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From the Guest Editor

Mixed identities may result from the blending of two or more different cultures through contacts that may occur across cultural or national boundaries. This can be considered one of the conceptual models of international communication. In broad terms, international communication can take place through the movement of people; in the cases discussed here, Syrian and Iraqi refugees driven by war, repression, poverty, and/or dreams of a better life.

Waves of refugees fleeing war zones in Syria and Iraq represented one of the most serious global challenges of the past few years. Especially in 2015, Syrian and Iraqi refugees moved into the West in unprecedented and record numbers, propelled by the civil war in Syria and the long-term conflict in Iraq. The estimated figure included millions of people and was considered the highest since the 1990s.

This was one of the most complicated news stories in the media, because the arrival of the Arab and Muslim refugees into the West fueled a discourse that considered how many refugees could be accepted, reacting under fear that the incoming refugees would not be integrated into Western cultures. While much of the coverage of the refugee crisis in Western media focused on European countries struggling to deal with the arrival of refugees by land and sea, coverage ignored stories of Syrian and Iraqi refugees within the same crisis that was unfolding elsewhere.

In Europe and North America, media reporting on the global refugee crisis could not tell the full and accurate story and frequently perpetuated negative stereotypes. But stereotypes were not the only factor influencing coverage of the refugee crisis in Western media. These media outlets produce content to attract advertisers and satisfy other sponsors, and as they suffer a lack of resources overseas and rely on freelancers to report from foreign lands, they distort pictures of occurring realities. The refugee cri-

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sis was not the first story Western media outlets mishandled, and it will not be the last either.

The only difference in this case is that the refugee crisis could be the biggest humanitarian story of this decade. Yet, above and beyond any possible justification, Western media coverage could not even properly use terms such as refugees, migrants, and asylum-seekers. Instead, Western media promoted (intentionally or unintentionally) a discourse dominated by loose language and hidden meaning of invasion and threat.

However, in certain moments, the story of the refugee crisis was colored with humanity, empathy, and a focus on the suffering of all those involved, not only the refugees. That was definitely insufficient, but understandable. Journalists in Western media have little to no training on how to use news outlets for sociopolitical development. Therefore, they could not reflect on the available reliable evidence that migration is, in the long run, invariably beneficial to host countries for both economic and cultural development.

So, journalists working for Western media did not know how to cover the refugee crisis in a fair and balanced context, considering all implied aspects. However, conflict always makes for a good story. Journalists working for Western media have been trained to see (and sometimes magnify) conflict, and they could not walk away from the dominant conflict-oriented paradigm in the angles they chose to cover a humanitarian crisis of this magnitude.

Untrained reporters failed to recognize both the significance and the relevance of differences between terms such as refugees, migrants, and asylum-seekers. And, as communication scholars, we know that attributes the media assign to objects matter when the public sets attitudes related to the objects. So, another result of Western media reporting on the refugee crisis is related to image building. The media limited the refugee crisis to one of two images: either archetypical threats of Arab and Muslim males or mere groups of people walking through Europe. Both images referred to the same common outcome: us and them.

Across almost all countries involved in the refugee crisis, an anti-migrant or anti-Muslim discourse influenced media coverage that too often perpetuated and even accepted outrageous

statements of hate and bigotry. Both reporters and editors in those countries failed to challenge the statements of intolerance this discourse promoted. Even in challenging the discourse, the media in the West appeared to tie the coverage of Syrian and Iraqi refugees to stereotypes and could not put the events of this crisis in the natural humanitarian context.

The angles of a good story about refugees should be deeply rooted in the humanitarian context. However, the more of the humanitarian context, the more of the justification to why Syrian and Iraqi refugees should be helped. The humanitarian context of the refugee crisis was the truth that journalists working for Western media could not report, because it would have meant a departure from the existing conflict-oriented paradigm of their news outlets and a deviation from the mental model associated with the events of the refugee crisis in the minds of their audiences.

A more humanitarian type of reporting about the refugee crisis in Western media was not possible, because it would have meant that journalists should have moved away from what attracts audiences, what makes audiences feel right, and ultimately what provides audiences with frames of reference for both identification and processing. Western media took a conflict-oriented path to report on the refugee crisis, because enabling a more humanitarian context for this story could have generated more truthful content and a richer picture than the frames of the past. Western media had neither the resources, nor the qualified journalists to tell the humanitarian story of the refugee crisis. Many of their audiences would not have bought it any way.

In many ways, coverage of the refugee crisis became a platform for anti-migrant or anti-Muslim statements in a discourse that called for mass deportations of refugees, migrants, and asylum-seekers. In other words, the conflict-based context hijacked the coverage of the refugee crisis in Western media. It was clear that the media in the West struggled to provide a humanitarian context for covering the refugee crisis when there was a competing discourse of hate, bigotry, and panic.

Apparently, with the availability of social media and the relatively affordable tools to access the Internet, Syrian and Iraqi refugees could do what Western media could not. Refugees have been able to produce media texts, attracting millions of audience members in both origin and host countries, building bridges of

cultural hybridity between homeland and new home. This represents a pattern in today's social media where various cultures play off one another; yet, there is a hybrid order in the resulting messages, simultaneously establishing cultural bridges passing through spaces and across borders, presenting identities that are characteristically mixed, providing strong evidence that incoming refugees will actually be integrated into Western cultures.

In conclusion, if I wanted to write one headline for the collective story of the refugee crisis in Western media, it would be, "What happens if they are with us," but if I wanted to write one headline for the collective story regarding Syrian and Iraqi refugees' own journey from homeland to new home, it would be, "What has happened to us." One does not need the professional eyes of a scholar to see how the two stories are totally different.

As scholars in many disciplines have been working on research projects related to the refugee crisis, the International Communication Research Journal (ICRJ) found it important to run a relevant special issue on this topic. The ICRJ is the flagship journal of the International Communication Division (ICD) of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC). I would like to thank the distinguished members of ICD for offering me the opportunity to serve as the guest editor of this special issue. I also thank my colleagues who served as reviewers; their comments and recommendations were essential to the success of editorial decisions. To the communities of scholars in multiple disciplines interested in media coverage of the refugee crisis, I am humble to present the thoughtful studies published in this special issue.

In "Live-Blogging the Crisis: Determinants of News Coverage of the Syrian Refugee Crisis," Pantic and Pjesivac operationalized the World Systems Theory to examine international news coverage and test the influence that determinants of foreign news flow have on the comprehensiveness of media coverage of this crisis. The analysis relied on content collected from live blogs. As online media, live blogs are platforms of news coverage. They allow journalists to keep their audiences updated regarding ongoing, unfolding stories, often taking the form of breaking news, reported live with brief posts. To investigate the determinants of live blogging, the authors used a quantitative content analysis

about the refugee crisis in five countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The analyzed sample included 195 live blogs. The results of the analysis show that deviance of the event (i.e., refugee crisis) was a significant predictor of the amount of textual coverage, and economic relevance was the best predictor of the comprehensiveness of multimedia live blog content. The results also support recent research findings that geographic proximity is no longer a powerful predictor of international news flow.

In "Cross-national Newspaper Coverage of Transit Migration: Community Structure Theory and National Vulnerability," Pollock et al. conducted a community structure analysis, considering the impact of society on media coverage. The analysis investigates the hypothesis whether variations in national demographic characteristics could be associated with differences in cross-national media coverage of transit migration. To increase variance and validity, the authors analyzed leading newspapers in 16 countries. Collecting all 250+ word articles published from 2014 to 2015 yielded a sample that the authors coded for government responsibility, society responsibility, and balanced/neutral coverage. Pearson correlations were operationalized to test the assumptions of Community Structure Theory, revealing the strength of three significant nation state-level indicators, two associated with coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration. The Crop Production Index, a measure of economic vulnerability, was associated with newspaper coverage emphasizing government responsibility, while another vulnerability measure, the Global Peace Index, was associated with more societal responsibility for transit migration.

In "Media Usage and Immigration Attitudes in Europe: Exploring Contextual Effects Across Media Forms, Structures, and Messages," Venger's analysis draws upon theories of social threat and media systems. The author uses aggregate data from 20 European nations to examine the relationships between nations' media usage, public attitudes about the general consequences of immigration, and the specific beliefs about immigrants worsening the nations' crime problem. Results show that nations with higher daily Internet usage have more positive general attitudes toward immigrants, but television viewership is not significantly

associated with these attitudes. The results also demonstrate that national attitudes about immigrants causing crime are unrelated to the density of media usage. The author conducted a content analysis of several major media outlets in select countries (i.e., Hungary, the United Kingdom, and Sweden) to explore patterns (if any) of these aggregate relationships. Findings of supplemental analyses show the moderating associations between nations' media systems and public attitudes about immigration and crime.

Mohammed Al-Azdee,
Guest Editor

Live-Blogging the Crisis: Determinants of News Coverage of the Syrian Refugee Crisis

By *Mirjana Pantic and Ivanka Pjesivac*

This study employed international news flow theory to test the impact of the determinants of foreign news flow on the comprehensiveness of textual and multimedia coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in the form of a live blog. The live blog is an online news format that allows journalists to inform their audiences about ongoing, most often breaking news events, with live, brief posts. The authors employed a content analysis to investigate the determinants of live blogging about the Syrian refugee crisis in five countries: Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The analysis of 195 live blogs showed that deviance of the event was a predictor of the amount of textual coverage, while economic relevance was the best predictor of the comprehensiveness of multimedia live-blog coverage. Furthermore, the analyses supported previous findings that suggested geographic proximity is losing its power in predicting international news flow.

In the past few years, European countries have faced uncontrolled waves of migrants and refugees from war-torn Syria. Refugees started seeking safety in Europe in spring 2011, fleeing from the civil war that, according to the latest reports, has claimed more than 400,000 lives (“Syrian civil war fast facts,” 2018). Their struggle to leave Syria started right after the outbreak of anti-government protests that marked the beginning of inter-ethnic conflicts (“Syria: The story of the conflict,” 2015). United Nations data show that by March 2018 there were more than 5.6 million refugees from Syria and 6.1 million internally displaced people in Syria (“Syria,” 2018). According to the UNHCR (“Total Syrian Asylum Applications in Europe,” 2015), from April 2011 to October 2015, as many as 681,713 asylum applications were submitted

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by Syrians in 37 European countries. Despite the growing pace of the refugee influx in Europe, it seems that the crisis did not come into the international media's focus until September 2, 2015, when news media published a heartbreaking image of a drowned Syrian toddler (Barnard & Shoumali, 2015; Moyer, 2015).

Several decades of research in foreign news flow show an imbalance of international news coverage between the developed and developing world. Research also suggests that the so-called Third World suffered severe disparities in foreign news coverage when compared to Western countries (Hachten, 1999; Hanusch, 2014). This pattern of coverage does not only apply to traditional media, but also to the Internet despite its potential to overcome geographic hierarchies and offer journalists an inexpensive way to break traditional media barriers (e.g., Himmelboim, Chang, & McCreery, 2010; Wu, 2007). Theories of international news flow posit not only that the countries of the center are more covered in international news than the countries of the periphery, but also that there are specific factors that determine whether a country would receive coverage or not (Ito, 2009; Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, & Stevenson, 1984; Wu, 1998; 2000; 2003). What is of interest to this study is to examine the impact of international news flow determinants - deviance, geographic proximity, and relevance to the country - on the coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis after publication of the above-mentioned picture. It does so through a content analysis of live blogs in five countries that were hit to various degrees by the biggest population of migrants since World War II. As a web counterpart of live TV news reports and a recent online phenomenon, the live blog serves primarily to cover breaking news and unexpected events. It is also heavily used for covering major events in motion, such as the refugee crisis (Thurman & Walters, 2013). By analyzing foreign news flow through live blogs, this study aims to contribute to the growing body of research about foreign news coverage on the Internet as an important platform, one that offers the possibility of instantaneous real-time online coverage of remote settings (Himmelboim et al., 2010).

Literature Review

Theoretical Framework

International news flow. International news flow represents “the activities of news exchanges between countries, regions, or between countries and regions” (Hur, 1984, p. 366). Studies on international news flow have shown that by controlling the major news agencies and later global news media, wealthy Western countries held the keys to the flow of international news (Gudykunst & Mody, 2002; Östgaard, 1965; Wallerstein, 1996; Wu, 2003). The findings regarding the dominance of developed countries were mainly based on the premises of Wallerstein’s (1974) World System Theory, which divides the world into three spheres of relations: core, semi-periphery, and periphery. The general premise states that the structure of the world system determines not only the extent of a country’s development, but also its status in the international equation based on its location in the world system. Traffic and interactions are greater among the countries of the core, and the direction of the flow moves from higher to lower strata, putting countries of the periphery at a disadvantage. Being part of the structural flow in the world system, the effects of the divided world system on mass communication are manifest in the quantity and quality of international news flow and coverage (Chang, 1998). Supporting these assumptions about the effects of the country’s location on its position in international news flow, research has found that news has traveled generally from the developed world to consumers in the “peripheral” countries. Furthermore, it found that countries of the core have been covered more in the news media than those on the semi-periphery and periphery (Chang, 1998; Chang, Lau, & Xiaoming, 2000; Choi, 1993; Golan, 2010).

However, location in the world system was not able to completely explain the status and access to news in “semi-peripheral” and “peripheral countries.” For example, it could not explain why less developed countries such as those in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America have dominated international news coverage during certain periods, such as conflicts or natural disasters. Other filters beyond a country’s location needed to be taken into account as well in efforts to explain this (Chang, 1998). In 1965, Galtung and Ruge identified 12 factors that served as determinants in international communication, including: reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, cultural proximity, un-

expectedness, and a reference to something negative. A UNESCO study across 29 countries in 1979 identified similar factors. This study disclosed that foreign news coverage had concentrated on events in a country's immediate geographic region. Coverage then depended on whether the focus was on political power, crises, or disasters (Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., 1984). Other studies identified geographic proximity and national linkages (Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987; Wilke, Heimprecht, & Cohen, 2012), population, and the presence of international news agencies (Wu, 2000; 2003) as dominant factors that determined foreign news coverage. Among the additional factors identified in scholarly research were a common language and the covered country's defense budget (Ito, 2009), cultural linkages (Peterson, 1979; Zaharopoulos, 1990), eliteness, and communication resources and infrastructure (Wu, 1998). Some scholars have found, however, that the importance of geographic proximity has been fading in terms of predicting international news flow (e.g., Yan & Bissell, 2018). Johnson (1997) explained that geographic distance was more important when people had to travel by train to the destinations where the events were happening than it is nowadays when people can get immediate information through the Internet. Geographic proximity fell behind other determinants of international news flow in Herman and Chomsky's (2002) study as well. The authors compared media coverage when dozens of religious leaders were murdered in Latin America in the 1980s with the coverage of when the Polish Police killed the Polish priest, Jerzy Popieluszko, in 1984. At that time, Poland was a member of the Soviet-led military organization, Warsaw Pact. Even though El Salvador is geographically closer to the United States than Poland, and three of the victims in Latin America's killings were Americans, Popieluszko's murder received much wider coverage in the American media. Herman and Chomsky (2002) believe the reason was an inherent U.S. interest in portraying state brutality in the Soviet Union. The authors explained that media coverage of foreign events, which they consider to be part of the state propaganda apparatus, depends on the way news media perceive victims in other countries. Hence, more than 70 priests in Honduras, Chile, El Salvador, and other Latin American countries became "unworthy victims" as they had received a small amount of cov-

erage or no attention at all in the U.S. media.

Another determinant scholars have used widely for predicting international news flow is the relevance of a particular event to the media outlet's own country. Wu (2007) operationalized relevance using trade volume, concluding that the amount of trade was a significant predictor of foreign news in the traditional U.S. media. Chang et al. (1987) learned that relevance for the United States was the strongest discriminator of foreign news in *The New York Times*, and a second strongest for TV outlets. This aligns with the study results by Chang and Lee (1992), who surveyed newspaper editors in the United States to explore how they selected foreign news.

Summarizing the predictors of foreign news flow in theoretical terms, Chang et al. (1987) distinguished two approaches: "context-oriented," which was concerned primarily with politics, economic relations, cultural and geographic proximity; and "event-oriented," which emphasized deviance, or a "characteristic of people, ideas or events that set them aside as different" (p. 231). The authors divided deviance into three components: statistical, which represents some unusual or odd event; normative, which refers to behavior that breaks laws or social norms; and social change, which poses challenges to the status quo within the society. Shoemaker, Danielian, and Brendlinger (1991) acknowledged the potential for social change was one of the major criteria for foreign news coverage. A more recent study about foreign news determinants confirmed the importance of deviance as a factor that affects news coverage, revealing that major U.S. newspapers were more likely to publish stories about huge disasters than small disasters abroad (Yan & Bissell, 2018).

