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European Countries“

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Rachel Edie

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Univ.-Prof. Dr. Hajo Boomgaarden

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

With the increase in globalization and migration in Europe, and subsequent opposing moods, rise in nationalist rhetoric, and general unease regarding supranational European affairs, culture is becoming an evermore present and polarizing discussion. The topic of culture in the context of migration has proved to be dichotomous, where concepts such as multiculturalism, welcome culture, and ethnic diversity compete with notions of xenophobia, national values and identity, or narratives of nationals against non-nationals. According to the UN's World Population Prospects, immigration to- and within Europe is expected to continue, as is demand for solutions to the socially, politically and ethically engaged migration-related issues.

Migration is a global phenomena that will continue to affect more and more regions and communities. Cultural elements of migration have entered strongly into the discussion and are crucial to consider when addressing the global impact of migration. Moreover, culture plays a primary role in identity formation and orientation. Such considerations are becoming increasingly present in both political legislature and media coverage relating to migration. More recently, culture seems to be used for the sake of promoting or polarizing differing groups and identities. The matter of culture has been used by the media to divide the public, promote fear, and create disembodied enemies. What is more, media play a significant role in shaping public interest, public opinion and political attitudes. Thus, there is a demand to understand the role of culture in the media, especially in the context of migration and growing multicultural societies.

In order to promote successful coexistence between differing groups and a rewarding social life for everyone in Europe, as well as to further determine Europe's abilities and potential obligations in addressing migration, the role of culture in public debate must be acknowledge and understood. The aim of the present study is to contribute to the knowledge on media coverage of migration, by observing salient culture references in migration-related news coverage across 7 socially and politically diverse European countries, over a period of 15 years.

### **1.1 Research Questions**

In this paper, I will address the following research questions:

1. How is culture defined in the context of migration-related media coverage? What aspects of culture are relevant in this context?
2. How visible is culture-related framing in news coverage across European countries (Sweden, UK, Germany, Spain, Poland, Romania, Hungary) and over time?
3. Are there any significant changes in culture frame salience over time?
4. What are the similarities or differences in the visibility of culture across countries?

### **1.2 Research Aims**

By utilizing an annotated text corpora consisting of migration relevant text-based news coverage, researchers conduct a content analysis of a sample of 230 text entries and identify those with relevant cultural references based on a qualitatively operationalized definition of culture. Using these manually classified articles as a map of relevant references to culture in the context of migration news coverage, a dictionary is constructed consisting of keywords and phrases. The dictionary is then used to conduct an automated content analysis of text-based corpora containing news articles from a diverse range outlets in each of the 7 countries,

published over the period from 2003-2017. By using quantitative automated content analysis methods on a large sample of text data, this research aims to provide a large-scale systematic observation of culture visibility in migration-related media coverage across varying European environments over time.

**1.2.1 Scope of study.** The scope of this study is limited to European media coverage of migration-related news, and to analyzing the salience of a specific cultural frame. This research is not comparing the presence of culture framing to the presence of other issue-specific frames, which future research may benefit from. Because of the automated nature and conservative scope of this study, this research is unable to determine frame valence, whether or not the frame has a more positive or negative connotation (e.g. cultural threats - negative valence, cultural acceptance - positive valence), which has been argued to be an important aspect to consider alongside frame salience (see Jacobs & Meeusen, 2016; Balch & Balabanova, 2016; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Breen, Devereux & Haynes, 2006).

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

In order to assess the visibility of culture in migration-related news coverage, it is important to understand both the migration history and related socio-political discourse that has taken place in Europe. What has been the political and social experience of immigration in the European context? What is culture and how is it defined in terms of migration? How does media influence the social and political discussion surrounding immigration? The following section will address these concerns by outlining the development of immigration in Europe and presenting a conceptualization of culture from the perspective of European legislature, as well as academic literature.

#### **2.1 Migration and Identity in European History**

Immigration refers to relocation of people from one place to another, introducing newcomers into a country and its native population. This often confuses the social and political equilibrium in dealing with the similarity or diversity among groups of people. European nations in particular have been defined by their ethnic heritage, religious foundations and cultural traits. Compared to countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia, the individual European nations are attributed with relative cultural uniformity of regional populations and generally less permeable borders. In the settler-societies of the U.S., Canada and Australia, immigration is a fundamental element narrating their national history and identity; in comparison to European nations, such nations have relatively little in terms of historical similarities binding citizens together (Citrin & Sides, 2008). So how do countries whose national identities are formed based



on commonalities deal with the introduction of uncommon ‘foreigners’ in their social and public space?

Recently, Europe has been faced with higher rates of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, as well as other countries facing political unrest (Santamaria, Tintori & Vespe, 2019). As a result, European nations are now faced with the complex task of getting along both socially and politically with ethnically, culturally and religiously different people, as well as their respective lifestyles. Though it is beyond the scope of this study to identify each and every benchmark indicating how well a nation is ‘getting along’ with immigrants, it is important to point out that this may not be so clearly defined. For example, although Germany may nowadays be referred to as a country of immigration due to the large community of foreign-born settlers, minorities have more difficulty acquiring influence in the political sphere than German natives. While over 22% of German citizens have an immigration background only 8% of parliament members belong to this community, and most of these members come from other EU countries, with the largest portion of non-EU born members coming from Turkey (Bierbach, 2017).

The discussion on immigration has been ongoing since after the second world war, when much of immigration in North-Western Europe was driven by the economy and a need for labor. At this time, ‘guest workers’ were expected to return to their country of origin after their work was finished. Thus, destination countries decidedly limited migrant access to the state provided benefits enjoyed by native citizens (Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson, 1998). When the Berlin Wall went up in 1961 and the Cold War began, European nations widened their search for labor to

countries outside of Europe, signing agreements with Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Tunisia (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968) (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016).

The guest worker immigration scheme did not hold up after the oil crises of 1973-1974 brought on a staggering reduction in labor demands, and sinking expectations of economic growth (Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson, 1998; Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). Despite the introduction of policies intending to limit immigration, the amount of foreign-born residents was still rising. At this point, many non-European migrants who had gone there for work decided to stay rather than risk going home and losing residency permits for good (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). An increasing number of migrants began bringing family members over to Europe, subsequently compromising government initiatives to limit this type of migration, which was regarded as a basic right of migrant workers (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016, Castles, Vasta & Ozkul, 2014; Hansen 2003; Council of Europe, 1961)

After this period of economic restructuring the number of immigrants increased significantly across Europe, rising from 15,000 to 300,000 annually (Hatton 2004). Many people were migrating from Turkey, North Africa, Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union, contributing to a dramatic growth of the non-European immigrant population and reflecting not only continued immigration, but the growth of the already settled immigrant communities (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016; Hatton 2004; Bade, 2003). After the introduction of migrant communities in Europe, immigration became a highly discussed and politicized topic. Subsequent hostility towards migrants was fueled by increasing unemployment rates, and nationalist political parties such as Le Pen's *Front National* in France or Haider's *Freedom Party* in Austria started to gain momentum and support (Bonifazi 2008, Van Mol & De Valk, 2016, Boyle et al 1998).

## **2.2 Migration and Identity in European Society and Politics**

While the introduction of the Schengen Agreement (1985) and the signing of the Maastricht Treaty (1992) broke new ground for unity among European nations and intra-European mobility, these steps also brought about stricter regulations for immigration, tougher border controls and a growing concern about integration (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). The shifting political focus of the European Union towards integration manifests concretely in the Hague program of 2005, which introduced integration of third country nationals as one of its five central goals (European Union, 2005). This program was a further development of the Tampere program of 1999, in which integration of migrants was not mentioned and where the focus was rather on respecting fundamental rights and providing fair treatment of migrants in the European Union (European Union, 1999).

The growing concentration on integration aspects of migration realized in the Hague program sought the promotion of stability and unity within Europe by encouraging mutual understanding between migrants and European nationals. A crucial measure to successful integration noted in this program was achievement of equal opportunities for migrants as a means of facilitating their full participation in European society. This program spreads messages about the importance of inhibiting isolation of migrant groups, which involves the acquisition of basic skills, such as language ability, as well as “respect for the basic values of the European Union and fundamental human rights” (European Union, 2005, p. C 53/4). In order to foster these components of integration, the program also stipulated that it is an ongoing and symbiotic process involving continuous cooperation and “intercultural dialogue” between migrants and European nationals through shared activities and interactions, implying more than the anti-

discrimination policy of the Tampere program (European Union, 2005, p. C 53/5). Thus, a dividing line had been identified and set between two distinct social groups: we the Europeans, and they the migrants. From the European perspective, the solution suggested in the Hague program was to bring together or combine these differing groups into one another, though considering the necessity of loosely defined 'basic skills' and 'respect for basic values' this conceptualization of integration appears rather vague and one-sided. All things considered, the Hague Program pointed out that the topic of migration had a distinctly cultural side to it and that culture must play an important role in the successful handling of incoming migrants.

Similar to integration, the topics of xenophobia and racism made their way into the political and media agendas of the eighties (Stolcke, 1995). In 1985 the European Parliament released a report on anti-immigrant moods and growing racism throughout Europe, stating that xenophobia in Europe is not legally preventable because it is simply "a latent resentment or 'feeling'...", while noting that it could lead to racism (Evregenis, 1985, p. 60). In 1986 the European Parliament committee released a *Declaration against Racism and Xenophobia*, communicating that such discriminatory attitudes do not represent European values, and simultaneously bringing the issue of fearing foreigners to the forefront of the public discussion. (Stolcke, 1995; European Commission, 1986).

