Re-securitization as Evasion of Responsibility: A Quantitative Text Analysis of Refugee Crisis in Major Arabic Newspapers

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Abstract

This paper aims to clarify how, and what kind of threat was emphasized by the major Arabic newspapers regarding the refugee crisis in 2015. To address this research focus, I conducted a quantitative text analysis on three levels utilizing 59,423 articles from three Pan-Arab newspapers. The first level was scaling the threat level with Latent Semantic Scaling (a semi-supervised machine learning model); second, classifying threat issues with dictionary analysis; and third, identifying the geographical intensity of each article with Newsmap. Finally, I performed a regression analysis with the combined data to reveal their interrelation. I found that threat framing could differ based on the newspaper, refugee status, timing, issue of the article, and geographical factors. Furthermore, the threat level continued to rise over time and reached the highest point during the crisis period. The Pan-Arab newspapers tended to emphasize threats associated with terrorism and crime, rather than social issues, such as housing, labor, and culture. It was also revealed that when geographical variables were added to the analysis, the newspaper articles were more likely to perceive refugees as a cultural threat if they were predominately associated with the Middle East.

Keywords

Refugee crisis; quantitative text analysis; Arabic newspaper; Middle East; European Union

Introduction

The 'Arab Spring' was a series of anti-government protests, armed rebellions, and uprisings that increased the number of refugees across much of the Arab world in the early 2010s. This unrest grew exponentially, subsequently resulting in the Syrian Civil War. A large number of refugees died when their boats capsized at sea while trying to reach Europe through routes that took them from the Middle East and Africa across the Mediterranean Sea and the Balkan Peninsula (BenEzer & Zetter, 2015; Betts & Collier, 2017).

Meanwhile, in countries throughout Europe, societies are becoming polarized with conflicting views on whether or not to accept refugees. In Europe, the refugee crisis was affected by the international refugee protection regime, the amendment of refugee-related international law, reintroduction of border control within the Schengen Area, and the rise of the right-wing populist regime (Endo, 2016; Hakata, 2016; Hashimoto, 2017; Kawaguchi, 2016). Analyses of this refugee crisis include a special feature on the socio-political effects on internal politics and local governments within the European Union (EU) (Glorius, 2016). There are additional issues of how the media in the EU has reported the refugee crisis, and how public opinion regarding the crisis has changed. Previous research holds the common view that late 2015 was a watershed moment regarding the refugee crisis, after which public opinion and media reporting underwent a major change. These changes were nevertheless dependent upon the various circumstances in each country studied and upon the character of the media (Berry et al., 2016; Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017; Oagino, 2018; Sato, 2018; Tsuchiya, 2017a, 2017b). In their analysis of the tone of the reports published by multiple media sources throughout Europe, Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017) found that from the spring to the summer of 2015, many media outlets held a sympathetic view of and supported the Muslim refugees. However, after the November 2015 Paris attacks, the tone toward the Arab refugees changed to one of anxiety and hostility (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017; Vandevoordt, 2017).

However, in the Middle East, this refugee crisis was primarily considered a humanitarian crisis, as having a significant social impact because a large number of refugees originated from this region (UNHCR's homepage, https://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html). Additionally, almost all the countries' governments in this region were busy dealing with extreme turmoil following the 'Arab Spring' (Sadiki, 2015), and subsequent civil wars and sectarian conflicts. Consequently, there was a lack of policies concerning this refugee crisis (Sadiki, 2015). In other words, the regimes in the Middle East tended to consider this refugee crisis as Europe's problem. Therefore, since there were not many policies to prevent or support refugees by the governments of this region, there might not be efficient to focus on the crisis-related policies adopted by each of the region's regime.

Thus, the Middle Eastern attitude toward the refugee crisis could be analyzed appropriately through media coverage and reporting tone. Nonetheless, there is not much literature examining the Middle Eastern attitude toward the refugee crisis. Of course, there is a large amount of literature dealing with refugee issues from the Middle East, such as identity issues (Shami, 1996), United Nation's refugee policy in the Middle East (Ward, 2014), as well as refugee's situation in the region (Nanba, 2017; Ullah, 2014). However, this literature did not

analyze how the Middle Eastern countries dealt with the refugee crisis.

Yamao (2019) argued that the major Arabic newspapers (Hayat, Al-Quds al-Arabi, and al-Sharq al-Awsat), which are the same ones I will analyze in this article, tended to report the refugee crisis with a tone of security threat, rather than that of protection of refugees, even during the period of the crisis. This argument can be visualized in Figure 1, which plots the framing tone of three major Arabic newspapers. When the graph goes down during the crisis period, it means that the reporting tone is more likely to emphasize the security framing of the crisis, not the humanitarian one.