International news flow and the Internet. With the arrival of the Internet, a number of studies has found that traditional imbalances in foreign news coverage are replicated on the web (Gasher & Gabriele, 2004; Himelboim et al., 2010; Wu, 2007). For example, Himelboim et al. (2010) analyzed 223 news websites in 73 countries and discovered that so-called core countries were the most frequently presented in the international news section, resulting in a much bigger flow of news from the core countries toward the periphery than vice versa. Himelboim et al.'s (2010) findings

are consistent with Wu's (2007) conclusion that online media resembled what traditional media had been doing in the domain of international news coverage years before the appearance of the Internet, suggesting that news media's use of websites does not take advantage of the digital technology to break traditional structural constraints to serve their audiences better in international communication. Himelboim et al.'s findings supports the premises of the World System Theory by suggesting that countries of the "core" dominate the dissemination and prominence of coverage in the domain of international news. Moreover, after analyzing news websites across various countries and languages, Segev (2015) found that the size and power of the country was a good predictor of its news prominence.

Live Blogs

Although previous studies have analyzed international news flow on the Internet, these concentrated broadly on the news websites in specific countries, without distinguishing between the types of stories on these websites. The current study concentrates specifically on one type of web story – the live blog – which represents rolling coverage of an event, composed of written text and diverse multimedia items such as videos, photographs, graphs, and hyperlinks (Pantic, Whiteside, & Cvetkovic, 2017; Thurman & Newman, 2014; Thurman & Walters, 2013). As an illustration, a study that analyzed live blogging practices implemented by *The Guardian* online found that a sample of 150 live blogs incorporated as many as 1,420 photographs, 402 videos, and 634 other media items (Pantic et al., 2017).

News organizations across the globe have been utilizing the live blog and it is becoming an increasingly popular online format primarily for covering stories of the day and running events (Pantic et al., 2017; Thurman & Newman, 2014). Live blogs are usually published when the breaking news event occurs, because at that time people have the urge to get as much information as they can. Some examples of covering breaking news using the live-blog format include the Mumbai attacks in 2008, the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, and Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in 2013 (O'Mahony, 2014). In a time of crisis, news media try to respond to the readers' needs by delivering information as quickly as they

can and by continuously updating the story (Allan, 2006). Live blogs feed on the content journalists primarily derive from news sites, social media, and other online sources. Relying on content available on the Internet enables them to deliver information quickly, and to engage readers in live blog creation (O'Mahony, 2014; Phillips 2015). Being the type of online news media format that has been used heavily for covering breaking news events around the world (O'Mahony, 2014; Pantic et al., 2017; Thurman & Walters, 2013), live blogs are especially appropriate for analyzing the flow of international news of events in motion, such as the Syrian refugee crisis.

Syrian Refugee Crisis

The armed conflict in Syria began in March 2011 after security forces opened fire on pro-democracy demonstrators, killing several of them. The unrest triggered nationwide protests demanding President Bashar Al-Assad's resignation. By July 2011, hundreds of thousands of people poured into the streets across the country and took up arms to defend themselves. Rebel brigades were formed to battle government forces for control of cities across the country, events that escalated in violence and eventually led to civil war. More than 400,000 people had been killed and more than 6.5 million have left the country ("Syria," 2018) since the start of the conflict in 2015 ("Syrian civil war fast facts," 2018). A portion of the Syrian refugees left for neighboring countries such as Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey, while others fled primarily to Europe ("Syria: The story of the conflict," 2015). In 2015 alone, more than a million refugees crossed into Europe by land and sea. Most of them chose to take a relatively short voyage by boat from Turkey to Greece and then traveled by land across Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, and further north to wealthier European countries. Some refugees applied for asylum across the Atlantic in the United States and Canada ("Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts," 2016). The countries of South-Eastern Europe have been popular transit areas for Syrian refugees, offering temporary shelter, food, and care to those in need, with Serbia receiving by far the largest percentage of those seeking international protection in the sub-region.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Following the assumptions of the World Systems Theory, it could be predicted that the events in Syria could garner little attention among countries of the core, such as the United States or the United Kingdom. However, other determinants such as the presence of international conflict and its relevance could interfere with these assumptions. In addition, the literature review has shown that, although the scope of the Syrian refugee crisis has been reaching worldwide dimensions, the biggest migration crisis since World War II have affected different countries to various degrees. For example, thousands of refugees have used countries in Eastern and Southern Europe as transit countries on their way to wealthier countries of Western Europe. On the other hand, some of the wealthier Western countries have been known as destination countries, primarily targeted for more permanent settlement by Syrians. Thus, the migration's destination could affect the amount of coverage of the crisis. One of the goals of this study was to assess the comprehensiveness of live blog coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in the countries that have been affected by this crisis in various degrees. Accordingly, the study begins with the following research question:

RQ1: What is the scope of the Syrian refugee crisis live blog coverage in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, the United Kingdom, and the United States in terms of the number of live blogs, comprehensiveness of text coverage, and the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage?

Furthermore, the study examined whether the degree to which a certain crisis affects a country influenced the comprehensiveness of live blog coverage in the five countries under consideration. Thus, the study asks the following research questions:

RQ2a: Are there any differences among Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, the United Kingdom, and the United States in terms of the comprehensiveness of the text coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs?

RQ2b: Are there any differences among Serbia, Croatia, Bos-

nia, the United Kingdom, and the United States in terms of the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs?

As literature has further shown that some of the major determinants of foreign news coverage relate to proximity, the current study hypothesizes that these determinants of international news flow will apply to live blogs and will positively predict the comprehensiveness of text and multimedia coverage in them:

H1: Proximity of the event will positively predict the amount of text coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in the five countries under study.

H2: Deviance of the event will positively predict the amount of text coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in the five countries under study.

H3: Relevance of the event will positively predict the amount of text coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in the five countries under study.

H4: Proximity of the event will positively predict the amount of multimedia coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in the five countries under study.

H5: Deviance of the event will positively predict the amount of multimedia coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in the five countries under study.

H6: Relevance of the event will positively predict the amount of multimedia coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in the five countries under study.

Although previous studies have examined major determinants of the flow of foreign news (e.g., Chang et al., 1987; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Schramm, 1959; Wilke et al., 2012, etc.), and a lack of research in the area of live blogs, it is not clear which of the three factors will be the best predictor of the comprehensiveness of text and multimedia coverage in live blogs in the five countries under study. Thus, the following research questions are asked:

RQ3a: Which factor will be the best predictor of text coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in the five countries under

study?

RQ3b: Which factor will be the best predictor of multimedia coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in the five countries under study?

Method

To test the above hypotheses and answer the research questions, this study utilized a quantitative content analysis of live blogs published on news websites in five countries. The method allowed for the transformation of text and multimedia items into categories that are analyzable (Krippendorff, 2003), and has been extensively used in previous research to study the content of news (e.g., Chaudhary, 2001; Shoemaker et al., 1991; Wu, 2007).

The countries selected for the analysis were Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United States, and the United Kingdom. These countries were selected based on assumed differences in the extent to which the Syrian refugee crisis has affected them. For instance, Serbia and Croatia were directly affected as transit countries for refugees, whereas Bosnia and Herzegovina, although not a transit country, was somewhat affected as it shares a border with transit countries. On the other hand, the crisis indirectly affected the United States and the United Kingdom, as they did not experience the transit of refugees but represent potential host countries for Syrian migrants.

To select relevant blogs for the analysis, the authors typed the following keywords into the *Google* search engine: “live blog refugees” [“blog uzivo izbeglice”] for Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia. These countries, former republics of ex-Yugoslavia, use the same term for a live blog, and language differences between them are minor.¹ For the United States and the United Kingdom, the following keywords were used: “live blog refugees” and “live updates refugees,” as news websites in English use these terms interchangeably.

The time period analyzed was from September 1 to December

1. In the period of the former Yugoslavia (1945-1991) when these countries were Yugoslav republics, the languages that are now depicted as Serbian, Croatian and Bosnia were one language, called Serbo-Croatian.

1, 2015, as the authors wanted to capture the peak of the news coverage related to the Syrian refugee crisis. September 2 was marked as a turning point in media coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis with the publication of the drowned Syrian toddler, whereas by December 1, coverage of the crisis had already settled down with the arrival of cold weather, and international media focus shifting to the Paris terrorist attacks. To collect the sample of live blogs, *Google* allowed an advanced search by date and region. The authors modified the search dates according to the selected 91-day period, searching each country separately and each day of the selected period independently by country. The authors analyzed live blogs from the first 20 links (the first two pages in the *Google* search results) that would appear once the keywords were entered into the search engine. The authors selected the first two pages of the *Google* search engine as these are the most relevant links ("How Google search work," n.d.). The authors checked each link to see if the page it led to had published a live blog portraying the refugee crisis or not. A total of 195 live blogs were selected for the analysis: 33 for Serbia, seven for Bosnia, 113 for Croatia, 15 for the United States, and 27 for the United Kingdom.

Measures of Independent Variables

Geographic proximity. The authors used the distance from the media outlet's location to the event that was the main focus of a live blog to code for geographic proximity. The exact distance (in kilometers) was initially entered in the codebook. For analysis purposes, distances were recoded into five categories: 1 - 500 kilometers as (5) very close distance; 501 - 1000 kilometers as (4) close distance; 1001 - 1500 kilometers as (3) medium distance; 1501 - 2000 as (2) far distance; and 2001 kilometers and above as (1) very far distance. The website distancefromto.net was used to measure the distance from one location to another.

Deviance. In operationalizing this variable, the authors followed the conceptualization of deviance proposed by Chang et al. (1987) as social change, or an event that poses challenges to the status quo within a society. Deviance of the event in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis was operationalized through the presence of the army in news stories depicted by live blogs, as the presence of the armed forces is indicative of endangered secu-

rity to the country, and therefore, something that would challenge the status quo. Hence, the event was coded as deviant only if the army was engaged or was called to be engaged to help prevent the spread of violence. Therefore, the code (1) yes (i.e., the event was deviant) was applied if the army reacted to combat the violence or announced that it would react to stop the violence. The same code was also applied if the live blog contained information that the army had been asked to react or was planning to react to prevent the violence. If the live blog did not mention that the army had the possibility to engage in the event, it was coded as (0) no (i.e., the event was not deviant).

Relevance to the country. Whether the event was relevant in terms of the country's economy or not was the determinant the authors used to assess its relevance to the country. Economic relevance was used in previous literature as the proxy for event relevance (Shoemaker et al., 1991; Wu, 2007). Specifically, the event was coded as relevant if: the live blog reported that the country where the media outlet is located suffered any economic consequences because of the event; if it provided any humanitarian aid to refugees – money, food, shelter, clothes; if the live blog mentioned that the refugees would take locals' jobs; if the live blog mentioned that the refugee crisis would affect the economy of the host country in any way; or if the host country would suffer any monetary losses as a result of the refugee crisis. The code (1) yes was applied if the event was identified as relevant in economic terms. In case of no economic relevance, it was coded as (0) no (no economic relevance).

Measures of Dependent Variables

Number of live blogs. The authors counted the number of live blogs per country for the period of September 1 to December 1, 2015, after collecting the links that appeared on the first two pages of the *Google* search and after discarding the irrelevant ones (as described in the sections above).

Comprehensiveness of textual coverage. The authors measured the comprehensiveness of textual coverage by the number of words present in a live blog, excluding those incorporated in multimedia files. Specifically, the authors copied and pasted the content from each live blog, with the exclusion of multimedia files and their

captions, into MS Word. After that, the coders assessed the number of words by clicking on the “word count” button. It should be noted that every news organization live-blogged in the language of the country where it is located. Therefore, the UK and the US-based organizations published live blogs in English, while Serbian media published them in Serbian, Croatian media published them in Croatian, and the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina published live blogs in Bosnian. As mentioned earlier, there are minor differences among those three languages (i.e., Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian). The coders entered the exact number of words the live blogs were originally published in into SPSS. Once this was done, the variable was recoded for analysis purposes into five categories: (5) very comprehensive coverage (more than 4000 words); (4) comprehensive coverage (from 3000 to 3999 words); (3) medium comprehensive coverage (from 2000 to 2999 words); (2) narrow coverage (from 1000 to 1999 words); and (1) very narrow coverage (from 0 to 999 words).

Comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage. The authors measured the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage by counting the number of multimedia items such as videos, photographs, hyperlinks, and social media posts per live blog. In particular, the coders would count photographs, graphs, videos, and other elements and note the sum of these items included in a single live blog. They entered the exact number of multimedia items (e.g., 12, 36, 56, etc.) into SPSS and recoded these into five categories for analysis purposes: (5) very comprehensive coverage (more than 60 items); (4) comprehensive coverage (from 45 to 59 items); (3) medium comprehensive coverage (from 30 to 44 items); (2) narrow coverage (15 to 29 items); and (1) very narrow coverage (from 0 to 14 multimedia items).

Coding Procedure

Two coders worked on the analysis. One of them, who is also one of the authors, coded 100% of the sample, while the other coder, a graduate student who was properly trained for the process through the provision of both written and verbal in-person instructions, coded 20 out of 195 randomly selected (through a random number generator) live blogs (i.e., about 10 % of the sample). The results of the coding were entered into SPSS for

analysis of inter-coder reliability. Cohen's kappa was used to assess agreement between the two coders for both independent and dependent variables. The two coders had a full agreement (i.e., 100 %) for two variables – relevance to the country and comprehensiveness of textual coverage. The authors detected a satisfactory agreement for other variables as well: comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage (.92), geographic proximity (.91), and deviance (.76).

Results

RQ1 asked about the scope of coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United Kingdom, and the United States in terms of the number of live blogs, amount of text coverage, and amount of multimedia coverage. The results show the greatest number of blogs was by far found in Croatia ($N = 113$), followed by Serbia ($N = 33$), the United Kingdom ($N = 27$), the United States ($N = 15$), and Bosnia and Herzegovina ($N = 7$). In Serbia, the majority of live blogs came from the public service - Radio Television of Serbia's website, tabloid's *Kurir*, and the CNN affiliate's N1; in Croatia they were from daily newspapers *Jutarnji list* and *Vecernji list*, as well as web portals Index.hr and Tportal; in Bosnia, it was *Al Jazeera Balkans*, an international television station with offices in Sarajevo, which live blogged most about the crisis. The majority of live blogs from the United States came from ABC (13 out of 15), while in the United Kingdom, *The Guardian* emerged as the main live blogging platform during the refugee crisis (14 out of 27).

In terms of textual coverage, results show that on a scale from 1 to 5, the mean score for the five countries was in the range of a medium comprehensive coverage ($M = 3.04$; $SD = 1.42$) with 2,309 being the median number of words (IQR : 1325, 3926). The most comprehensive live blogs in terms of textual coverage were found in the United Kingdom, with an average score of more than 4 (comprehensive coverage) ($M = 4.07$; $SD = 1.21$), followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia with average scores between medium comprehensive and comprehensive coverage ($M = 3.57$; $SD = 1.27$; $M = 3.22$; $SD = 1.31$), respectively. Serbia and the United States had the lowest mean score for the comprehen-

siveness of textual coverage. Serbia scored between narrow and medium comprehensive coverage ($M = 2.30$; $SD = 1.21$), whereas the United States scored between very narrow and narrow coverage ($M = 1.20$; $SD = 0.41$). In terms of multimedia coverage, results show that the mean score for all five countries combined was approaching medium comprehensive coverage ($M = 2.67$; $SD = 1.53$). The most comprehensive multimedia coverage was in the United Kingdom with the average score again approaching comprehensive coverage ($M = 3.78$; $SD = 1.42$). The UK was followed by Croatia with the average score approaching medium comprehensive coverage ($M = 2.82$; $SD = 1.55$). The United States ($M = 2.00$; $SD = 1.07$) and Serbia had mean scores of narrow and approaching narrow multimedia coverage ($M = 1.79$; $SD = 1.05$), while Bosnia scored between very narrow and narrow multimedia coverage ($M = 1.57$; $SD = 1.13$) (see Table 1).