Underlying the promotion of migrant integration are the diverse experiences of each nation-state within Europe, which contribute to their characteristic socio-political developments and unique cultural heritage. After being met with the foreign 'other', Europeans began differentiating themselves from non-Europeans and 'the nation' began to take on a more symbolic meaning. Thus, similarities and differences between cultures became a main pathway

for nation-states to be “conceived of and legitimize themselves” - though European nations have traditionally assumed cultural dominance, a phenomenon known as Eurocentrism (Ifversen, 2002, p. 5). Such ‘othering’ has generally been directed at Oriental and Islamic people, whose identities and role in Europe are constructed through social and political discourse (Ifversen, 2002).

A central issue in this circumstance is that such groups and the identity of their members are portrayed as static and intrinsically occurring, rather than fluid and constructed through experience within a context. Not everyone has the opportunity to influence how their identity is received by others, and the more heavily politicized migrant identities become, the more this notion of ‘us’ and ‘them’ seems to appear in the discussion. Identity is a complex and indefinite concept, and increasingly so. In order to understand any similarities, differences and interactions between relevant social groups, it is crucial that one’s understands their own social identity. The notion of a group identity being developed through experience and over time has a profound influence on the social, political and cultural experience of people - but the expressed permutations of cultural values may not be so logical. For example, European society has been built upon Christian ideological foundations that many would argue still have a considerable effect on European values today (Ifversen, 2002; European Union, 1995). On the other hand, many European nations are considered among the least religious in the world (e.g., Sweden, Norway, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Albania, Austria, Hungary and Luxembourg) (Smith, 2017). For the purpose of this study the multifaceted nature of identity is limited to the context of Europe, where the main differentiations appear between individual identity, regional identity, national identity and cultural identity.

Considering that people are inseparable from their social environments, individual experience is developed through the lens of the social and cultural world. This means that individual identity is developed through collective patterns of thought and behavior. As identity is developed through one's individual experience of the collective social environment, it goes on to shape individual behavior by providing social scripts and schemas. In social psychology, identity has been recognized as a way of organizing the cultural environment or system around us - using this collected information to construct the self. From this perspective, the impact of one's social environment, institutions and networks on identity construction becomes especially important. Our surroundings act as a means of orientation - a way of locating ourselves and others within a social setting. The understanding we develop in our own cultural environments is a critical force in the collective human social experience. Stories that are passed around our communities, our nations and any environment or group of people we may belong to, narrate our individual and collective experiences. Oftentimes, these stories glorify the 'we' or 'us' perspective while maintaining a critical outlook on the 'they' and the 'them' characters of unfamiliar groups.

In the context of this study, the social environment refers both to the collective Europe and to the individual nation-states, which are understood to be 'cognitive boundaries' in terms of identity formation (Holliday, 2019). Here, we notice the intersectionality of identity as European identity and national identity overlap. National identity plays a significant role in the conceptualization of culture in regards to European migration-related media. Elements of ethnicity, culture, politics and region culminate to help us identify distinct groups of people on a national and global scale (Evans, 2003). On a national level, culture becomes manifest in the

language, values, customs and belief systems present within national groups. Geo-political borders are a way to position such cultural artifacts and place them within a larger schema, relative to other cultures and their respective artifacts. Similarly, national history becomes a means of organizing cultural experience longitudinally while also highlighting crucial elements of tradition.

Shared history and relative religious or socio-political similarities between the nations in Europe has contributed to the collective identity of Europeans, who may lack other basic similarities such as customs, language or even lifestyle elements such as food and dress. This shared European identity may help to explain why social ‘othering’ in this context may be directed towards non-European cultural groups. Though this may occur between any group of people, theory asserts that it is easier to identify with someone from a culturally familiar group than from a culturally unfamiliar group.

Social identity theory tells us that we have a natural desire to belong to such groups as they reflect ourselves, as well as our ideals and beliefs. While identifying with others is indeed essential and beneficial, our social and cultural development relies on the ability to get along with social groups we do not identify with. Getting along with others seems like a straightforward task, but research has pointed out some of the unseen forces working to counteract even our most accepting and tolerant attitudes. For example, we evaluate members of our own social in-group more favorably and are more agreeable towards them than with members of other groups (Tajfel, 1981). Negative evaluations of out-group members are said to have a biological connection through notions of ‘territorial imperative’ or ‘tribal instinct’, where differentiation from and hostility toward out-groups is considered a means of survival. As

research has pointed out, this kind of hostility has been infecting socio-political discourse since the 1970's - focusing on the dynamics of group inclusion vs. exclusion and maintaining singularity of cultural identities based on territory (Soysal 1993).

In recent years especially, political rhetoric has not shied away from the use of sweeping generalizations to ideologically undermine out-groups like immigrants. These stereotypes, which are made to characterize an entire group of people and enact prejudice towards minorities, have most prominently involved ethnic identity (Burns & Gimpel, 2000). The motivation behind discrimination in this sense lies in notions of dominance and superiority, where the values and beliefs of a group are constructed by the ruling class (i.e. hegemony). Although the anti-immigrant rhetoric we see in both politics and the media does not necessarily center around race, it has been referred to as a "new style of racism" (Stolke, 1995; Wieviorka 1993; Solomos 1991; Taguieff 1987; Barker 1981, 1979). Researchers have stipulated that the culturally discriminatory discourse comes as a result of clashing arguments from political parties attempting to smooth over the "racist undertones of its anti-immigrant program" and rebuttals condemning the facade and stressing the allusion to Nazi ideologies (Stolke, 1995). In terms of public policy this becomes an issue, as racial and ethnic stereotyping influences how we understand our social environments and subsequently make decisions. Research shows that the outcome of immigration policies are more dependent on attitudes towards race and ethnicity when the concept of "immigrant" is affiliated with negatively stereotyped minorities (Burns & Gimpel 2000).

Discriminatory attitudes are said to stem from a feeling of economic threat and other social changes such as rising rates of unemployment or immigration (Burns & Gimpel, 2000;



Sniderman, Hagendoorn & Prior, 2004). In this context, we are not talking about immediate or even realistic threats, such threats are rather symbolic, involving the idea that one's values or beliefs are somehow at risk (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan & Martin, 2005). It has already been demonstrated in European history that such occurrences, particularly when paired with nationalist rhetoric, lead to increased hostility towards immigrants (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). Furthermore, research suggests that what is even more adept at producing anti-immigrant moods and support for nationalist policies than economic threats are cultural threats (Lucassen & Lubbers, 2012; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Given the prominence of discriminatory messages and institutionalized prejudice directed towards immigrants in Europe, it is surprising that EU migration-related legislature, such as the Tampere and Hague programs, mainly broadcasts messages of integration, cultural diversity and tolerance, instead of confronting the reality of nouveau racism in Europe (Maeso & Araujo, 2017).

Symbolic politics theory argues that our values, beliefs and cultures have more power than actual physical concerns on impression formation and management (Sides & Citrin, 2007). It is through such elements that we base our political positions and form political ideologies (see Burns & Gimpel, 2000). National parties are subsequently influenced by their voters' orientation, meaning that identity is a contributing factor in describing European politics (Carrubba, 2001; Schmitt & Thomassen, 2000; Steenbergen, Edwards & de Vries, 2007). The concept of national identity contains both a logical and an emotional element. Not only is it a way to mentally organize the boundaries of oneself and one's social in-group relative to others, but it also facilitates emotional attachment formation (Huddy, 2001). Thus, in order to promote integration

and acceptance of immigration, the current notion of national identity must be reconstructed (Sides & Citrin, 2007).

### **2.3 Migration and Identity in European Media**

National identity becomes especially salient through the media. Research shows that political messages relating to identity are considered to have more news value, and actors communicating such messages are more likely to influence media coverage (de Wilde, 2019). News value here relates to a topic or actors assumed status, novelty, degree of conflict, as well as the opportunity for dramatization (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni & Passy, 2005). Media has the power to affect political agendas in addition to public opinion, and is therefore one of the most influential variables in the process of how we come to understand our social environments (Bølstad, 2015; Meyer, 2002: 57). Researchers have mentioned that the Europeanization of national public discussion may be due to comparable arguments being presented in the media across nation states (Bølstad, 2015). Furthermore, research mapping the diffusion of identity and culture draw attention to the importance of social groups and networks on identity formation and performance (Deaux & Martin 2003).

## Chapter 3

Theoretical Foundations**3.1 Media Content and Effects**

People are likely to gain information about unfamiliar social or cultural groups of people through the media, and those with little exposure to such groups are more susceptible to effects on attitudes or beliefs about migrants or migration (Ortiz & Harwood, 2007; Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008, p. 961). Information found in the media is one of the ways in which our impressions are shaped and ‘primed’ (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). News coverage has been found to effect one’s willingness to classify others by accentuating notions of ethnicity and in-group vs out-group identification (e.g., Turner 1988; Sniderman et al. 2000). Research has shown that consumption of biased media may prime readers with stereotypical arguments and attitudes (Dixon, 2008; Domke, 2001). Priming refers to the suggestive quality of media coverage that emphasizes some arguments while understating others, and which mediates the relation of public belief to public opinion (Domke, McCoy & Torres, 1999). Perceptions about entire groups may be engaged by one single piece of news, so it is important to understand what shapes the news coverage in our media.