Figure 1: Tone of reporting of refugee
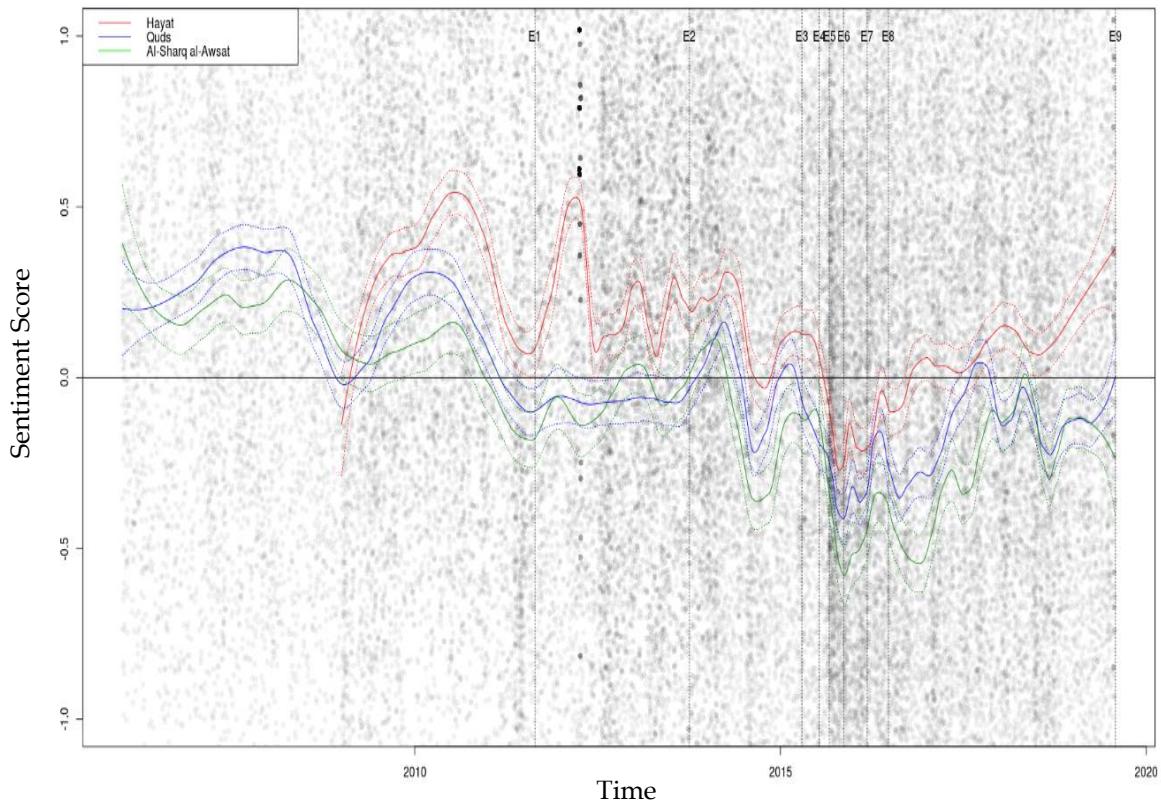
Note: Yamao, 2019

If the reporting tone for the refugees and this refugee crisis was primarily that of security framing in major newspapers in the Middle East, what kinds of issues wherein the refugees were perceived as a threat? Thus, this paper aims to clarify *how and what type of risk did the primary Arabic newspapers emphasize regarding refugees*. The refugee crisis that this paper will analyze is one of the most significant cases of human mobility flowing into the European Union region. Therefore, analyzing reporting tone in the major newspapers with regards to this human mobility event can also contribute to how political resources related to this refugee crisis, and how the refugees were mobilized during and after this period of time.

Hypothesis

First, let us briefly go over the watershed events of this refugee crisis. After the 'Arab Spring', notably, after the fall of the Gaddafi regime in Libya (Betts & Collier, 2017), the number of refugees radically increased. Many of the refugees crossed the Mediterranean Sea in overloaded boats that frequently capsized during the trips, causing a high number of casualties. These tragedies attracted global attention, such as the incidents of Lampedusa, located on the coast of Italy, and that of the casualties on the coast of Libya (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017).

As the number of casualties increased in the Mediterranean, refugees started to take the relatively safer Balkan Route. Consequently, the countries of Visegrád Group, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, begun to implement extremely unfavorable policies towards the refugees' inflow (Oagino, 2017). Further, the Hungarian government decided to construct a fence along its border with Serbia, to prevent illegal border crossing (Tsuchiya, 2017a).

In mid-2015, incidents triggering sympathy towards the Arab refugees continued to occur. The bodies of 71 Syrian refugees were found in Austria in August 2015 (Tsuchiya, 2017a), and the body of a drowned three-year-old-Syrian refugee was found on the coast of Turkey in September of the same year (Tsuchiya, 2017b). These incidents shocked the societies in the Middle East and worldwide.

However, the sympathetic attitude towards Muslim refugees did not continue. On November 13, 2015, a coordinated attack occurred at several locations in Paris (Tsuchiya, 2017a). This was a watershed event that marked a dramatic shift in the way refugees were perceived in Europe. Subsequently, Macedonia closed its border with Greece. Greece started returning illegal immigrants inside its borders to Turkey from April 2016 (Oyama & Takeda, 2016). As a result, the Balkan Route was closed, and the number of refugees decreased dramatically (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015).

Differences between newspapers (Hypothesis 1)

Based on the previously mentioned overview of the refugee crisis, I would like to introduce a hypothesis. First, the variety in the tone of the reports published by different newspapers is a common phenomenon (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). This may be true for Pan-Arab newspapers of the Middle East. Thus, my first hypothesis is;

H1: Differences in the stances of newspapers influenced the threat framing of the reports.

The impact of other indexes (Hypothesis 2)

Second, changes in the refugees' circumstances can be assumed to affect the tone and framing of the newspapers' reports. Indicators of refugees include increases in the number of applications for refugee status (indicating the increased seriousness of the refugee crisis) (see Figure 3), the number of fatalities among the refugees due to shipwrecks (see Figure 4), and

the number of refugees who were taken into custody due to tightening of border control along the Balkan Route (see Figure 5). When these numbers increase, threat framing should also be intensified. This assumption is summarized in the following hypothesis:

H2: deterioration of refugee status intensified threat framing.

Temporal analysis (Hypothesis 3)

Yamao (2019) argued that the level of threat framing increased during the refugee crisis, even in the Middle Eastern newspapers, which is similar to news reports in the European Union (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). Following this analysis, the third hypothesis can be summarized as:

H3: Reporting tone of refugees is more likely to emphasize threat framing during the refugee crisis.

Impact of the issue (Hypothesis 4)

As previously mentioned in the literature, besides crime and terrorism in Europe, the refugee crisis caused a wide range of problems in housing, welfare, labor, and culture (Betts & Collier, 2017). However, such refugee-related social issues as housing, welfare, and labor, might have little to do with the Middle East. It can be assumed that these were primarily issues that European countries have to address. Thus, it can be assumed that the newspapers in the Middle East tend to focus on other issues, such as terrorism and crime. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis is:

H4: The Middle Eastern newspapers tend to emphasize threat framing associated with security issues rather than social issues.

