen	2.54*	1.44	1.35	1.72	0.86	1.17	0.64	3.07*
Dagens Næringsliv	2.53*	1.62	1.79	1.88	0.11*	0.47	0.61	1.37
Aftonbladet	0.63	1.98	1.02	1.06	2.07	0.88	2.12	1.71
Dagens Nyheter	1.85	3.41**	1.61	1.83	1.77	1.14	1.11	1.52
Ekstra Bladet	1.40	0.08*	0.30*	1.93	2.31	1.04	3.56**	1.73
Jyllandsposten	3.92**	2.48*	0.96	5.09***	0.58	1.69	1.13	0.87
N	415	415	415	415	415	415	415	415
Pseudo R2	0.12	0.07	0.04	0.09	0.18	0.04	0.14	0.09
Hosmer-Lemeshow goodness-of-fit†	.82	.02	.46	.10	.72	.28	.15	.76

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001, †=10 groups

From Fleeing Refugees to Terrorists: A Qualitative Perspective

Quantitative content analysis provides a valuable overview of tendencies in media coverage of events and relevant political discourse. But in order to discover, map, and interpret nuances and implicit meanings, a complementary, qualitative approach is necessary. At the time of writing, only a few scattered and sketchy examples of qualitative analysis may be provided. No rigorous “application” of a specific set of theoretically derived concepts will be conducted; the analysis is generally inspired by semiotic, formal, and rhetorical approaches.

April: Tragedies at Sea

On April 19th, 700 migrants drowned in the Mediterranean when a smuggler boat capsized, making it one of the worst maritime disasters since the end of World War Two. News of the disaster reached Scandinavian newsreaders the next days in a series of images showing dangerously over-packed small boats, desperate refugees being rescued from the wreckage, body bags, and arrivals.

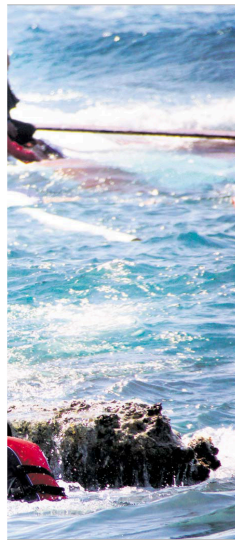
Facsimile 1: “Tragedies at sea”, Jyllandsposten April 22, p. 13.



Flugtringe ventede på at få lov til at forlade deres vedropnings- eller pådrivningsflåde i Middelhavet. Flåden blev reddet op af en gruppe af cirka 100 flugtringe, der blev sendt til søs som blev reddet omkring et af havneområdet, da de flugtringe havde ankommet mellem Tunesien og Sicilien.
Foto: Alessandro Sestini/AP



Flugtringe blev reddet op i havnen ved Sicilien på Sicilien i løbet af mandag. De blev reddet op af flugtringe fra 'Dattilo'.
Foto: AFP/Anadolu Agency



Måske 100 døde mennesker, der er blevet fundet i Middelhavet. Flugtringe blev reddet op af en gruppe af cirka 100 flugtringe, der blev sendt til søs som blev reddet omkring et af havneområdet, da de flugtringe havde ankommet mellem Tunesien og Sicilien.
Foto: Alessandro Sestini/AP



800 personer omkom, da en flugtringe med migranter i weekenden kørte i Middelhavet. De seneste dage er yderligere to både med migranter kommet i havsnød. Mindst 1.500 mennesker har i år mistet livet under flugten til Europa.

TRAGEDIER PÅ HAVET

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Overlevende flugtringe blev reddet op af en gruppe af cirka 100 flugtringe, der blev sendt til søs som blev reddet omkring et af havneområdet, da de flugtringe havde ankommet mellem Tunesien og Sicilien.
Foto: Alessandro Sestini/AP

This item from Danish Jyllandsposten uses a large color photograph of a number of people and plenty of wreckage from a boat that capsized as a kind of introduction and backdrop for a commentary about the EU’s political options faced with a situation many would describe as an ongoing tragedy. The choice of photograph is interesting. While the wreckage makes it obvious that something dramatic has happened and what goes on in the picture is consequently also of a dramatic nature, a situation where people suffer, the photograph also contains signs that to some extent may be said to contradict this primary message. All the sunshine; the blue sky; the calm, blue sea; the men with bare chests; and the textual information that the scene takes place on Rhodos, may to many ordinary Nordic readers be vaguely reminiscent both of tourist industry photo representations as well as their own experiences of the Mediterranean as a holiday destination: It takes some of the edge off the picture as a representation of human suffering. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, it is a photo that is taken at a certain distance, hence no identifiable faces can be seen. The face is what identifies an individual, and so the picture is in a sense devoid of individuals: Faceless people are to some degree dehumanized; they become groups, crowds, masses. What the photograph thus presents to the newspaper’s readers, is a relatively distanced and also somewhat confused message about a large number of people suffering in otherwise attractive surroundings (where they are also helped). It is consequently a near perfect choice of photo to accompany a relatively cool, analytical text on the political options available to a political power, the EU: The problem is, dramatic as it may be, still manageable.

September #1: The Death of Alan Kurdi

The “refugee crisis” will historically not least be remembered by way of the almost immediately iconic photographs of little Alan Kurdi lying face down on a Greek beach, barely out of the water. These photographs are and will no doubt for a long time be undergoing a variety of analytical efforts. A specific example of how they appeared to Scandinavian newspaper readers is this article in the Norwegian “quality” daily *Aftenposten* 3 September 2015.

Facsimile 2: “Boy(3) washed ashore in Turkish holiday paradise”, Aftenposten September 3, p. 16.