Table 1: Number of Live Blogs per Country and Mean Values of Comprehensiveness of Textual Coverage and Comprehensiveness of Multimedia Coverage

Country	N	M text coverage	SD text coverage	M multimedia coverage	SD multimedia coverage
Croatia	113	3.22	1.31	2.82	1.55
Serbia	33	2.30	1.21	1.79	1.05
UK	27	4.07	1.21	3.78	1.42
USA	15	1.20	0.41	2.00	1.07
Bosnia	7	3.57	1.27	1.57	1.13
Total	195	3.04	1.42	2.67	1.53

RQ2a asked whether there were any differences in the comprehensiveness of text coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs among the five countries. A one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that there was a statistically significant difference in the comprehensiveness of textual coverage for the five countries $F(4, 190) = 17.01, p < .001$. However, as Levene's test for homogeneity of variances was significant (p

< .001), indicating that the data have violated the assumption of homogeneity of variance, the authors conducted a more robust test of equality of means. The result of the Brown-Forsythe test showed that there was indeed a statistically significant difference in means between the groups ($p < .001$). The actual difference in mean scores between groups was large with the effect size, calculated using eta squared, being .26 (Cohen, 1988). Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for Serbia ($M = 2.30, SD = 1.21$) was statistically different than the mean scores for Croatia ($M = 3.22, SD = 1.31$) at $p = .002$, the United States ($M = 1.20, SD = 0.41$) at $p = .036$, and the United Kingdom ($M = 4.07, SD = 1.21$) at $p < .001$. The mean score for Bosnia ($M = 3.57, SD = 1.27$) was statistically different only from the mean score for the United States ($M = 1.20, SD = 0.41$) at $p < .001$. Besides a statistically different score with Serbia, Croatia had statistically different scores from the United States at $p < .001$ and the United Kingdom at $p = .012$. The United States had statistically different scores with all other countries, while the United Kingdom's score was statistically significant from all countries except Bosnia ($p = .872$) (see Table 2).

Table 2: One-Way Analysis of Variance of Textual Coverage by Country

Source	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	103.27	4	25.82	17.01	.000
Within Groups	288.41	190	1.52		
Total	391.67	194			

The authors ran another ANOVA test to assess differences among the countries in terms of multimedia coverage (RQ2b). The results showed there was a statistically significant difference in the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage for the five countries $F(4, 190) = 9.57, p < .001$ (and Brown-Forsythe test, $p < .001$). Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for Serbia ($M = 1.79, SD = 1.05$) was statistically different than the mean score for Croatia ($M = 2.82, SD = 1.55$) at

$p = .003$ and the mean score for the United Kingdom ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 1.42$) at $p < .001$. The mean score for Bosnia ($M = 1.57$, $SD = 1.13$) was statistically different than the mean score for the United Kingdom at $p = .003$. Besides being statistically different from the mean score for Serbia, the mean score for Croatia was statistically different than the mean score for the United Kingdom at $p = .016$. The mean score for the United States ($M = 2.00$, $SD = 1.07$) was statistically different only from the mean score for the United Kingdom at $p = .001$, whereas the mean score for the United Kingdom was statistically different than the mean scores of all four other countries (see Table 3).

Table 3: One-Way Analysis of Variance of Multimedia Coverage by Country

Source	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	76.64	4	19.16	9.57	.000
Within Groups	380.36	190	2.00		
Total	457.00	194			

Hypotheses 1 to 3 stated the proximity of the event, deviance of the event, and relevance of the event would each positively predict the comprehensiveness of text coverage of live blogs in the five countries under study. To test these hypotheses, the authors conducted a multiple regression analysis by entering the proximity of the event, deviance of the event, and relevance of the event as independent variables and text coverage as the dependent variable. Prior to conducting the analysis, the authors tested the assumptions of multicollinearity. An examination of correlations revealed that the independent variables were not highly correlated (r from $.112$ to $.415$). In addition, collinearity statistics (Tolerance and VIF) were all within the accepted limits (tolerance values for independent variables were between $.805$ and $.961$, which is well above the threshold of $.10$ and VIF values were between 1.041 and 1.242 , which is well below the cut-off of 10). Thus, it can be concluded that the assumptions of multicollinearity have been met (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010). Results of the multiple re-

gression indicate that the total variance explained by the model as a whole was 4.8 %, with the model being statistically significant $F(3,191) = 3.19, p = .025$. In the model, the one independent variable that was statistically significant was deviance ($b = .20, p = .006$). Therefore, it can be concluded that the results supported hypotheses 2. Geographic proximity and relevance to the country were not statistically significant ($b = .018, p = .818; b = .053, p = .492$). That being said, the results did not support hypotheses 1 and 3 (see Table 4).

Table 4: Regression Analysis for Predictors of Textual Coverage

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>b</i>
Proximity	.018	.079	.018
Deviance	.566	.204	.200**
Relevance	.213	.309	.053

Notes. $R^2 = .048$; **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Hypotheses 4 to 6 stated that proximity of the event, deviance of the event, and relevance of the event would positively predict the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage of live blogs in the five countries under study. Results of the multiple regression analysis show that the total variance explained by the model as a whole was 5.2 %, with the model being statistically significant $F(3,191) = 3.47, p = .017$. In the model, economic relevance was a significant predictor of the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage ($b = .191, p = .015$), while geographic proximity was also significant, but it went in the opposite direction than predicted ($b = -.203, p = .01$). Deviance was not a significant predictor of the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage ($b = .098, p = .176$). Therefore, the results supported hypothesis 6, whereas it did not support hypotheses 4 and 5 (see Table 5).

Table 5: Regression Analysis for Predictors of Multimedia Coverage

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>b</i>
Proximity	-.221	.085	-.203**
Deviance	.299	.220	.098
Relevance	.822	.333	.191*

Notes. $R^2 = .052$; ***Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed)

The third research question asked which factors would be the best predictors of textual (RQ3a) and multimedia coverage (RQ3b) in live blogs in the five countries under study. In terms of textual coverage, the results of multiple regression indicate that deviance ($b = .200, p = .006$) was the best and only predictor (squared part correlation of .038 indicating an effect size between small and medium, with 3.8 % of explained unique variance in the dependent variable). Geographic proximity and economic relevance did not have a statistically significant predictive value on the comprehensiveness of textual coverage. In terms of multimedia coverage, the results of multiple regression indicate that geographic proximity ($b = -.203, p = .010$) was a slightly better predictor (with squared part correlation of .033 indicating an effect size between small and medium, with 3.3 % of explained unique variance in the dependent variable) than economic relevance ($b = .191, p = .015$), with squared part correlation of .030 indicating an effect size between small and medium and 3.0 % of explained unique variance in the dependent variable.

Discussion

The main purpose of this study was to test the impact of three determinants of international news flow (deviance, geographic proximity, and relevance) on the comprehensiveness of textual and multimedia coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in five countries. These countries have all been, to different degrees, affected by the crisis. The results showed that the models predicting the comprehensiveness of both textual coverage and

multimedia coverage in live blogs in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the United States and the United Kingdom were statistically significant. In addition, deviance positively predicted the comprehensiveness of textual coverage in live blogs in five countries, whereas geographic proximity and economic relevance had a statistically significant predictive value on the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage. Geographic proximity, however, went in the opposite direction. Finally, this study showed that there have been statistically significant differences among the countries in the comprehensiveness of both textual and multimedia coverage.

Out of the three independent variables, only deviance was statistically significant in predicting the amount of textual coverage in live blogs. This supports previous research (Shoemaker et al., 1991), which suggested that social change, or the fact that the event poses challenges to the status quo of the country where the media outlet is located, can be one of the major determinants of international news coverage. Deviance in our study was conceptualized in terms of the intervention (or possible intervention) of the armed forces in preventing violence related to the refugee crisis. It can therefore be concluded that for the news media in the five countries under consideration, the possibility of violence is very important when it comes to the amount of text they will put in the online live coverage of the crisis event. However, this determinant was not significant in terms of the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage. This type of coverage was positively predicted by economic relevance, found also in previous studies to be a significant factor in determining international news flow (Chang et al., 1987; Wu, 2007). Economic relevance in this study was conceptualized as any financial impact of the event on the host country. It might be that multimedia segments, such as video material, graphics, or short posts like tweets and *Facebook* status updates are more appealing for coverage of economic relevance (e.g., humanitarian aid, shelters, impacts on locals' jobs).

It is interesting to note that geographic proximity was not a significant predictor of the comprehensiveness of textual coverage and even went in the opposite direction when it came to the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage. Though some studies identified geographic proximity as one of the best predictors of

international news flow (Chang et al., 1987; Wilke et al., 2012), the results of this study are more consistent with research showing that the relevance of this variable is fading (Johnson, 1997; Yan & Bissell, 2018). It might be that, as Johnson (1997) explained, geographic distance was more important at a time when people had to travel by train to the destinations where events were happening than it is nowadays when people can get immediate information through the Internet. Although this study did not directly test the dichotomy between “core” and “periphery” countries in the coverage of international news, the fading importance of the geographic proximity factor might have implications for the World Systems Theory. Notably, as two of the analyzed countries in this study were core countries (the United States and the United Kingdom) and three were peripheral (Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina), and the topic also came from a peripheral country (Syria), the models predicting the flow of information between developed and developing countries might become more complex. The geographic proximity to or from the core country, as well as the geographical distance between the topic of coverage and the peripheral country, did not emerge as good predictors. Sub-dimensions that include different types of topic relevance need to be included and measured at several levels, ranging from direct political or economic impacts to more abstract ones such as cultural factors. The fact that this study showed that the closer an event was to the media outlet, the less multimedia coverage it had, deserves the attention of future studies. One would expect that journalists who work close to the event would have more video coverage of the event and would use it for their online presentations. It might be that they are using multimedia coverage for different platforms, such as television, which is a more popular source of news than the Internet in countries such as Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia. Another reason may lie in the deficit of resources. As Herman and Chomsky (2002) pointed out, news media are not able to cover all events equally due to lack of financial resources, so they need to focus on those events they perceive as most important.

Results also showed that Croatian media outlets published more than half of the live blogs about the Syrian refugee crisis analyzed in this study (113). This was followed by Serbia, where

media outlets published a total of 33 live blogs. As these two countries were the transit countries for hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees in the period from September 1 to December 1, 2015, and therefore the most affected by the crisis, it was expected that they would have the greatest number of live blogs. However, Croatia and Serbia did not have the highest scores in terms of comprehensiveness of textual and multimedia coverage of the events. The United Kingdom was ahead of other countries, having a mean score for both the textual and multimedia coverage that was significantly higher than any other country (except for Bosnia in terms of textual coverage). Having the UK on top of the list in terms of both types of coverage can be attributed to the fact that 14 out of 27 live blogs in the UK were published by *The Guardian*, a prominent international news media outlet that is a pioneer in live blogging. In particular, *The Guardian* is devoted to developing the format of live blogging and publishes it regularly, especially when covering breaking news (Thurman & Newman, 2014; Thurman & Walters, 2013). This commitment to developing the live blog as an online news format could be reflected in the number of words and multimedia files *The Guardian* used to cover the refugee crises, even though the events depicted in them (e.g., the transit of refugees through Serbia and Croatia) were happening thousands of kilometers away. This suggests that future analysis should pay attention not only to the amount of coverage of a particular event, but also to journalistic practices in individual countries. If a group of researchers would follow only the assumptions of the World Systems Theory, they could predict that the events in Syria would garner little attention among countries of the core, such as the United States and the United Kingdom. But, this study shows that was not the case with the United Kingdom. These results might indicate that in particular cases, core countries cover international topics coming from the periphery more deeply than peripheral countries themselves.

Like any other research project, this study has some limitations. Although the models predicting textual and multimedia coverage in live blogs were statistically significant, which suggests that the models with three determinants of international news flow might be suitable for predicting the coverage of crisis events in live blogs, the explanatory value of the models was quite limited.

Specifically, the first model explained only 4.8 % of the total variance in the comprehensiveness of textual coverage, whereas the second model explained 5.2 % of the total variance in the comprehensiveness of multimedia coverage. This suggests that the three determinants of international news flow used in this study (geographic proximity, deviance, and economic relevance) might not be sufficient enough to explain a large percentage of the comprehensiveness of the coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs. It has to be mentioned that this study used only three determinants as independent variables that were coded on the level of the news story – or the live blog. To attain a better explanatory value, future studies should use additional event-related determinants of international news flow (e.g., a reference to something negative, national linkages, trade relevance) to predict coverage of the Syrian refugee crisis in live blogs in international media. It might also be useful to combine event-oriented and country-oriented determinants (e.g., the presence of international agencies, country's defense budget) and use multi-level modeling to construct models with better predictive value. Another limitation is that this study provided a sum of diverse multimedia items found in live blogs, without analyzing individual items employed by live bloggers to explain the crisis. Future studies could supply the literature with an in-depth analysis of live blogs that explains what news items news organizations are most likely to employ– embedded tweets, photographs, videos, or other items. Furthermore, it should reflect on which of these items better explains a single event.

Finally, this study analyzed the content of live blogs in five countries that were affected by the Syrian refugee crisis to different degrees. Due to the lack of native speaker coders, some of the countries that have been receiving the largest amounts of asylum seekers from Syria, such as Germany, Hungary, Austria, France, Finland, and Turkey, were omitted. Future studies should enlarge the sample of the covered countries and include them in further analyses.

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Cross-national Newspaper Coverage of Transit Migration: Community Structure Theory and National Vulnerability

By John C. Pollock, Kevin O'Brien, Madison Ouellette, Maria Gottfried, Petra Kovacs, Taylor Hart-McGonigle, Lauren Longo, Judi Puritz Cook

Community structure theory was used to examine whether variations in national demographic characteristics could be linked to differences in cross-national coverage of transit migration into northern and western Europe across the Mediterranean and the Balkan Peninsula. Sampling newspapers in 16 countries yielded 238 articles coded for "government responsibility," "societal responsibility," or "balanced/neutral" coverage. A majority of papers reflected societal responsibility for transit migration. Pearson correlations and regression analysis confirmed three significant indicators, two associated with coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration.

The issue of migration into northern and western Europe across the Mediterranean and the Balkan Peninsula has become a widely acknowledged, multi-national, political and social issue. Compared to "migration" per se or internal displacement, "cross-national" migration is an especially significant topic. Crossing na-

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tional boundaries and leaving homelands behind are fraught with losses and risks because so many are fleeing from droughts and political/military conflicts. In addition, Diamond (2019), concludes that authoritarian forces everywhere believe that there is no longer any price to pay for ruling as nastily as they want. According to Edwards (2018), forced displacement is at a record 68.5 million; UN's annual Global Trends report shows an average of one person was displaced every two seconds in 2017, with developing countries most affected. Yet, partly because several major religions pay particular attention to welcoming the "stranger," cross-national migration can evoke widespread concern and empathy.

The "European migrant or refugee crisis" is a term given to a period beginning in 2015 (BBC News, 2016) when rising numbers of people, both asylum seekers and economic migrants, arrived in Europe, travelling across the Mediterranean Sea or overland through the Balkan Peninsula. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2016), the top three nationalities of entrants of the more than one million Mediterranean Sea arrivals between January 2015 and March 2016 were Syrian (46.7%), Afghan (20.9%), and Iraqi (9.4%).

However, there is no agreed-upon definition of "transit migration." The European Commission's International Organization for Migration (IOM) simply calls it "The country through which migratory flows (regular or irregular) move" (European Commission, 2018, p. 1). According to the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) (2015), the dramatic nature of the transit migration crisis can be summarized as follows:

- Of the migrants arriving in Europe by sea in 2015, 58% were males over 18 years of age, 17% were females over 18 and the remaining 25% were under 18.
- The number of deaths at sea rose to record levels in April 2015, when five boats carrying almost 2,000 migrants to Europe sank in the Mediterranean Sea, with a combined death toll estimated at more than 1,200 people.
- The shipwrecks took place in a context of ongoing conflicts and refugee crises in several Asian and African countries, which increased the total number of forcibly displaced people worldwide at the end of 2014 to almost 60 million, the highest

level since World War II (also see Nordland, 2015).

With such a large population influx, the migration issue presents urgent economic challenges due to Europe's concern about providing proper care and refuge.

This study focuses on the cross-national coverage of migration into northern and western Europe, in large part by Syrian refugees, crossing through transit countries on their way to destination countries. Transit countries are defined as countries that serve as an intermediate country where refugees temporarily occupy the country with the intention to move to an adjacent country that is receiving refugees and processing their applications. The authors chose a cross-national, comparative research design, comparing coverage in different nation-states, to maximize cultural, social, and political variations. The greater the sample diversity, the more confidence researchers can place in the validity of their findings (Esser & Pfetsch, 2004).

