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Shifting the refugee narrative? An automated frame analysis of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis

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ABSTRACT

In 2015, Europe faced the arrival of over 1.25 million refugees fleeing from war-affected countries. The public mainly learned about this issue through domestic media. Through the use of computer-assisted content analysis, this study identifies the most dominant frames employed in the coverage of refugee and asylum issues between January 2015 and January 2016 in six Austrian newspapers ($N=10,606$), particularly focusing on potential differences between quality and tabloid media, and on frame variations over time. The findings reveal that, apart from administrative aspects of coping with the arrivals, established narratives of security threat and economisation are most prominent. Humanitarianism frames and background information on the refugees' situation are provided to a lesser extent. During the most intense phases of the crisis, the framing patterns of tabloid and quality media become highly similar. Media coverage broadens to multiple prominent frames as issue salience sharply increases, and then 'crystallises' into a more narrow set. In sum, the results confirm a predominance of stereotyped interpretations of refugee and asylum issues, and thus persisting journalistic routines in both, tabloid and quality media, even in times of a major political and humanitarian crisis.

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Introduction

In 2015, more than 1.25 million refugees arrived at the borders of the European Union, many of which being in need of international protection from war, violence, and persecution in their home countries. Over the course of the year, the number steadily increased, from around 5500 in January to a peak of over 221,000 in October at the Mediterranean southern shores alone (UNHCR 2016). This vast increase soon came to be represented as a crisis with critical importance for the domestic politics of most EU member states and the EU as a whole, in their struggle to find durable solutions (Heisbourg 2015).

The complexity and duration of the so-called refugee crisis¹ created a climate of uncertainty about its political, economic, and societal implications, which left ample room for domestic mass media to help shaping the understanding of who the refugees are and what

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their arrival means for the respective countries, since it is in particular in times of uncertainty that people orient themselves towards medially communicated interpretations (Perse 2001, 81). Moreover, with regard to the integration of refugees and asylum seekers into society, it has been demonstrated that media coverage contributes to the construction of socially shared understandings and dominant representations of newly arriving people, which have further consequences for attitudes, emotions, and behaviour towards them (e.g. Quinsaat 2014). Thus, since acceptance and integration of refugees and asylum seekers may at least in part depend on the ways in which mass media relate the issue to the broader public, and mass media have been described as often hampering their social integration through negative coverage (Schemer 2012), it remains to be seen whether the refugee situation in 2015 broke with these established portrayals and contributed to a constructive discourse.

Building on framing theory, we assume that the media employ a particular interpretational lens in their reporting by emphasising certain aspects of an issue and omitting others (De Vreese 2005; Entman 1993). It is argued that frames are further reinforced – and thus reproduced – as a result of journalistic practices that are based on fixed assumptions on how an issue should be covered (Hooper 2014). However, crises are regarded as exceptional events that are able to interrupt journalistic routines and create opportunities for promoting newly emerging interpretations of an issue (Horsti 2008a; Nossek 2008). The first goal of this study thus is to sketch the most dominant frames employed in the coverage of the unprecedented European refugee crisis and relate those to frames on refugees and asylum issues established in prior empirical literature. Do we indeed see new and uncommon frames evolve?

In a second step the study turns to frame variations over the course of the crisis, taking into account outlet-specific and temporal aspects. Media organisations follow different inner logics that lead to differences in the tone and content of reporting (Brüggemann 2014; Schemer 1996): earlier research has found that tabloid newspapers as opposed to quality newspapers tend to a one-sided, negative framing of migration-related groups (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Threadgold 2009). Furthermore, over the lifespan of an issue, the predominance of frames varies in relation to issue salience and time (Chyi and McCombs 2004; Snow, Vliegenthart, and Corrigall-Brown 2007). We thus look at the overall extent to which quality and tabloid newspapers differ in employing dominant frames, and at the differences or similarities of framing patterns that can be found at various stages of the 2015 refugee crisis. Were publics presented with varying and different discourses through different media and at different times of the crisis?

This study is innovative since it (1) is among the first to systematically address the framing in the media coverage of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis over an extended time period and a large sample of newspapers and (2) relies on an original approach to identify frames in an inductive and deductive manner through computer-assisted text analysis. The focus of the study is on Austria, a core player in terms of being affected by and invoking political reactions towards the refugee crisis. Austria further faced a polarising shift from a welcoming culture to anti-immigrant sentiments as the crisis unfolded. In sum this study contributes to a better understanding of the most dominant frames that circulated in and potentially affected public discourse, which in turn may influence the longer-term political and societal responses to the refugee crisis as the 'defining issue of this century' (Betts 2015).

Media representations of refugees and asylum seekers

Extensive scholarly work established a few key themes or frames that have consistently recurred over time and across countries, constructing an ambivalent portrayal of refugees and asylum seekers as innocent victims and, simultaneously, as invaders and threat to the physical, economic, and cultural well-being of the respective host country (e.g. Gemi, Ułasiuk, and Triantafyllidou 2013; Horsti 2008b; Klocker and Dunn 2003; Van Gorp 2005).

The *victimization frame* focuses on the plight of refugees and asylum seekers and portrays them as in need of help because of circumstances that lie beyond their own responsibilities and actions (Horsti 2008a; Van Gorp 2005). By providing detailed insights into the background, motivation, and living condition of people on the move (KhosraviNik 2009), media representations drawing on the victimisation frame call attention to a humanitarian stance in asylum policy and to related legal and moral obligations (Harrell-Bond 1999). Victimization points to a personalised or emotionalised perspective on unfolding events, and is thus related to the human interest frame (Steimel 2010). However, it can also have a pejorative dimension, in particular if asylum seekers are presented as desperate sufferers who are completely dependent on external support (Chouliaraki 2012).

A vast amount of research has found that media coverage of refugee and asylum issues is dominated by problem-orientation (e.g. Gemi, Ułasiuk, and Triantafyllidou 2013; Heller 2014; Lynn and Lea 2003). Incoming populations are associated with *illegality, terrorism, and crime* (Bennett et al. 2013; El Refaie 2001; Goodman and Speer 2007; Ibrahim 2005), and are accused of draining public resources that would otherwise be granted to members of the host society (*economisation frame*; Hier and Greenberg 2002; Madra and Adaman 2014; Quinsaat 2014). These kinds of frames shift the focus of public attention towards the (il)legitimacy of asylum seekers' claims and the question whether they actually deserve sympathy and support (Lynn and Lea 2003).

Coverage of refugee and asylum issues makes ample use of *metaphors related to large quantities and elemental forces* such as water and flooding (Baker and McEnery 2005; El Refaie 2001; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). It associates immigration with powerlessness against the magnitude of newly arriving people and the costs or expenses of refugee services (Gilbert 2013). Moreover, these metaphors depict refugees and asylum seekers as anonymous, even dehumanised groups (Esses, Medianu, and Lawson 2013), which further leads to a polarisation between 'us' and 'them'. Within this narrative, refugees and asylum seekers are constructed as deviant or alien to the host society, disrupting its cultural identity, language, and values (Gilbert 2013). It is argued that providing detailed information about the causes and circumstances of the flight could counteract dehumanisation and group polarisation (Hickerson and Dunsmore 2016; but see Benson 2013).

In sum we see that the framing of refugee and asylum issues in mass media coverage can be grouped into three common types: refugees and asylum seekers are represented as passive victims, as threat to the culture, security and welfare of the host country, or as dehumanised, anonymous (out-)group. The inductive part of the empirical analysis reveals whether these were the dominant interpretations also during the 2015 refugee situation, thus whether we see a continuation of the routine framing even against the background of an unprecedented crisis context that reasonably could have led to new and uncommon frames.