☆ 16

Nyheter

Torsdag 3. september 2015 *Aftenposten*



På nettsamfunnet Twitter deler mange bildene under hashtagen #KiyiyaVuranInsanlik, som var blant de mest brukte i går. BEGGE FOTO: AP



Gutten ble båret i land av en synlig berørt representant for det paramilitære politiet i Tyrkia.

Han var én av 12 syriske flyktninger som døde i forsøket på å nå øya Kos.

Gutt (3) skyllet i land i tyrkisk turistparadis

VERDEN
ANDREAS SLETHOLM

Bildene av gutten og offiseren som bærer ham i land har fått voldsom oppmerksomhet på sosiale medier.

Med en rød T-skjorte og en shorts ble gutten skyllet i land på den tyrkiske siden av Middelhavet. Han ble funnet tidlig i går morges, og en tyrkisk tjenestemann fikk den triste oppgaven å bringe den døde kroppen opp fra sjøkanten.

Bildene er blitt massivt spredt på sosiale medier over hele Europa, melder Reuters.

Den lille gutten skal ha vært blant 23 mennesker som dro fra land fra Bodrum-halvøya i Tyrkia i et forsøk på å nå den greske øya Kos.

12 av dem er bekreftet døde, blant dem fem barn. Syv ble reddet, og ytterligere to kom seg i land med redningsvester. To er fortsatt savnet.

Skal være fra Kobane
Gutten er i tyrkiske medier identi-

fisert som en treåring fra Kobane nær den tyrkiske grensen, der IS og kurdiske styrker kjempet intense kamper for noen måneder siden.

På Twitter deler mange bildene under hashtaggen #KiyiyaVuranInsanlik – «menneskeheten skylt i land» – som er blitt et av de mest brukte på det sosiale mediet.

«Rystende bilder»

Også flere britiske medier har omtalt bildene. «Det rystende bildet som viser den sanne tragedien av flyktningekrisen», skriver den britiske avisen Daily Telegraph, mens The Independent spør:

«Dersom disse ekstraordinært sterke bildene av et dødt syrisk barn skyllet i land på en strand, ikke endrer Europas holdninger til flyktninger, hva vil da gjøre

det?»

Bodrum, som er kjent som et attraktivt turistmål i Tyrkia, er de siste månedene blitt utreisested for tusenvis av syriske flyktninger. Det er bare fire kilometer til Kos fra stranden, og dette er en av de korteste reisene mellom de to landene.

2000 om dagen

Hjelpeorganisasjoner har estimert på at så mange som 2000 personer om dagen har forsøkt å nå de greske øyene fra den tyrkiske kysten de siste månedene.

Ifølge de siste tallene fra FNs høykommissær for flyktninger er 2500 mennesker så langt i år omkommet på sin ferd over Middelhavet.

The two pictures both include a Turkish paramilitary policeman whose task it was to remove the dead child from the beach. The accompanying text makes explicit what is visible in the photo where the policeman carries the child – that he is emotionally moved. The child is not named here. The picture still functions like a fist in most people’s solar plexus, and so to speak demands that the child is named. Not surprisingly, the next day he

would be known globally under his name, Alan Kurdi. The accompanying text ‘anchors’ (Barthes, [1964]1977) the meaning of the pictures by letting us know where they were taken and what they show. But it also exemplifies what Roland Barthes called the *relay* function of texts that accompany pictures, i.e. it adds information not available to us in the picture itself but that may influence the way we perceive them. What the text tells us is, first, something close to an anchoring of the picture – what the specific circumstances of the child’s death were like, where his origins in Syria were, etc. In this way, the text provides glimpses of a concrete tragedy, a whole little true story, which may be expected to enhance identification and empathy. But, second, the text also adds meta-information – on how the picture very rapidly has been spread globally on social media, and on how British press has commented on it: *The Daily Telegraph* is quoted saying that the pictures really show the ‘true tragedy of the refugee crisis’, and *The Independent* is quoted as asking that if these ‘extraordinarily strong pictures [...] don’t change Europe’s attitudes to refugees, then what will?’. In other words, the article that comes with the pictures is also discussing their possible impact on public opinion and thereby on political decisions. The text combines elements that might be expected to enhance emotional involvement in the tragic incident (anchoring) with elements that expresses and requires a more distanced relation to the pictures (relay function).

September #2: The Immigrants Arrive

A change in attitude toward refugees have been registered in many countries between the time of the Alan Kurdi pictures very early in September, and the time of the arrival of large groups of refugees later in the autumn. This first page of the leading Danish tabloid, *Ekstra-Bladet* appeared, however, only four days after the pictures of Alan Kurdi were published in the Norwegian “quality” paper *Aftenposten*. A closer look at *Ekstra-Bladet*’s coverage of the arrival of refugees suggests that the change in attitude or sentiment, at least in Denmark, was either immediate or at least latent in the form of underlying attitudes that had been there all along.

TØR - HVOR ANDRE TIER

Mandag 7. september 2015 | nr. 208 | uge 37 | 112. årg. | ekstrabladet.dk | 19,00 kr.