This study examines media coverage of transit countries' treatment as primarily representing a frame of "government" versus a frame of "society" in responsibility for supporting refugees. Framing "is the activity of organizing events into a coherent story, presenting some perspectives as more reasonable than others" (Pollock, 2007, p. 1). The authors considered media coverage emphasizing government support for refugees as a *government responsibility* frame, and media coverage emphasizing government's opposition or indifference to migrants staying in their countries as a *societal responsibility* frame. The perspective of supporting aid for refugees is a progressive one, whereas a hostile or indifferent perspective toward migrants is a less progressive view.

This study explores coverage of transit migration in newspapers specifically. The well-educated and economic elites read newspapers. Newspapers are often inter-media agenda-setters for radio, TV, and the Internet, influencing what constitutes lead stories on other media platforms; and serving as significant discussion forums for increasing issue awareness.

Numerous variables can influence newspaper coverage of migrants passing through transit countries. This study of cross-national newspaper coverage of refugee migration through transit countries employs community structure theory, exploring how much variation in newspaper coverage occurs in cross-national

coverage of migrants in transit countries, examining linkages between variation in that coverage and differences in national, especially demographic, characteristics.

Community Structure Theory

Transit migration has become a growing topic of interest in many fields as migrants continue to search for freedom from political unrest. While media coverage of transit migration would appear relevant for communication studies research, this discipline has neglected to investigate this topic. Other disciplines, including sociology, business, and political science have explored the controversy surrounding migrants and have given it more consideration.

The authors utilized community structure theory to examine international media coverage of migration to the EU through transit countries. The community structure approach is defined as “a form of quantitative content analysis that focuses on the ways in which key characteristics of communities (such as cities) are related to the content coverage of newspapers in those communities” (Pollock, 2007, p. 23). Funk and McCombs (2017) also stated that community structure theory is the “‘conceptual inverse’ of agenda-setting, focusing on demographic characteristics of communities shaping news instead of news as a driver of public perception” (p. 845). The framework of this theory is different from traditional content analysis, because it focuses on the community’s impact on media, instead of the converse: media’s impact on the community. Community structure theory’s significance is well documented (Pollock, 2008, 2013b, 2015).

The current community structure approach is a culmination of several theorists’ work. Beginning in 1922, Robert Park of the University of Chicago published *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, which focused on research questions involving the effect of public opinion on mass media and social change (Park, 1922). Over fifty years later, Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien (1973, 1980) published studies on “structural pluralism.” The concept of structural pluralism expects variations in media perspectives based on location in smaller or larger cities, with greater social diversity in larger cities corresponding with more varied, progressive reporting. Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien (1995) also developed the

“guard dog hypothesis,” emphasizing the capacity of media to represent the interest of political and economic elites.

By contrast, Demers and Viswanath (1999) suggested that media can function both as instruments of “control” and “social change.” Hindman (1999), specifically, proposed the concept of societal impact, through community structure, on media content, sampling a few cities to find that positive coverage of minorities corresponds directly with their proportions in each community. Similarly, McLeod and Hertog (1992) offered a contrary hypothesis that the larger a protest group, the more favorable the coverage it receives through mass media.

Most notably, recent studies by Pollock et al. made three major contributions to community structure theory. First, the Pollock studies (2007, 2013a, 2015), unlike prior ones, utilize modern databases to draw large, varied, national (multi-city), and cross-national samples to maximize sample variation. Additionally, going beyond traditional article content analysis, a composite indicator was created to measure content “direction” or “tone” and article “prominence” (a combined score for distinct levels of placement, headline size, article length, and graphic/photo use), unifying those distinct measurements into a sensitive, composite “Media Vector” (Pollock, 2007, 2013a, 2015). Third, by using large, varied samples and sensitive composite content analysis measures, Pollock-generated studies often find that, contrary to traditional expectations that media typically serve as “guard dogs” for the interests of political and economic elites (Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1995), media can often mirror the concerns of more “vulnerable” populations such as women (in cross-national studies: Pollock, 2015), African Americans, Hispanics, and gays (in multi-city US studies: Pollock, 2007, 2013a, 2015). Confirming the importance of community structure innovations, scholars using systematic empirical study designs have found that community structure predictions compare favorably with those made by agenda-setting theory (Funk & McCombs, 2017).

Measures and Definitions

The dependent variable used is media variation, which is identified as the “Media Vector Score.” A Media Vector Score is calcu-

lated for each newspaper used in each respective country, relying on independent measures of article “prominence” and “direction.” Prominence is calculated by a summed score for the placement, headline size, article length, and number of graphics for each individual article used. Direction is calculated by whether or not the article in question emphasized government responsibility, societal responsibility, or balanced/neutral coverage emphasizing neither government nor societal responsibility. Prominence and direction are combined mathematically into a single “Media Vector” score. The procedure for calculating Media Vector scores is described in detail in the Methodology section below.

For independent variables, several national characteristics were operationalized through definitions that fall into two clusters: “vulnerability” and “stakeholder.” “Vulnerability” was broadly defined by the percent of a nation’s population under the age of 14 years old, the percentage of a nation’s population who is undernourished, and the percent of the population under the age of 20. “Vulnerability” was defined more narrowly by determining agricultural dependence (percent of agricultural land, value added to GDP from agriculture, crop production index, food production index, percent of permanent cropland, and rural population percentage); and political vulnerability (number of terrorist attacks, domestic terrorist attacks, Global Peace Index score, terrorism impact score, and military spending as a percentage of GDP). The percentage of those undernourished refers to the state of undernourishment that has lasted at least one year, indicating the inability to acquire enough food to meet sufficient dietary requirements for energy consumption (United Nations Statistics Division, 2011). The percent of a nation’s population under 14 and the percent of the population under the age of 20 indicates the amount of stress on government resources to be allocated to dependent populations (CIA Factbook, 2015; United Nations Statistics Division, 2011).

“Agricultural dependence” examines a nation’s reliance on agriculture. A nation’s percentage of agricultural land (arable land, under permanent crops, and under permanent pastures), of permanent cropland, and of rural population are all indications of the physical space agriculture takes and how much of the population is likely dependent upon agriculture to some degree, indicating

the degree of diversity in the economy (World Bank, 2011). The value agriculture adds to a nation's GDP is a measure representing the net output of the agricultural sector including forestry, hunting, fishing, crops, and livestock production (World Bank, 2011). The crop production index score includes all crops and livestock products originating from the respective country (World Bank, 2011). The food production index calculates food crops that are considered edible and contain nutrients (World Bank, 2011).

"Political vulnerability" uses the relationship between active militaries, terrorist attacks, and relative peacefulness to illuminate the relationship between political vulnerability and coverage of immigration. The terrorist attacks indicator includes "intentional threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence, by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion or intimidation" (Global Terrorism Database, 2016, p. 9). A nation's Global Peace Index score is a composite score combining 23 indicators that examine the relative peace or instability in a country (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015)¹. The terrorism impact score examines terrorist incidents defined as the intentional violence or threat of violence perpetrated by a non-state actor that must be aimed at a political, economic, social, or religious goal; be it intentionally coercive; and/or outside of normalized warfare activities (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015). Finally, the military spending as a percentage of GDP score

1. The composite score looks at: the level of perceived criminality in society, the number of internal security officers and police per 100,000 people, number of homicides per 100,000 people, number of jailed population per 100,000 people, ease of access to small arms and light weapons, intensity of organized internal conflict, level of violence crime, likelihood of violent demonstrations, political instability, political terror scale, volume of transfers of major conventional weapons (imports) per 100,000 people, impact of terrorism, number of deaths from internal organized conflict, the number and duration of internal conflicts, military expenditure as a percentage of GDP, the number of armed services personnel per 100,000 people, financial contribution to UN peacekeeping missions, nuclear and heavy weapons capabilities, number of refugees and internally displaced people as a percentage of the population, volume of transfers of major conventional weapons as exports per 100,000 people, relations with neighboring countries, the number, duration, and role in external conflicts, and the number of deaths from organized external conflict (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015).

divides the total amount of a country's military spending by its GDP (World Bank, 2011).

The "Stakeholder" category is defined by three sections: female empowerment, immigration impact, and infrastructure indicators. Female empowerment is defined by the percentage of women in the workforce, the female literacy rate, the female school life expectancy, and female life expectancy. The percent of women in the workforce indicator divides the number of working adult women by the total population of adult women (United Nations Statistics, 2009). The female literacy rate is the percentage of females above the age of 15 who can read and write (UN Statistics, 2010). Female school life expectancy is the average expected level of education women will obtain in a country (CIA Factbook, 2009). Female life expectancy is the average age women are likely to live to in a country (CIA Factbook, 2015). "Immigration impact" is measured by the number of immigrants in a country. The number of immigrants in a country is a stock number evaluated at the time of the survey (International Migrants by Country, 2013). "Infrastructure" is evaluated through the length of a nation's road network and the industrial production growth rate. The total length of a nation's road network is the combined total of paved and unpaved portions measured in kilometers (CIA World Factbook, 2011). The industrial production growth rate is the annual percentage increase in industrial activities, including mining, construction, and manufacturing (CIA World Factbook, 2011).

Hypotheses

Vulnerability

The vulnerability hypothesis suggests that media coverage in a community with vulnerable groups can reflect their interests and concerns according to their proportions, referring to such clusters as minority groups, the poor, the unemployed, and regions with the presence of high crime rates (Pollock, 2007, p. 137). The vulnerability hypothesis is the opposite of the "guard dog" hypothesis, which suggests that media news outlets primarily reflect the interests of the privileged population. This perspective suggests that media will cover human rights issues skeptically, if at all, while reinforcing elite interests (Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1995).

Several studies have shown that communities with higher vulnerability levels are connected to more progressive media coverage on human rights issues. A previous study found that the higher the percent of children under five with diarrheal disease, the higher the percent of population without improved water services, and the higher the infant mortality rate, the more media emphasis on government responsibility for water handling (Wissel, Ward, Pollock, Hipper, Klein, & Gratale, 2014, 2015). Similarly, the higher the infant mortality rate, the more media emphasis on government responsibility for child labor (Kohn & Pollock, 2014, 2015). Research conducted after the *Roe v. Wade* decision found that media coverage favoring legalization of abortion in U.S. cities was correlated with higher poverty levels (Pollock & Robinson, 1977; Pollock, Robinson, & Murray, 1978). An additional multicity U.S. study found that higher unemployment levels were associated with more media support for genetically modified foods (GMOs) (Pollock, Maltese-Nehrbass, Corbin, & Fascanella, 2010). Higher city poverty levels also corresponded with more favorable media coverage of a Patient's Bill of Rights (Pollock, 2007).

Cross-national studies found that the higher the percentage of a nation's population younger than 14, the greater the media emphasis on government responsibility to reduce child labor (Kohn & Pollock, 2014, 2015). Similarly, the higher the percent of the population who are undernourished, the more media emphasis on government responsibility for HIV/AIDS (Etheridge et al. 2014, 2015). Nations with larger populations and higher fertility rates sometimes support GMOs to provide an abundance of affordable, accessible food. One study found that the higher the poverty level, the more favorable the coverage of GMOs (Pollock, Peitz, Watson, Esposito, Nichilo, Etheridge, Morgan, & Hart-McGonigle, 2017). The vulnerability hypothesis expects that high proportions of "vulnerable" communities are connected to coverage emphasizing more government responsibility for transit migrants, thus:

H1a: The higher the percent of a nation's population under 14, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (United Nations Statistics Division, 2010).

H1b: The greater the percentage of those undernourished, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for

transit migration (United Nations Statistics Division, 2006).

H1c: The greater the percentage below the poverty level, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (United Nations Statistics Division, 2006).

H1d: The greater the infant mortality rate, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (United Nations Statistics Division, 2006).

Agricultural dependence. Agricultural dependence refers to the amount of a country's land and other resources used for agricultural purposes. In general, the more a country focuses on agriculture, the greater a country's vulnerability to substantial variations in worldwide agricultural commodity prices. A previous study found that the more agricultural land in a given country, the more favorable media coverage of GMO usage (Pollock et al., 2017). Another study found that measures of "coastal economic dependence/vulnerability" (amount of aquaculture production in tons and international fishery production by export) were strongly connected to media coverage supporting domestic government efforts to fight coastal contamination (Kordomenos, Mamrosh, Soya, Trotochaud, Longo, & Pollock, 2016). Therefore, it can be assumed that the greater a country's economic dependence on agriculture, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration.

H2a: The higher a nation's percentage of agricultural land, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (World Bank, 2011).

H2b: The greater the value added to a nation's GDP from agriculture, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (World Bank, 2011).

H2c: The greater the crop production index score in a nation, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (World Bank, 2011).

H2d: The greater the food production index in a nation, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (World Bank, 2011).

H2e: The higher a nation's percentage of rural population, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for

transit migration (World Bank, 2011).

Political vulnerability. The dominating presence of terrorism fear and terrorist groups, such as the Islamic State (IS, aka ISIS), in media may affect national perspectives regarding immigration. Therefore, the more apprehensive of terrorism, the more likely a country's media coverage will be less charitable toward transit migrants, especially those from the Middle East. Terrorism is a threat to a stable lifestyle, which the transit countries targeted in this study do not wish to jeopardize due to long histories of war and occupation in the Eastern European and Balkan regions.

Corruption score refers to the amount of corruption in a government. The corruption score is a measure of transparency; therefore, the higher a nation's transparency, the lower its corruption score. The Global Peace Index measures the level of safety and security in a nation's society, the extent of international conflicts involving the nation, and the degree of the nation's militarization. According to the Index, the higher the score a country receives, the less peaceful it is.

Military spending per GDP is a measure of how much a nation's annual GDP, in percent, goes to military spending, while domestic terrorism is an indicator of the number of domestic terrorist attacks in a country. Terrorism impact is an indicator of the number of casualties, injuries, psychological effects, and property damage a terrorist attack causes. It can be assumed that countries that score high on these indicators, which are measures of vulnerability, will view transit migration negatively, and the media will reveal less coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration. Therefore:

H3a: The more terrorist attacks on a country, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (Global Terrorism Database, 2016).

H3b: The higher a nation's rank on the Global Peace Index (the less peaceful a country), the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015).

H3c: The greater the impact of a terrorist act, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit mi-

gration (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015).

H3d: The higher the Corruption Score in a nation, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (Transparency International, 2012).

H3e: The higher the military spending as a percentage of GDP in a nation, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (World Bank, 2011).

Stakeholder Hypothesis

The Stakeholder hypothesis expects variation in media viewpoints to correlate with the size of a community's stakeholder groups. The greater the size of stakeholder groups within a city, the more favorable the coverage of such stakeholders' concerns (McLeod & Hertog, 1992, 1999; Pollock, 2007).

A previous study found that the higher the number of those living with AIDS within a nation, the greater media coverage emphasizing government interventions to fight the crisis (Pollock, D'Angelo, Kiernicki, Burd, Raudenbush, & Shaw, 2015). Based on findings from previous community structure research, the following categories are studied as primary stakeholder categories for transit migration: female empowerment, immigrant presence, consumption infrastructure, communication penetration and press freedom, cell phone use, stock in foreign investment at home, belief system, and ethnic identity.

Female empowerment. Newspaper coverage of transit migration may be associated with gender. Prior research regarding both national and cross-national media coverage indicates that several variables related to women's empowerment yield significant findings when analyzing media coverage of human rights issues. These include coverage of human trafficking, HIV/AIDS, water handling, and child labor (Pollock, 2015). In relation to community structure theory, a cross-city U.S. study confirmed a link between favorable newspaper coverage of human cloning and the percent of women in the workforce (Pollock, Dudzak, Richards, Norton, & Miller, 2000).

In a previous cross-national study, the higher the percent of females in the workforce, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for HIV/AIDS (Etheridge, et al., 2014, 2015). Another study on cross-national newspaper coverage of

human trafficking found that the greater the female school life expectancy in a nation, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for human trafficking (Alexandre, Sha, Pollock, Baier, & Johnson, 2014, 2015). A cross-city U.S. study emphasized that the greater the percent of a city's population that is self-employed, many of whom are women, the less favorable media coverage of the 1997 UPS strike that affected so many small businesses (Pollock, Spina, Dudzak, & Lemire, 2000). A previous community structure approach study showed that the female presence in the workplace signified "economic influence in family matters and in purchasing power and is one index of the relative economic influence and authority of women in a city" (Pollock, 2007, p. 69). Pollock, Richardella, Jahr, Morgan, and Cook (2018) found that the higher the percent of women employed in a city, the more media coverage emphasizing "institutional" (as opposed to "societal") responsibility for campus rape and rape culture.