Frame variation among tabloid and quality media

News frames are theorised as outcomes of complex interactions between actors and routines from inside and outside the media system (Brüggemann 2014; Potthoff 2012). Therefore, media organisations' inner logics play an important role for their reporting (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen 2011). A common classification of media outlets runs on a continuum between tabloid and quality media (Sparks 2000). The notions 'tabloid' and 'quality', however, must be evaluated in their immediate contexts as they refer to artificial extremes that are not represented in the media landscape in pure form but subsume a range of specific journalistic routines and content features that exist in each news outlet to some degree. It has been shown that quality media rather focus on hard news such as reports about politics, public administration, or the economy, whereas tabloids tend to focus on sensational news values and soft news such as reports about sports, celebrities, scandals, or crime (Reinemann et al. 2012; Van Santen and van Zoonen 2010). Regarding journalistic techniques, quality media show a more serious reporting style, aiming at elucidating complex matters and placing issues and events in a broader context (Jandura and Friedrich 2014), while tabloids rather refer to one-sided, even populist representations and simplistic pictures of unfolding events. However, some scholars argue that by stirring attention and enhancing feelings of identification and closeness (Bek 2004), tabloids make news stories attractive and understandable for large audiences (Deuze 2005; Skovsgaard 2014), who would otherwise reject them entirely (Sparks 2000).

Media type actually accounts for frame variation in the sense that, for instance, tabloid papers prefer horse-race journalism and the framing of politics as a strategic game (i.e. references to a language of winners and losers, opinion polls, and election outcomes) over substantial issue news coverage (e.g. McMenamin et al. 2013; Strömbäck and van Aelst 2010). With regard to immigration, it is suggested that tabloid media play a central role in contributing to hostility towards migration-related groups by referring to stereotyped images of exclusion and discrimination (e.g. Innes 2010; Van den Bulck and Broos 2011). In tabloid papers, immigration and asylum coverage involves significantly more negative terms than in quality papers (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Threadgold 2009; for a more nuanced argument see KhosraviNik 2009). Moreover, (anti-)immigration is a central issue of right-wing populist parties, whose language is increasingly incorporated in mass media texts (Wodak and KhosraviNik 2013). Hence we tentatively expect more emphasis on sensationalist and negative portrayals of refugees and asylum seekers in tabloid than in quality papers, in particular with regard to criminality, securitisation, and victimisation frames.

Frame variation in times of crisis

Crises are perceived as disruptive events which are essentially conflicted in nature and thus have the potential to alter journalistic conventions and routines (Figenschou and Beyer 2014; Horsti 2008a), especially if the crises come unexpected and outsider-driven (Nossek 2008). Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2003), for example, found that after the September 11 attacks, US newspaper and television coverage of Muslim-Americans became more balanced, comprehensive and inclusive than before. The literature on framing emphasises time as an important factor for distinct patterns of *frame differentiation* over the course of



a crisis. Kleinnijenhuis, Schultz, and Oegema (2015) have shown that media and public attention broaden to a variety of perspectives, causes, and solutions regarding the issue when a crisis' climax has been overcome and a period of recovery is being entered. Similarly, Snow, Vliegenthart, and Corrigall-Brown (2007) demonstrated that frame repertoires were proliferated as an event reached its highest intensity and media and public attention increased. As the issue lost its novelty, however, journalists seemed to reach some level of consensus on its interpretation and understanding, which would result in 'frame crystallisation' and the predominance of only a limited number of frames. Frame variations are thus related to the salience of an issue, because an increased status on the media agenda allows the use of more and wider frames (Muschert and Carr 2006). In particular long-lasting crises and events are additionally kept 'moving and fresh' by emphasising different aspects over time (Chyi and McCombs 2004, 30).

In an early study of media salience, Downs (1972) has identified five cyclic stages an issue passes through: In the pre-problem stage, only experts or interest groups are aware of a problem, but after a series of key events the issue then proceeds to the alarmed discovery stage, in which public awareness is raised, yet accompanied by 'euphoric enthusiasm' and the optimistic belief that the problem will soon be solved. In the third stage, however, people realise that the economic or social costs of solving the problem exceed their initial expectations or are beyond estimation at all. Subsequently, public interest in the problem declines, which leads on to the final, post-problem stage. Studies have shown that each stage of crisis calls forth particular media functions (Graber 1980) and thus accounts for variation in the *semantic meaning* of the most dominant frames.

Some scholars argue that in times of crises, contextual factors such as time and issue salience highly account for the reporting and thus lead to rather similar framing practices in the coverage of tabloid and quality media (O'Malley et al. 2012; Zaller 2003). We thus tentatively expect that over the course of the refugee crisis in 2015, framing patterns become similar across the media landscape.

Austria in the 2015 European refugee crisis

To contextualise the empirical findings, we briefly sketch the 2015 refugee crisis from an Austrian perspective. The country held a key position during the most intense stages of the crisis in terms of being affected by and influencing policy decisions. The vast increase of newly arriving people raised first political tensions as most Austrian federal provinces did not fulfil their reception quota and several communities refused to offer permanent solutions for refugee residential, partly due to citizens' security concerns (Nur 54 von 279 Tiroler Gemeinden 2015). In summer 2015, the situation in the Austrian initial reception centres collapsed; it was no longer possible to offer proper registration and reception of refugees, with provisional tent camps and container villages being put up. When 71 refugees were found dead in a trafficker's truck on a motorway in Eastern Austria at the end of summer 2015, the tragedy caused great dismay within the public and raised awareness that Europe's refugee crisis was no longer a distant problem (Burgenland: Mehr als 70 Tote 2015). Soon afterwards, Austria emerged as a key transit country for refugees and migrants on their way through the Western Balkans to Germany and Scandinavia. As the Hungarian government reinforced its harsh asylum policies in the beginning of September, solidarity with refugees was promoted among large parts of the Austrian population. From

October on, Austrian politics moved away from the welcoming culture that had dominated the refugee situation in September by demanding upper limits for asylum claims. Border controls were installed at the major refugee routes in the East and South of Austria and, during the winter of 2015, a fence was installed along a shorter part of the frontier to regulate the human movement. The Austrian government actions led to controversial discussions about the adequate management of the crisis on a national and a European level, and marked a shift in the European position towards the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers (Obergrenze bis 2019 fixiert 2016; Zaun in Spielfeld 2015).

Data and methods

This study builds on a dataset of 10,606 newspaper articles, representing the public discourse on refugee and asylum issues in Austrian newspapers during the 2015 refugee crisis. The dataset includes news articles and editorials published in three national quality papers (*Der Standard*, *Die Presse*, *Salzburger Nachrichten*), and in three tabloid newspapers with a regional focus on Eastern Austria (*Kronenzeitung*, *Kurier*,² *Heute*). This selection appeals to all sectors of the Austrian population as it comprises the most important quality and tabloid newspapers in terms of daily circulation (Media Analyse 2015). The time period ranges from January 1, 2015 to January 27, 2016 and thus allows for an investigation of frame variation during different stages of the refugee crisis.

All articles were downloaded from the database of the Austrian press agency APA (aomlibrary.apa.at), applying a keyword search that included the insensitive terms *refugee* or *asylum* (*flüchtling* or *asyl*). In addition, outlet-specific search terms were created to exclude articles published in the arts, sports, service, or 'letter to the editor' sections (see Appendix Tables A1 and A2 for more detailed information on the selection and validation of the dataset). In order to analyse coverage that mainly deals with refugee and asylum issues, articles were only included in the dataset if at least one of the search terms occurred for at least two times. In addition, a density score (i.e. the number of search term occurrence compared to the article length) was calculated, and the ten per cent of articles with the lowest density score were excluded from the dataset.

Building on the methodological framework of Van Gorp (2010), the analysis relies on an original approach of combining inductive and deductive automated frame analysis. At first, a catalogue of the most dominant frames is identified in an inductive manner, taking into account all 10,606 articles under study. Subsequently, by applying a deductive approach, these frames serve as dependent variables in order to examine their prevalence among the tabloid and quality newspapers under study in general and at different stages of the 2015 refugee crisis. The analyses are conducted by means of computer-assisted text analysis, which efficiently reveals systematic patterns in large datasets (Flaounas et al. 2013), taking into account the dynamic fashion of news frames over time (see also Boumans and Trilling 2016).