Geographical impact (Hypothesis 5)

Although the reporting tone of refugees tended to be threat framing during the crisis in the Middle East (Yamao, 2019), it can be assumed that news articles associated with the Middle East do not always emphasize the threat of refugees because they have generally not been perceived as threats. Instead, refugees in the region are more likely to be considered as vulnerable people who should be protected. Therefore, the hypothesis is as follows:

H5: The news articles do not always perceive refugees by threat framing when they are associated with the Middle East.

Impact of geography and issue (Hypothesis 6)

Similarly, it may also be assumed that the news articles associated with the Middle East do

not always emphasize the threat of refugees based on terrorism. Instead, the newspapers are more likely to report the danger of refugees based on cultural issues, such as brain drain (flow of medical doctors or scientists into the European region) and cultural conflict, when associated with the Middle East (Yamao, 2019). Thus, my final hypothesis is:

> H6: The news articles are more likely to perceive refugees as a cultural threat when they are associated with the Middle East.

Methodology

Quantitative text analysis was applied to investigate the previously listed hypotheses. I created a data sets of articles containing the keyword "refugee" (اللاجئين) selected from among the articles published between January 2006 and July 2019 in three influential Pan-Arab newspapers; *Hayat*, *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, and *al-Sharq al-Awsat*. First, let me sum up the characteristics of each paper.

Hayat, initially a Lebanese newspaper founded in 1946 and then established by the Saudi royal family (Dubai Press Club, 2012). Generally, the *Hayat* takes the most liberal stance in the Arab world and is among the highest-quality newspapers in the region (Dubai Press Club, 2012). Published in London, the newspaper has the largest circulation among the Pan-Arab newspapers. *Al-Quds al-Arabi* (Quds) has been published in London by Palestinian refugees since 1989, and it strenuously pleads the cause of the Palestinians (Dubai Press Club, 2012). *Al-Asharq al-Awsat*, whose headquarters are also in London, is as well counted as one of the best newspapers in the Middle East. It is published by a company owned by the Saudi royal family and strives to report in a way that does not contradict the Saudi Arabian government's views (Dubai Press Club, 2012). These newspapers are primarily circulated to the elite Arabic speaking communities in the Middle East and Europe, mainly in London (Dubai Press Club, 2012). *Hayat* has published 160,000-170,000 papers a day, *al-Quds* issued 15,000 papers, and *al-Sharq al-Awsat* published 234,561 papers in 2004 (https://carnegieendowment.org/files/New_Chart.pdf). In this context, these papers do not represent news report tones in the Middle East, but they are limited to the liberal elite opinions. I found 23,125 articles published in *Hayat* between January 2009 and July 2019 (Taken from their homepage, http://www.alhayat.com/). Website of *Hayat* has been closed since October 2019); 22,226 articles published in *Quds* between January 2006 and July 2019 (Taken from their homepage, https://www.alquds.co.uk/); and 14,072 articles published in *al-Asharq al-Awsat* between January 2006 and July 2019 (Taken from their homepage, https://aawsat.com/). The difference of this time frame between the three papers is caused by the difference in periods of the archived article that each paper opens to the public. The articles were arranged chronologically and analyzed by utilizing statistical analysis software called R. In addition, I created a corpus of articles for each newspaper. Then by combining these corpora, larger data sets were created. A total of 59,423 articles were used in this analysis. Analyses of these data sets were conducted using the Quanteda Package in R language (For more information on Quanteda, see their homepage, https://quanteda.io/index.html).

Figure 2 plots the volume of news articles related to refugees created by using the corpus as

mentioned earlier. The number of articles concerning refugee-related issues in the Pan-Arab newspapers increased dramatically after the 'Arab Spring' and then during the 2015 refugee crisis, particularly in *Hayat* (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Volume of news articles about refugees
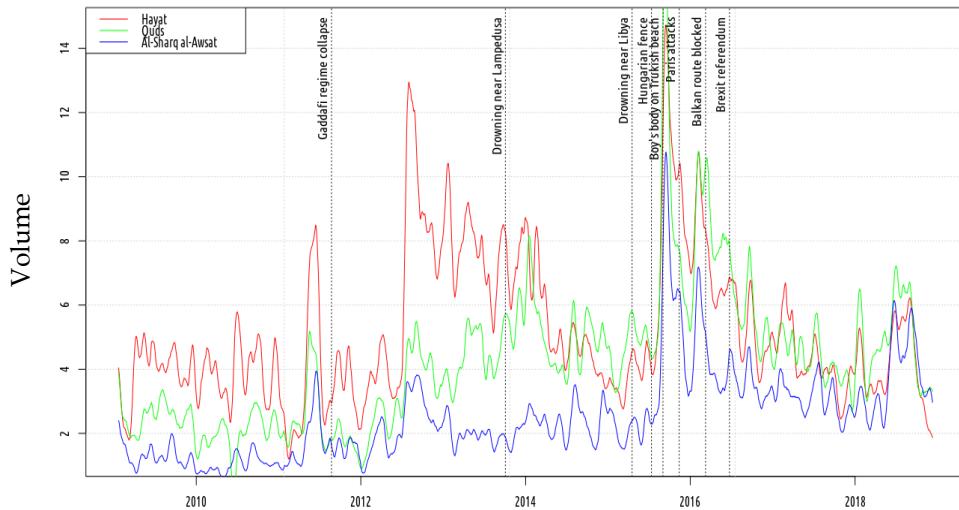
Note: Created by the author

In addition to the text data, an index was added to analyze the effects of the number of asylum applications, refugee fatalities, and illegal immigrants who were taken into custody. The number of asylum applications obtained was the total number of asylum applications per month filed in all European countries that I had downloaded from Eurostat, the EU database, which is the most reliable source for this kind of data (Tsuchiya, 2017a) (Figure 3). Then, I attached these data (the number of asylum applications, refugee fatalities, and illegal immigrants who were taken into custody) as the metadata variables to each text.