**3.1.1 Agenda Setting and Priming.** The theory of agenda-setting asserts that news coverage directs the public discussion and attention (McCombs, 1992; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Some issues and actors are selectively broadcast in the media, giving these stories and subsequent discussion more prominence in the public sphere. Journalists must oblige to the values of newsworthiness, as well as to the specific interests and beliefs of their stakeholders (e.g. Eilders, 2006; Kepplinger & Ehmig, 2006). Media may frame news coverage to selectively

highlight a perspective, interpretation, or treatment recommendation for an issue (Entman, 1993, p. 52; Goffman, 1974). Frames are able to influence the perceived importance of certain elements of an issue, direct public opinion, motivate social action, and effect political environments (Freeman, Hansen, & Leal, 2013; King & Wood, 2001; Nelson, Clawson & Oxley, 1997; Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Furthermore, frames may also imprint consumers with interpretations they would not have come to on their own, showing the ability of news to influence attitudes (Thorbjørnsrud, 2015; Nelson et al., 1997). Studies have shown that simple recognition of non-threatening portrayals of minority groups in the news can positively influence public opinions and beliefs (Wojcieszak & Azrout, 2016).

**3.1.2 Framing and Salience.** Two general variations of frames are issue-specific frames and generic news frames (de Vreese, Peter & Semetko, 2001). Issue-specific frames appear in the context of certain events or topics appearing in the news (Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997), and general frames such as the conflict frame (Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) are relevant to a variety of topics. The main method of studying media frames in migration-related coverage in Europe has been manual content analysis (e.g., Spain [Checa & Arjona, 2011], the UK [Caviedes, 2015], Germany [Helbling, 2014], Sweden [Horsti, 2008], Poland [Galasińska, 2010], Hungary [Vicsek, Keszi, & Márkus, 2008], Romania [Light & Young, 2009]). The most widely researched frames in migration coverage are the economy, welfare, security, and culture frames (e.g., Eberl et al., 2018).

Culture has been identified as one of the main frames of reference in migration discourse. One study by Roggeband and Vligenthart (2007) identified five further sub-topics of the culture frame used in migration-related parliamentary legislature and media coverage in the Netherlands.

The study included a multicultural frame where cultural diversity is emphasized, a restriction frame focused on immigrant familial or marital migration, an emancipation frame where migrant mindsets and lifestyles are problematized, a victimization frame where migrants are portrayed as helpless and a victim of religious or cultural circumstances, and finally an Islam-as-Threat frame where religion and culture, especially Islam, is placed in opposition to European values. Results showed that media frames are less likely to follow parliamentary frames, but that each may influence the other (Roggeband & Vligenthart, 2007). Additionally, more recent research shows that, of a handful of relevant religious groups in Europe, Muslim immigrants are the most salient (Bleich, Stonebraker, Nisar & Abdelhamid, 2015). Visibility of culture frames in the media may direct public attention and influence news consumers' attitudes and political orientation. Considering the limited space and selective production processes, issue salience is at the mercy of journalists' decisions or impulses, who are at the mercy of stakeholder attitudes and consumer attention (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

The visibility or salience of a topic in the news refers to the volume of coverage it consumes relative to the total amount of news coverage (e.g., Akkerman, 2011; Lawlor, 2015). For the purpose of understanding culture frame use in migration-related news coverage, salience would be assessed by comparing the total amount of migration-related news items possessing culture-related frames to the total amount of migration-related news items. It has been shown that focusing on migrant groups in the media may lead to anti-immigrant attitudes (Boomgaarden & Vliegthart, 2009), and that cultural notions of language, religion or even clothing can be interpreted as cultural threats, distancing immigrant and native populations (see Aalberg, Iyengar & Messing 2011; Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Hopkins, 2010; Sides & Citrin, 2007; Meltzer,

Schemer, Boomgaarden, Strömbäck, Moritz-Eberl, Theorin & Heidenreich, 2017). Further studies have shown that over time, consumption of news coverage depicting cultural threats concerning certain groups may increase prejudice (Schemer, 2012; 2014). On the other hand, positive attitudes towards immigrants may be encouraged by consuming content focused on the ethnic and national similarities between migrants and native populations (Esses, Davidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006). From a cultivation viewpoint, the consumption of media can lead to the internalization of ideas and beliefs projected in the news, referred to as implicit cultivation (Shrum, 2007; for a discussion in relation to EU attitudes see Arendt, 2010; Schmuck & Matthes, 2015).

### **3.2 Defining Culture and Constructing a Dictionary**

With this understanding of the role of geo-political history, identity construction and media influence in the European migration context, the focus now shifts to understanding theoretical conceptualizations of culture and subsequently identifying culturally relevant topics in migration-related media. In order to identify which elements of culture appear in European news coverage and subsequently build a dictionary of keywords and phrases to automatically search articles for culture-related news framing, a major aim of this study is to develop an operationalized definition of culture, and identify the key words and phrases used in culture-related news references.

**3.2.1 Culture in Academic Research.** In the academic context, conceptualizations of culture have grown increasingly more complex. Differing uses and meanings of culture began appearing in socio- and anthropological research, highlighting the academic need to map out its ideological nature and essential characteristics, and determine a multi-disciplinary definition

(Winkler, 1994; Baldwin, Faulkner, Hecht & Lindsley, 2006). Such ideological confusion points to a discrepancy in the relationship between the word 'culture', and that which it represents (Baldwin, Faulkner, Hecht & Lindsley, 2006). Thus, the call for a new understanding of 'culture' brought about a wealth of literature, each presenting their own unique arguments and interpretations about the composition and qualities of culture.

Turning toward the recent academic quest to define culture, Baldwin, Faulkner, Hecht and Lindsley (2006) synthesized earlier research definitions and determined seven distinct concentrations in culture definitions. Briefly observing these various paths of discourse surrounding culture provides a basic understanding of its essential elements, and brings us even closer to a more complete understanding of what is really meant by the term *culture*.

The first type of definition researchers determined focuses on the **structure** and pattern of culture. These structures can refer to an entire set of lifestyle elements such as behavioral and relational patterns, to a common way of living, or simply to general differences between groups. Culture may be defined by structures or patterns of conduct, demeanor or habit, as well as social norms, customs, practices, rituals and ceremonies. Such definitions may also refer to cognitive structures or thought and belief patterns, such as how and from what one derives meaning, as well as values, morals, and preferences. Other patterns and structures include those which organize significance, such as systems of symbols, language, communication, and transference of thoughts, feelings and actions. Finally, culture may be structurally defined through our relation to others as well as to social organizations, such as religious, political and legal institutions. Such structural definitions of culture point to an inherited and interconnected pattern of thoughts, actions, beliefs, and motivations, which aim to serve some fortuitous purpose. These structures

and patterns act as a guide for successful cultivation and cohabitation, and are useful in problem solving - ultimately bringing cultural growth and success based on *common understanding*.

While structural definitions of culture are more interested in what culture consists of, another type of definition attends to the **function** it serves. Some definitions present culture as a means of vitality, a learning process and guide to adaptation or value expression. Others highlight its purpose of providing a “shared sense of identity, and thus of difference from other groups” - contributing to its function of assessing and orienting ourselves in relation to others and contributing to notions of dominance between identity groups (Baldwin, Faulkner & Hecht, 2006). Another type of definition relates more to the **processes** of culture, focusing on how culture is continually constructed and operated in social practice. Some of the practices highlighted in these definitions are a means of making sense of the environment and materials available to us - often through religion. Other definitions refer to processes of group identification, interpersonal relation, structuring of power and transmission of lifestyle elements. Additionally, some definitions refer specifically to the **products** produced through cultural means of applied knowledge or manual skills. Some products are concrete and created through physical efforts such as an automobile or a medical vaccination. Other products are more abstract and have significance for a certain group of people, such as ideological or mediated messages found in art, music, literature, or architecture. From these cultural products emerge the final themes researchers found amongst academic definitions of culture.

At one point in time it was common to relate culture to ‘**refinement**’, ‘civilization’, or moral and mental development - separating the sophisticated from the savage. Such definitions focus on lifestyle elements of culture, which differentiate humans from animals and other



species. Many definitions of culture also refer directly to **group membership**, perhaps based on geographic location, country, or to some other elements of social stratification that relate to identity. A great example of this is observed in political party affiliations. The final type of definition revealed by this synthesis deals with **power, ideology, and domination** over others, as well as a fragmentation of cultural elements. This facet of culture is most notably visible in hegemonic societies, where the few members of the ruling class have great influence on the political, economic, social, and moral landscape for the many members of society.