Frames are defined as 'conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret, and evaluate information' (Neuman, Just, and Crigler 1992, 60), considering that they are not only characteristics of a news discourse itself, but cognitive devices that help structure and process the discourse.³ The most dominant frames in the coverage were identified by applying factor analysis with a principal component extraction method.⁴ Principal component analysis (PCA) converts the original dataset – that is, the most



frequently used words of all articles under study – into a smaller number of uncorrelated linear variables that are interpreted as latent attributes of the data (Backhaus et al. 2006). Following Hellsten, Dawson, and Leydesdorff (2010), these latent attributes can be interpreted as frames, because they are networks of co-occurring words, constituting the semantic patterns in which words are used, and capturing the underlying structures that provide meaning to a text. The word-clusters (i.e. principal components) are regarded as prototypical for the semantic meaning of a frame.

Although our analysis pays close attention to word choices and their organisation into news stories, it somewhat differs from corpus linguistic approaches. Corpus linguistic techniques identify statistically significant lexis and lexical patterns in a corpus evolving around specific target terms. The contextual meaning of these terms is further revealed by close examinations of concordance lines or collocations, thus applying a strong focus on the language per se, that is, the directly observable micro-structure of texts (Baker et al. 2008). Automated frame analysis, by contrast, builds on a bag-of-word representation of the corpus and thus reveals semantic contexts that are embedded in the latent dimensions of communication, even across different text documents. This is an important advantage since in a long-established discourse, specific word combinations (i.e. frames) get conventionalised over time and do no longer need to be explicitly mentioned in full to convey a specific meaning (Hellsten, Dawson, and Leydesdorff 2010).

In this study, the PCA's original dataset consists of the most frequently used words in the article sample. It is assumed that those frames that are repeatedly employed over time in fixed lexical forms and across all newspapers have become accepted as the natural way of describing an issue or event (El Refaie 2001). However, some scholars argue that using words as indicative features of frames raises problems of construct validity as not all words have equal significance (Carragee and Roefs 2004; Hertog and McLeod 2001). Consequently, in this study several pre-processing steps are applied to include only those words in the PCA that actually represent the meaning of a text and thus may discriminate between frames (see Burscher, Vliegenthart, and de Vreese 2015 for a similar approach).

In a first step, we applied pre-processing techniques to reduce the complexity of language⁵. This includes the normalisation of all characters as well as the removal of numbers and German stop-words (i.e. language specific functional words such as articles or prepositions that carry no substantial information). In addition, words are reduced to their word stem (Porter 2001) so that semantically identical words can be identified regardless of their morphological variations. For the remaining words, tf-idf (term frequency-inverse document frequency) scores were calculated. Tf-idf is a statistical measure for which the importance of a word increases proportionally to the frequency of the word in one document but is adjusted by the number of times the word appears in the entire corpus (Jones 1972; Robertson 2004).

The most frequently used words in the corpus were identified. From the first 500 words, we excluded all names of persons, locations, and organisations, as well as all dates and times as it is assumed that they emphasise highly specific issues and events while frames are more abstract interpretational lenses (Burscher, Vliegenthart, and de Vreese 2015). Words that are far too general to add analytical value (e.g. the word 'however') were also removed. In a last step, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) criterion was calculated for the remaining 150 words (see Table A3), a measure for sampling adequacy applied in factor analysis. It informs about the general strength of the relationship among items and

thus indicates whether an item (i.e. a word) should be included in a factor analysis or not. Following Backhaus et al. (2006), terms with a KMO value below .50 were subsequently excluded.

The finally remaining 89 words serve as basis for the PCA⁶ and thus for the identification of the most dominant frames in the media coverage. They are mainly nouns, and terms that are related to the semantic fields of immigration and the 2015 refugee crisis, which is why it is expected that they are highly prototypical frame devices (Burscher, Vliegenthart, and de Vreese 2015).

The number of frame devices needed to evoke a specific frame is a widely debated topic (Matthes and Kohring 2008). It is argued that frames do not need to be fully mentioned in a text (Hellsten, Dawson, and Leydesdorff 2010), and that even short labels or metaphors are sufficient (Burgers, Konijn, and Steen 2016; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Leskovec, Backstrom, and Kleinberg 2009). Building on these insights, we assume that a frame is addressed if at least two indicative terms co-occur in an article, given that the terms maintain the semantic meaning of the frame (i.e. the co-occurrence of synonyms would not constitute a specific frame as it lacks any specificity). Building on previous research (e.g. Chyi and McCombs 2004), the prevalence of each frame was examined by a basic counting of all meaningful co-occurrences of indicative terms throughout all articles under study.

Results

The first aim of this study is to identify the frames that most dominantly appear in the coverage of refugee and asylum issues in Austrian newspapers between January 2015 and January 2016. The principal component analysis reveals seven factors based on 89 terms, explaining 16% of the total variance.⁷ Due to negative loadings, the seven factors are interpreted as eight distinct frames, namely (1) Settlement, (2) Reception/Distribution, (3) Securitisation, (4) Criminality, (5) Economisation, (6) Humanitarianism, (7) Background/Victimisation, and (8) Labour Market Integration. Table 1 shows the eight frames and their indicative terms.

The *settlement frame* reflects a central debate throughout the 2015 refugee crisis as it refers to temporary and permanent settlement and thus to administrative aspects of the refugees' arrival. Its main focus lies on the provision of temporary shelter, in particular on the placement of refugees in tent camps, containers, and military barracks. Related, the *reception/distribution frame* emphasises the political efforts to manage the crisis and to find an adequate solution on both, the national and the European level. It addresses controversial policy debates on reception quotas and maximum limits.

The *criminality frame* promotes a problem-oriented image by associating refugees with illegal modes of transportation, and by creating an atmosphere of suspicion and prejudice. Similarly, the *economisation frame* perpetuates the image of refugees as economic burdens and threat to the host country's prosperity and welfare by referring to large quantities of money. The *humanitarianism frame*, by contrast, highlights the host society's voluntary help, and their contribution to a welcoming culture, thus calling for a humanitarian stance in the public discourse.

The *securitisation frame* combines the issue of border crossing with the stereotyped portrayal of refugees as an uncontrollable, dehumanised mass waiting to enter the

Table 1. Most dominant frames identified in the coverage.

Frame	Settlement	Reception/ distribution	Securitisation	Criminality
Indicative terms and factor loadings	tent .51 accommodation .47 accommodated .47 military barrack .40 tent city .35 accommodate .33 place to stay .32 tent camp .31 container .31	quota .31 reception .30 together .30 maximum limit .30 asylum policy .28 refugee policy .26 receive .26 distribution .25 critique .24 solidarity .22	border .60 border crossing .42 fence .39 thousand .31 waiting .25 border control .24 flow of refugees .22 control .22 hundred .21	officer .36 police .36 trafficker .33 police officer .30 suspicion .20
Explained variance	2%	2%	2%	2%
Frame	Economisation	Humanitarianism	Background/ victimisation	Labour market integration
Indicative terms and factor loadings	euro .74 million .59 billion .56 costs .51 money .45 extent .24	helper .60 voluntary .52 help .36 support .26 aid .25 care .24	Islamic .42 fight .37. state .36 war .35 flight .32 boat .30 dead .26 rescued .26 homeland .24	labour market .52 unemployed .47 recognised .35 economy .32 integration .32 positive .26
Explained variance	2%	2%	2%	2%

Note: Principal component analysis with VARIMAX-rotation, based on 89 terms. Terms with factor loadings lower than .20 are not displayed. English translation by the authors.

country. In addition, the frame reflects the issue-specific debate on installing a boundary fence at the Austrian border, and is thus closely linked to concerns of national security, restrictive asylum policies, and attempts to regulate human movement (Ibrahim 2005).