Since there is a lack of publicly available data on the number of refugee fatalities, I extracted data on the number of monthly fatalities related to the refugee crisis (I excluded the data for East Asia, South Asia, the US-Mexico border, Central America, and South America from the total number of global refugee fatalities) from the website of the NGO 'Missing Migrants', which is a reliable source of information (Tsuchiya, 2017a). Then, I attached these data as metadata variables to each text. Variations in the monthly fatality figures for refugees throughout the EU are shown in Figure 4.

Finally, I identified data related to the number of illegal immigrants taken into custody. I downloaded the monthly figures for the illegal immigrants of all nationalities, who were taken into custody on all routes bound to the EU (Tsuchiya, 2017a). Then, these data were attached to each text as metadata variables. Variations in the monthly figures for illegal immigrants taken into custody are shown in Figure 5.

Figure 3: Number of asylum applicants
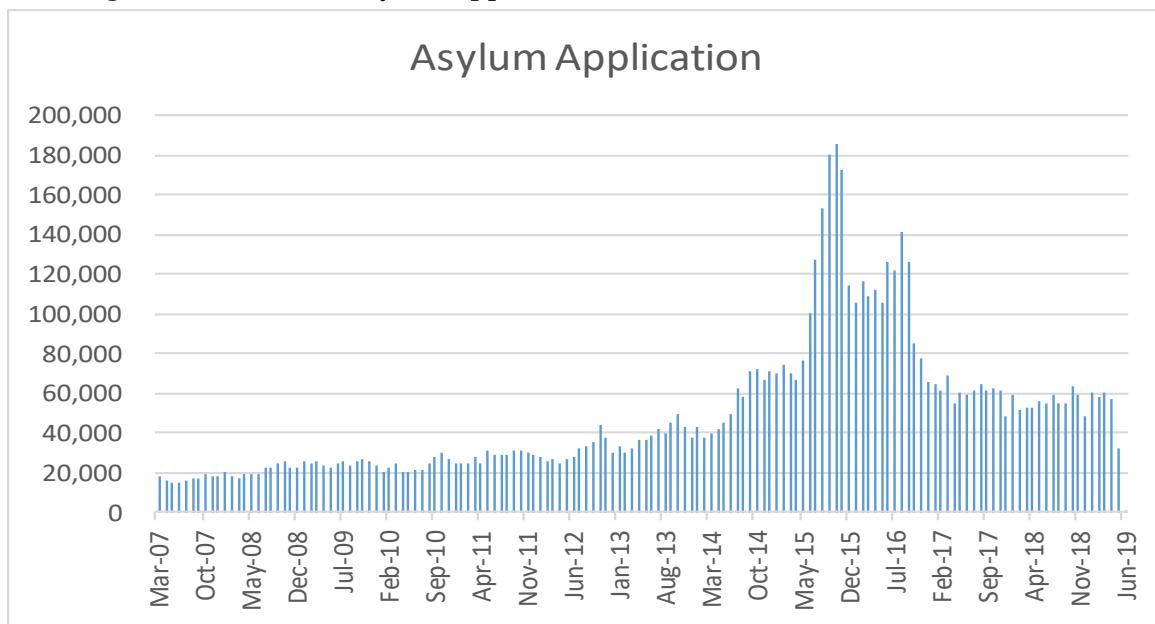
*Note: Created by the author using Eurostat (https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/data/database)*

migr_asyappctzm file.

Figure 4: Number of refugee fatalities
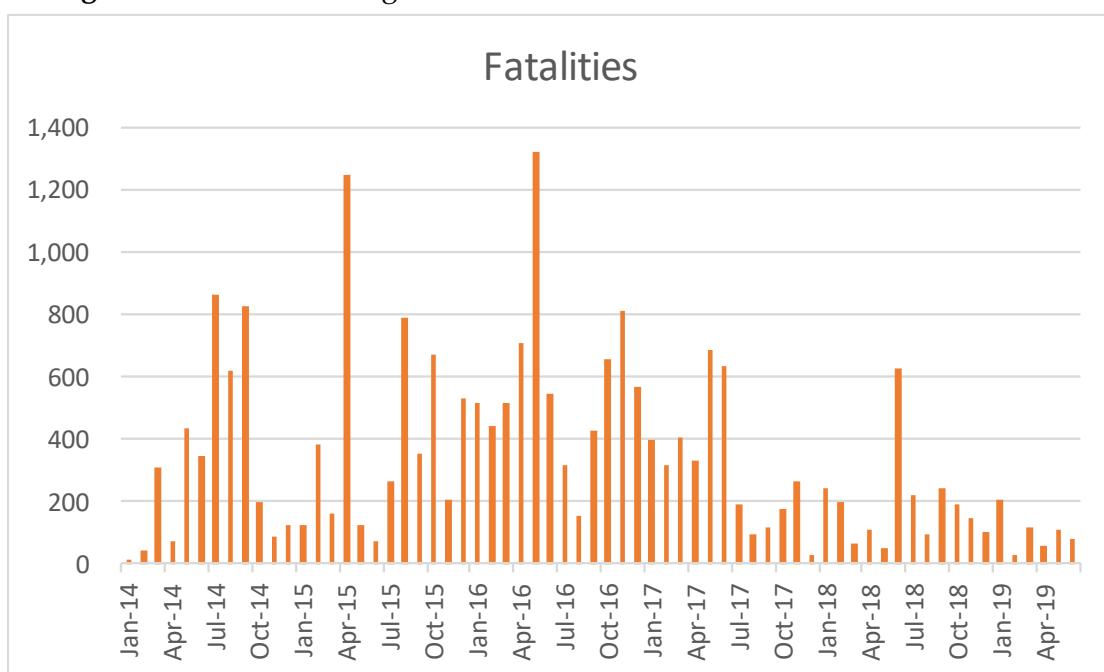
Note: Created by the author using data from Missing Migrants

(https://missingmigrants.iom.int/).