Although females have strong influences within families, Wisel et al. (2014, 2015) found that the higher the female literacy rate, female school life expectancy, or percentage of the population satisfied with female freedom of choice in a nation, the "less" media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for water handling. Also, the higher the female school life expectancy, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for child labor (Kohn & Pollock, 2014, 2015). Yet the higher the female life expectancy in a nation, the more favorable media coverage of women's rights topics (Hammer, Mitchell, Shields, & Pollock, 2006, p. 29), and the greater media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for rape and rape culture (Luchkiw, Pollock, Peraria, Berger, Gates, Etheridge, & Longo, 2016). Based on these research studies, the authors constructed the following hypotheses:

H4a: The greater the percent of women in the workforce, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (United Nations Statistics, 2009).

H4b: The greater the female literacy rate, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (United Nations Statistics, 2009).

H4c: The greater the female school life expectancy, the more

media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (CIA Factbook, 2009).

H4d: The greater the female life expectancy at birth, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (CIA Factbook, 2015).

Immigration impact. While transit countries experience migrants moving across their borders, the percent of those whose indigenous language is spoken at home is important in connecting entire family units to a country's national identity, whether it is the country of residence or not. By contrast, in countries with a high proportion of legal or illegal immigrants, difficulties in immersion in a new culture or language may diminish the capacity of new arrivals to adopt a new national identity. It can be assumed that the more a country focuses on immigration, the more the media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration. Therefore, the following is hypothesized:

H5a: The higher the number of immigrants in a country, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (International Migrants by Country, 2013).

Infrastructure. Previous research shows that production and consumption of energy has been strongly correlated with significant stakeholder groups (Longo, Agresti, Bjellquist, Van Heest, Etheridge, & Pollock, 2015). English, O'Conner, Smith, and Pollock (2012) found that the higher the amount of coal production in a nation, the more favorable media coverage of military intervention in Libya. Similarly, Pollock, Reda, Bosland, Hindi and Zhu (2010) found that the greater the production and consumption of oil and natural gas, the more media coverage emphasizing government regulation of climate change. Another cross-national study found that the greater the amount of energy consumption by a nation, the less favorable media coverage of Muslim immigration (Wright, Giovenco, DiMarco, Dato, Holmes, & Pollock, 2008). Kohn and Pollock (2014, 2015) found that the higher the industrial production growth rate of a country, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for child labor.

In a study of cross-national coverage of women's reproductive

rights, Pollock, Buonauro, Phelan, Hosonitz, Salmon and Kordomenos (2017) found that for “energy production/consumption and infrastructure,” seven indicators were significant. Older energy resources of coal production, coal consumption, oil consumption, and oil production were all connected to less media emphasis on government responsibility and more societal responsibility for women’s reproductive rights. By contrast, more “modern” forms of energy consumption and production, including electricity consumption, electricity production, and natural gas consumption were associated with coverage emphasizing government responsibility for women’s reproductive rights. These findings are consistent with previous research on coverage of climate change, Muslim immigration, and rape/rape culture (respectively, Pollock, Reda, et. al., 2010; Longo, et. al., 2015; Luchkiw, et. al., 2016).

A nation’s infrastructure is important, including “communication infrastructure,” which can be measured by such indicators as literacy rate, percent population who have access to a mobile phone network, and broadband subscriptions per 100,000 people. Stable infrastructures of nations, which include the roadways and the production of energy used, bolster manufacturing resources in transit nations. Therefore:

H6a: The greater the percentage of roads paved, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (CIA World Factbook, 2011).

H6b: The greater the nation’s industrial production growth rate, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (CIA World Factbook, 2011).

H6c: The higher the literacy rate in a country, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (CIA Factbook, 2015).

H6d: The greater the percent of a population covered by a mobile phone network in a nation, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (Human Development Report, 2010).

H6e: The greater the number of broadband subscriptions per 100,000 people in a nation, the less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration (Human Development Report, 2010).

Methodology

To analyze media coverage of transit migration globally, a cross-national sample of 16 newspapers was selected from *NewsBank* and *AllAfrica* databases, *The New York Times* database, and *Die Welt* website. Although a wide range of newspapers was eligible for sampling, the selection criteria reduced that number to include only papers in the sample period printing at least 10 articles of 250 words or more on European transit migration, and accounted for language limitations of researchers. This process yielded 238 articles total. The sample included the following publications: *The Daily News* (Kenya), *Die Welt* (Germany), *El Universal* (Mexico), *Global Times* (China), *The Japan Times*, *La Nación* (Argentina), *Le Monde* (France), *The Namibian* (Namibia), *New Straits Times* (Malaysia), *The New York Times* (US), *The Statesman* (India), *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Australia), *The Times of London* (UK), *This Day* (Nigeria), *Toronto Star* (Canada), and *The Zimbabwe Independent*.

The authors selected the newspapers included in this study from a sampling period of approximately one year: October 1, 2014 to November 1, 2015. At the beginning of October 2014, a U.S.-led coalition against ISIS began conducting strikes within Syria (Gambino & Jalabi, 2014). This and subsequent events led to a surge in migrants fleeing Syria. Media coverage of the Syrian asylum seekers and refugees re-emerged due to extraordinary human rights events. For example, in the beginning of September 2015, several children drowned after a boat carrying migrants capsized en route to Germany from Greece. Additionally, human rights groups have focused on conditions in refugee camps in Hungary, garnering global media attention. With instances such as these occurring almost weekly, an approximately twelve-month period sufficed to generate substantial global media coverage on this topic. Coverage of European transit migration diminished noticeably after November 1, 2015.

Article Prominence

The authors assessed each article by two separate measures. The first measure determined the “prominence” of each article, based on editors’ judgments of its significance. A score ranging

from 3 to 16 was attributed to each article based on four elements: placement, headline size, article length, and additional graphics and/or photographs. "Placement" concerned an article's location in the newspaper, for example front page, section one, etc. "Headline size" referred to the number of words in an article's headline. "Article length" referred to the number of words in the article itself. Articles with a higher number of points received a greater prominence score. The prominence score is outlined below in Table 1.

Dimension	4	3	2	1
Placement	Front page first section	Front page inside section	Inside page first section	Other
Headline size (# of words)	10+	9-8	7-6	5 or fewer
Article length (# of words)	1000+	750-999	500-749	250-499
Photos/ Graphics	2 or more	1		

Note: *copyright John C. Pollock, 1994-2018

Article Direction

After receiving a prominence score, the authors assigned each article a "direction" category based on the frame it used. "Direction" indicated whether coverage in an article was "government responsibility," "societal responsibility," or "balanced/neutral" related to the topic of transit migration. The articles were assessed for these directions based on the following criteria:

Government responsibility. Articles that framed the government for having responsibility for transit migration to the EU were coded as "government responsibility." For example, *Toronto Star*

published an article outlining Austria's plan to construct a border fence (January, 2015). The article focused primarily on the Austrian government's plan to control the recent influx of migrants into the country. Additionally, Argentina's *La Nación* published an article on European countries that refrained from imposing quotas on the number of refugees they allow (*La Nación*, 2015). Both articles demonstrate that these countries' governments took responsibility for addressing the issue of refugees.

Societal responsibility. Newspaper articles that focused on societal responsibility to transit migration or did not support government intervention in response to transit migration were coded as "societal responsibility." For example, *The New York Times* in October 2015, detailed the story of Mustafa Alabi, a Syrian refugee who immigrated to Europe. The article focused on the economic disadvantages this general activity brings to European countries, as many young men arrive with little education or few professional skills. These shortcomings make them unable to contribute substantially to the economy (Hubbard, 2015). Additionally, a May 2015 article from *The Zimbabwe Independent* commented on apathy surrounding the drowning of 650 African refugees trying to reach Europe. The news article focused on the little amount of press and inadequate world response to this event, especially in comparison to other mass refugee drownings.

Balanced/Neutral. If articles covering transit migration received approximately equal or balanced coverage, and both government and societal elements were present, researchers coded the articles as balanced/neutral. If articles simply presented statistical findings or government documents, it was also coded as balanced/neutral. *The Sydney Morning Herald* ran an article on Syrian refugees finding a new travel route through the Arctic (Womack London, 2015). The article focused solely on facts around migrants passing into Norway from Russia, but it did not place responsibility on government or society. Similarly, an article from *The Statesman* (2015) outlined Austria preparing for a massive influx of refugees. Collecting quotes from both parties, the article mentioned reactions from both the Austrian government and citizens.

Two coders read a total of 151 articles out of 238, resulting in a Scott's Pi coefficient of inter-coder reliability of .7897.

Calculating a Media Vector

After analyzing 16 newspapers cross-nationally, researchers modified the Janis-Fadner Coefficient of Imbalance to calculate a "Media Vector." This composite score was calculated by combining the prominence and directional scores into a single measure of article "projection" onto audiences (Pollock, 2007). Media Vector scores ranged from +1.00 to -1.00. A score between 0 and +1.00 reflected coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration, whereas a score between 0 and -1.00 represented coverage emphasizing societal responsibility. The Media Vector formula is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Media Vector Formula

g = sum of the prominence scores coded "government"
 s = sum of the prominence scores coded "society"
 n = sum of the prominence scores coded "balanced / neutral"
 $r = g + s + n$

If $g > s$ (the sum of the government prominence scores is greater than the sum of the society prominence scores), the following formula is used:

Government Media Vector:

$$GMV = \frac{(g^2 - gs)}{r^2}$$

(Answer lies between 0 and +1.00)

If $g < s$ (the sum of the society prominence scores is greater than the sum of the government), the following formula is used:

$$\text{Society Media Vector: } UMV = \frac{(gs - s^2)}{R}$$

(Answer lies between 0 and -1.00)

Note: * Media Vector copyright John C. Pollock, 2000–2019

Procedures

A Pearson correlation is a measure that represents two variables measured on the same plane. In this study of transit migration, Pearson correlations were used to examine relationships

between different national characteristics and Media Vectors. Researchers used regression analysis to systematically compare the relative strength of each of the independent variables in the study. Systematic connections were made between national demographics and cross-national coverage of transit migration.

Results

Pearson correlations measured key relationships between national characteristics and Media Vectors. By analyzing media coverage from October 1, 2014 to November 1, 2015, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Australia) had the highest Media Vector of 0.1132 while *El Universal* (Mexico) had the lowest: -0.2785; range of 0.3917. Of the 16 countries sampled, only four presented “government responsibility” for Media Vectors, indicating media emphasized more society responsibility for transit immigration; three quarters (12) presented “society” Media Vectors, indicating less media emphasis on government responsibility for transit immigration. All Media Vector scores can be found in Table 3.

Country	Newspaper	Media Vector
Australia	The Sydney Morning Herald	0.1132
Zimbabwe	The Zimbabwe Independent	0.0336
Kenya	The Daily News	0.0033
Argentina	La Nación	0.0028
Canada	Toronto Star	-0.0041
Malaysia	New Straits Times	-0.0289
Namibia	The Namibian	-0.0289
Germany	Die Welt	-0.0541
China	Global Times	-0.0629
Japan	The Japan Times	-0.0855
India	The Statements	-0.0999
USA	New York Times	-0.1217
UK	The Times of London	-0.1547
Nigeria	This Day	-0.2231
France	Le Monde	-0.2603
Mexico	El Universal	-0.2785

Associations between city characteristics and variation in newspaper coverage were found through Pearson correlations, as presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Pearson Correlation Results			
City Characteristic	Pearson Correlation	Sig.	Cat-egory
Terrorism Impact	-0.466	0.047*	PV
Females in Workforce	0.426	0.050*	FS
Global Peace Index	-0.427	0.050*	PV
Crop Production Index	0.423	0.051*	AD
Percent Agricultural Lands	-0.385	0.070	AD
Industrial Production Growth	0.383	0.072	IS
Corruption Score	0.383	0.080	PV
Female School Life Expectancy	0.337	0.101	FS
Percent Roads Paved	-0.343	0.105	IS
Percent Undernourished	0.317	0.116	HV
Percent Population Under 14	-0.297	0.132	HV
Terrorist attacks	-0.281	0.146	PV
Mobile Network Coverage	-0.250	0.176	IS
Female Literacy Rate	0.193	0.237	FS
Literacy Rate	0.190	0.241	IS
Poverty Level	-0.191	0.248	HV
Food Production Index	0.163	0.274	AD
Broadband Subscriptions/ 100	-0.141	0.301	IS
Military Spending per GDP	0.146	0.302	PV
Infant Mortality Rate	-0.126	0.320	HV
% Added to GDP from Nation's Agricultural Production	0.126	0.321	AD
Number of Migrants	-0.117	0.339	PV
Percent Rural Population	0.091	0.373	AD
Female Life Expectancy at Birth	-0.033	0.452	FS

Note: *Significant at .05 level or better

Key: PV = Political Vulnerability; FS = Female Stakeholder; AD = Agricultural Dependence; IS = Infrastructure Stakeholder; HV = Health Vulnerability

Discussion of Significant Findings

Vulnerability Significant: Terrorism Impact and Global Peace Index (Confirmed)

The higher a nation's terrorism impact, the less media emphasis on government responsibility for transit migration ($r = -.466$, $p = .047$). Additionally, the higher a nation's global peace index (a measure of political instability), the less media emphasis on government responsibility for transit migration ($r = -.427$, $p = .50$). Both a 2004 study (Coryn, Beale, & Myers) and a 2014 study (Imtoul) found unfavorable media coverage of countries with high levels of terrorism. Thus, our data further support their findings, as cross-national newspaper coverage emphasized societal responsibility for transit migration.

Vulnerability Significant: Crop Production Index (Confirmed)

The higher a nation's crop production index, the more media emphasis on government responsibility for transit migration ($r = .423$, $p = .051$). This finding confirms our hypothesis. Additionally, crop production linked to support for government responsibility for transit migration is consistent with previous findings on agricultural dependence from Pollock et al.'s 2017 cross-national study on media coverage of GMOs, which found the higher a nation's crop production index, the more favorable the media coverage of GMOs.

Stakeholder Significant: Females in the Workforce (Confirmed)

Results show that more females in the workplace correlated with more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for migration through transit countries ($r = .426$, $p = .05$). This finding confirms our stakeholder hypothesis on female empowerment. The more females in the workforce, the more media support for government responsibility for transit migration. The stakeholder hypothesis was confirmed, expecting that the size of certain stakeholder groups often correlates with more coverage emphasizing government responsibility for issues that affect their own groups (Pollock, 2007). Therefore, we can reasonably assume that several of a nation's stakeholders may support government responsibility for transit migration, because they believe it may be

a threat to their way of life.

Striking Non-Significant Findings

Among the most striking non-significant findings were the lack of significant associations between migration numbers and variations in coverage of transit migration, along with a lack of robust associations between measures of privilege and transit migration coverage. In several cross-national studies, indicators of “privilege” have been associated with a “buffer” pattern, in which higher proportions of privileged countries (e.g., with higher GDPs, GDPs/capita, higher percent roads paved, higher industrial production growth, higher literacy rates, higher percent population covered by mobile phone network, or higher broadband subscriptions/100 residents), countries relatively “buffered” from economic uncertainty, are associated with a range of progressive newspaper perspectives. Those media frames include media emphasis on government responsibility for human trafficking, access to HIV/AIDS treatment, water contamination, child labor, and favorable coverage of GMOs (all studies cited previously).

Regression Analysis

A regression analysis identified key variables that drive the Media Vector scores. Crop production index accounted for 27.4% of the variance. Females in the workforce accounted for an additional 27.4%, for a total of 54.7% of the variance associated with support for “government” responsibility for transit migration. Global Peace Index (according to its construction, resembling a global “instability” index) accounted for 11.9% of the variance, associated with “society” responsibility for transit migration. These findings support the observation that crop production index and percentage of females in the workforce play a significant role in media coverage, emphasizing government responsibility, especially in relation to migration through transit countries. In contrast, Global Peace Index emphasized societal responsibility on cross-national newspaper coverage of transit migration to the EU.

Although 54.8% of the variance in this study is attributed to media coverage supporting government responsibility for media coverage of transit migration, 12/16 (75%) of newspapers sam-

pled emphasized societal responsibility. However, because many of the countries in the sample are developing countries, they rely on government assistance in areas such as agriculture and female empowerment. Thus, although supporting less government responsibility for transit migration, many of the countries sampled may ultimately support governmental programs that promote agriculture and women's rights.