Previous research has criticised the lack of media coverage and hence public awareness of the manifold circumstances and causes of migration and flight (Benson 2013; Hickerson and Dunsmore 2016). The *background/victimisation frame* employed in the reporting under study actually refers to related international politics (i.e. fighting the Islamic State or managing the EU's external borders), and to the emergency situation at the Mediterranean shores. By addressing the desperate plight of refugees, they are further positioned as passive victims of circumstances they are not responsible for (Van Gorp 2005).

Finally, the *labour market integration frame* emphasises long-term consequences of the crisis. It focuses on refugees' access to and their effects on the labour market, including hopes and concerns regarding social integration, economic change, and employment (Quinsaat 2014).

In sum, the data indicate that during the research period, the six Austrian newspapers under study mainly perpetuate the established narratives of threat, group-polarisation, and victimisation, yet also emphasise a humanitarian stance in asylum policy, and provide background information on the refugees' situation. In addition, they employ frames regarding issue-specific policy debates on administrative actions and long-term consequences. Overall, the eight frames identified by the inductive analysis appeared in 5615 articles (53% of the dataset, whereby one article can present more than one frame; Matthes 2007). 61% of these articles were published in the quality papers. We continue addressing differences and similarities in the prevalence of these frames among tabloid and quality newspapers in general and over the course of the crisis.

As shown in [Table 2](#), the unpaired two-sample *t*-test yields significant differences for all news frames under study, indicating that tabloid papers are more concerned about the criminality aspect of refugee and asylum issues, whereas quality newspapers employ all other frames more often.⁸ Notably, the criminality frame only ranks at the lower end of the mean framing scores, while the upper end of the rank order is highly similar for both media types: the securitisation frame is most prominent, followed by frames addressing reception/distribution, economisation, settlement, and humanitarianism.

In order to examine sequential framing patterns over time, data have been aggregated to a monthly level. The prevalence of each frame is measured in relation to the issue's salience, defined as the total amount of articles on refugees and asylum that have been published either in quality or tabloid newspapers in the respective month. [Figure 1](#) presents this baseline number of articles.

After receiving only limited attention, the number of articles on refugee and asylum issues steadily increases from April onwards, indicating that the pre-problem stage has passed and the alarmed discovery stage is reached ([Downs 1972](#)). This second stage lasts for six months, with the highest intensity of public and media attention being seen in September. Thereafter, the salience of refugee and asylum coverage rapidly declines (marking the aftermath of the crisis climax), but increases again in January 2016. This last increase indicates that an actual post-problem stage in the sense of [Downs \(1972\)](#) has never been reached, but the issue attention cycle restarted instead. Based on this categorisation, [Figure 2](#) displays the monthly shares of each frame separated by media type.

The initial, pre-problem stage of the 2015 refugee crisis is characterised by considerable differences in the framing practices of tabloid and quality media. In quality papers, articles referring to the background/victimisation frame and the securitisation frame are much more prominent, while in tabloid papers, the criminality frame is made salient. Moreover, in tabloid papers the prevalence of the most dominant frames fluctuates significantly, whereas quality papers show higher levels of continuity. In the subsequent alarmed discovery stage, the framing practices of all media outlets steadily align: from May 2015 onwards, already six out of the eight frames under study show highly similar dynamics in tabloid and quality media, followed by the humanitarianism frame whose dynamics align in July (though the overall visibility of the frames is almost always higher in the quality press). However, this trend is not uniform. With regard to economisation, tabloid and quality papers maintain contrasting frame dynamics over the whole 13-month period under study. From October onwards, as public and media attention declines, the

Table 2. Mean framing scores per media type.

Frame	Quality newspapers (<i>N</i> = 5979)	Tabloid newspapers (<i>N</i> = 4627)
Securitisation **	.20 (.40)	.14 (.34)
Reception/distribution **	.16 (.37)	.10 (.30)
Economisation **	.14 (.34)	.10 (.29)
Settlement **	.11 (.31)	.08 (.27)
Humanitarianism **	.10 (.30)	.07 (.25)
Background/victimisation **	.09 (.29)	.06 (.23)
Labour market integration **	.06 (.25)	.03 (.17)
Criminality **	.04 (.21)	.06 (.24)

Note: Unpaired two-sample *t*-test, values in parentheses represent standard deviations.

** values are significant at the *p* < .01 level.

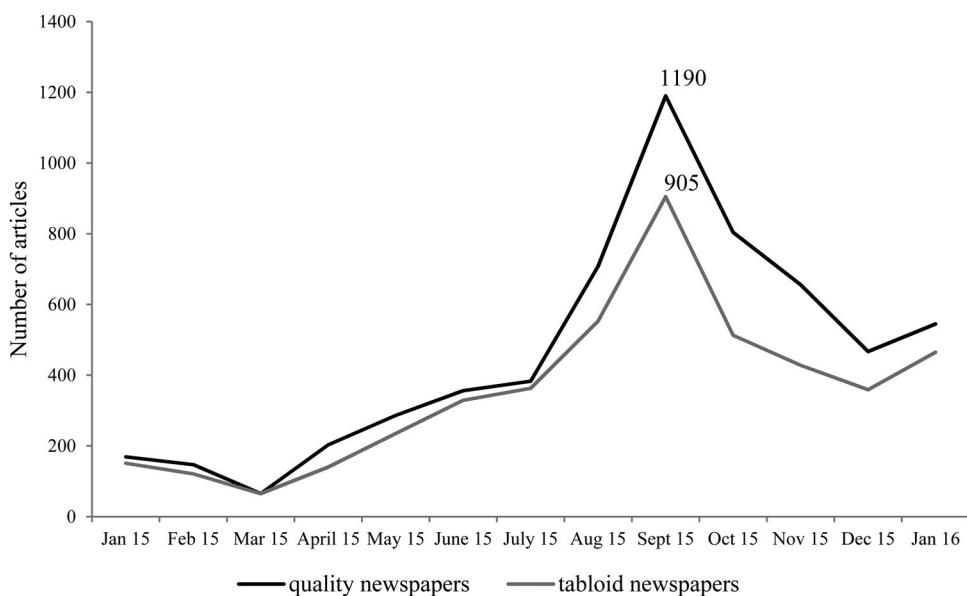


Figure 1. Number of articles on refugee and asylum issues per month and media type.

alignment of the settlement frame, the labour market integration frame, and the criminality frame wanes and again evolves in contrasting manners in tabloid and quality newspapers.

We continue with a special focus on the most intense phases of the crisis. In August, apart from the labour market integration frame, all eight frames under study are emphasised simultaneously, indicating that increased issue salience on the media agenda leads to a variety of perspectives and interpretations of the unfolding events. The differentiation does not continue in the following months, but both, tabloid and quality newspapers, narrow their focus to a limited number of dominant frames. This pattern points to a ‘frame crystallisation’ – that is, a shared understanding and interpretation of the ongoing events developed in the aftermath of a crisis climax – as demonstrated by Snow, Vliegenthart, and Corrigall-Brown (2007).

The data show that in the beginning of the alarmed discovery stage (i.e. from April to July), first the background/victimisation frame, and then frames on the settlement, reception, and distribution of the newly arriving people are most prominent. After the salience of multiple frames in August, securitisation and economisation frames evolve, and predominate the coverage until December. In September, the reception/distribution frame and the humanitarian frame are additionally emphasised. As the issue attention circle restarts in January 2016, the predominance of the frames under study shifts again by mainly employing the reception/distribution frame. The sequential patterns are highly similar for tabloid and quality media, yet with higher levels of overall visibility in the quality press.