Ekstra Bladet

DR-PROFILERS VILDE BI-JOBBERI
LICENSBETALT HONNINGJAGT

POLITIETS ANKLAGE
MOD 44-ÅRIG MAND:
**PINTE OG
VOLDTOG
KVINDER
I 10 ÅR**

**FLYGTNINGETOGET RULLER IND I DANMARK
NU ER DE HER**



**POLITI: TAG IKKE KONTAKT DF: LUK SÅ GRÆNSEN
RØDE KORS: VI ER KLAR TIL AT HJÆLPE**

FOTO: PER RASMUSSEN / FOTO / ALL OVER / JANS FOLSEN

A photograph fills most of the first page. The large heading above it reads 'The immigration train rolls into Denmark. NOW THEY ARE HERE'. The picture does not show a train, but around thirty people, most with rucksacks or other forms of luggage, walking on, between and around railway tracks, in-between some sort of rusty steel walls. On closer inspection, one can tell that seven of the people in the picture appear to be Danish police officers. The photo is a longshot, so the people photographed are faceless. It may appear as a strange photo to put on the front page. Lots of more colorful photographs

were taken of refugees walking along a motorway and in almost idyllic, natural surroundings. A couple of such photographs are displayed elsewhere in the same issue of the newspaper. One of them is taken at such a close range that the refugees even have identifiable faces. So why use the one with railway tracks on the first page?

The photograph itself is quite ambiguous in terms of meaning – the attitudes or prejudices of those who see it will no doubt be important as to which interpretation is elicited. Most people will not stop to count the people in the picture. They will simply see them as “many”. The refugees all move in the same direction, from right to left in the picture, but they do so in a sort of disorderly fashion. Some will respond to the picture with empathy, i.e. feel sorry for the obviously desperate situation of the refugees. But there is also another possibility: The movement in one direction is a sign of determination, of having a goal. And these strangers are obviously willing to endure incredible hardships to get where – what? – they want. Their simultaneously somewhat disorderly formation may on the other hand connote flocks of animals, such as rodents, difficult to control, on their way into what appears to be some sort of hole or tunnel – or a dead end. Nearly 25 percent of the people in the picture are police officers that are evidently trying to steer and control the movement of the refugees. Underneath the picture, there is text with obvious relay functions that mainly support the not-so-empathic understanding of the photo:

“Police: Do not approach. Danish People’s Party: Close the borders. Red Cross: We are ready to help.”

One head of police is elsewhere in the paper quoted as saying the police do not at all expect anything negative to happen – but still adds that no one should approach or try to get in contact with the refugees. The right-wing populist party *Dansk Folkeparti* already demands the borders are completely shut. The chosen headline, the photograph itself, the advice from the police and the selected commentary from one of the country’s many political parties clearly outweigh that of the Danish Red Cross’ assurance that they are ready to help the refugees when the dominant meaning of this front page is to be determined: Refugees represent danger and are not welcome.

Tabloids, Melodrama, Politics

Tabloid newspapers have traditionally, not least in Scandinavia, been characterized by a rather heavy reliance on photographs/images as a primary feature of their layout. Their preference for dramatic pictures with quite evident, culturally coded signs of emotional and other meanings – drawing not least on the repertoire of melodramatic film – have long since been pointed out (Gripsrud 1992). While broadsheets or “quality” papers would traditionally base their use of photographs primarily on their functions as documentation, tabloids would base their use primarily on their potential for emotional impact and stylized, symbolic messages. What we see in the above examples, are indications that this distinction is not at all as clear-cut as previously assumed. A likely reason is that “quality” newspapers, in times of tough competition where visual communication increasingly dominates over verbal, have learned from the tabloids, and hence are much more open to all the other possible uses of photography besides that of mere documentation. They may, however, still tend to be more careful in their editorial choices, avoiding what they might perceive as overly simplistic or emotional, and so they may well differ from typical tabloids in their visual profile over time. After all, Alan Kurdi was not exposed in large format on the front page of *Aftenposten*; the story and the photos appeared on page 16. Tabloids with a populist political line are on the other hand

identifiable in that they tend to appear crasser, more direct, and perhaps more simplistic in the political messages that also their selected photographs, in line with their melodramatic traditions, are made to carry.

Conclusions

In sum, our quantitative analysis shows that Scandinavian print media coverage of the 2015 Syrian migration crisis is both similar and dissimilar to continental-European coverage of the crisis. Overall, we see a relatively similar framing in the Scandinavian countries. Scandinavian newspapers writes less often about the negative consequences of refugees coming than European press in general. Danish press more often mentions negative consequences, Swedish press more often note the positive consequences. Denmark cites negative economic consequences especially often, Sweden positive moral ones, and Norway appears, as mentioned above, to occupy a middle ground in the Scandinavian discourse. Moreover, Danish press writes less about measures to help the refugees, and more often about measures to protect Europe/Denmark from immigration. Discussing heightened security measures is quite common in all three countries, but more stories in Denmark are about solutions involving the police, military, stronger border control, etc. Like the other European press studies, the Scandinavian press prioritizes elite voices over refugees' own voices (but less so?). Finally, as in the rest of Europe, the Scandinavian press appears to have a more humanitarian perspective in April and September, and less so in the later period. Refugees become more voiceless over the same time span, the suffering more abstract (e.g. fewer reports of deaths and exploitation). In the later period, the focus is more often on the negative consequences of refugees arriving, and the focus shifts to the national governments and national citizens dealing with the crisis. What is more, the qualitative analysis largely mirrors these findings.

Our findings are consistent with differences in media structure, immigration policies, and public discourses between the three Scandinavian structures. Also in the coverage of the Syrian migration crisis, Denmark and Sweden occupy polar positions in terms of their newspapers' emphasis, with the former appearing more negative towards the refugees, and the latter more positive. Again, the Norwegian case is found in-between these.