Model	R	R² Cumulative	R² Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Crop Production Index	0.524	0.274	0.274	4.155	0.066
Crop Production Index, Females in Workforce	0.74	0.548	0.274	6.054	0.034
Crop Production Index, Females in Workforce, Global Peace Index	0.817	0.667	0.119	3.223	0.106

Conclusion and Implications for Future Research

Transit migration is a growing international concern. This study revealed several significant findings concerning the impact of agricultural dependence, female empowerment, and terrorism vulnerability on cross-national newspaper coverage of transit migration.

One fascinating aspect of our findings was the confirmation of the agricultural dependence hypotheses. Since this was the second time the crop production index variable was utilized in a community structure study, these findings confirm the precedent set by Pollock et al. which found that the higher the percent agricultural land in a given country, the more favorable media coverage toward GMO usage would be (2017). In this regard, a

larger crop production index score was validated through a significant Pearson correlation ($r = .461, p = .051$). This variable also accounted for 27.4% of the regression variance in media coverage. A higher percent of agricultural land in a given country is one indicator of coverage emphasizing more government responsibility for transit migration.

Contrary to previous studies, such as Wissel et al. (2014, 2015) and Kohn and Pollock (2014, 2015), which linked female empowerment to media emphasis on societal responsibility for water handling and child labor, respectively, our study found female empowerment to be an indicator of media emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration. The statistical significance of women in the workforce confirms the stakeholder hypothesis. The positive correlation is consistent with findings from past community structure studies. A previous study found a relation between female school life expectancy and more media emphasis on government responsibility for human trafficking (Alexandre et al., 2014, 2015). Another previous study found that the higher the percent women in the workforce, the more media emphasis on government responsibility for HIV/AIDS treatment access (Etheridge et al., 2014, 2015). These previous studies are consistent with the current one: The higher the percent of women in the workforce, the more media coverage emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration.

Our data showed that the higher a nation's Global Peace Index (GPI), which measures a country's level of safety/security, extent of domestic and international conflict, and degree of militarization, the less media emphasis on government responsibility for transmit migration. According to the Institute for Economics and Peace, countries with higher Global Peace Indexes are subject to more terrorist threats and overall instability. Countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe, which have very high GPIs compared to other countries in this study, face growing issues that force many of their citizens, fearing for their lives, to leave the country. Additionally, countries like the United States, which are involved in several international conflicts, and Germany, which have some of the most soldiers in Syria currently, also have high GPIs. Because countries such as these are included in our sample, our data reflect a distrust in government.

For countries such as Zimbabwe and Kenya, those fleeing the country may not believe the government is doing enough for their own refugee situation. Thus, society – charities, families, individuals themselves – must take matters into their own hands to survive. In countries like the U.S. and Germany, results of recent elections suggest increasing numbers of citizens who believe the government should lessen its involvement with international affairs. Additionally, because Germany is taking in thousands of refugees, substantial numbers of citizens fear the risk of allowing migrants to travel through their borders. Thus, our study supports community structure theory, as levels of instability in the international refugee situation are reflected in less media coverage emphasizing government responsibility.

Although it was assumed that higher numbers of migrants in a country would correlate with media emphasizing government responsibility for transit migration, this indicator was not significant ($r = -0.117$, $p = 0.339$). Future research on transit migration may reveal more significance for number of migrants in a country, as greater numbers of people migrate, and some kind of immigration “threshold” or “tipping point” may emerge.

Additionally, it was surprising to find so little association between transit migration coverage and measures of a country’s energy production and consumption. A previous study by Longo et al. (2015) linked road network length, electricity production, and electricity consumption to less favorable coverage of Muslim immigration. Because many migrants are leaving predominantly Muslim countries such as Syria, it is instructive that these indicators are not significant in our research.

Since articles on transit migration are scarce in communication studies databases, the authors can offer several recommendations for further media research. Specifically, future research should examine whether leading media view transit migration differently according to migrants’ countries of origin, in particular from Muslim-majority countries. As governments enact legislation to cope with large numbers of refugees entering their countries, and more refugees entering the Europe specifically, leading media may begin to frame their articles differently. In addition, the crop production index, part of the agricultural characteristic hypotheses, may vary more dramatically across nations if commodity

prices undergo longterm rises or falls. It would also be beneficial to examine cross-national newspaper coverage among nations, including the United States, that are creating “safe zones” for refugees, after these safe zones have been inhabited for some time (Sessions, 2015).

Overall, measures of economic and political vulnerability appeared strongly associated with variations in coverage of transit migration, as was a measure of female empowerment, women in the workforce. The importance of vulnerability indicators is consistent with other community structure scholarship, for example on cross-national coverage of GMOs (Pollock, et al., 2017). Finding “women in the workforce” significant is consistent with other similar community structure literature as well, in particular on coverage of access to HIV/AIDS treatment (Etheridge et al., 2014, 2015). Since results linking vulnerability and female empowerment to media coverage of transit migration are virtually congruent with other similar structural scholarship, community structure theory is further validated and enriched.

This study is significant for substantive, methodological, and broad theoretical reasons. Substantively, and contrary to conventional assumptions and authoritative research in the late 20th century that media typically act as “guard dogs,” reinforcing the interests of political and economic elites (Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1995), this study’s systematic cross-national research on demographics linked to variations in transit migration coverage reveals that media can mirror the interests of a country’s most “vulnerable” inhabitants. This “vulnerability” pattern has been found in a variety of other studies, for example, in an authoritative annotated bibliography (Pollock, 2013b) on community structure scholarship, and in books written or edited by Pollock (2007) or Pollock and others (2013a, 2015). Methodologically, combining measures of both “prominence” and “direction,” highly sensitive Media Vectors highlighted the capacity of media to reflect community measures of economic/agricultural and political “vulnerability.” Theoretically, emphasizing the influence of local demographics, community structure theory complements agenda-setting theory, re-confirming empirical findings of an originator of agenda setting (Funk & McCombs, 2015) that both nationally prominent newspapers (agenda-setting) and local

community characteristics/concerns (community structure) can affect coverage of critical human rights issues.

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Media Usage and Immigration Attitudes in Europe: Exploring Contextual Effects Across Media Forms, Structures, and Messages

By Olesya Venger

Drawing upon theories of social threat and media systems, the current study uses aggregate data on 20 European nations to examine the relationship between nations' media usage, public attitudes about the general consequences of immigration, and their specific beliefs about immigrants worsening the nations' crime problem. This study found that nations with higher daily newspaper and Internet usage have more positive general attitudes toward immigrants, though television viewership was not significantly associated with these attitudes. Regardless of media sources, national attitudes about immigrants causing crime were also unrelated to the density of media usage. The author conducted content analyses of several major newspapers in the UK, Hungary, and Sweden to understand the pattern of these aggregate relationships. Supplemental analyses revealed the moderating effects of nations' media systems on public attitudes about immigration and crime.

Immigration practices and policies represent major global issues in contemporary societies. Scholars have studied immigration flows and the consequences thereof within different geographical locations (e.g., Europe, Africa, Southeast Asia), theoretical frameworks (e.g., sociological, economic, historical, legal/political perspectives), and analytic methods (e.g., qualitative case studies, public opinion surveys, quantitative trend studies). Across these contexts, the positive and negative consequences of immigration have been a major source of widespread debate in academic research and public commentaries. The relocation of Syrian refugees across Europe and the proposed construction of the "wall" on the U.S.–Mexico border are current manifestations of these immigration issues.

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Although the mass media's role in shaping public attitudes is well-documented (Andersen, Brinson, & Stohl, 2012; Boda & Szabó, 2011), less is known about its specific impact on promoting nations' negative or positive views toward immigration and immigrants. Previous research has explored the interpersonal relations between immigrants and citizens of the countries to which they immigrate (Osfeld, 2017), the reduction of prejudice through mobility and emplacement (Valentine & Sadgrove, 2014), and the role of racism as a cause for anti-immigrant attitudes (Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2016). However, there is lack of research (Estrada, Ebert, & Lore, 2016; Fryberg, Stephens, Covarrubias, Markus, Carter, Laiduc, Gorodzeisky, & Semyonov, 2015) about the nature and magnitude of any observed media effects on nations' attitudes toward immigration across media forms (e.g., television, print, the Internet) or attitude content (e.g., general vs. specific areas of concern). Answers to these questions may provide important empirical evidence relevant to nations' media usage and subsequent attitudes on immigration, in addition to possible explanations for subsequent attitudinal differences caused by the use of different media forms, structures, and messages.

Using aggregate data on 20 European nations, this study explores the basic relationships between nations' media usage, public views about the general consequences of immigration, and specific beliefs about immigration worsening the nation's crime. This study compares these attitudes for each major media form (e.g., television, print, and the Internet) across different media systems. It also conducted a content analysis of national newspapers to inform the aggregate-level findings. The author then discusses observed findings in terms of (1) their consistency with the social threat hypothesis, (2) how they reflect the nature of the symbiotic link between nations' media systems and their socio-economic conditions, and (3) their implications for research regarding media's impact on attitudes toward immigration and other social issues.

Media Forms and Media Systems in European Nations

Though the primary media forms within European nations are

television, newspapers, and the Internet, their relative prevalence of public usage and media systems' classification vary across the European Union (EU). Over 90% of Spain's residents watch TV on a daily basis compared to only about 66% of Norwegians (Standard Eurobarometer, 2014). Similar differences exist for newspaper and Internet usage.

Three models of media systems are useful for a basic classification of the media industry's structures, forms, and messages (Hallin & Mancini, 2004): *liberal*, *polarized pluralist*, and *democratic corporatist*. Although Hallin and Mancini (2004) used this classification of media systems to study the newspaper industry in the West, its basic principles are relevant to other media forms (e.g., radio, television, the Internet). The primary attributes of the *liberal model* are private ownership, the relative absence of political control over media, professional and information-oriented journalism, self-regulation, moderate level of newspaper circulation, and early development of mass circulation press (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Media in the United States and the United Kingdom belong to the liberal model, despite the "increasingly hostile" climate that is subject to political and economic pressures (Bard & Bayer, 2016, p. 27), the politicization of public service broadcasting (Ciaglia, 2013) and the financial crisis (Allen & Savigny, 2012).

Strong state intervention, weak professionalism of journalists, low level of newspaper circulation, and private media outlets with strong ties to political parties best represent the *polarized pluralist model* (Bard & Bayer, 2016). Due to its design, this media system is prone to rampant corruption (Panayırıcı, İşeri, & Şekercioğlu, 2016) and highly politicized connections between the state and political parties. Hungary's media system is an example of this model. In contrast, strong state intervention that protects the freedom of the press, strong institutionalization of media self-regulation, weak to moderate connections between political parties and media ownership, and a high level of newspaper circulation characterize the *democratic corporatist model* (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Sweden's media system is an example of this model.

When applied to the content of media, Hallin and Mancini's typology contends that the degree of neutrality within these media systems is a function of their underlying attributes. Scholars often view the democratic corporatist model as having the most

objective content. Indeed, major media outlets in Sweden tend to provide more comprehensive and objective media coverage than media in other systems due to Swedish media's (1) separation from political influences, (2) higher professionalism in the standards of journalism, and (3) high circulation of the press with different ideological orientations that encourage a more critical public discourse (Hallin & Mancini, 2014). In contrast, scholars challenge the objectivity of message content within the polarized pluralist system because political parties employ media for their particular self-interests in a society where media circulation is low and journalistic education is lacking. Major Hungarian media since 1998 have become far more politically-oriented because many of them were sold to domestic oligarchs with links to the political and economic sectors (Bard & Bayer, 2016).

The economic and socio-political neutrality of democratic corporatist systems is located between these two extremes. Media coverage of the major Swedish newspapers that have different ideological orientations is not as politically polarized as the news coverage of Hungary's pluralistic model. The Swedish style of media coverage also provides more descriptive accounts than the more interpretative news coverage that media in the United Kingdom offer (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

Researchers have both praised and challenged the merits of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) model. For instance, there is cross-national variation even within countries that have the same type of media systems, and the political environments in some European media may be more receptive to profit-making (Aalberg, van Aelst, & Curran, 2010). Nevertheless, the primary contribution of Hallin and Mancini's classification to media studies derives from the establishment of a theoretical framework for conceptualizing media systems and their underlying forms and functions (Brüggemann, Engesser, Büchel, Humprecht, & Castro, 2014; Büchel, Humprecht, Castro-Herrero, Engesser, & Brüggemann, 2016). However, the major criticisms of Hallin and Mancini's work are (1) the limited scope of application across and within different world regions, (2) high levels of within-nation variability in their media structures, and (3) the failure to articulate how these media systems affect public opinion (Esser & Umbricht, 2013; Esser & Umbricht, 2014; Meilán & Wu, 2017;

Mellado & Lagos, 2013).

Media Messages and Public Attitudes

Regardless of the particular media system implemented in a society, media play diverse roles in the modern world. Previous research and theory focus on media's functions in information dissemination and agenda setting (i.e., establishing the significance of particular social issues). Within these areas, media are often primary vehicles in the perpetuation of various stereotypes. Across a variety of social issues (e.g., crime, unemployment, community cohesion), media portrayal of particular groups (e.g., Asians, blacks, Muslims, women, low-income groups) often reflects stereotypes of their respective attitudes and behavior. As a group, immigrants have been the targets of these negative media classifications (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016; Dixon, 2006; Eastaer, Holland, & Judd, 2015a; Speak & Tipple, 2006).

An extensive body of research examined the nature and magnitude of media effects on a variety of attitudinal and behavioral changes (Kim 2015, 2016; Nisbet, Hart, Myers, & Ellithorpe, 2013). This research reveals general trends. First, experimental studies have long shown that media messages can challenge personal beliefs and are a major source of value change (Rokeach, 1978). Second, media images are often the primary basis for people's stereotypical perceptions about social problems (Best, 2015; Cohen, 2011; McCorkle & Miethe, 1998). Third, the theoretical basis and nature of the presumed effects of media on public attitudes have evolved over time (Neuman & Guggenheim, 2011). Earlier studies found strong media effects ("hypodermic needle theory"), whereas post WWII studies suggested that media have "limited effects" (Perloff, 2013). Current media research emphasizes the importance of context ("specific-effects theory"), including the form, content, and salience of the message (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008).

Over the last two decades, emergent forms of media (e.g., the Internet, social media) have transformed the structures of messaging (e.g., from static to dynamic, long- to short-form journalism) and the diversity of the ideological orientation of content (Kim, Spiller, & Hettche, 2015; Wise & McLaughlin,

2016). These changes in media structure and context have also altered the mode, method of information dissemination, and the messaging of traditional media outlets (e.g., television, print). Within this broader context, the precipitous rise of claims about “alternative truths” (e.g., “fake news,” “real news,” “fair and balanced coverage”) has become a popular form of public discourse and a more insidious means of disseminating negative stereotypes about persons, places, and events.

Explaining Public Attitudes about Immigration

Current immigration practices and policies across the globe provide an important context for exploring how the various forms of a nation’s media usage may differentially alter public perceptions associated with immigrants and their presumed characteristics. Basic theories about heuristic information processing and social threat offer explanations for the origins of people’s stereotypical conceptions about particular groups and how media messages are selectively filtered to affirm these stereotypes. Similar to any set of stereotypes about a group of people, both negative and positive attributions about immigrants’ intelligence, work ethics, criminality, and culture often derive from personal experiences with the particular group and global assertions about them through the selective and heuristic processing of available information. Within this context, various national and international media outlets provide virtually unlimited sources of competing images of different groups of immigrants.

From the perspective of social constructionists (Barak, 1994; Chambliss & Zatz, 1993; Sacco, 1995), media accounts and images of immigration may not necessarily reflect objective reality or the particular characteristics of immigrant groups. Instead, media reports are often most newsworthy when their content departs from the mainstream views and the widely accepted narratives (Schulenberg & Chenier, 2014). In the case of media coverage of immigration issues, the demonization of particular groups as “illegal,” “less intelligent,” “lazy,” and/or “criminal” is especially likely to resonate with those who hold similar beliefs. The heuristic processing of information most media content most

often invokes (i.e., a superficial viewing of headlines and short audio/video files) is also likely to perpetuate these negative stereotypes.

An extensive body of previous research indicates that negative attitudes and behaviors toward minority groups are also linked to the perceived threats they pose to the dominant group in a society. Under this theory (Blalock & Blalock, 1968; Liska, 1992; Miethe & Lu, 2005), these threats emanate from a variety of sources. In the case of the EU immigration “crisis,” the social threat may be rooted in beliefs about immigrants’ adverse impact on the economy (e.g., loss of jobs, welfare/health benefits), culture (e.g., threats to community cohesion or the traditional “way of life”), and personal safety (e.g., increased crime, social/political unrest). These social threats become increasingly ominous when supported by sensationalized media coverage that grossly inflates the prevalence of the threatening group (e.g., the actual number of refugees and migrants) and demonizes their lifestyles and personal attributes (e.g., cultural practices, work habits) (Aalberg & Strabac, 2010; Mawby & Gisby, 2009).