**3.2.2 Defining Culture in the Current Study.** Based on these perspectives of culture and identity, as well as the context of European socio-political history and media environment, an operationalized definition of culture was developed for the identification of culture frame use in migration-related news coverage. For the purpose of this study, culture refers to a set of values, beliefs, principles and ideas of what is right vs. wrong, and subsequent rituals, practices and symbols shared by a specific group of individuals. Because migration deals with the movement of individuals geographically, in this context group consideration is based on shared experience and identity with relation to specific region, ethnicity, religion or other institutions regulating values, ethics and appropriateness (e.g., customs/tradition). Cultural symbols relate to products and tools that are significant for group members, such as language, stories and literature (e.g., religious literature, mythologies, folklore) or music, when made in reference to region, ethnicity, religion or shared identity based on common values/principles/practices. In the context of this study, lifestyle-related cultural symbols include religious food or clothing. Cultural symbols also include significant figures, events, locations or objects (e.g., Rabbi (figure), Hanukkah (event), Synagogue (location), Star of David (object) OR Nationalist politician

(figure), discrimination (event), ethnic origin (location), racist laws (object), with relation to region, ethnicity, religion or shared identity based on common values, ethics and appropriateness. (See complete Codebook Entry in Appendix).

In this study, culture has come to be defined through a culmination of several perspectives including history, where heritage, traditions and customs are created, national similarities and differences are cultivated, and individual and group identities are formed. Identity may be based on the values and ideals of a religion or some other system of belief directing conscientiousness. One element of identity which was decidedly rejected from relating to culture in terms of migration-related media was the concept of citizenship. While topics such as nationality and place of origin have been discussed in relation to identity as well as citizenship, the idea of citizenship carries a distinctly political frame of reference, where outcomes may be effected by influences other than culture (Ifversen, 2002; Brubaker 1996; Stolke, 1995). Furthermore, consideration is given to subsequent influences arising from both legislature and the media that affect socio-political dynamics of migration. Finally, academic definitions provide a roadmap for identifying which arguments appearing in migration-related news coverage are theoretically relevant to a multi-faceted understanding of culture.

### **3.2.3 Dictionary Construction.**

A dictionary that is used to measure concepts and search for them in digital texts is made up of a set of words or phrases (Neuendorf, 2002). Keywords have been referred to as the most basic building blocks of a dictionary (Boumans & Trilling, 2016). The central steps used to construct the dictionary used in this study are first, to identify potentially relevant keywords and phrases representing the concept of interest, and then to evaluate their relevance and usefulness

for the final selection. This is done using a top-down approach, where the data is searched using predetermined concepts. Depending on the topic, dictionaries can be either simple or complex. When trying to capture a complicated or unclear theme with a dictionary measurement, it may be necessary to use more keywords and phrases to insure the full coverage of the topic. In such cases, a close evaluation of search terms becomes essential.

It has been said that the process of selecting dictionary entries is impaired through researchers “subjective conception” and “limited domain of knowledge” (Burschen, Odijk, Vligenthart, De Kijke & de Vreese, 2014, p. 192). Another drawback to using this method is that it uses what is called a “bag-of-words” approach. This means that the dictionary pays no attention to the context in which words appear, and could simply miscalculate by assuming “semantic independence” (Young & Soroka, 2012, p. 209). Overall, the main challenge in using a dictionary approach is successful measurement of the intended concept (i.e. validity), while the benefit is the ability to search large amounts of texts in a systematic and reliable way.

To begin construction of this dictionary, the first step was to define the target construct. With consideration given to the information on culture, as well as identity and migration in the European context, an operationalized definition was developed and formatted into a codebook entry for manual coders (see Appendix). The second step was to preselect keywords and phrases appearing in text entries that had been manually annotated for the presence of culture-related frames (e.g. Vligenthart & Roggeband, 2007). The dictionary performance was evaluated in an iterative manner, involving the continual specification of keywords and phrases and subsequent evaluation, until satisfactory results were achieved. In searching large amounts of text data, research may run into the issue of generalizable vs. domaine specific information consumption

(Loughran & McDonald, 2011). Thus, in order to obtain the best possible results, dictionary entries should be formatted to fit the specific text environment. It was then determine which of these keywords and phrases could be used in the dictionary to search migration relevant news articles.

The present measure uses keywords and phrases relating to culture in the context of migration-related news coverage, as determined using an operationalized definition discussed in section 3.2.2. above (see Codebook Entry in Appendix). The entries fall into categories of culture and identity, religion, beliefs, language, as well as a political category (see Table 3 in Appendix). The main focus of this dictionary is to identify items of text which relate to values, beliefs, principles and ideas of what is right vs. wrong, and subsequent rituals, practices and symbols shared by a specific group of individuals - with essential consideration given to identity based on region, ethnicity, or specific value and belief system affiliations in the context of migration-related media coverage.

## Chapter 4

Methods and Data

Considering the scope of this study, the most suitable method for performing a systematic and quantitative assessment of the cultural content in migration-related news items, which have been collected from online databases, is content analysis. Similar research has used a one-step approach with this method, where the first steps are to outline the main issue and determine fixed notions by which to identify and annotate issue-specific framing (Schuck & de Vreese, 2006; de Vreese, Boomgaarden & Smetko, 2011; Cheng, Igartua, Palacios, Acosta & Palito, 2014).

**4.1 Text Corpora**

For the purpose of this research, data has been collected using automated content analysis methods from two different text corpora provided by the REMINDER project (Eberl, et al., 2019). Each corpus consists of migration relevant news coverage for up to seven EU member states, published between the years 2003-2017 and collected from diverse media archives, including *APA DeFacto*, *EMIS*, *LexisNexis* and *Webretriever*. The data collected includes text from both print and online outlets.

In order to determine migration relevant news, researchers used Boolean search strings<sup>1</sup> developed with the help of native speakers that included migration relevant keywords in the language of each country in the comparison. A sample of the articles collected during the initial search were then machine translated into English using the Google Translate API (e.g., de Vries, Schoonvelde & Schumacher, 2018). In order to be more cost-effective while still insuring a

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<sup>1</sup>asyl\* OR immigrant\* OR immigrat\* OR migrant\* OR migrat\* OR refugee\* OR foreigner\* OR "undocumented worker\*" OR "guest worker\*" OR "foreign worker\*" OR emigrat\* OR "freedom of movement" OR "free movement" (Eberl, et al., 2019)

representative study of the entire analysis period, a sample of articles from the array of outlets were selected at half-year intervals, with an oversampling of small units. A total of  $n = 124,905$  articles were collected. From this sampling, the two text corpora were established for further analysis.

Given the lack of media data available from Hungary it is not included in Corpus A, which contains data from Spain, the UK, Germany, Sweden, Poland and Romania from January 1st 2003 through December 31st 2017 ( $n = 78,820$ ). This corpus acts as a suitable foundation for

Table 1

*Media Outlets by Country: Corpus A and B*

Corpus A (January 1, 2003 - December 31, 2017)				
Country	Outlet	Description	Political Leaning	N
Spain	El Pais	Daily Newspaper	Center-Left	5,126
	El Mundo del Siglo Veintiuno	Daily Newspaper	Center-Right	4,371
UK	Daily Mail	Tabloid	Right	4,577
	Daily Mirror	Tabloid	Left	4,273
	The Daily Telegraph	Broadsheet	Right	4,061
	The Guardian	Broadsheet	Left	4,884
Germany	Frankfurter Rundschau	Supraregional Daily	Social-Democratic-Left	4,387
	Die Tageszeitung (taz)	National Daily	Progressive-Left	4,669
	spiegel.de (Der Spiegel online)	National weekly	Center-Left	4,477
Sweden	Svenska Dagbladet	Daily Newspaper	Center-Right	4,257
	Dagens Nyheter	Daily Newspaper	Independent-Liberal	4,343
	Aftonbladet	Daily Evening Newspaper	Independent-Social-Democratic	4,981
	Expressen	Daily Evening Newspaper	Independent-Liberal	5,497
Poland	Dziennik Gazeta Prawna	Daily Newspaper	Center-Right	4,187
	Rzeczpospolita	Daily Newspaper	Liberal-Conservative	4,105
Romania	Romania Libera	Daily Broadsheet	Conservative	1,860
	Ziarul Financiar	Business & Finance Daily Newspaper		3,315

Corpus B (January 1, 2013 - December 31, 2017)