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TABLE APPENDIX

***Table A1: Basic characteristics of the sample (N)**

	BROADSHEETS			TABLOIDS			COMBINED			Total
	Aften (N)	DN (S)	Jylland (D)	VG (N)	Aftenbl (S)	Ekstra (D)	NORWAY	SWEDEN	DENMARK	
N	57	50	56	55	53	33	112	103	89	304
Word length (average)	672	698	931	641	660	469	662	679	760	674
Period										
April (Mass drownings)	17	20	20	17	16	7	34	36	27	97
September (Alan Kurdi)	20	20	20	20	21	20	40	41	40	121
November (Paris Attacks)	20	10	16	18	16	6	38	26	22	86
Format										
News article	33	33	32	30	31	19	63	64	51	178
Editorial	17	4	11	13	7	6	30	11	17	58
Feature or other	7	13	13	12	15	8	19	28	21	68

Aften=Aftenposten (N), DN=Dagens Nyheter (S), Jylland=Jyllandsposten (D), VG=Verdens Gang (N), Aftenbl=Aftenbladet (S), Ekstra=Ekstrabladet (D).

Table A2: Who are the refugees?. Country and month. Percentages.

	(APRIL)				(SEPTEMBER)				(NOVEMBER)				NOR	SWE	DEN	Total
	NOR	SWE	DEN	Total	NOR	SWE	DEN	Total	NOR	SWE	DEN	Total	Total	Total	Total	
N=	34	36	27	97	40	41	40	121	38	26	22	86	112	103	89	304
Reasons for coming																
Geopolitical	47	67	41	53	45	51	48	48	26	23	23	24	39	50	39	43
Economic	18	39	22	27	10	2	12	8	16	0	9	9	14	15	15	14
No reasons or uncertain	47	36	59	46	50	49	48	49	71	65	77	71	56	49	58	54
Described (in text) as																
Human beings, people	62	72	59	65	42	44	45	44	26	23	55	33	43	49	52	47
Children	29	31	33	31	45	37	30	37	18	31	14	21	31	33	27	31
Families	12	6	7	8	38	20	38	31	13	23	9	15	21	16	21	19
Men	12	17	19	15	30	20	28	26	11	8	14	10	18	16	21	18
Women	15	14	15	14	30	15	28	24	8	4	9	7	18	12	19	16
Mentioned in text																
Nationality	38	36	33	36	65	46	55	55	24	23	36	27	43	37	44	41
Emotions or related expr.	26	44	30	34	48	37	52	45	16	8	9	12	30	32	35	32
Age of immigrants	24	28	15	23	42	41	18	34	16	12	5	12	28	29	13	24
Names	9	17	7	11	32	39	25	32	5	12	5	7	16	24	15	18
Family relations	12	8	4	8	35	27	35	32	11	8	5	8	20	16	18	18
Professions of immigr.	3	6	4	4	8	27	12	16	0	8	14	6	4	15	10	9
Photographs																
Refugees*	58	77	71	69	75	71	79	75	42	37	54	43	59	65	72	65
Individual refugees*	25	35	5	23	31	23	32	28	6	16	8	10	21	25	19	22
Politicians*†	12	6	19	11	3	17	8	9	29	38	18	29	14	18	13	15
Refugees (as main focus)*	43	58	56	52	65	61	75	67	35	27	32	32	49	51	58	52
Men**	33	45	80	51	56	64	77	66	65	71	100	74	52	58	81	63
Children**	28	30	27	28	70	84	77	77	41	71	29	45	50	62	56	55
Women**	22	25	40	28	33	52	60	49	41	43	57	45	32	40	54	42
Families**	6	10	13	9	11	32	60	35	18	14	29	19	11	21	42	24
Close-up or mid-range photo**	47	51	34	44	55	77	79	71	56	75	62	63	53	68	62	61
Emotions visible**	68	65	64	66	75	86	74	78	63	74	92	72	69	76	74	73
Interact with the camera**	11	10	7	9	11	28	37	26	24	0	0	13	15	17	23	18

* = if a picture of an individual or group is present ** = if a picture of a refugee is present. If not otherwise specified, the percentages are for the complete sample (N=304).
 † = National politicians and EU Government.

Table A3: Consequences and measures. Country and month. Percentages.

	<u>(APRIL)</u>				<u>(SEPTEMBER)</u>				<u>(NOVEMBER)</u>				<u>NOR</u>	<u>SWE</u>	<u>DEN</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>NOR</u>	<u>SWE</u>	<u>DEN</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>NOR</u>	<u>SWE</u>	<u>DEN</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>NOR</u>	<u>SWE</u>	<u>DEN</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Negative consequences	18	19	48	27	25	24	28	26	47	50	82	57	30	29	47	35
Economic	6	11	44	19	5	7	10	7	21	31	45	30	11	15	29	17
Geopolitical (e.g. terrorism)	6	8	15	9	18	5	8	10	21	8	32	20	15	7	16	12
Cultural (e.g. population strain)	3	3	11	5	8	7	12	9	18	12	14	15	10	7	12	10
Moral (e.g. being taken advantage of, false refugees)	18	.	11	9	2	5	2	3	13	4	14	10	11	3	8	7
Positive consequences	44	39	41	41	30	46	20	32	29	54	32	37	34	46	29	37
Moral (e.g. humanitarian tradition)	44	39	33	39	30	46	12	30	26	54	18	33	33	46	20	34
Measures to help refugees	59	69	70	66	70	76	30	59	55	54	68	58	62	68	52	61
Offering asylum	24	33	37	31	22	34	8	21	21	19	23	21	22	30	20	24
Providing shelter	9	11	11	10	22	32	10	21	13	19	36	21	15	21	17	18
Food and clothing	9	17	26	16	32	17	15	21	29	4	9	16	24	14	17	18
Lobbying for political solution	24	14	41	25	10	12	5	9	13	.	23	12	15	10	20	15
Measures to protect Europe	6	22	56	26	18	22	55	31	42	58	41	47	22	31	52	34
Heightened security measures	.	8	7	5	15	.	18	11	24	50	32	34	13	16	18	15
Sending refugees back	3	11	15	9	.	7	10	6	13	35	14	20	5	16	12	11
Keep borders closed	.	.	7	2	.	7	8	5	5	27	5	12	2	10	7	6
Upping police, army, border guards	.	3	11	4	2	2	10	5	5	.	27	9	3	2	15	6