From the social threat perspective, media play a pivotal role in the shaping these public perceptions through agenda-setting and framing of the issues. In this capacity, media cultivate and perpetuate attitudes about particular groups that often serve to affirm stereotypical views about them. When the issue involves a serious national concern (e.g., asylum and immigration), the effects of media coverage become even more significant in influencing public perceptions (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart 2009; Koopmans 1996). However, this impact is not necessary different across nations and their particular media systems. In fact, media’s agenda-setting function and selective framing of social issues is often dependent upon the underlying attributes of the nation’s media system (e.g., those media operating within highly volatile political environments, such as Hungary, tend to have highly polarized coverage of controversial issues). In contrast, nations with democratic-corporatist media systems (e.g., Sweden) operate within a less polarized political context and often disseminate a more diverse set of messages about social issues (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

The Current Study

Using aggregated data from 20 European nations, this study examines the basic relationship between nations' media usage, public attitudes about the general consequences of immigration, and specific perceptions about immigration worsening the nations' crime problem. This study compares these for each major media form (e.g., television, print, the Internet). The following three research questions guide this study:

RQ1: What is the nature and magnitude of the bivariate correlation between nations' average usage of a particular medium (i.e., television, newspapers, the Internet, radio) and their public attitudes toward immigration? Are these correlations similar (a) across media forms and (b) for general immigration attitudes and specific concerns about immigration and crime?

RQ2: Are these basic bivariate relationships between media usage and immigration attitudes moderated and mediated by other socio-economic characteristics of these nations (e.g., a nation's type of media system, relative size of its foreign-born population, unemployment rate, crime)?

RQ3: Are nations' public attitudes toward immigration consistent with their national newspapers' coverage of this issue? In particular, are the different levels of support for immigration across EU nations (e.g., Hungary [most negative], UK [moderate], and Sweden [most positive]) reflective of the different content of their major newspapers?

Based on previous studies on media's impact on public opinion, it is possible to speculate about the nature of these interrelationships between different levels of media usage and public attitudes about immigration. For example, consistent with research on media's agenda-setting function and framing of social issues (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart 2009; Koopmans 1996), one would expect to find a strong relationship between a nation's media usage and its level of public support for immigration (RQ1). However, given variability in the message content in different media systems and socio-political environments (Hallin & Mancini 2004), the nature and strength of this media-

immigration relationship may also exhibit various context-specific effects (RQ2). By exploring the nature of media coverage of immigration in a sample of national newspapers that vary in their underlying media systems (RQ3), the content analysis of a nation's media messages provides a direct link to the previous aggregate-level studies of media systems and the expression of particular message content within them.

Methods

This study used secondary data from national surveys and organizations to explore the research questions. Content analyses of the headlines and articles from newspapers in the UK, Hungary, and Sweden identified patterns of media coverage across nations with different media systems. Descriptions of these data sources and measures of variables follow below.

Data Sources

Aggregate data on nations' public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in this study was derived from the supplemental questions of the European Social Survey (ESS) conducted in 2014. The ESS uses a rotated panel design of questions about particular social issues. The use of the 2014 data in this study is fortuitous, because this time period represented the start of the highest influx of immigrants EU countries have experienced since World War II (DW, 2016). The ESS is a biennial cross-sectional survey of attitudes and behaviors within each participating country. It uses probability-based sampling designs and involves interviews of large representative samples of individuals within private households in each country (European Social Survey, 2015). The author included a total of 20 nations in this particular ESS sample and applied post-stratification weights to each country's individual-level data on immigration attitudes before aggregating them to generate national-level estimates.

Additional secondary sources provided information about media usage and various demographic characteristics within these 20 nations. In particular, the author compiled national data on different media usage (i.e., television, newspapers, and the Internet) from the *Standard Eurobarometer* (2014), *Digital*

News Reports (2014-2016) and other sources (e.g., *Norwegian Media Barometer* 2015). Other organizations (e.g., Eurostats, United Nations) provided data on nations' social and economic characteristics (e.g., percentage of a population born outside the country of current residency, crime rate, unemployment rate, GDP per capita).

To explore the context-specific influences of media usage on immigration attitudes, the author conducted content analyses on systematic samples of 600 articles that included variations of the keywords "immigr****" and "refugee****" in the headlines and articles in major national newspapers. The sample only included articles in the 2013-2014 time period, and included the following nations and newspapers: United Kingdom (*The Guardian*, *The Times*), Sweden (*Svenska Dagbladet*, *Aftonbladet*) and Hungary (*Magyar Nemzet*, *Népszabadság*). The sampling interval for these systematic samples ranged from every 3rd article (*Magyar Nemzet*) to every 54th article (*The Guardian*).

To enhance the external validity of the findings, the author selected these particular newspapers because they have high circulation within each country and vary within country in terms of general ideological orientation (e.g., one "liberal" and one "conservative" newspaper per nation). Based on circulation estimates over the study period, the rankings of the popularity of each daily newspaper within each country in this study include the following: Hungary [*Nepszabadsag* [1st], *Magyar Nemzet* [2nd]; United Kingdom (*The Guardian* [2nd], *The Times* [3rd]; and Sweden [*Aftonbladet* [4th], *Svenska Dagbladet* [5th]. For more specific information about media usage in these countries, see *Media Landscapes* (nd). The author selected these three nations because they vary widely in (1) anti-immigration attitudes (i.e., "low" in Sweden, "medium" in the UK, and "high" in Hungary), (2) newspaper usage (i.e. "low" in Hungary, "medium" in the UK, and "high" in Sweden), (3) media systems (i.e., "liberal" in the UK, "polarized pluralist" in Hungary, and "democratic-corporatist" in Sweden), (4) location within the different quadrants in their pluralism in political and market domains, and (5) the geographical dispersion across regions of Europe. To conduct a robust case of comparative research, the diverse characteristics across these three nations are advantageous, because it provides

maximum heterogeneity for group comparisons.

Measures of Variables

The focal variables in the current study include measures of nations' media usage and public attitudes about immigrants and immigration. Conditional variables that may mediate or moderate media's influence on these attitudes included measures of a nation's media system and its socio-economic characteristics. Specific measures of these variables, their coding, and univariate distribution within this study are contained in Table 1 and summarized below.

Immigration attitudes. The European Social Survey (2015) provides several variables related to immigration and beliefs about immigrants measured in 2014. These include questions and variables about the negative consequences of immigration on a nation's *economic conditions* ([1] "takes jobs away in country," [2] "take out more in taxes and services than they put in," [3] "is bad for the country's economy,") its *culture* ([4] "undermines cultural life," [5] "undermines religious beliefs/practices,") *quality of life* ([6] "makes country a worse place to live,") and *crime* ([7] "makes country's crime problem worse.") This study measured each of these survey items on scales ranging from "0" ("immigrants make country a worse place to live") to "10" ("immigrants make country a better place to live.")

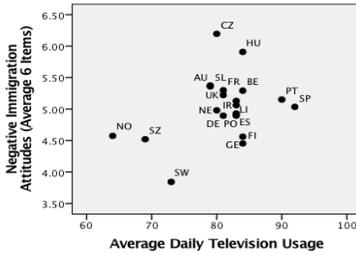
Preliminary item analysis indicates that individuals' negative immigration attitudes in areas of economic conditions, culture, and quality of life are highly interrelated (average $r = .49$, r 's ranging from .35 to .68). A one-factor solution (eigenvalue = 3.49; $R^2 = .58$) is also most representative of the factor structure underlying these items. In contrast, attitudes about immigrants increasing a nation's crime problem are less strongly associated with the other items (mean $r = .36$, r 's range from .30 to .45). Given these results, this study employs (1) a composite index to represent the average magnitude of general negative attitudes toward immigration, and (2) a single indicator of negative attitudes about immigrants increasing nations' crime.

Table 1: Coding of Variables and Univariate Statistics (N= 20 European Nations)

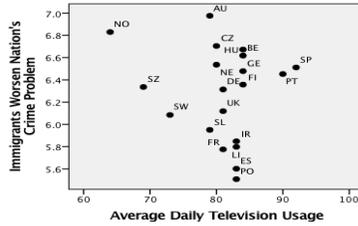
Variable Name	Coding	Mean	Minimum (country)	Maximum (country)
A. Dependent Variables:				
Negative Immigration Attitudes (General)	6-Item Composite Scale (0 – 10)	5.03	3.84 (SW)	6.20 (CZ)
Negative Immigration Attitudes (Immigrants worsen crime problem)	0-10 point scale	6.27	5.51 (PO)	6.98 (AU)
B. Independent Variables:				
Daily Television Usage (2014)	Percent	80.85%	64% (NO)	92% (SP)
Daily Newspaper Usage (2014)	Percent	40.35%	12% (PO)	71% (FI)
Daily Internet Usage (2014)	Percent	66.55%	40% (PT)	88% (NE)
C. Control Variables:				
Type of Media System	0 = Liberal Model 0 =Polar. Pluralist 1 = Democratic Corp.	10.0 % 30.0 % 60.0 %	0 (UK, IR) ¹ 0 (CZ,ES,FR, HU,PT,SP)	1 (AU, BE, DE, FI, GE, LI, NE, NO, PO, SL, SW, SZ)
Immigrants (% Foreign Born Residents in 2013)	Percent	11%	.9% (PO)	29% (SZ)
GDP Per Capita (2014)	US Dollars	\$40,161	\$25,332 (PO)	\$67,233% (NO)
Unemployment Rate (2014)	Percent	8.75%	3.5% (NO)	24.4% (SP)
Homicide Rate (2014)	Rate per 100k	1.30	.47 (AU)	5.27 (LI)

Note: AU= Austria, BE= Belgium, CZ= Czech Republic, DE = Denmark, ES= Estonia, FI= Finland, FR= France, GE= Germany, HU= Hungary, IR= Ireland, LI= Lithuania, NE= Netherlands, NO= Norway, PO= Poland, PT= Portugal, SW= Sweden, SL=Slovenia, SP= Spain, SZ= Switzerland, UK= United Kingdom.

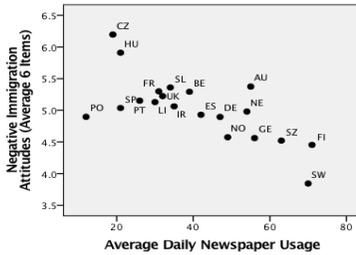
Figure 1: Nation's Media Usage and Attitudes Toward Immigrants



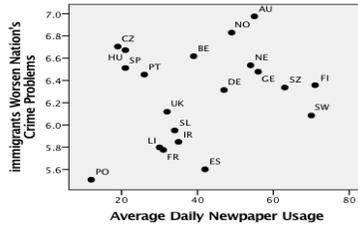
$r = .36$



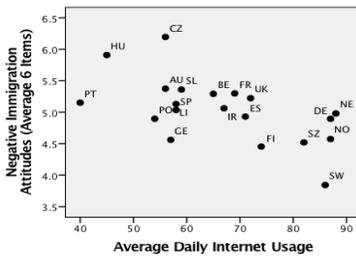
$r = -.15$



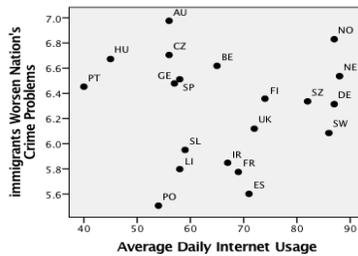
$r = -.71^*$



$r = .23$



$r = -.59^*$



$r = -.03$

Media usage. Data on a nation's media usage represent the estimated proportion of residents who report daily consumption of different types of media outlets (i.e., television, newspapers, and the Internet). These national measures of media usage are based on sample estimates for 2014, with the exception of Norway (2016) and Switzerland (2016).

Mediating and moderating factors. Several additional factors that mediate or moderate the nature and magnitude of media's influence on these attitudes may explain the bivariate relationship between a nation's media usage and immigration attitudes. As shown in Table 1, these variables include measures of a nation's (1) *media system* (i.e. "liberal," "polarized pluralist," or "democratic corporatist,") (2) *immigrant population* (i.e., the percentage of residents not born in the country of current residency), (3) *unemployment rate*, (4) *gross domestic product (GDP) per capita*, and (5) *homicide rate*.

Coding and content analysis. The coding of newspaper articles and their major themes involved both manifest and latent content analyses. In particular, coders explored the headings and leads to get a general idea of the article's content, and then coded each article on a 3-point scale (1= pro-immigration; 2= neutral/mixed/unclear; 3= anti-immigration). Researchers coded pro- and anti-immigration articles by their relative emphasis on the socio-economic benefits and harms of immigration to the nation's culture, economic vitality, health care, and/or personal safety. Two coders coded the content of each of the 600 articles in this study.

The level of agreement across coders on the article's classification was 85%. When adjusted for the probability of agreement by chance alone, the value of Cohen's Kappa ($k = .76$) indicates an acceptable level of inter-rater reliability. The author resolved inconsistencies across coders through group discussion, which often resulted in the classification of these stories as "neutral/unclear."

Analysis and Results

The author conducted a series of univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses to assess the nature and magnitude of

effects from a nation's media coverage to their residents' general and crime-specific attitudes about immigration. Graphic methods represent the bivariate correlations among these variables. The results of these analyses follow below.

Univariate Statistics

A review of the basic descriptive statistics for the variables in this study reveals several patterns of variability across the 20 European nations. First, residents of the Czech Republic and Hungary expressed the most negative *general* attitudes about immigration and its effects on a nation's economy, culture, and quality of life. The author found the most positive attitudes about immigration in these areas within Sweden and Finland. Second, different groups in each country represented nations with the most negative (e.g., Austria, Norway) and most positive (e.g., Poland, Estonia) attitudes about immigrants influencing a nation's crime problems. Third, the proportion of a nation's populations involving immigrants was the highest in Switzerland (29%), whereas the lowest was in Poland (1%) and the Czech Republic (4%). Fourth, Spain (24%) and Portugal (14%) had the highest unemployment rates, with the lowest being in Norway (4%) and Switzerland (5%). GDP per capita was also the highest in these countries with low unemployment rates. Fifth, former Soviet states (e.g., Lithuania, Estonia) had the highest homicide rates, with the lowest homicide rates found in Austria and Switzerland.

Bivariate Relationships

A visual representation of the bivariate relations between a nation's media coverage and its immigration attitudes can be seen in Figure 1. The left panel of these graphs displays the bivariate relationship between different types of media coverage and the composite measure of general negative attitudes on immigration. The right panel highlights the graphic relationship between types of media coverage and nations' crime-specific attitudes about immigration (i.e., beliefs that immigrants make crime problems worse). An examination of the graphs' patterns of these bivariate relations addresses the first research question (RQ1).

As shown in Figure 1, the nature and magnitude of the bivariate relationships between nations' media coverage and immigration

Table 3: Moderating Effect of the Type of Media System on the Correlation Between EU Nation's Media Usage and Immigration Attitudes.

National Media Source	Negative Immigration Attitudes (General)		Negative Immigration Attitudes (Increasing Crime)	
	Liberal and Polarized Pluralist Models	Democratic Corporatist Model	Liberal and Polarized Pluralist Models	Democratic Corporatist Models
Television Usage	r = -.42	r = .42	r = .33	r = -.30
Newspaper Usage	r = -.68 *	r = -.61 **	r = -.95 **	r = .56 *
Internet Usage	r = -.41	r = -.54 *	r = -.78 **	r = .30

Notes: * p < .10; ** p < .05

attitudes vary widely by type of media outlet and whether the focus is on general or crime-specific attitudes. In particular, for most media sources (except television), greater daily media usage (i.e., newspapers, the Internet) is linked to significantly ($p < .05$) more positive general attitudes about immigration and its societal consequences. To predict media's influence on crime-related attitudes about immigration, however, there are no significant ($p > .05$) bivariate relationships between the prevalence of using different types of media and these crime-related attitudes.

Multivariate Analyses

To explore the possible effects of other socio-demographic factors on media's influence on immigration attitudes, the author conducted partial correlation analyses. A comparison of the bivariate and partial correlations indicates the extent to which the observed bivariate relationships between media coverage and immigration attitudes can be explained by national differences on these other socio-demographic factors. The results of these comparative analyses address the second research question (RQ2) and are summarized in Table 2.