Figure 5: Number of illegal immigrants taken into custody

Detection of illegal Border-crossing
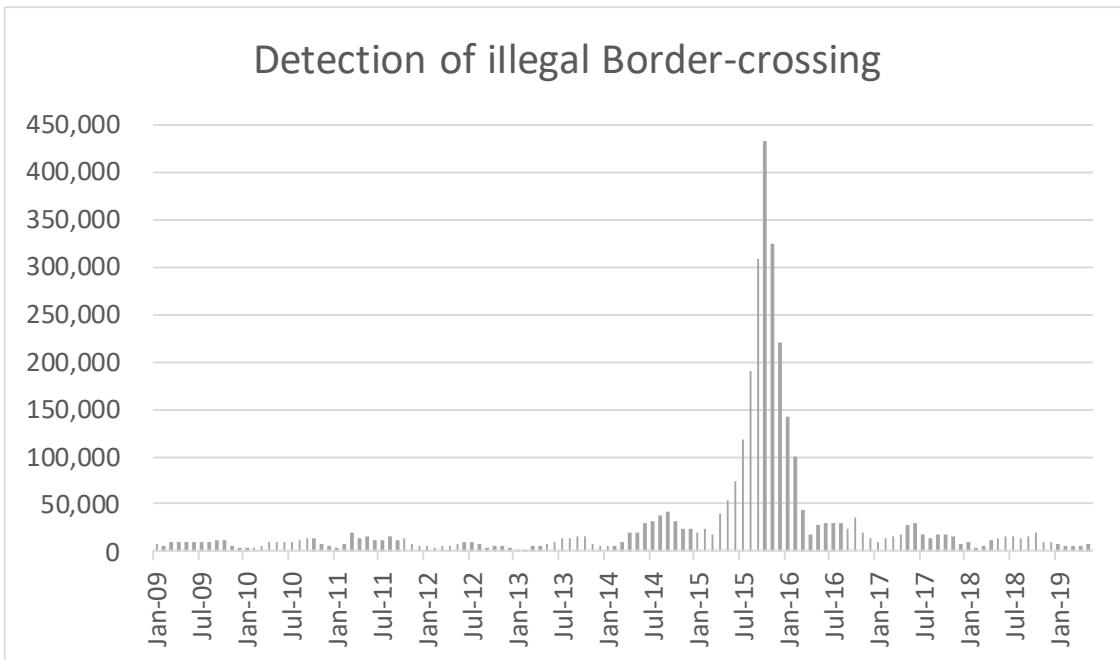
Note: Created by the author using data from Frontex (https://frontex.europa.eu/).

A three-level analysis was employed by utilizing the data-set mentioned above. First, scaling threat level by Latent Semantic Scaling; second, classifying issue of threat by dictionary analysis; and third, identifying the geographical intensity of each article by Newsmap (will be explained later, Watanabe, 2018). Then I combined these data and performed regression analysis to reveal the association between them.

Analysis

Latent Semantic Scaling (LSS): Threat intensity

To analyze the intensity of threat framing, I adopted LSS (Latent Semantic Scaling), the semi-supervised model of machine learning. It is an algorithm designed to automatically calculate the distance between the 'seed words' assigned and words that frequently occur within a 10-word window from refugee the other words in the corpus, put weight on these words, and assign sentiment scores to every document by adding the word scores (Watanabe, 2017). Regarding the seed words that indicate the threat framing, I selected 'crisis', 'dangerous', 'harm', 'fear', 'tense', and 'hostile'. Then weighted each term at +1, as seen in Table 1. I selected 'normal', 'safe', 'benefit', 'confident', 'relax', and 'friendly' to indicate secure, then weighted each term at -1. In this way, all 59,423 news articles in the corpus are assigned LSS scores by this machine learning in order to show the threat intensity with regards to the reporting tone of the refugees.

Table 1: Seed words

Security	
Threat (+1)	**Secure (-1)**
Crisis (أزمة)	Normal (سليم ,طبيعي ,عادي)
Dangerous (خطر ,خطير)	Safe (موثوق ,مطمئن ,سالم ,آمن ,آمنة)
Harm (خرب ,ساء ,أضر ,تلف ,ضرر)	Benefit (مساعدة ,مصلحة ,فائدة)
Fear (توتر ,مشدود ,خوف)	Confident (موثوق ,واثق)
Tense (توتر ,مشدود)	Relax (استجم ,الاسترخاء ,استراخ)
Hostile (عدو ,عدائي)	Friendly (لطيف ,اجتماعي ,ودود ,ودي)

Note: Created by the author

The result of weighted words by LSS is shown in Figure 6. The words shown on the right side are weighted as threats, and the other side is weighted as secure. The terms such as 'confusion' (الفوضى), 'terrorism' (الارهابية), 'extremist' (المتطرفين), 'dangerous' (أخطر), and 'minority' (الاقلية) from the right side of the figure are weighted as high-threat framing. On the other hand, such words as 'hope' (الأمل), 'good' (جيدة), 'information' (المعلومات), 'film' (أفلام), and 'diplomacy' (ديبلوماسي) are listed from the left side as secure framing. They are all closely related words to describe a threat of refugees and their positive expression in the Arabic newspapers, which shows the adequacy of LSS analysis.