Table A4: Who are visible - and speaks? Country and month. Percentages.[12](#)

	(APRIL)				(SEPTEMBER)				(NOVEMBER)				NOR	SWE	DEN	Total
	NOR	SWE	DEN	Total	NOR	SWE	DEN	Total	NOR	SWE	DEN	Total	Total	Total	Total	
Quoted																
National government (non-conflict country)	50	25	52	41	20	29	35	28	45	65	59	55	38	37	46	40
Refugees	15	19	7	14	35	41	40	39	11	12	5	9	21	26	21	23
EU Government	18	42	19	27	15	22	25	21	11	12	14	12	14	26	20	20
NGOs	26	14	30	23	25	7	12	15	3	8	18	8	18	10	19	15
Military/police/border guards	9	8	4	7	8	15	22	15	16	4	14	12	11	10	15	12
Citizens (national or other)	9	8	.	6	10	10	.	7	13	12	14	13	11	10	3	8
Volunteers	9	6	.	5	10	22	.	11	.	8	.	2	6	13	.	7
Media	9	8	4	7	5	7	15	9	3	4	5	3	5	7	9	7
International governing bodies (e.g. NATO)	3	8	11	7	10	2	8	7	.	8	.	2	4	6	7	6
Activists	12	.	.	4	2	10	8	7	5	4	.	3	6	5	3	5
Government in countries of conflict	6	.	.	2	8	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	2
Terrorists / resistance	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	0
<i>Governmental (incl. military)</i>	59	38	61	52	58	54	73	60	63	70	68	67	60	54	66	59
<i>Citizens, volunteers, activists</i>	26	20	16	21	14	37	23	25	.	8	14	7	14	21	17	18
Mentioned in text																
Refugees	91	95	82	89	89	85	77	84	93	98	100	97	91	93	85	90
National government (non-conflict country)	74	56	81	69	52	71	80	68	92	81	86	87	72	68	82	74
EU Government	53	64	44	55	45	32	42	40	16	23	27	21	38	41	39	39
International governing bodies (e.g. NATO)	32	31	19	28	50	10	32	31	16	12	23	16	33	17	26	26
Citizens (national or other)	21	11	11	14	35	24	12	24	21	19	36	24	26	18	18	21
NGOs	26	17	37	26	32	15	18	21	13	8	27	15	24	14	26	21
Terrorists / resistance	18	11	7	12	20	7	30	19	11	8	50	20	16	9	28	17
Volunteers	15	11	.	9	28	29	5	21	5	12	9	8	16	18	4	13
Government in countries of conflict	21	19	19	20	15	5	18	12	3	4	18	7	12	10	18	13
Military/police/border guards	9	8	4	7	8	15	22	15	16	4	14	12	11	10	15	12
Activists	15	3	4	7	12	20	8	13	8	4	9	7	12	10	7	10
Media	9	8	4	7	5	7	15	9	3	4	5	3	5	7	9	7
<i>Governmental (incl. military)</i>	91	88	100	93	94	80	88	87	89	98	95	94	92	88	95	91
<i>Citizens, volunteers, activists</i>	38	48	26	38	19	49	31	34	15	20	45	25	25	39	33	33

Table A5: Who are the refugees? Newspaper and month. Percentages.