The comparative analysis of the bivariate and partial correlations in Table 2 provides little evidence that other socio-demographic characteristics mediate the nature and magnitude of the influence of media coverage on immigration attitudes. In nearly all sets of comparisons, the numerical value and statistical significance of the observed relationships are not appreciably different for the bivariate and partial correlation coefficients, suggesting that these other socio-demographic variables have no discernable mediational effect on the influence from nations' prevalence of particular media usage to their residents' general and crime-specific attitudes about immigrants. The only exception to this finding is that both the direction and magnitude of the relationship between nations' Internet usage and their beliefs about immigrants' criminal activity is enhanced once controls are introduced for the nations' GDP per capita.

Table 2. Correlations (r) and Partial Correlations ($r_{yx.z}$) for Immigration Attitudes, Media Usage, and Immigration Attitudes

Control Variables	Negative Immigration Attitudes (General)	Negative Immigration Attitudes (Increasing Crime)
A. Bivariate Correlations:		
	r_{yx}	r_{yx}
Television Usage	.36	-.15
Newspaper Usage	-.71**	.23
Internet Usage	-.59**	-.03
Democratic Corporate Media	-.52**	.13
% Immigrants	-.42*	.06
GDP Per Capita	-.50*	.37
Unemployment Rate	.08	-.15
Homicide Rate	-.03	-.12
B. Partial Correlations:		
	$r_{yx.z}$	$r_{yx.z}$
Television Usage controlling for:		
Democratic Corporate Media	.17	-.10
% Immigrants	.17	-.14
GDP Per Capita	.01	.16
Unemployment Rate	.41	-.06
Homicide Rate	.36	-.05
Newspaper Usage controlling for:		
Democratic Corporate Media	-.59**	.20
% Immigrants	-.63**	.24
GDP Per Capita	-.59**	-.02
Unemployment Rate	-.75**	.19
Homicide Rate	-.71**	.20
Internet Usage controlling for:		
Democratic Corporate Media	-.49**	-.09
% Immigrants	-.49**	-.06
GDP Per Capita	-.39*	-.45*
Unemployment Rate	-.61**	-.09
Homicide Rate	-.59**	-.09

Notes: * $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$

Supplemental Analyses

The author conducted two supplemental analyses to better understand the relationship between nations' media usage and their citizens' immigration attitudes. First, the author examined the moderating effect of type of media system through separate analyses of nations with democratic corporatist media systems and other media systems (e.g., liberal, polarized pluralist). Second, the author performed content analyses of three nations' (i.e., the UK, Hungary, Sweden) major newspapers to explore the dominant framing and tone of media coverage of immigration issues in nations that differ widely in their level of media coverage, media systems, and the prevalence of negative general and crime-specific attitudes about immigration. The results of these supplemental analyses follow below.

Moderating effects. As shown in Table 3, the type of media system exhibits several moderating effects on the nature and magnitude of the relationship between nations' media usage and public attitudes about immigrants. These moderating effects are strongest for the influence of both newspaper and Internet usage on negative public views that immigrants make the crime problem worse. The pattern of these moderating effects follows below.

Among nations with a democratic-corporate media system, higher levels of public use of newspapers and the Internet are linked to more *negative* attitudes about immigrants causing more crime. However, among nations with other media systems, higher levels of newspapers and Internet usage are associated with significantly more *positive* public views that immigrants do not worsen their nations' crime. Regardless of the type of media system, a nation's level of television usage had no impact on the general or crime-specific attitudes toward immigrants.

Content analysis of newspaper coverage in three nations. As suggested by the third research question (RQ3), the relative rankings of these nations on the nature of their newspaper coverage of immigration issues is consistent with their level of public support for immigration expressed in survey data. In particular, Swedish citizens have the most support for immigration among these three nations, and their major newspapers had the highest proportion of pro-immigration stories (37%) and lowest proportion of anti-immigration stories (20%). Hungary, in

contrast, had the lowest public support for immigration and this ranking is also reflected in their newspaper coverage (i.e., only 10% of stories were positive and they had the highest rate [37%] of negative articles). Immigration attitudes expressed by UK citizens and their newspapers were consistently in the middle of the three nations (30% of news stories were positive, 41% mixed, and 29% negative). A narrative summary of the nature and direction of the discourse about immigration issues in these newspapers within each country follow below.

Over the timeframe considered in the content analysis, immigration and its consequences were the focus of news stories in British newspapers. Much of the coverage in these papers centered on the social threat that high immigration represents to employment opportunities, suppressing wages, schools, housing, and health care services. These accounts used public survey data to demonstrate the extensive opposition to immigration among UK residents. Politicians and officials claiming that British towns were being “swamped” by immigrants and their residents “under siege” firmly echoed these negative views. The political context of much of the content in British media coverage of immigration involved debates about the merits of various government restrictions on immigration policies and practice (e.g., limited welfare benefits, banning tax credits and social housing, requiring private health insurance for non-EU immigrants). The media often framed pro-immigration news accounts as critiques of prevailing thought and stereotypes (e.g., high immigration in the UK is driven by “health tourism”). Many articles contained rather sensationalist and slanderous accounts of the immigration issue, but these same articles often provided evidence to contradict these claims. The growth of national right-wing parties and polarized pluralism can explain these strong media statements.

In contrast to the media coverage of general immigration issues in the UK, crime-related articles involving immigrants in British newspapers were less common and more idiosyncratic. For example, particular articles mentioned the problem of sexual abuse of immigrants at detention centers, how high immigration limits UK police efforts to fight terrorism, but also provided evidence that crime in neighborhoods experiencing mass immigration from Eastern Europe has fallen dramatically. This lack of a consistent

ideological theme regarding the immigration-crime connection across these media messages in the UK may help explain why (1) the UK ranks within the middle of all EU nations in terms of their views about immigrants worsening the crime problem, and (2) the nation's prevalence of daily media usage has no discernable effect on residents' views that immigrants cause crime problems. Media in the UK can be described as moderate, given the links between the media industry and political parties (Bard & Bayer, 2016). This allows the UK media to generally provide space for all role players in the immigration debate to voice their opinions.

The content analysis of news stories in Swedish newspapers indicates a diversity of perspectives on immigration issues. Most anti-immigration sentiments focus on economic impact (e.g., employment, social benefits/services, entitlements for non-foreign-born population), whereas the pro-immigration views are directed primarily at the value of a multicultural society. Swedish newspapers highlight the cost of immigration by primarily focusing on immigration's negative effects on economic and social institutions (e.g., funding for schools, changing labor laws, childbirth allowances, language requirements, permanent residency, and family migration policies). To support these virtues of multiculturalism, Swedish newspapers often use Germany and the United States as examples of the benefits of living in such societies. Some articles highlight the value of immigration to enhance Sweden's image as a "humanitarian superpower," but others warn about the threat of "radical Islam." Despite some occasional references to this particular problem, the immigration-crime link was not a primary focus in the Swedish press.

The immigration issue in Sweden ranks only second to the issue of education in public opinion polls. Negative media coverage and debates centered on the restriction of immigration (e.g., language requirements, and whether the society will benefit from immigrants). There are relatively few examples of Swedish media coverage that express negative views on immigrants and their role in worsening the crime problem. Thus, the fact that Swedish attitudes about immigrants are among the most positive in the EU is consistent with (1) these media portrayals, and (2) the nation's high daily newspaper usage. This country's low ranking among the EU nations on beliefs that immigration worsening crime is

also consistent with the moderate coverage of these particular issues in Swedish newspapers.

Despite low readership rates compared to other nations, major Hungarian newspapers in this time period provide a highly negative image of immigration and its societal consequences. When the media mention crime-related issues about immigrants, they usually describe them in terms of a social threat from “unwelcomed populations” (i.e., those prone to commit crime, and are a burden for society). The media’s anti-immigration sentiments in Hungary were high over the study period due to the “flood” and “crisis” from the influx of Syrian and other refugees, which began in 2014 and continued throughout 2015. Media coverage of the building of a fence (along the Serbia and Croatia borders) to prevent refugees and migrants from entering Hungary provided a clear visual image of the government’s strong anti-immigration views.

These negative media images of immigrants are generally consistent with the strong anti-immigrant attitudes that Hungarian survey respondents expressed. They are also consistent with the fact that the residents of nations like Hungary, with polarized pluralist media systems, are often exposed to overinflated and distorted messages about social issues and the people involved in them (Aalberg & Strabac, 2010). Described as polarized pluralist (Bard & Bayer, 2016), the Hungarian media reflect the political sentiments of the dominant political parties.

Discussion and Conclusions

Using aggregate data for 20 European nations, the current study examined the basic question about the influence of these nations’ media on the attitudes of residents regarding immigration. The observed results indicate that nations with a higher prevalence of newspaper and Internet usage often have the most positive general attitudes about immigration. However, similar to previous studies reporting a “minimal” effect of media’s influence on public attitudes and behaviors, the level and type of a nation’s media coverage are largely unrelated to its residents’ crime-specific attitudes about immigration.

Explaining Null Effect of Media Usage on Beliefs about Immigrant's Criminality

The null effect of a nation's level of media usage on public attitudes about the criminality of immigrants may be linked to several conceptual and measurement issues. There are three potential explanations for these particular findings.

First, in this study, the researcher measured crime-related attitudes about immigrants on a single criterion (i.e., "immigrants make crime problems 'worse' [coded 0] to 'better' [coded 10]") that was averaged across sample respondents in the ESS survey. The use of these average national ratings, however, may be problematic because they may (a) suppress variability *within* nations (by averaging those holding positive and negative views) and (b) thereby limiting the magnitude of variability *between* nations. To evaluate this type of aggregation bias, the author repeated the primary analyses using the percent of respondents per nation that had the most negative attitudes about immigrant's criminality (i.e., scores of 0, 1, or 2 on this item). Even with the revised measure, nations' media usage and beliefs about immigrants' criminality were weakly correlated.

Second, the single measurement criterion about immigrants' criminality may be too vague to capture the nuances of these public attitudes and how greater media exposure influences them. For example, previous studies of media coverage of crime (Berman, 2003; Easteal, Bartels, Nelson, & Holland, 2015; Hughes, Lancaster, K., & Spicer, 2011) indicate that these accounts often focus on the most severe and sensationalized cases (e.g., terrorist attacks, murders, sex trafficking). Our content analysis of national newspaper headlines about crime and immigrants (e.g., UK newspaper headlines about "sexual assaults in refugee centers," "immigration hampering police control of terrorism") conveyed a similar image of crime. However, if survey respondents were not thinking about these particular types of offenses when queried about immigrants' contribution to the nation's crime problem, one might expect to find, as observed in this study, a weak relationship between these two aggregate measures.

Third, rather than null effects, it is important to note that the nation's type of media system exhibited some moderating effect on the link between media coverage and immigrants' criminality.

For both newspapers and Internet usage, higher media coverage was linked to *more* negative beliefs about immigrants and crimes within nations with democratic-corporate media systems (e.g., Finland, Sweden, Switzerland). Higher media coverage was associated with *less* negative attitudes about the immigrant-crime link in EU nations with other media systems (i.e., liberal, polarized pluralist systems). Thus, further cross-national studies examining the link between media coverage and public attitudes about crime should pay particular attention to the role of a nation's media system in moderating this relationship.

Role of Media Systems in Enhancing or Mitigating Social Threats

The symbiotic relationships between political parties, media ownership, and other aspects of nations' media systems help explain the nature and magnitude of the cross-national variability in the media coverage of immigrants. These basic relationships also account for national differences in their coverage of immigration, and how the media frame relevant socio-economic consequences.

Based on the supplemental analyses of this study, the findings indicate how a nation's media system provides a structural context for both informing and shaping public opinion about immigration. The following paragraphs summarize particular ways in which the characteristics of a nation's media system serve to enhance or mitigate public views about the various types of social threats linked to immigration.

Compared to the general principles of other media systems (Hallin & Mancini 2004), democratic corporatist systems (like Sweden's media model) operate within a socio-political context of high freedom of the press, high journalism professionalism, and weak links between political parties and media owners. This distinct level of media freedom provides an open forum to discuss immigration and a variety of other social issues. In Sweden and other EU nations with this media system (e.g., Finland, Germany, Norway, Switzerland), high economic opportunities (e.g., relatively higher GDP per capita, lower unemployment rates), high media consumption, lower crime rates, and higher immigration rates also provide a wider social context for the promotion of more pro-immigration attitudes. Under these conditions, media messages are more likely to be framed within a less volatile socio-

political climate that challenges competing views about the social costs/benefits related to immigration. The fact that residents in these nations have more positive attitudes about migrants is consistent with the dominant messages underlying the media coverage of immigration within their national media systems.

Under polarized pluralist media systems, one can expect more negative views about migrants because of the particular structural attributes underlying this media model (e.g., strong state influences on media, weak professionalism of journalists, lower media consumption, and media ownership with strong ties to political parties). As shown in the content analysis of Hungary's newspaper coverage of immigration, the media often represented related issues without dispute and within a descriptive form. This reinforced the anti-immigrant sentiments and policies expressed by the dominant political parties. Consistent with the polarized pluralist model, the media rarely presented dissenting views in Hungarian newspapers. In cases where they did present these views, it was primarily to validate the accuracy of the dominant view. The anti-migration messages from EU nations with these media systems are rooted in the link between media ownership and politics.

As reflected by the structural characteristics of liberal media systems, the media model underlying British newspapers is linked to more moderate levels of public opposition to immigration (i.e., British respondents in the ESS survey were ranked the 7th highest among EU nations on the magnitude of their negative immigration attitudes). This relationship between anti-immigration attitudes and media coverage in the UK and other EU nations with liberal media systems (e.g., Ireland) may derive from the following factors: (1) these media systems operate independently from political parties and tend to rank high in terms of journalism professionalism, allowing media outlets to frame their messages about immigration and other social issues by relying on diverse perspectives, and (2) EU nations with these particular types of media systems (e.g., the UK, Ireland) have some social characteristics linked to higher acceptance of migrants (e.g., higher economic opportunities). While some of these characteristics are associated with more anti-immigration attitudes (e.g., the rise of right-wing political parties, higher

crime rates), other may or may not influence these attitudes (e.g., relatively higher rates of foreign-born residents).

Based on these observations, the results of this study suggest that two complementary social forces shape EU nations' attitudes about immigration and its consequences: (1) the nature of the nations' underlying media systems that influence the structure and content of media messages, and (2) the socio-economic conditions within a nation that may facilitate or impede the development of pro-immigration attitudes. For a specific nation, understanding the link between media usage and public attitudes regarding the consequences of migration requires a systematic analysis of both the nation's media system and its socio-economic context.

Limitations, Implications, and Conclusions

A limitation of this study is that it interprets correlations as effects, rather than associations. A future development of this project is that scholars may employ regression analyses to predict effects, with mediated and moderated modeling of relevant variables.

The findings of the current study show that European nations with greater newspaper and Internet usage were associated with more positive general attitudes about immigrants. Nations with higher proportions of foreign-born residents also had more favorable attitudes toward immigrants. These findings are in sharp contrast to (1) the prevailing thought about the negative stereotyping of immigrants in the media and (2) the social threat hypothesis (i.e., the belief that negative attitudes toward immigrants will dissipate only when they become a substantial minority [or majority] of the nation's general population). These findings suggest an alternative view that a nation's higher level of immigration and media saturation represents a facilitating context for more positive attitudes toward immigrants. At the same time, however, this study found support for the social threat hypothesis when the relationship between media coverage and immigration attitudes is examined within the context of nations with polarized pluralist media systems. In particular, it is within these nations (e.g., the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, France) that the media's most negative portrayals of immigration and its

societal consequences reinforce the most negative public attitudes about immigrants.

In conclusion, this study highlights the nature of the symbiotic relationships between nations' media systems, their media coverage, and public attitudes about immigration and its consequences. As a cross-sectional study of immigration attitudes in 20 EU nations, the substantive conclusions from this study should be viewed with some caution. Though the results of the content analysis of newspaper articles are consistent with the nations' public attitudes toward immigration, the small sample size and its focus on only three nations also limits substantive conclusions. However, by exploring these relationships using case-comparative methods or within different geographical and historical contexts, future research may be better able to (1) assess the external validity of the observed results, (2) identify other socio-political factors that influence a nation's attitudes toward immigration, and (3) articulate the mechanisms by which a nation's media system influences public attitudes on major social issues through different media forms, structures, and the content of their messages.

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