Figure 6: Weight given to words related to refugee
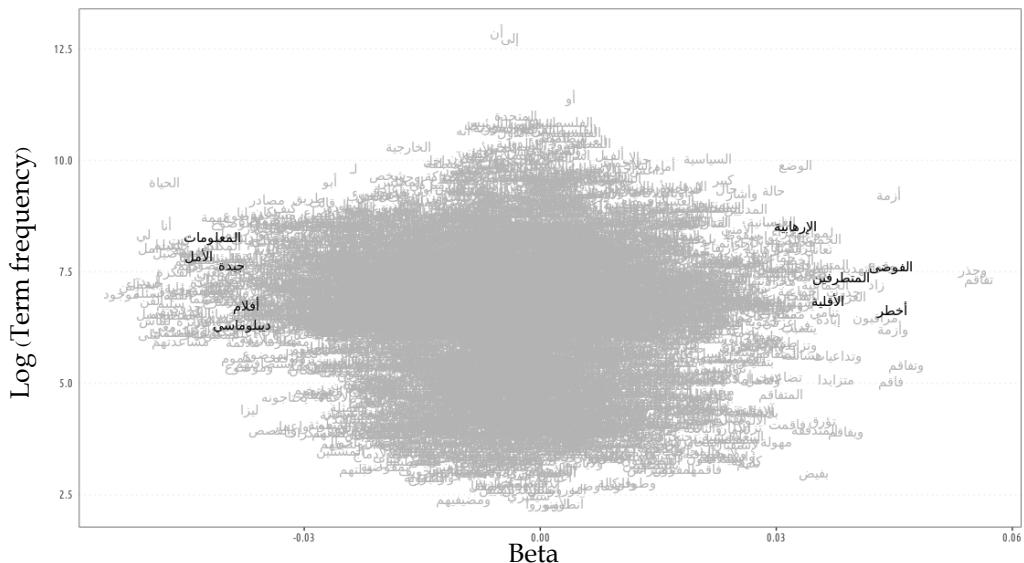
Note: Created by the author (X-axis shows threat scores and Y-axis shows frequency)

The overall intensity of threat framing is plotted in Figure 7. Curves are LOESS (smoothing model used in R) smoothed sentiment scores, which shows the moving average of the recent 10% (span=0.1) LSS scores, with 95% confidence intervals. In order to plot the curves of LSS scores, I calculated the moving average by using the R function called LOESS (see https://stat.ethz.ch/R-manual/R-devel/library/stats/html/loess.html. Circles are individual sentiment scores of 59,423 news articles. The vertical axis shows the LSS score (weight assigned to each article), and the horizontal axis shows the passage of time. Higher LSS scores on the vertical axis indicate an increase in the intensity of threat framing. As this figure shows, the intensity of threat framing gradually increased after the 'Arab Spring' and

continued to rise towards the refugee crisis period in 2015 and 2016.

Figure 7: Intensity of threat framing about refugees in news articles
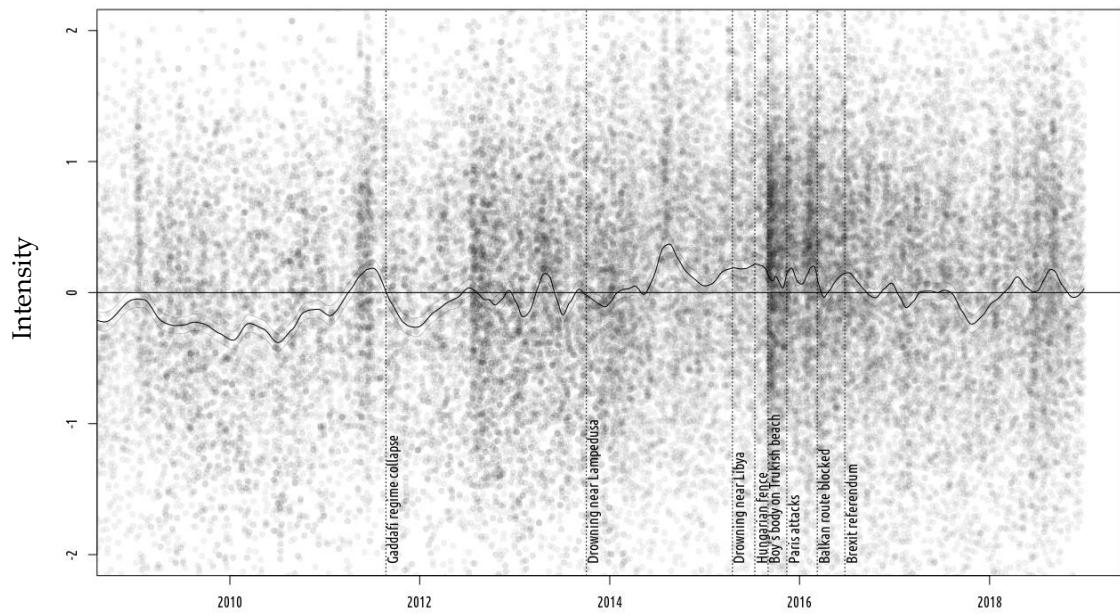
Note: Created by the author

Figure 8 illustrates the intensity of threat framing by the following newspapers. The red line indicates the reporting tone of *Hayat*, green shows that of *Quds*, and blue shows that of *al-Sharq al-Awsat*. Lines with 95% confidence intervals are plotted with the lighter colors. We can notice that the intensity of threat framing of *Quds* is consistently the highest, and that of *Hayat* is typically the lowest. However, all of the newspapers increased their threat framing toward the crisis period.