Country	Outlet	Description	Political Leaning	N
Spain	El Pais	Daily Newspaper	Center-Left	5,126
	El Mundo del Siglo Veintiuno	Daily Newspaper	Center-Right	4,371
	<b>ABC</b>	<b>Daily Newspaper</b>	<b>Conservative</b>	<b>1,139</b>
UK	Daily Mail	Tabloid	Right	4,577
	Daily Mirror	Tabloid	Left	4,273
	The Daily Telegraph	Broadsheet	Right	4,061
	The Guardian	Broadsheet	Left	4,884
	<b>Metro</b>	<b>Daily Tabloid (free)</b>		<b>1,520</b>
	<b>telegraph.co.uk (The Daily Telegraph)</b>	<b>Online</b>		<b>1,316</b>
	<b>mirror.co.uk (Daily Mirror)</b>	<b>Online</b>		<b>1,205</b>
Germany	Frankfurter Rundschau	Supraregional Daily	Social-Democratic-Left	4,387
	Die Tageszeitung (taz)	National Daily	Progressive-Left	4,669
	spiegel.de (Der Spiegel online)	National weekly	Center-Left	4,477
	<b>Bild</b>	<b>Tabloid (online)</b>		<b>1,573</b>
	<b>Süddeutsche Zeitung</b>	<b>Broadsheet</b>	<b>Center-Left</b>	<b>2,972</b>
	<b>welt.de (Welt)</b>	<b>Daily Broadsheet (online)</b>	<b>Conservative</b>	<b>1,930</b>
	<b>zeit.de (Zeit)</b>	<b>Weekly Newspaper (online)</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>1,604</b>
Sweden	Svenska Dagbladet	Daily Newspaper	Center-Right	4,257
	Dagens Nyheter	Daily Newspaper	Independent-Liberal	4,343
	Aftonbladet	Daily Evening Newspaper	Independent-Social-Democratic	4,981
	Expressen	Daily Evening Newspaper	Independent-Liberal	5,497
Poland	Dziennik Gazeta Prawna	Daily Newspaper	Center-Right	4,187
	Rzeczpospolita	Daily Newspaper	Liberal-Conservative	4,105
	<b>Gazeta Wyborcza</b>	<b>Daily Broadsheet</b>	<b>Liberal-Center-Left</b>	<b>1,268</b>
	<b>gazeta.pl (Gazeta Wyborcza)</b>	<b>Daily Broadsheet (online)</b>	<b>Liberal-Center-Left</b>	<b>1,547</b>
Romania	Romania Libera	Daily Broadsheet	Conservative	1,860
	Ziarul Financiar	Business & Finance Daily Newspaper		3,315
	<b>Evenimentul Zilei</b>	<b>Tabloid</b>	<b>Liberal-Conservative</b>	<b>810</b>
	<b>Jurnalul National</b>	<b>Daily Broadsheet</b>	<b>Left (pro-government)</b>	<b>317</b>
Hungary	<b>Magyar Hirlap</b>	<b>Daily Broadsheet</b>	<b>Conservative (associated with Fidesz Party)</b>	<b>1,639</b>
	<b>magyarhirlap.hu (Magyar Hirlap)</b>	<b>Daily Broadsheet (online)</b>	<b>Conservative (associated with Fidesz Party)</b>	<b>1,507</b>
	<b>Magyar Idök</b>	<b>National Daily</b>	<b>Conservative (associated with Fidesz Party)</b>	<b>1,092</b>
	<b>Nepszabadsag</b>	<b>Daily Broadsheet</b>	<b>Left</b>	<b>1,231</b>
	<b>Nepszava</b>	<b>Daily</b>	<b>Social-Democratic-Left</b>	<b>1,388</b>
	<b>blikk.hu (Blikk)</b>	<b>Daily Tabloid (online)</b>		<b>1,390</b>
	<b>napi.hu</b>		<b>Left</b>	<b>1,125</b>
	<b>24.hu</b>		<b>Liberal-Left</b>	<b>958</b>

*Note:* Information available in "Europe Media Migration Report: How media cover migration and intra-EU mobility in terms of salience, sentiment and framing" at [www.reminder-project.eu](http://www.reminder-project.eu)

longitudinal research on migration related news coverage in Europe. The second corpus includes all seven countries and a larger range of media outlets as compared to Corpus A, with data published beginning from January 1st 2013 through December 31st 2017 ( $n = 52,085$ ). With the increased number of outlets, inclusion of all seven countries and critical coverage during and after the so-called refugee crisis of 2015, this corpus is more suitable for the comparison of culture framing in migration relevant news media across European countries.

The news coverage used in this study originates from a diverse range of media outlets, including daily newspapers, tabloids, broadsheets, left-leaning media, as well as right-leaning media. (See the Table 1 above for an overview of which outlets from each country were included in the study, as well as their related political leanings). Media selection has been determined with regards to diversity (i.e. broadsheet vs. tabloid), reach, and availability of archives.

## **4.2 Measurement**

In order to measure the use of culture framing, articles were first split into paragraphs (i.e., groups of three sentences) based on the presence of migration related keywords indicated by the previously mentioned search string. Here, one element of news text consists of three sentences. One of the sentences, either the first, second or third includes a migration keyword. News items with less than three sentences were not included in the sample. The splitting of entire articles into smaller items of text helps to insure that any culture-related framing used was actually used in the context of migration, rather than some other subject that may have been discussed in the article. Researchers decided against conducting a sentence-level analysis, as there was not enough extractable information to accurately classify cultural elements in such text entries.



### 4.3 Data Analysis

Representative subsets totaling 230 text entries were annotated by two coders, based on the definition of culture given in the Codebook, which was carefully developed to apply specifically to migration-related news coverage in Europe (See entry 1 in the Appendix). Using these subsets of news entries, researchers were able to assess concept validity; or test how well the given definition of culture can be understood by others and subsequently identified in text. Researchers tested a smaller set of 79 text units at first. Through collaboration with manual coders in this phase, it was determined where further clarification to the Codebook was necessary until intercoder reliability here reached acceptable levels of agreement (*Krippendorff's Alpha* = 0.96, *Cohen's Kappa*<sup>2</sup> = 0.96). After this, a larger set of 151 text units was assessed and intercoder reliability reached acceptable levels of agreement (*Krippendorff's Alpha* = 0.84, *Cohen's Kappa* = 0.84). Relevant articles were then qualitatively examined by researchers for culture-relevant keywords and phrases. Further considerations for dictionary entries were determined by identification of relevant concepts through discussion or research, as well as using further information found online, especially regarding languages and religions. Lists of languages, political systems, religious populations, people, holidays, symbols and even currencies in Europe and around the world were utilized in dictionary construction to create objectively relevant cultural references (see References).

**4.3.1 Dictionary Validation.** Dictionary classification was first initialized and validated using the subset of 269 manually coded units. It is important to evaluate empirical validity by comparing dictionary performance to the 'gold standard' of manual coding (e.g. Young &

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<sup>2</sup> Also indicates for chance agreement.

Soroka, 2012). After making relevant corrections to the keywords and phrases in the dictionary, the entire set of 300 manually coded units was tested and sufficient levels of precision ( $p = .96$ ) and recall ( $r = .96$ ) were established. Recall measures the probability that the dictionary recalls a text-unit, while precision refers to the probability that the entry recalled will be coded as relevant. It has been stated that compared to decisions of manual coders, this is the “most reasonable benchmark” (Rauh, 2018). These factors contribute to the reliability of a measure, where a high reliability denotes successful concept measurement. The next step was to run the dictionary through the entire corpora of collected text data, which had been lowercased and lemmatized using R package Udpipes to ease the automatic classification (Wijffels, 2018). Any matches between the keywords or phrases in the dictionary and words within the data units were annotated using R package Stringr (Wickham, 2018). These matches are generally referred to as a dictionary hit (Hashimoto & Kurohashi, 2007). For the purpose of this study, the appearance of at least one keyword or phrase in the text is considered sufficient to classify the unit as relevant to culture framing (i.e. referring to culture), which has often been the view of other research (e.g. Caviedes, 2015; Viscsek et. al., 2008).

## Chapter 5

### Results and Discussion

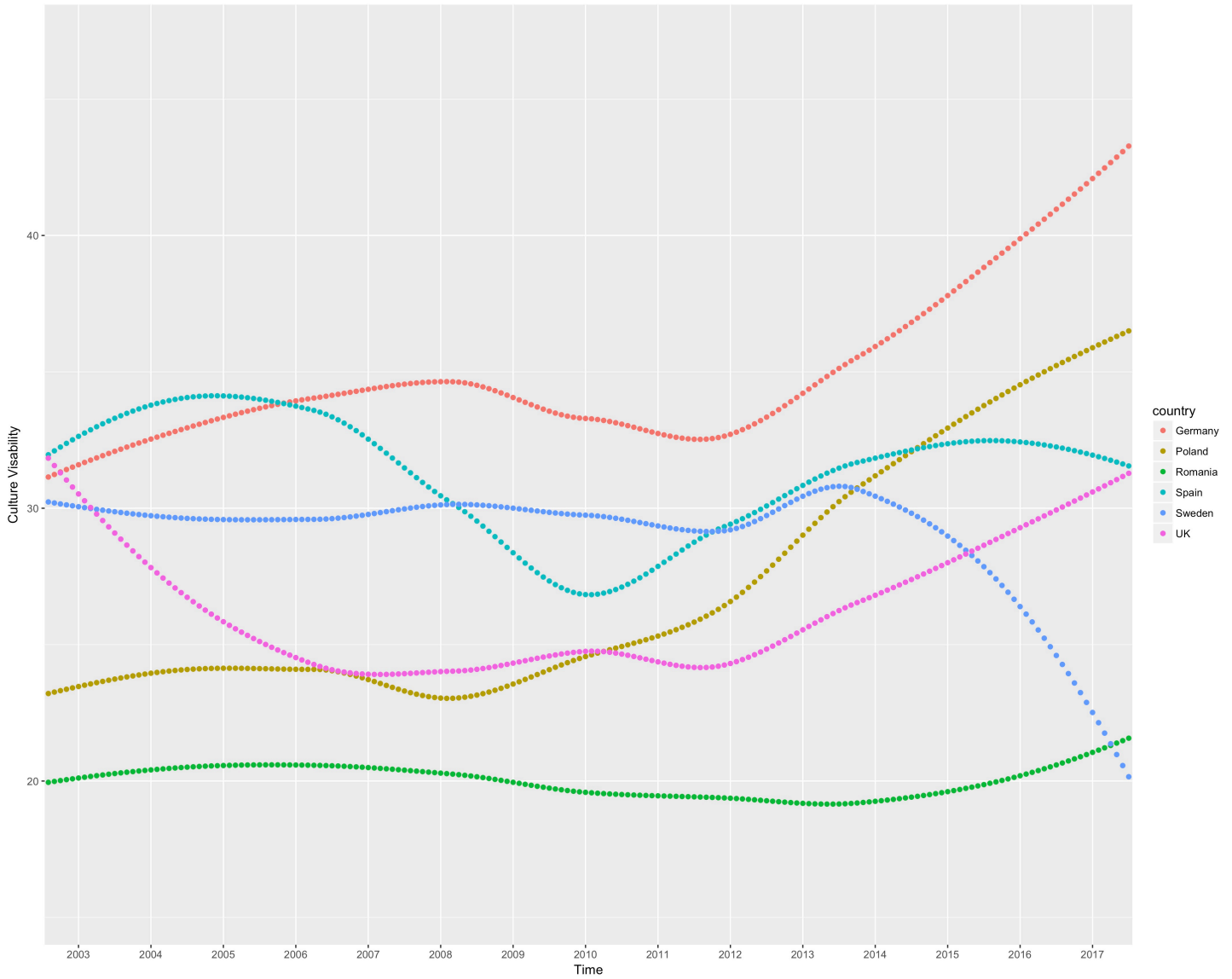
The first results of this automated content analysis show that on average, about 30% of migration-related news articles in our sample contain culture-related framing. In both corpora, Germany displays the highest levels of culture frame visibility with 35-39% saturation, while Romania remains the lowest with around 20% of articles containing relevant references. The visibility of culture among our sample of articles can be seen for each country in Table 2 below.