	Aftenposten Broadsheet (N)	Aftenbladet Tabloid (S)	Dagens Nyheter Broadsheet (S)	Dagens Næringsliv Financial (N)	Ekstrabladet Tabloid (D)	Jyllandsposten Broadsheet (D)	Klassekampen Leftist (N)	VG Tabloid (N)	Total
Social/familial (e.g. reuniting)	. . 5 2	. . . .	20 5 20 14	. 10 . 4	. 10 . 6	. 25 . 9	5 5 . 3	. 5 6 4 4 7 3 5	
No reasons or uncertain	59 70 80 70	25 38 75 45	45 60 50 52	67 30 65 52	86 55 100 70	50 40 69 52	45 60 75 60	35 30 61 42 48 48 71 55	
Described (in text) as									
Human beings, people	53 25 25 33	75 48 19 47	70 40 30 50	42 50 75 58	71 45 . 42	55 45 75 57	35 60 35 43	71 60 28 53 58 47 40 48	
Children	29 35 25 30	31 48 31 38	30 25 30 28	8 15 10 12	57 25 17 30	25 35 12 25	10 20 15 15	29 55 11 33 26 32 18 26	
Families	6 20 15 14	. 29 19 17	10 10 30 14	17 10 10 12	. 35 . 21	10 40 12 21	10 20 10 13	18 55 11 29 9 27 13 18	
Men	12 5 10 9	12 19 . 11	20 20 20 20	8 5 5 6	29 30 . 24	15 25 19 20	10 25 10 15	12 55 11 27 14 23 10 16	
Women	12 10 10 11	12 19 . 11	15 10 10 12	. 5 . 2	14 25 . 18	15 30 12 20	5 20 10 12	18 50 6 25 12 21 6 14	
Mentioned in text									
Nationality	35 40 25 33	12 52 19 30	55 40 30 44	33 60 40 46	29 50 17 39	35 60 44 46	60 65 50 58	41 90 22 53 40 57 33 44	
Emotions or related expr.	18 25 10 18	19 33 . 19	65 40 20 46	. 5 10 6	57 55 . 45	20 50 12 29	10 60 20 30	35 70 22 44 27 42 13 29	
Age of immigrants	18 25 15 19	19 43 6 25	35 40 20 34	. 15 5 8	14 5 17 9	15 30 . 16	10 20 20 17	29 60 17 36 19 30 12 21	
Names	6 20 . 9	12 43 6 23	20 35 20 26	. 5 5 4	14 20 . 15	5 30 6 14	15 20 20 18	12 45 11 24 11 27 9 17	
Family relations	6 15 10 11	. 29 . 11	15 25 20 20	. 5 5 4	. 35 . 21	5 35 6 16	5 15 10 10	18 55 11 29 7 27 8 15	
Professions of immigr.	. . . .	6 19 . 9	5 35 20 20	. . . .	. 5 . 3	5 20 19 14	. 20 . 7	6 15 . 7 3 14 4 8	
Photographs									
Refugees*	58 31 56 48	25 28 59 36	21 29 71 34	67 47 71 61	15 25 83 34	36 16 15 23	53 50 82 62	25 20 60 34 38 30 64 42	
Individual refugees*	25 25 6 18	33 29 8 24	36 14 29 26	0 15 0 6	14 35 0 24	0 28 14 15	0 17 0 6	25 35 7 23 17 26 6 18	
Politicians*†	18 . 25 14	6 24 31 21	5 10 50 16	25 10 25 19	29 5 50 18	15 10 6 11	25 15 25 32	6 5 33 15 15 10 33 18	
Refugees (as main focus)*	36 50 37 42	50 71 31 53	65 50 20 49	18 33 20 24	86 75 17 67	45 75 38 54	35 47 15 32	50 80 33 56 46 61 27 46	
Men**	. 38 33 26	25 38 33 33	43 57 14 43	11 43 29 30	57 65 17 55	57 56 86 62	20 42 18 27	38 45 29 38 31 48 31 38	
Children**	33 44 22 33	8 62 33 40	36 57 14 40	. 21 21 16	14 55 17 39	21 67 14 41	33 11 6 16	6 60 18 30 20 48 18 31	
Women**	8 31 22 22	8 29 17 20	29 50 14 34	. 21 7 11	14 35 17 27	36 61 43 49	27 16 6 16	19 20 18 19 19 32 16 24	
Families**	. 12 11 9	. 24 . 11	14 21 14 17	. 14 14 11	. 35 17 24	14 61 14 36	20 5 . 8	6 5 6 6 8 23 8 14	
Close-up or mid-range photo**	64 50 50 53	58 86 75 76	43 64 71 57	44 92 64 69	57 85 83 79	21 72 43 49	60 83 76 74	33 58 62 53 47 74 65 64	
Emotions visible**	83 88 56 74	92 95 92 93	43 71 43 54	67 57 64 62	57 60 83 64	67 89 100 82	87 58 35 59	56 65 71 64 69 73 64 69	
Interact with the camera**	8 12 6 9	. 24 . 11	14 14 . 11	22 . 14 11	14 35 . 24	. 22 . 10	7 11 6 8	6 5 18 9 8 16 7 11	

* = if a picture of an individual or group is present ** = if a picture of a refugee is present. If not otherwise specified, percentages are for the complete sample.
 * † = National politicians and EU Government.

Table A6: Consequences and measures. Newspaper and month. Percentages.