In sum, the comparison of the prevalence shares over time and across media outlets indeed reveals distinct framing patterns at different stages of the 2015 refugee crisis: first, as media and public attention sharply increases, media coverage broadens to multiple prominent frames, and ‘crystallises’ into a more narrow set in the aftermath. Second, the

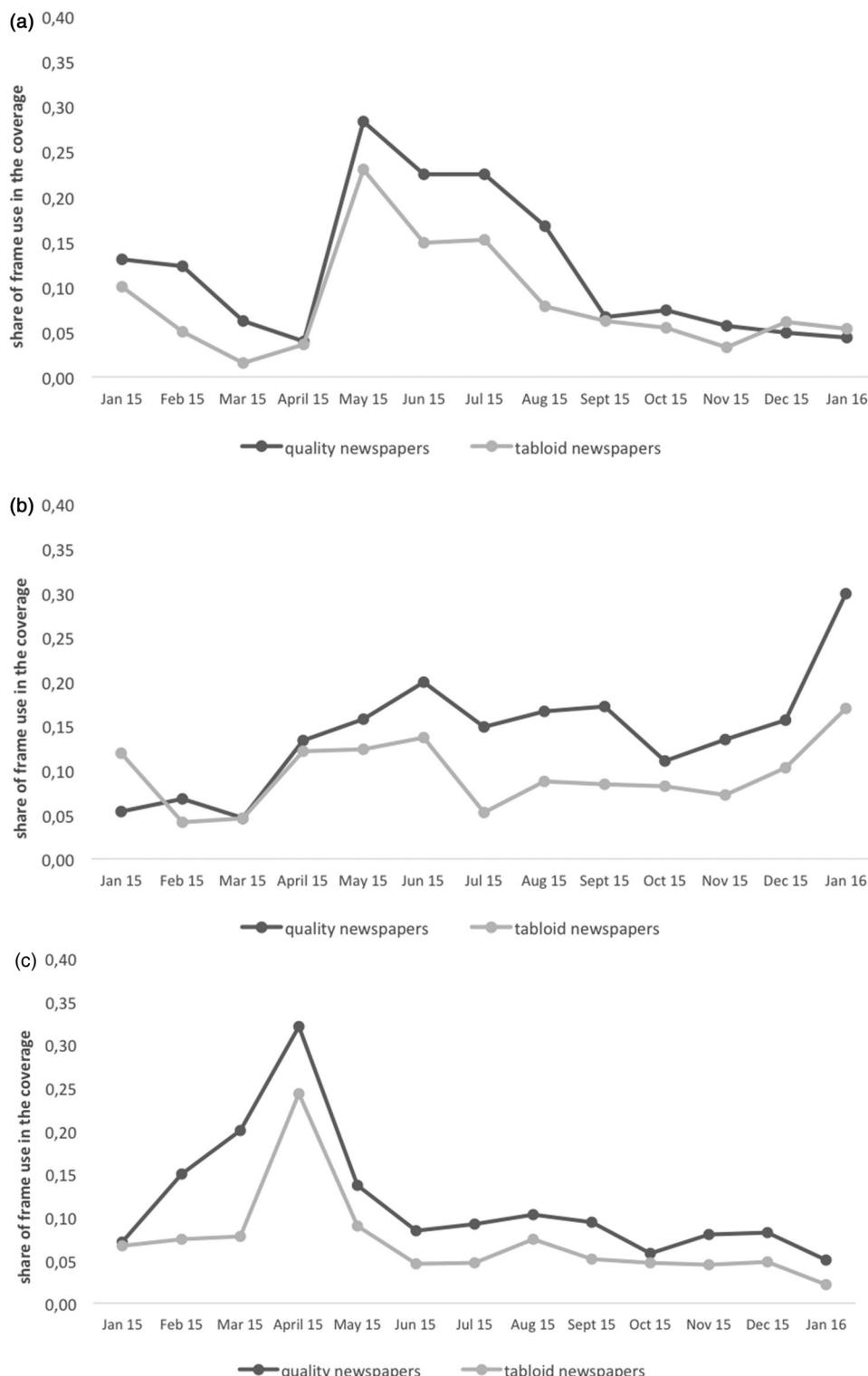
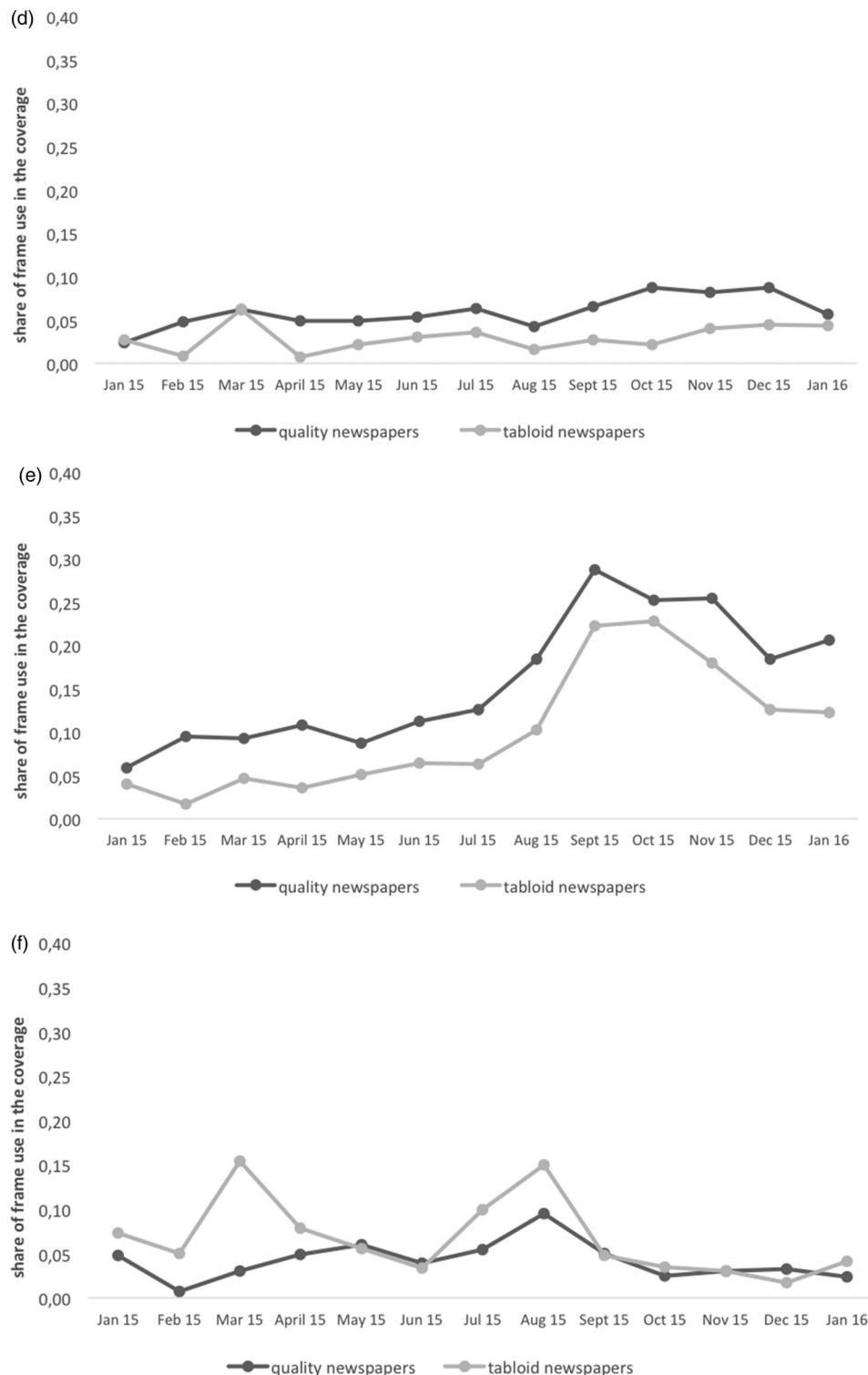


Figure 2. Prevalence in the coverage of tabloid and quality newspapers over time (a). Settlement (b). Reception/distribution (c). Background/victimisation (d). Labour market integration (e). Securitisation (f). Criminity (g). Humanitarianism (h). Economisation. Note: Prevalence shares per month and per media type are disclosed in Table A4.