Figure 8: Intensity of threat framing by newspapers, in 2009-2018
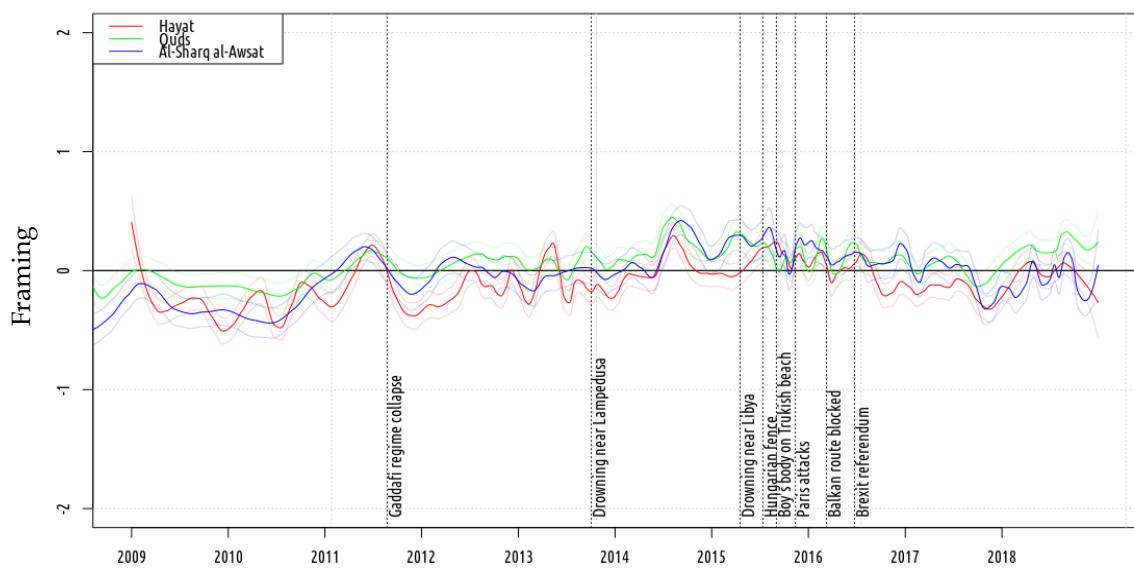
Note: Created by the author

Nevertheless, when we take a look at the threat framing only during the crisis period (2015-2016), as shown in Figure 9, the intensity of threat framing seems to be the highest in *al-Sharq al-Awsat*. As this figure indicates, the intensity of threat framing is the highest after the Hungarian government decided to build a fence and after the Paris attacks.

Figure 9: Intensity of threat framing by newspapers, in 2015-2016
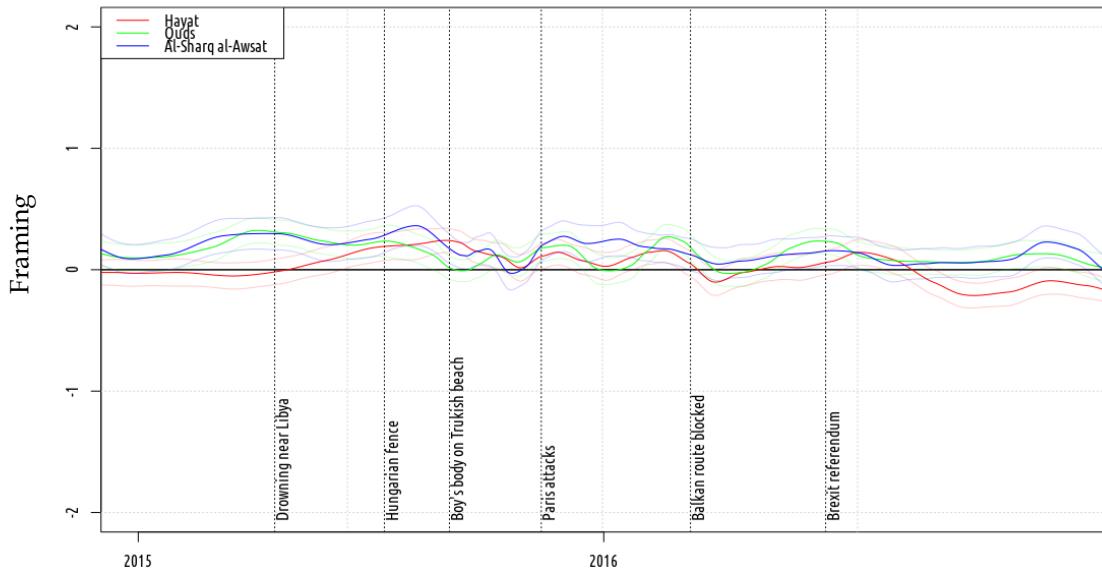
Note: Created by the author

Dictionary analysis: Issue

The second analysis is thematic and is performed by a simple dictionary analysis. I created a dictionary of six issues with multiple keywords, as listed in Table 2. This dictionary is composed of 6 main issues, as listed in Table 2, with each having multiple words very closely related to the main issues. For instance, the 'terrorism' issue contains 'Jihad' (الجهاد), 'suicide' (انتحار), 'suicide attack' (هجوم انتحار), 'suicide bomb' (قنبلة انتحار), and 'terrorist' (إرهابي). According to this dictionary, I recorded the frequency of each thematic words in the news articles. Dictionary analysis is a straightforward but powerful tool for classifying the issues mentioned in each article. First, using the scores of the dictionary (frequency of each thematic words) of each issue calculated in each news article of the corpus, I conducted correlation analysis. As Figure 10 shows, there is almost no correlation among all issues, and thus we can put them into a regression model without spurious correlation.