	Aftenposten				Aftenbladet				Dagens Nyheter				Dagens Næringsliv				Ekstrabladet				Jyllandsposten				Klassekampen				VG							
	Broadsheet (N)				Tabloid (S)				Broadsheet (S)				Financial (N)				Tabloid (D)				Broadsheet (D)				Leftist (N)				Tabloid (N)							
Month/total	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T
(N)	17	20	20	57	16	21	16	53	20	20	10	50	12	20	20	52	7	20	6	33	20	20	16	56	20	20	20	60	17	20	18	55				
Negative consequences	18	10	60	30	25	.	44	40	15	50	60	38	33	35	75	50	29	20	67	30	55	35	88	57	25	50	70	48	18	40	33	31				
Economic	12	10	20	14	25	.	31	17	.	15	30	12	33	10	45	29	29	.	17	9	50	20	56	41	20	25	30	25	.	.	22	7				
Geopolitical (e.g. terrorism)	6	5	25	12	.	.	12	4	15	10	.	10	.	20	40	23	.	.	33	6	20	15	31	21	.	35	35	23	6	30	17	18				
Cultural (e.g. population strain)	6	5	30	14	6	.	6	4	.	15	20	10	17	15	10	13	.	20	33	18	15	5	6	9	10	20	20	17	.	10	6	5				
Moral (e.g. being taken advantage of, false refugees)	18	.	5	7	.	.	.	.	.	10	10	6	8	.	35	15	.	.	.	.	15	5	19	12	.	.	5	2	18	5	22	15
Positive consequences	35	10	30	25	38	29	56	40	40	65	50	52	17	55	25	35	14	.	.	3	50	40	44	45	15	70	10	32	53	50	28	44				
Moral (e.g. humanitarian tradition)	35	10	30	25	38	29	56	40	40	65	50	52	17	45	15	27	.	.	.	.	45	25	25	32	15	70	.	28	53	50	22	42
Economic (e.g. needed workers)	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	2	.	5	.	2	8	20	10	13	14	.	.	3	5	15	12	11	.	10	5	5	6	5	11	7
Geopolitical (e.g. cross-European collaboration)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	2	.	20	.	8	.	.	.	.	.	5	6	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	2
Cultural (e.g. cultural diversity)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	6	4	.	.	5	2	.	.	6	2
Measures to help refugees	71	60	55	61	69	62	56	62	70	90	50	74	75	80	65	73	71	20	33	33	70	40	81	62	75	90	40	68	47	80	56	62				
Offering asylum	35	20	10	21	12	19	6	13	50	50	40	48	25	55	20	35	43	5	.	12	35	10	31	25	15	30	5	17	12	25	33	24				
Providing shelter	18	35	20	25	6	24	25	19	15	40	10	24	25	30	25	27	.	5	33	9	15	15	38	21	30	20	10	20	.	10	6	5				
Food and clothing	12	25	15	18	6	24	6	13	25	10	.	14	.	20	15	13	29	15	.	15	25	15	12	18	15	45	20	27	6	40	44	31				
Lobbying for political solution	18	15	15	16	25	14	.	13	5	10	.	6	.	35	15	19	43	5	.	12	40	5	31	25	5	40	10	18	29	5	11	15				
Intensifying search and resc.	12	.	.	4	50	5	.	17	40	5	.	18	25	.	.	6	29	.	.	6	40	.	.	14	20	.	.	7	29	10	.	13				
Donating money	6	10	.	5	6	10	6	8	.	10	.	4	17	20	10	15	29	.	.	6	25	.	6	11	10	5	.	5	.	10	17	9				
Organising transport	18	.	.	5	.	.	.	.	15	25	.	16	50	.	5	13	14	.	.	3	5	5	6	5	25	.	5	10	6	.	6	4
Asylum in affected regions	24	5	.	9	.	.	6	2	5	.	.	2	8	15	10	12	.	.	.	.	15	.	6	7	10	5	.	5	6	5	6	5
Keep borders open	24	5	5	11	.	.	6	2	15	10	.	10	8	15	.	8	43	10	.	15	5	10	6	7	5	10	.	5	.	5	6	4				
Open borders temporary	6	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	2	.	.	.	.	5	.	6	4	15	.	.	5	.	.	6	2
Helping with registration	.	.	5	2	12	.	.	4	10	15	20	14	8	5	.	4	.	5	.	3	5	10	.	5	10	25	.	12	.	5	6	4				
Measures to protect Europe	12	15	50	26	31	5	50	26	15	40	70	36	42	15	65	40	14	45	33	36	70	65	44	61	15	45	50	37	.	20	33	18				
Heightened security measures	.	10	25	12	6	.	50	17	10	.	50	14	.	10	30	15	.	10	17	9	10	25	38	23	.	25	25	17	.	20	22	15				
Sending refugees back	6	.	10	5	12	5	25	13	10	10	50	18	.	.	15	6	14	10	.	9	15	10	19	14	5	5	10	7	.	.	17	5				
Keep borders closed	.	.	10	4	.	.	25	8	.	15	30	12	25	5	40	23	14	15	17	15	5	.	.	2	5	.	10	5				
Upping police, army, border guards	.	5	10	5	6	.	.	2	.	5	.	2	.	.	15	6	.	15	.	9	15	5	38	18	.	15	5	7				
Send all migrants back	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	2	.	10	.	6	15	.	.	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Offer only temporary refugee	.	.	10	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	30	6	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	3	10	10	12	11	.	5	10	5	.	.	11	4
Build fences/border	6	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	2	14	.	.	3	.	5	6	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Send military	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	3	10	.	6	5	5	.	.	2				

Table A7: Who are visible - and speaks? Newspaper and month. Percentages.