**Figure 2** *Continued*

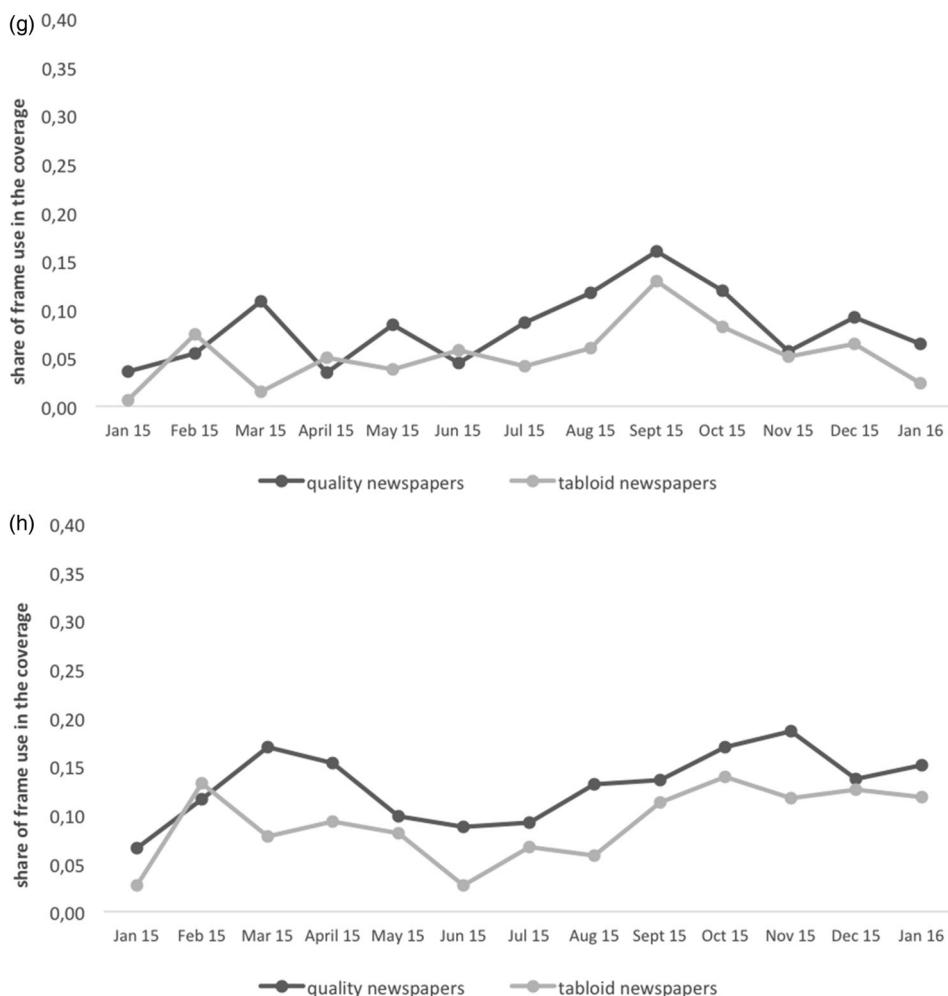


Figure 2 *Continued*

semantic meaning of the most prominent frames shifts from background/victimisation aspects in the pre-problem stage (which present the issue as rather distant problem), to short-term consequences in the beginning of the alarmed discovery stage, then proceeds to long-term consequences in the aftermath of the crisis climax in September, and, finally, shifts back to background/victimisation aspects as the issue's salience increased again at the end of the research period.

Discussion

Media coverage provides an essential backdrop for the formation of public opinion, political mobilisation, and policy support (Gamson and Modigliani 1989), because it employs particular interpretational lenses (i.e. frames) on unfolding events, and thus serves as a cognitive shortcut for the audiences in order to make sense of these events. This holds particularly true for complex issues such as the European 2015 refugee crisis, which was

experienced as a major political and humanitarian challenge for the EU and its member states. It is argued that mass media coverage of the refugee crisis is important since it defines the salient perspectives on the issue for the majority of the public. This study thus set out to shed light on the most dominant frames circulating in the media discourse on refugee and asylum issues in Austrian newspapers over the course of the 2015 refugee crisis.

It was argued that crises may have the potential to challenge journalistic routines and promote new interpretations of refugee and asylum issues (Horsti 2008a). Our findings suggest that apart from issue-specific frames regarding the management of the refugees' arrival, Austrian newspapers mainly employed established, stereotyped narratives of security threat, economisation, and – to a lesser extent – victimisation (e.g. Innes 2010; Van Gorp 2005). The victimisation frame, however, comprises references to causes and circumstances of the flight and thus points to an international news angle as well as to refugees' personal histories, which in turn may counteract their objectification and dehumanisation – an aspect that remained absent in most of the prior coverage (Benson 2013; Hickerson and Dunsmore 2016). These findings show that mass media discourse hence played a somewhat diffuse role in terms of providing for public perceptions of the refugee situation.

Outlet-specific analyses indicate that distinct framing practices of tabloid and quality media, which are commonly discussed in journalism studies (e.g. Sparks 2000), do not appear to be reflected in the data. Except for the criminality frame, which is – in line with our expectations – more strongly emphasised in tabloid newspapers, the rank order of the frames under study is identical for both media types. Moreover, in almost all cases, formerly contrasting frame dynamics of tabloid and quality newspapers aligned as the crisis intensified. These findings point to an increased importance of media-external (i.e. contextual or event-based) influences at times of crises (O'Malley et al. 2012; Zaller 2003). However, it is important to note that the prevalence of the frames under study is considerably lower in tabloid newspapers, suggesting that in the tabloids, refugee and asylum issues were more often represented in terms that are not met by the most dominant frame repertoire.

Finally, in line with prior research on frame variations over time (e.g. Graber 1980; Snow, Vliegenthart, and Corrigall-Brown 2007), we found distinct framing patterns at different stages of the 2015 refugee crisis: while multiple prominent frames are emphasised as media and public attention sharply increased, it shows that coverage subsequently 'cristallises' into a more narrow set of frames, focusing mainly on longer-term consequences regarding border management and financial expenses. In the aftermath of the crisis climax, audiences thus were provided with a more limited set of interpretations of a still complex and multifaceted issue. Whether such focus may have contributed to a turning point in public and political perspective subsequently warrants further analysis.

This study has limitations. First of all, the analytical design remains descriptive. It does not take into account the socio-cultural, political, or historical context of the data and does not allow for considering factors accounting for frame variation (e.g. Kroon et al. 2016). Also, it does only allow for claims regarding the Austrian case, more specifically regarding the coverage of the six newspapers under study. Comparative research designs could be applied to deepen our general understanding of the interplay of inner media logics and media-external factors at times of crises. Furthermore, we identified the most dominant

frames in the coverage on the basis of co-occurrences of the most frequently used words in the dataset. It remains questionable whether these co-occurrences reveal frames in the sense of abstract interpretational lenses, or rather remain on a highly issue-oriented, topical level. In addition, the automated frame analysis applied in this study is not able to differentiate between positive and negative tones in frame applications. We thus encourage future research to apply more sophisticated methods, for instance by combining automated frame analyses with sentiment analyses in order to reveal the tonality of the discourse and gain deeper insights in the distinct framing practices of different media types and at different stages of a crisis.

Despite these shortcomings, our study provides valuable insights into the way the most important Austrian newspapers interpreted and structured the issue of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis over an extended time period, and thus helped shaping the audiences' understanding of who refugees are and what their arrival means for the respective countries. Previous studies on media portrayals of refugees and asylum seekers have produced rich data, particularly related to countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, or Belgium (e.g. Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Van Gorp 2005; apparently only very little is known beyond Western countries). Although most of these studies are located within a national context, their findings are similar and thus point to consistent Western mass media discourses of migration and migrants. The fact that the most prominent frames identified in our study are quite in line with these discourses and that these frames are emphasised in both, quality and tabloid media, confirms the persistence of stereotyped interpretations of refugee and asylum issues, even in times of major humanitarian and political crises. Given that the media are central to the public understanding of complex issues such as the European refugee crisis and related political implications, this may not be to the advantage of promoting the integration of newly arriving people in the receiving society.