#### **5.1 Corpus A Results**

Looking at the results from Corpus A (2003-2017) over time, the most interesting thing we see is the significant decline in culture frame visibility from Sweden between 2013 - 2017, during the so-called ‘migration crisis’. In Swedish news coverage, saturation of culture-related framing fell from around 30% in 2013 to around 20% in 2017. At this time, visibility of culture was rising in the migration relevant news coverage in all the other countries, with the exception of Spain. In Germany, for example, saturation increased around 10% in this period.

Further findings in this corpus reveal that British and Spanish media had higher rates of culture frame visibility than the other countries at the very beginning of our sample period. Throughout the beginning years of our sample, visibility continued to increase in Spain, while UK coverage saw a reduction in culture framing. After 2005, Spanish news coverage also shows less culture visibility until 2010, when saturation begins to rise steadily for the next five years. Poland also depicts an increase in culture frame visibility over time, staying under 25% until the period between 2010-2011, then raising steadily until the end of our sample period. After the ‘migration crisis’ culture-related frame use in Polish news coverage rose to over 35%.

Figure 1

*Culture Visibility over Time - Corpus A*

Except for Spain and Sweden, all countries in the sample depict rising rates of culture frame visibility after 2014. Even Romanian news coverage, which depicts the lowest visibility at around 20%, shows increases in culture-related framing at this time. Near beginning of this

sample period (2003) rates of culture visibility hovered around 30%, with the exception of coverage from Poland and Romania which remained under 25%. By the end of our sample period, countries showing under 30% salience of culture-related frames include only Sweden and Romania. Spain and the UK remain hovering just over 30%, while Poland jumps to over 35% and Germany nearly reaches 45%. (For a visual depiction of longitudinal findings, please refer to Figure 1.)

## **5.2 Corpus B Results**

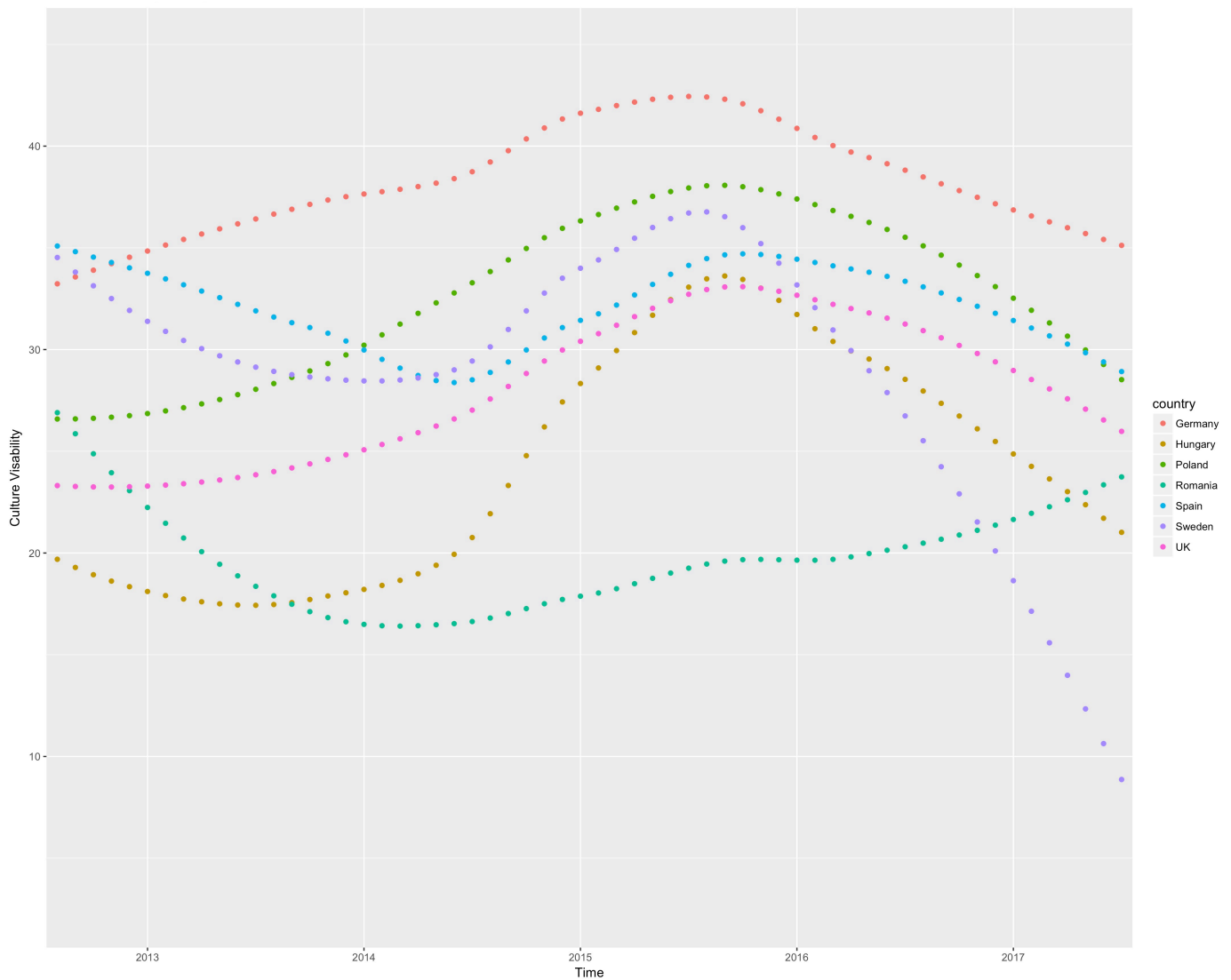
Corpus B includes Hungary and covers the period from the beginning of 2013 through the end of 2017. This corpus shows more consistent results, as all countries depict increasing rates of culture frame visibility during the so-called ‘migration crisis’ from 2015-2016. In this sample, Spain, Sweden and Romania exhibit earlier rates of decline in culture visibility as compared to other countries - until around 2015. That is, around the beginning of 2014, news usage of culture-related framing in migration coverage generally went up. Then, around the beginning of 2016 culture frame visibility went down, except for in Romanian news coverage.

The most dramatic change of culture salience in the Corpus B sample is seen in Swedish migration-related news, dropping from around 35% to below 10% at the end of our sample period. At the beginning of this sample, countries showing relatively lower rates of culture visibility are Hungary and the UK with under 25% saturation. Romania and Spain show mild saturation, while Germany, Sweden and Spain depict the most culture visibility with around 35%. At the end of this sample period, countries showing relatively little use of culture framing include Romania, Hungary and Sweden. Moderate use of culture-related frames for this time is

seen in migration-related news coverage from UK, Spain and Poland, while Germany has comparably the highest rates of culture visibility.

Figure 2.

*Culture Visibility over Time - Corpus B*



### 5.3 Discussion

Culture plays a significant role in the discussion of migration in Europe, maintaining an average of 29-30% saturation in corpus A and B respectively (see Table 2; see also Table 4 in Appendix). Considering the notions of identity and values embedded within the concept of culture, it may be posited that higher rates of culture-related framing in migration news coverage may be more common in areas where such themes are highly salient to national discussion. Some evidence supporting this can be seen in the findings of both samples. While Romania showed some of the lowest rates of culture frame visibility, Germany exhibited the highest. Subsequently, research shows that Romania has the lowest percentage of non-nationals among EU nations, while Germany received the most immigrants of any member state as of 2017 (European Union, 2019). Given the level of focus on migration-related topics, culture may have been more likely to be discussed in Germany than in Romania. With the media interest in culture-related topics increasing over a period of 14 years in Germany, Poland and Romania, while remaining nearly unchanged in Spain and the UK, and decreasing in Sweden - it is clear that there are differences in the relevance of cultural arguments in the national discussion of our sample countries. Overall, culture frame salience remains around 30% in our sampled news items.