	Aftenposten				Aftonbladet				Dagens Nyheter				Dagens Næringsliv				Ekstrabladet				Jyllandsposten				Klassekampen				VG							
	Broadsheet (N)				Tabloid (S)				Broadsheet (S)				Financial (N)				Tabloid (D)				Broadsheet (D)				Leftist (N)				Tabloid (N)							
Month/total	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T	4	7	9	T
(N)	17	20	20	57	16	21	16	53	20	20	10	50	12	20	20	52	7	20	6	33	20	20	16	56	20	20	20	60	17	20	18	55				
Quoted																																				
Government (national or other non-conflict country)	65	30	45	46	25	24	62	36	25	35	70	38	33	30	30	31	14	40	50	36	65	30	62	52	55	45	40	47	35	10	44	29				
Refugees	18	20	10	16	19	43	6	25	20	40	20	28	8	.	.	2	14	40	.	27	5	40	6	18	10	25	10	15	12	50	11	25				
EU Government	29	15	20	21	56	10	6	23	30	35	20	30	.	40	.	15	29	10	17	15	15	40	12	23	.	10	15	8	6	15	.	7				
NGOs	18	25	.	14	6	10	6	8	20	5	10	12	8	15	20	15	29	5	.	9	30	20	25	25	10	15	5	10	35	25	6	22				
Military/police/border guards	6	5	15	9	6	24	.	11	10	5	10	8	.	.	10	4	.	25	33	21	5	20	6	11	10	10	20	13	12	10	17	13				
Citizens (national or other)	.	15	5	7	6	10	19	11	10	10	.	8	.	5	20	10	.	.	.	.	.	.	19	5	5	10	15	10	18	5	22	15
Volunteers	12	10	.	7	.	24	6	11	10	20	10	14	8	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	15	5	8	6	10	.	5
Media	.	5	.	2	6	10	6	8	10	5	.	6	.	15	.	6	.	10	.	6	5	20	6	11	5	.	.	2	18	5	6	9				
International governing bodies (e.g. NATO)	6	10	.	5	.	.	.	.	15	5	20	12	.	5	.	2	14	.	.	3	10	15	.	9	10	20	10	13	.	10	.	4
Activists	24	5	5	11	.	10	6	6	.	10	.	4	8	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	15	.	5	.	15	5	7	.	.	6	2
Government in countries of conflict	12	15	.	9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	.	2				
Terrorists / resistance	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	2	.	.	5	2				
Governmental (incl. military)	76	45	65	61	62	52	62	58	55	55	90	62	33	60	35	44	57	60	83	64	65	80	62	70	65	60	70	65	41	30	56	42				
Citizens, volunteers, activists	29	25	5	19	6	33	31	25	20	40	10	26	17	5	20	13	.	.	.	.	.	15	19	11	10	35	25	23	24	15	28	22
Mentioned																																				
Refugees	94	90	80	88	88	90	62	81	90	80	100	88	75	85	90	85	100	100	100	100	90	95	100	95	95	95	85	92	88	100	83	91				
National government (non-conflict country)	82	60	95	79	56	62	81	66	55	80	80	70	92	90	90	90	100	80	83	85	75	80	88	80	70	90	80	80	65	45	89	65				
EU Government	65	50	20	44	81	33	19	43	50	30	30	38	58	80	35	58	86	15	17	30	30	70	31	45	40	65	25	43	41	40	11	31				
International governing bodies (e.g. NATO)	35	45	20	33	6	10	.	6	50	10	30	30	17	50	20	31	.	5	17	6	25	60	25	38	35	65	.	33	29	55	11	33				
Citizens (national or other)	18	35	5	19	12	38	25	26	10	10	10	10	8	15	45	25	.	10	17	9	15	15	44	23	20	10	30	20	24	35	39	33				
NGOs	24	30	15	23	6	19	6	11	25	10	10	16	42	15	25	25	29	10	17	15	40	25	31	32	15	25	15	18	29	35	11	25				
Terrorists / resistance	29	25	10	21	6	10	12	9	15	5	.	8	8	5	25	13	14	20	83	30	5	40	38	27	15	20	30	22	6	15	11	11				
Volunteers	12	25	5	14	6	38	6	19	15	20	20	18	25	5	20	15	.	5	.	3	.	5	12	5	15	25	10	17	18	30	6	18				
Government in countries of conflict	41	20	.	19	6	5	.	4	30	5	10	16	8	20	30	21	43	30	.	27	10	5	25	12	20	5	10	12	.	10	6	5				
Military/police/border guards	53	35	30	39	31	29	.	21	35	15	10	22	8	15	25	17	43	55	67	55	40	40	31	38	40	45	25	37	29	60	17	36				
Activists	29	20	5	18	6	19	6	11	.	20	.	8	17	.	10	8	.	5	17	6	5	10	6	7	15	15	10	13	.	5	11	5				
Media	12	35	15	21	6	14	6	9	10	10	.	8	17	10	20	15	.	55	33	39	5	20	12	12	5	30	10	15	35	45	28	36				
Governmental (incl. military)	100	90	100	96	88	76	81	81	100	85	100	94	100	100	95	98	100	95	100	97	85	100	94	93	95	100	90	95	82	85	100	89				
Citizens, volunteers, activists	41	45	10	32	12	52	38	36	25	45	20	32	33	20	55	37	.	15	33	15	20	25	50	30	30	40	40	37	35	50	44	44				

1. Sample: The Guardian, The Times, The Independent, The Daily Telegraph (UK); Irish Independent, The Irish Times (Ireland); Magyar, Nemzet Népszabadság (Hungary); Vecernje Novosti, Blic (Serbia); Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Germany); EFSYN, Kathimerini (Greece); Pravo, Lidove Noviny (Czech Republic); Le Monde, Le Figaro (France). In addition, two Arab-European newspapers were included: Al-Hayat and Al-Araby Al-Jadeed. [↩](#)
2. Data collection period: February-April 2017. The authors would like to thank research assistant Anders Helgerud for assisting with the data collection. [↩](#)
3. Correspondance with Rapfal Zeborowski, April 27th. [↩](#)
4. The number of articles per newspaper per period (April/September/October) were as follows: Aftenposten (17,20,20), VG (17,20,18), Dagens Nyheter (20,20,10), Aftonbladet (16,21,16), Jyllandsposten (20,20,16), Ekstrabladet (7,20,6). [↩](#)

5. For example, a coding for specific emotions of immigrants in photos was reduced to a dummy - emotions deemed visible or not/unclear. Another problem was confusion by coders if reference to “national” citizens or government referred to the country where refugees were currently stationed, or the country of the newspaper. For this reason, “national government” and “national citizens” (for the questions about who was quoted or mentioned in the text), replaced four variables where each of these was split into “national country” and “other country”. [↩□](#)
6. The discussion of the photographs is based on only the first photo selected by the coder. [↩□](#)
7. In the original codebook, the variable had separate categories for “National Government” (the government in the country of the newspaper) and “Government of other country” (the country where events were unfolding). The reliability of this distinction in the material was quite low, however, and they were therefore merged.* [↩□](#)
8. Multiple correspondence analysis (Burt). Inertia/explained inertia (unadjusted): (1).0072/58%, (2).0018/14%, (3).0002/1%. The MCA shows the distribution of agents mentioned (quoted or not) in the articles, with other variables projected as passive categories (e.g. not influencing the composition of the axes). [↩□](#)
9. As a rule, longer articles have room for more perspectives, more arguments, more quotes, etc. Controlling for article length does not influence the main interpretation of the tables, but gives slightly more precise estimates for the other predictors. [↩□](#)
10. Note that for the second table, two Norwegian newspapers have been added: Dagens Næringsliv (the major financial newspaper, modelled after Financial Times), and Klassekampen (originally maoist, today the major leftist newspaper). [↩□](#)Table appendix.
11. Because reliability tests showed that many coders were confused about the meaning of the terms “national” and “other country” as used for mentions and quotes in the text (e.g. in relation to government, if this term relates to the country where the story is situated - e.g. in Greece - or to the Scandinavian “nation” of the newspaper), they were combined in this table. [↩□](#)