Notes

1. The term 'refugee crisis' is used in this study to refer to the whole time period under study, beginning in January 2015. We are aware that the term 'crisis' is not a neutral one. It is nevertheless used to locate this work in the discourse evolving around this catchphrase in the media, the public, and in academia.
2. Some scholars classify *Kurier* as a midmarket paper (Magin and Stark 2011). However, compared to the quality newspapers under study, it better fits the tabloid category. Additional analyses based on a more polarized sample (consisting of the quality papers *Die Presse* and *Der Standard* and the tabloid papers *Kronenzeitung* and *Heute*) revealed highly similar results, thus confirming the robustness of our findings (see Table A5).
3. In this sense, frames are related to 'topoi' (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) in critical discourse analysis.
4. In the following referred to as principal component analysis (PCA). For similar approaches see Boumans, Vliegenthart, and Boomgaarden (*forthcoming*), Van der Meer and Verhoeven (2013).
5. All pre-processing steps were conducted in R, using the packages *tm* (Feinerer 2015) and *SnowballC* (Bouchet-Valat 2014).
6. The PCA is conducted using the *psych* package in R (Revelle 2015).
7. Previous studies have shown that the amount of explained variance of analyses relying on computer-assisted content analysis techniques of this type is usually rather low (see for example McLaren, Boomgaarden, and Vliegenthart *forthcoming*).

8. We examined this finding in more detail and reran the PCA with two separate samples, one including all articles published in the quality papers *Der Standard* and *Die Presse* ($n = 3698$), the other including all articles published in the tabloid papers *Kronenzeitung* and *Heute* ($n = 3258$). The analyses showed that overall, tabloid and quality papers indeed employed very similar framing practices to cover the refugee situation, although – in line with the results of the two-sample *t*-test on p. 17 – the criminality frame does only appear in the latent factor structure of tabloid papers, while the labour market integration frame does only appear in the latent factor structure of quality papers (see Tables A6 and A7). This finding is in line with previous research showing that quality papers use a broader set of vocabulary to cover refugee and immigration issues, which however includes the same words tabloids use in this context (Blinder and Allen 2014). Moreover, we compared the mean framing scores of the three quality papers under study (*Die Presse*, *Der Standard*, and *Salzburger Nachrichten*) to test whether the ideological positioning of newspapers is related to the prevalence of certain frames, but again found no specific patterns: the three quality papers employ the eight frames under study to the same extent (i.e. the rank order of the frames is identical for each outlet).

Disclosure statement

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Appendix

Table A1. Outlet-specific search terms.

<i>Der Standard</i>	(*Fl:cchtling* OR *Asyl*) AND ('Bundesland Abend' OR Hauptausgabe) NOT ('Ressort: Spo*' OR 'Ressort: Kul*' OR 'Ressort: Szenario' OR 'Ressort: TV*' OR 'Ressort: Album' OR 'Ressort: Karriere*' OR 'Ressort: Immobilie*' OR 'Ressort: MED' OR 'Ressort: Kommunikation' OR 'Ressort: Kommentar der anderen' OR 'Ressort: Gesponserte')
<i>Die Presse</i>	(*Fl:cchtling* OR *Asyl*) AND ('Morgen') NOT ('Ressort: andere' OR 'Gastkommentar OR 'Gastbeitrag OR 'Ressort: Debatte' OR 'Ressort: meinung' OR 'Ressort: ge' OR 'Ressort: Kreative' OR 'Ressort: Leserbriefe' OR 'Ressort: Sport' OR 'Ressort: Veranstaltungen' OR 'Ressort: Feuillton' OR 'Ressort: Reisen' OR 'Ressort: Die letzte*' OR 'Ressort: Literatur' OR 'Ressort: Zeichen der Zeit' OR 'Ressort: Karriere' OR 'Ressort: Immobilien' OR 'Ressort: Kultur')
<i>Salzburger Nachrichten</i>	(*Fl:cchtling* OR *Asyl*) NOT ('Presstestimmen' OR 'Ressort: Sport' OR 'Ressort: Kultur'* OR 'Ressort: Leser*' OR 'Ressort: Service' OR 'Ressort: Kino' OR 'Ressort: Menschen' OR 'Ressort: buch' OR 'Ressort: immo*' OR 'Ressort: karriere*' OR 'Ressort: sncard')
<i>Kurier</i>	(*Fl:cchtling* OR *Asyl*) AND ('Wi' AND 'Morgen') NOT ('Ressort: Sport' OR 'Ressort: Kultur' OR 'Ressort: Leben' OR 'Ressort: Film' OR 'Ressort: Fernsehen' OR 'Ressort: Seite' OR 'Ressort: Freizeit' OR 'Ressort: Karriere' OR 'Ressort: gesell' OR 'Ressort: Leser*' OR 'Ressort: hauptblatt*' OR 'Ressort: business' OR 'Ressort: Immo*' OR 'Ressort: wohn*')
<i>Kronenzeitung</i>	(*Fl:cchtling* OR *Asyl*) AND ('Wi' OR 'Wien') NOT ('Ressort: Wohn-Krone' OR 'Wima' OR 'Das freie Wort' OR 'Ressort: spo' OR 'Ressort: kul*' OR 'adabei' OR 'Ressort: Fernsehen' OR 'Ressort: Bunt*' OR 'LeserService' OR 'Ressort: ges*' OR 'Ressort: event*' OR 'Ressort: Anzeigen' OR 'Ressort: ombudsfrau' OR 'Ressort: promotion' OR 'Ressort: Film' OR 'Ressort: kino*' OR 'Ressort: TV*')
<i>Heute</i>	(*Fl:cchtling* OR *Asyl*) NOT ('Leserbrief: OR 'Ressort: Sport' OR 'Ressort: Szene' OR 'Ressort: Wohin' OR 'Ressort: Leute' OR 'Ressort: Red' OR 'Ressort: Reise' OR 'Ressort: Motor' OR 'Ressort: TV')

Note: After finishing the data collection, the sample was checked for real duplicates and duplicates due to regional varieties of newspapers. Duplicates due to regional editions were identified by computing cosine similarity scores (Tan, Steinbach, and Kumar 2006). To validate the applied search terms, precision scores (Stryker et al. 2006) were calculated for each media outlet separately by drawing a random sample of 5% of the articles from the full sample. Those articles were coded manually in order to determine their relevance.

Table A2. Number of articles and precision score per newspaper outlet.

	Number of articles	Precision score
<i>Der Standard</i>	1584	0.83
<i>Die Presse</i>	2114	0.89
<i>Salzburger Nachrichten</i>	2281	0.88
<i>Kurier</i>	1369	0.93
<i>Kronenzeitung</i>	2073	0.89
<i>Heute</i>	1185	0.92
Total	10,606	0.89

Note: After finishing the data collection, the sample was checked for real duplicates and duplicates due to regional varieties of newspapers. Duplicates due to regional editions were identified by computing cosine similarity scores (Tan, Steinbach, and Kumar 2006). To validate the applied search terms, precision scores (Stryker et al. 2006) were calculated for each media outlet separately by drawing a random sample of 5% of the articles from the full sample. Those articles were coded manually in order to determine their relevance.

**Table A3.** Selection of 150 terms for calculating the KMO criterion.

asylum seeking	accommodate	protection	EU commission
refugee	house	refugee camp	border control
euro	thousand	social	container
border	extent	provision	solidarity
people	migrant	problems	public
police	police officer	distribution	hands
asylum	flight	federal state	refugee issue
child	integration	asylum seeker	asylum policy
million	dead	care	Facebook
refugees	military barrack	arrest	receive
man	maximum limit	soldier	positive
government	refugee child	boat	civilian
trafficker	international	scarce	war refugee
place to stay	fence	measurement	responsibility
place	help	asylum procedure	cared
person	authority	decision	coalition
camp	responsible	dwelling	sorrow
woman	additional	claim	refugee quarter
refugee crisis	quota	control	Austrian Army
tent	fear	pressure	
long	illegal	refugees	border crossing
accommodated	voluntary	reception	busses
helper	hundred	economy	Islamic
community	people	unattended	law
together	support	labour market	asylum accommodation
hurt	minor	war	rescued
family	adolescence	recognized	unemployed
national government	party	fight	EU member state
asylum application	costs	suggestion	tent city
school	danger	problem	deportation
critique	mission	asylum seeker	refugee policy
money	suspicion	emergency accommodation	tent camp
flow of refugees	open	homeland	procedure
state	train station	conflict	refugee accommodation
Train	officer	victim	main station
accommodation	population	private	initiative
solution	billion	concerned	waiting
			aid
			hand

Note: English translation by the authors.