With regard to the relation of public attitudes, national policy and media coverage discussed in the literature review of this report, we now look at the relevance of national political structure on the visibility of culture-related frames in European migration coverage. Interestingly, Spain and the United Kingdom both have Monarchist Republic political systems and present similar patterns of culture frame visibility over time in both corpus A and B. (List of European Union member states by political system, (n.d.)). Sweden, which also falls under this

political system, displays similar patterns of saturation, though visibility rates here drop lower than both Spain and the UK towards the end of our sample period.

Poland falls under the Semi-Presidential model of government, along with Romania. While the visibility of culture-related frames increases more drastically in Poland over the period of 2003-2017, these were the only countries to begin our sample period with less than 25% of news coverage containing culture relevant references. Germany and Hungary belong to the Parliamentary model of government, and in conjunction with the rest of the sample, these countries display a peak in culture frame visibility between 2015-2016 noted in corpus B. Germany shows higher overall levels of frame salience, which may relate to their long list of experiences in dealing with migration in comparison to Hungary.

In order to address the impact of cultural topics on the discussion of migration among European nations, it is important to consider the frame's salience in national media coverage. The present study shows the stability of culture frame visibility over time and the increasing salience in 4 of 6 countries included in corpus A. There is also indication of increased culture frame use in news coverage during times of increased public debate on migration, such as during the 'migration crisis' depicted in corpus B. Thus, a positive relationship between public attention to migration and media use of culture-related frames may be suggested here.

Considering the relation of this research to the study of migration-related news, a discussion organically comprised of topics relating to national, ethnic, religious or other group based identities - these themes are the most present in our understanding of culture. On the other hand, culture may be considered from a variety of perspectives, and include concepts relating to a different interpretation of identity. One limitation to the quantitative nature of this study is that



Table 2  
*Culture Frame Related Articles per Country*

<i>Corpus A</i>			
Country	Culture Related	Not Culture Related	Total Articles
Germany	35%	65%	13,533
Spain	32%	68%	8,947
Sweden	29%	71%	19,078
Poland	28%	72%	8,292
UK	27%	73%	17,795
Romania	21%	79%	5,175
<b>Total</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>72,820</b>
<i>Corpus B</i>			
Country	Culture Related	Not Culture Related	Total Articles
Germany	39%	61%	12,542
Spain	33%	67%	5,515
Sweden	33%	67%	4,055
Poland	29%	71%	5,847
UK	28%	72%	10,432
Hungary	25%	47%	10,330
Romania	20%	80%	3,364
<b>Total</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>52,085</b>

by reducing the concept to being identified by a single word or phrase matching a dictionary entry, it becomes simplified. On the other hand, the benefit is that we are able to analyze a large amount of multi-lingual text data, spanning seven socio-political environments and media

landscapes for the period from 2003-2017. One of the main concerns in this study is if the entries found to be relevant truly are? Despite the fact that the dictionary used in this study identified culture-related frames in approximately 1 out of every 3 articles (30%), culture is inherently complex and difficult to define using strict text-based identification methods.

A limitation to using such methods is the retrieval of non-relevant items, due to the dictionary's inability to recognize pragmatic boundaries. This weakness also leaves the dictionary vulnerable to potentially not retrieving indirect but relevant references to culture identified by manual coders, such as with metaphors or non-specific speech. Precision and recall values received using the validation set of text-items reached acceptable levels (*Krippendorff's Alpha* = 0.96, *Cohen's Kappa* = 0.96), but the addition of manual coders would likely improve the validity and reliability of our measures. Further, due to lack of manual coders in the current study, the primary researcher also participated in manual coding, which may be disregarded by some researchers (e.g., Kolbe & Burnett, 1991).

Another challenge in dictionary retrieval that is presented when using a multi-lingual text corpora, which has been translated using machine methods, is that the intended meaning of a text may become lost due to poor translation. Thus, it is possible that not all texts containing culture-related frames are identified by the dictionary, or that the dictionary falsely identifies text as referencing culture based on poor translations. Subsequently, the interpretations made in this study depend fully on the countries and media content present in the sample. For example, the use of an English-language dictionary means the measure performs the best on native English texts. In this regard, articles collected from the UK are more easily and potentially more accurately measured than translated texts.

This study includes a diverse range of media outlets embedded within different media systems and socio-political environments, but this is by no means an exhaustive look at the use of culture framing within the media discussion in Europe, nor in relation to topic of migration. Many other forms of content may be found on other platforms such as social media, as well as through different channels of media. Further studies may want to consider the differences between news content found in published archives and news content found on social media.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

In conclusion, in the context of quantitative text analysis of migration-related media coverage, the present research has established that culture is rather defined in terms of identity based on region, ethnicity, or specific value and belief system affiliations. Aspects of culture that become relevant in this context are somewhat limited to notions of geographic or religious identity and related to values or lifestyle elements, such as language or food and dress preferences. The inherent focus on geo-political identity in the topic of migration further obscures and restricts our understanding of culture in this case, and further research may want to look at culture in other contexts.

The results from this study show that culture-related frames are present in an average of 30% of news articles in our sample. The share of culture-related articles per country is relatively similar, ranging from 20% (Romania) to 39% (Germany). Levels of culture frame salience may correlate to levels of public attention directed toward migration-related topics. Over time, saturation levels of culture references in both corpus A and B depict a period between 2013-2016 where district changes occur. During this period, some countries reach peak saturation levels, while others countries begin seeing a steady increase in the salience of culture-related news

frames. Furthermore, patterns of culture frame visibility show some similarity between countries with comparable political systems.

It is important to consider that a lack of manual coders available in this study presents a primary limitation on the interpretation of our results. Future research attempting to create a dictionary for the purpose of annotating English-translated text data would especially benefit from additional interpretations against which to validate concept measurement. Furthermore, the reduction in extractable meaning from machine translated texts should be addressed, as the use of native-language text data may produce different results. A different perspective may be to consider limiting the scope of the study to the annotation of only native-language text data. Additionally, the use of an English-language dictionary means the measure performs best on native English texts. Finally, the scope of this study is limited to migration-related news coverage and the analysis of culture in terms of identity based on region, ethnicity, or specific value and belief system affiliations. Thus, to broaden the available knowledge on the salience of culture framing in the media, further research should consider the meaning and role of culture in relation to other topics.

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## Appendix

### Codebook Entry for Variable Culture

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#### V6: Culture

Culture refers to a set of values, beliefs, principles and ideas of what is right vs. wrong, and subsequent rituals, practices and symbols shared by a specific group of individuals.

Because migration deals with the movement of individuals geographically, in this context group consideration is based on shared experience and identity with relation to specific region, ethnicity, religion or other institutions regulating values, ethics and appropriateness (e.g., *customs/tradition*).

Cultural symbols relate to products and tools that are significant for group members, such as language, stories and literature (e.g., *religious literature, mythologies, folklore*) or music, when made in reference to region, ethnicity, religion or shared identity based on common values/principles/practices. For the purpose of this study, lifestyle-related cultural symbols include *religious* food or clothing. Cultural symbols also include significant figures, events, locations or objects (e.g., *Rabbi (figure), Hanukkah (event), Synagogue (location), Star of David (object) OR Nationalist politician (figure), discrimination (event), ethnic origin (location), racist laws (object)*) with relation to region, ethnicity, religion or shared identity based on common values, ethics and appropriateness.

Item text: Does the text refer to cultural elements of, or relating to specific regional, ethnic and religious groups, or any other institution establishing identity based on shared values, principles or subsequent group practices and symbols?

#### Specifications:

By values, principles, practices and symbols we mean ideas/rules regulating “right” and “wrong” or “appropriate” and “inappropriate”, as well as subsequent social and behavioral norms and representative cultural figures.

Cultural figures are figures that are significant to the collective beliefs and identity of a certain group. References to cultural figures can be made about specific individuals or groups of individuals with relation to shared identity based on region, ethnicity, or identity based on common values/principles/practices (e.g., *ancestors, descendants, migrant stereotypes, monks, nuns, the Pope, ethnic minorities, indigenous tribes,*

*nationalist party leaders, Eurocentric, Eurosceptic, the Dutch community, German native, British colonials).*

Culture is not associated with general geo-political locations or origins of people or things, or of a geographic group (e.g., *the Swedes, Syrian refugees, EU workers, Hungarian society, migrant background*), unless it is with specific reference to shared identity through values/principles/practices (e.g., ethnic roots, indigenous people, tribes, or colonies, *national values or geographically significant symbols, such as a nation's flag or coat of arms*), which should be coded with yes.

In the regards to the cultural significance of political institutions (i.e., *governmental professions and organizations*), references may be coded with yes (e.g., *anti-immigrant party, nationalist leaders*) if *in relation to shared identity based on region, ethnicity, or specific value and belief system affiliations* rather than general ideological beliefs, such as socialism or universal human rights, which should be coded with no. Note, references to the no longer denominational Christian Democratic Party, and the rather social-class based polarization of populist politics should also be coded with no.

Relevant references to culturally symbolic practices and rituals may mention language knowledge and use (e.g., *German language course, English native speaker*) social principles (e.g., *British way of life*), social practices (e.g., *marriages*), etc., *with relation to identity based on region, ethnicity, or specific value and belief system affiliations*.