Table A4. Prevalence shares of the most dominant frames per month.

	Settlement		Background/ Victimization		Reception/ Distribution		Labour Market Integration	
	Quality	Tabloid	Quality	Tabloid	Quality	Tabloid	Quality	Tabloid
Jan 15	0.13	0.10	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.12	0.02	0.03
Feb 15	0.12	0.05	0.15	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.05	0.01
Mar 15	0.06	0.02	0.20	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06
April 15	0.04	0.04	0.32	0.24	0.13	0.12	0.05	0.01
May 15	0.28	0.23	0.14	0.09	0.16	0.12	0.05	0.02
Jun 15	0.22	0.15	0.08	0.05	0.20	0.14	0.05	0.03
Jul 15	0.22	0.15	0.09	0.05	0.15	0.05	0.06	0.04
Aug 15	0.17	0.08	0.10	0.07	0.17	0.09	0.04	0.02
Sept 15	0.07	0.06	0.09	0.05	0.17	0.08	0.07	0.03
Oct 15	0.07	0.05	0.06	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.09	0.02
Nov 15	0.06	0.03	0.08	0.04	0.13	0.07	0.08	0.04
Dec 15	0.05	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.16	0.10	0.09	0.04
Jan 16	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.30	0.17	0.06	0.04

(Continued)

**Table A4.** Continued.

	Criminality		Securitization		Humanitarianism		Economization	
	Quality	Tabloid	Quality	Tabloid	Quality	Tabloid	Quality	Tabloid
Jan 15	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.07	0.03
Feb 15	0.01	0.05	0.10	0.02	0.05	0.07	0.12	0.13
Mar 15	0.03	0.15	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.17	0.08
April 15	0.05	0.08	0.11	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.15	0.09
May 15	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.05	0.08	0.04	0.10	0.08
Jun 15	0.04	0.03	0.11	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.09	0.03
Jul 15	0.05	0.10	0.13	0.06	0.09	0.04	0.09	0.07
Aug 15	0.09	0.15	0.18	0.10	0.12	0.06	0.13	0.06
Sept 15	0.05	0.05	0.29	0.22	0.16	0.13	0.14	0.11
Oct 15	0.02	0.04	0.25	0.23	0.12	0.08	0.17	0.14
Nov 15	0.03	0.03	0.25	0.18	0.06	0.05	0.19	0.12
Dec 15	0.03	0.02	0.18	0.13	0.09	0.06	0.14	0.13
Jan 16	0.02	0.04	0.21	0.12	0.06	0.02	0.15	0.12

Note: Quality Newspapers: $N = 5979$; Tabloid Newspapers: $N = 4627$

Table A5. Most dominant frames (*Der Standard, Die Presse, Kronenzeitung, Heute*).

Frame	Economization	Criminality	Securitization	Settlement
Indicative terms and factor loadings	euro .76 million .58 billion .58 costs .54 money .40	police officer .58 officer .58 police .53 trafficker .52 arrested .42 injured .33 suspicion .20	border .64 border crossing .44 soldier .36 control .35 fence .33 border control .29 entry .28 measurement .20	tent .57 tent city .42 accommodation .39 place .39 accommodate .38 accommodated .37 container .33 additional .27 place to stay .24
Explained variance Frame	2% Reception/ Distribution	2% Labour Market Integration	2% Background/ Victimization 1	2% Humanitarianism
Indicative terms and factor loadings	solution .39 together .33 reception .31 pressure .30 quota .28 receive .28 distribution .27 solidarity .26 refugee crisis .26 maximum limit .25 refugee policy .24	labour market .61 unemployed .47 labour .38 positive .31 integration .29 economy .27 extent .24 problem .22	war .49 Islamic .43 fight .43 state .39 flight .39 poor .27 homeland .26	helper .62 voluntary .50 help .45 support .34 effort .31 human .22
Explained variance Frame	2% Background/ Victimization 2	2%	2%	2%
Indicative terms and factor loadings	boat .60 people .50 rescued .50 migrant .38 hundred .36 dead .28 thousand .25			
Explained variance	2%			

Note: Principal component analysis with VARIMAX-rotation, based on 85 terms. Terms with factor loadings lower than .20 are not displayed. English translation by the authors.

**Table A6.** Most dominant frames (*Kronenzeitung, Heute*).

Frame	Criminality	Securitization	Economization	Settlement
Indicative terms and factor loadings	trafficker .68 police .55 abandon .49 pick up .48 officer .47 police officer .41 illegal .33 arrested .29 custody .20	soldier .57 border .56 army .51 control .37 operation .32 hundred .26 direction .23 border control .23	euro .74 costs .56 billion .55 million .50 money .39	asylum seeker .41 previous .37 accommodation .36 refugee accommodation .30 place .30 empty .29 protection seeker .22 asylum accommodation .22 care .22 refugee hostel .21
Explained variance	2%	2%	2%	2%
Frame	Solution to the Crisis	Background/ Victimization	Humanitarianism	Reception/ Distribution
Indicative terms and factor loadings	refugee crisis .30 together .29 solution .28 solidarity .23 people .24	people .40 flight .39 life .34 homeland .29 victim .28 boat .27 parents .26 Islamic .26 war .25 family .24	helper .66 voluntary .53 help .44 efforts .24 together .23 human .23 refugee child .22 care .22 project .20	quota .66 fulfil .57 places .35 pressure .35
Explained variance	2%	2%	2%	2%

Note: Principal component analysis with VARIMAX-rotation, based on 97 terms. Terms with factor loadings lower than .20 are not displayed. English translation by the authors.

Table A7. Most dominant frames (*Der Standard, Die Presse*).

Frame	Settlement	Economization	Background/ Victimization 1	Labour Market Integration
Indicative terms and factor loadings	accommodation .60 accommodated .53 military barrack .49 tent .47 places .46 provide .44 accommodate .40 place to stay .39 quota .23	euro .78 million .57 billion .57 costs .46 additional .42 	boat .67 rescued .62 migrant .42 people .38 hundred .35 dead .33 trafficker .23 journey .21 aid organisation .21	labour market .66 unemployed .53 positive .35 labour .34 integration .32 economy .32 social .27 recognized .26
Explained variance				
Frame	Securitization	Solution to the Crisis	Reception/ Distribution	Humanitarianism
Indicative terms and factor loadings	border .62 control .38 fence .38 border control .33 soldier .31 	together .35 solution .33 refugee crisis .31 crisis .28 problems .27 concern .24 solidarity .22 problem .21 state .21	distribution .52 quota .41 reception .37 receive .37 proposal .31 allocation .31 plan .24 hotspot .23	helper .55 voluntary .50 aid organisation .42 help .38 work .35 effort .35 support .34 social .32 initiative .28 care .22
Explained variance	2%	2%	2%	2%
Frame	Background/ Victimization 2	Asylum Procedure		
Indicative terms and factor loadings	people .41 war .38 flight .36 camp .31 alone .27 situation .26	asylum procedure .51 procedure .44 responsible .34 deportation .32 asylum .30 protection .27		

(Continued)

Table A7. Continued.

Frame	Settlement	Economization	Background/ Victimization 1	Labour Market Integration
	humanitarian .25	asylum application .27		
	thousand .25	authority .23		
	refugee camp .21	law .20		
	Islamic .21			
Explained variance	1%	1%		

Note: Principal component analysis with VARIMAX-rotation, based on 120 terms. Terms with factor loadings lower than .20 are not displayed. English translation by the authors.