General references to ethnicity, xenophobia, racist arguments or actions, nationalism, integration, assimilation and religion should be coded with yes. A general reference to the “fear of foreigners” is only coded with yes if it is clear from the context that the fear is related to cultural arguments.

General references to attacks on asylum seekers/migrants or their residences, as well as terrorist attacks should be coded with no, unless specific cultural motivations are mentioned (e.g., *racist attack, nationalistically motivated violence, jihadist group*), which should be coded with yes. Mention of specific terrorism organizations should be coded with no, unless explicit cultural references are made in the text. General references to jihad should be coded with yes.

References to culture may be made from both in-group and out-group perspectives, or to compare/contrast groups.

Examples: civilization, group-based values or identity (e.g. Western values, national identity), traditions, multiculturalism, diversity, equality, integration, assimilation, nationalism, xenophobia, racist arguments, second language acquisition, principles and symbols that contribute to shared group identity, moral arguments based on group identity

Scale:

1 – Yes

0 – No

Text Examples:

- Of course there's a floor where we all stand. Only that is much more diverse than we all do. Germany was never as homogeneous as after the Nazi dictatorship and World War II. Thank God, we have become more diverse again. There is also a variety in Christianity. The same must be said of Islamic fellow citizens.  
(Source: Die Zeit)  
-> Codings: Culture
- “Europe, he emphasised, had always had a multicultural identity and that required a culture of dialogue and the "respect [of] the foreigner, the immigrant and people from different cultures as worthy of being listened to".  
(Source: The Guardian)  
-> Codings: Culture
- An illegal immigrant saved Webster's life after he witnessed abuse of a north African workforce on a Spanish farm, and the pair took off across Andalucia to understand where Moorish culture fits into modern Spain as Webster asks why the racial harmony that existed in medieval times gave way to the violence of the Inquisition.  
(Source: The Guardian)  
-> Codings: Culture
- All French polls currently show that Le Pen will easily make it through to the final run-off of the French presidential election in May. Her party is now a key electoral force and its anti-immigration stance has set the tone for the wider political debate.  
(Source: The Guardian)  
-> Codings: Culture

Table 3

Culture Dictionary Entry Categorization and Titles

Culture / Identity							
General	Ethnicity	Origins	Together	Seperate	Symbols/Objects/Literature	Events	
colonial	plurinational	biracial	ancest	community_1	diaspora	folklor	Accult
counter_culture	polycult	ethn	antiquities	community_2	discriminat	music	assimilat
cross_cultur	social_life	inter_ethnic	descent	assemblage	divers_1	mythology	persecut_1
cultur	society_1	interracial	first_generation	civilization	divers_2	fairytale	persecut_2
custom	society_2	multiethnic	indigenous	brethren	exotic		profiling
custom_x	stereotyp	multiracial	native_country_1	ingroup	ostraci		integrat
heritage	sub_culture		native_country_2	intermarriage	outgroup		re_integrat
identity_1	tradition		native_population	marriage_1	prejudic		
identity_2	transcult		second_generation	marriage_2	raci		
intercult	uncult		third_generation	melting_pot	segregat		
metacult	values			social_cohesion	social_in_equality		
monocult	values_x			tribal			
multicult	way_of_life						
pluricultural	xenoph						

Religion									
General	Events				Symbols/Figures/Objects			Locations	Literature
agnostic	evangelical	presbyterian	aboakyere	immaculate_conception	allah	rabbi	baphomet	cathedral	bhagavad_gita
akbar	gnostic	protestant	al_adha	la_posada	altar	rashidun	toril	chapel	bible
amish	hasidis	puritan	al_fitir	maha_shivaratri	archbishop	sahabah	khanda	church	hadith
anabaptis	hindu	quaker	al_hijra	mawlid_el_nabi	bishop	saint_nicholas	taijitu	hira	hymn
anglican	holy	rasta	al_salat	mitzvah	caliph	shaman	unicursal_hexagram	mecca	quran
apost	inter_relig	religio	arapaho_sun_dance	navratri	christ	tafsir	flaming_chalice	monastery	scripture
arminianis	irreligio	sacred	bodhi_day	obon	clergy	takbir	swastika	mosque	sermon
ascetic	islam	salaam	christmas	pilgrimage	druid	tawhid	pentagram	synagogue	sunnah
atheis	jew	scientolog	communion	pray	ganesh	nine_point_star	faravahar	tabernacle	torah
bahai	juche	sect	curcumcis	qadar	god	wheel_dharma		temple	
baptis	judaism	secular	day_of_the_dead	raksha_bandhan	gospel	triskelion		vatican	
blasphem	kabbal	semit	diwali	ramadan	imam	angel_moroni			
buddh	methodis	sikh	dussehra	rohatsu	jesus	om			
calvinis	monotheis	sufi	easter	rosh_hashana	jehovah	star_crescent			
catholic	moral	sunni	fasting	sabbath	jihad	jain			
muslim	mormon	tao	hajj	salah	krishna	cakra_bhawana			
christian	neopagan	theolog	hanukkah	shavuot	luther	hyang			
christian_x	orthodox	wicca	havdalah	st_lucia_day	menorah	star_david			
confuci	pagan	worship	herem	sukkot	monk	eye_horus			
devout	pentecostal	zion	holi	vesak	nun	tauroctony			
dharm	pietis	zoroast	holocaust	yom_kippur	pope	mjolnir			
druz	polytheis		honor_kill		priest	tetractys			
episcopal					prophet	radiant_crown			

Beliefs	Language	Political
	General	
	Language Actions	
afrocentric	accent	affirmative_action
anti_american	bilingual	coat_of_arms
anti_christian	descript_language	flag
anti_european	dialect	genocide
anti_immigrant	interpreter	nationalis
anti_immigrat	mother_language	pegida
anti_islam	mother_tongue	sharia
anti_israeli	multilingual	
anti_jew	native_speak	
anti_migra	native_tongue	
anti_muslim	plurilingual	
anti_nazi	polyglot	
anti_raci	slang	
anti_refuge	speak_native	
anti_semit	trilingual	
eurocentri		
migritude		
nativis		
nazi		
negritude		
neo_nazi		
neolog		
supremacist		
unitarian		
white_supremacy		

Table 4

*Culture Visibility by Year*

	Year	% Culture Related	Total Articles
<b>Corpus A</b>	2003	30%	4924
	2004	29%	4783
	2005	30%	4651
	2006	29%	4920
	2007	27%	4993
	2008	30%	5066
	2009	29%	4904
	2010	28%	4570
	2011	26%	4740
	2012	28%	4398
	2013	30%	4445
	2014	29%	4807
	<b>2015</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>5283</b>
	<b>2016</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>5461</b>
	2017	27%	4875
<b>Corpus B</b>	2013	28%	9273
	2014	28%	9910
	<b>2015</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>11228</b>
	<b>2016</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>11387</b>
	2017	21%	10287

### Abstract

The matter of culture has been used by the media to divide the public, promote fear, and create disembodied enemies. What is more, media play a significant role in shaping public interest, public opinion and political attitudes. Thus, there is a demand to understand the role of culture in the media, especially in the context of migration and growing multicultural societies. The current study consists of a content analysis of news coverage concerning migration across 7 European countries from 2003-2017. This study employs a dictionary approach to determine salience of culture-related framing using automated methods. Results show that on average, about 30% of migration-related news articles in the sample contain culture-related framing. In both corpora, Germany displays the highest levels of culture frame visibility with 35-39% saturation, while Romania remains the lowest with around 20% of articles containing relevant references. Average salience levels appeared at 29% and 30% in Corpus A and B respectively. It is discussed whether or not culture-frame salience relates to amount of interest in cultural topics within a national public discussion, and the relevance of national political structure on the presence of culture-related frames in migration news.

Das Thema Kultur wird von den Medien genutzt, um die Öffentlichkeit zu spalten, Angst zu fördern und körperlose Feinde zu erschaffen. Darüber hinaus spielen Medien eine wichtige Rolle bei der Gestaltung des öffentlichen Interesses, der öffentlichen Meinung und politischen Einstellungen. Daher besteht ein Bedarf daran, die Rolle der Kultur in den Medien zu verstehen, insbesondere im Kontext von Migration und wachsenden multikulturellen Gesellschaften. Die aktuelle Studie besteht aus einer inhaltlichen Analyse der Berichterstattung über Migration in sieben europäischen Ländern von 2003 bis 2017. In dieser Studie wird eine Wörterbuchmethode verwandt, um mithilfe automatisierter Methoden, die Verbreitetheit von kulturbezogenem Framing zu bestimmen. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass durchschnittlich 30% der migrationsbezogenen Nachrichtenartikel in der Stichprobe, kulturbezogene Rahmen enthalten. In beiden Fällen weist Deutschland mit einer Sättigung von 35-39% die höchste Auffälligkeit des Kulturrahmens vor, während Rumänien mit rund 20% der Artikel mit relevanten Referenzen, die niedrigste Auffälligkeit aufweist. Die durchschnittliche Salienz lag bei 29% in Korpus A und 30% Korpus B. Es wird diskutiert, ob die Sättigung des Kulturrahmens sich auf das Ausmaß des Interesses an kulturellen Themen innerhalb einer nationalen öffentlichen Diskussion auswirkt, und die Relevanz des Einflusses der nationalen politischen Struktur auf das Vorhandensein kulturbezogener Rahmen in Migrationsnachrichten.