Table 2: Issues and keyword in dictionary analysis

Issue					
Housing	Terrorism	Labor	Crime	Welfare	Culture
وشقة ـ	الجهاد ـ	توظيف ـ	سلب ـ	الرعاية ـ الاجتماعية	حضارة ـ
مسطحة ـ	انتحار ـ	بطالة ـ	لص ـ	الضمان ـ الاجتماعي	طعام ـ
منزل	هجوم ـ انتحاري	الأجور ـ	اللصوص ـ	منفعة اجتماعية ـ	فن ـ
تأجير ـ	قنبلة انتحارية ـ	دفع ـ	سرقة ـ	فائدة الطفل ـ	كتاب ـ
مستأجر ـ	إرهابي ـ	مهنة ـ	خطف ـ	النظام الصحي ـ الوطني	وسائل ـ الترفيه
المالك ـ		الإيرادات ـ	هيخاك ـ	الرعاية الصحية ـ	الأدب ـ
بلا مأوى ـ		راتب ـ	حريق متعمد ـ	دخل سنوي ـ	موسيقى ـ
نائمة الخام ـ		قسيمة الدفع ـ	جريمة ـ	راتب تقاعد ـ	مسرح ـ
إسكان ـ		دفع زلة ـ	الجريمة ـ الإلكترونية	الرعاية النهارية ـ	فيلم ـ
الرهن ـ العقاري		أجورهم ـ	الاعتداءات ـ	تأمين ـ	لغة ـ
العقارات ـ		دفع الشيك ـ	اعتداء ـ		
مسؤول ـ المستأجرة		عامل ـ	مجرم ـ		
			ابتزاز ـ		
			فساد ـ		
			قتل ـ		
			السجن ـ		
			اغتصاب ـ		
			مغتصب ـ		
			اعتداء جنسي ـ		
			انتهاك جنسي ـ		
			تزوير ـ		
			غسيل أموال ـ		
			تهريب المخدرات ـ		
			الاتجار بالبشر ـ		
			الاباحية الطفل ـ		
			أساءةالأطفال ـ		
			شغب ـ		
			مافيا ـ		
			عصابة ـ		
			تزوير ـ		
			اطلاق الرصاص ـ		
			غس ـ		

Note: Created by the author (Housing as base category)

Figure 10: Correlation between issues

	Terror	Labor	Crime	Welfare	Culture	Housing
Terror		0.03	0.15	0.00	0.03	0.02
Labor			0.06	0.05	0.05	0.06
Crime				0.00	0.07	0.06
Welfare					0.00	0.03
Culture						0.03
Housing						

Note: Created by the author

Newsmap: Geographical intensity

Third, I applied another semi-supervised model of machine learning called Newsmap (Watanabe, 2018). This technique is used to identify countries and regions that are most strongly associated with news articles, based on the established dictionary of countries and their capital cities written in each language (Watanabe, 2018).

Figure 11: Intensity of threat framing by issues and geography
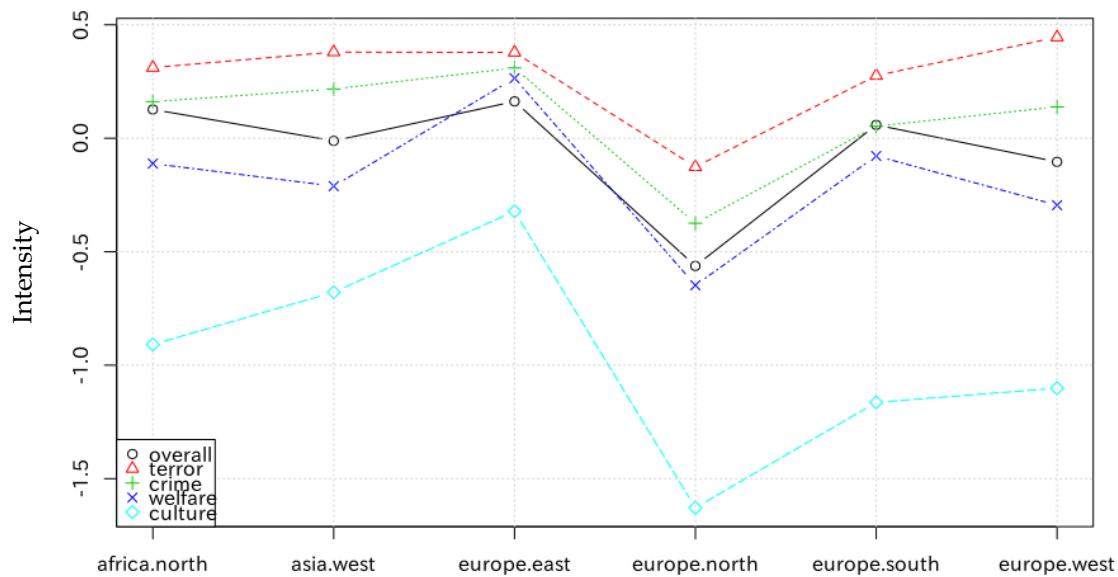
Note: Created by the author

Figure 11 plots the intensity of threat framing analyzed through LSS by issues classified through dictionary analysis, and by regions classified through Newsmap. Overall intensity tends to be the highest in articles associated with East Europe and the lowest in articles associated with North Europe. As for the issue of terrorism, threat framing is the highest in articles associated with West Europe, followed by East Europe, and then West Asia. This variance in association might be because terrorist attacks occurred in France and Germany (on terroris attacks in France and Germany, see Nakasaka, 2016), which made the reporting tone inclined towards more threat intensified.

Statistical analysis

Finally, let us demonstrate these analyses statistically. Threat intensities of individual articles (LSS scores) are regressed by the dummy variables of temporal terms (pre-crisis as the base category), issues (housing as the base category), geographical scores, and other variables (numbers of asylum applications, fatality, and detection). I applied regression by using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) with the LSS score of each document as the dependent variable. Since the dependent variables (LSS scores) are not time-series data, the OLS model can reveal the magnitude of the effect of independent variables on the intensity of threat framing. As for the temporal term of independent variables, I defined the refugee crisis as a one-year period

from June 2015 to May 2016, to analyze the temporal change of threat framing (pre, peri/during, and post-crisis). As for the issue, dummies of the frequency of terrorism, labor, crime, welfare, and culture were put into the models (housing as the base category). As for geographical scores, dummies of the Middle East and North Africa, North Europe, and West Europe are utilized. The results of OLS regression are shown in Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3: Threat framing of refugee (newspaper, temporal and issue)

	Dependent variable						
	Threat framing of refugees						
	Newspaper	**Crisis**	**Other Var.**	**Issue_crisis**	**Hayat**	**Quds**	**Sharq Awsat**
Quds	0.162***	0.158***	0.135***	0.162***			
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.014)	(0.01)			
Al-Sharq Al-Awsat	0.058***	0.053***	0.073***	0.036**			
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.011)			
During Crisis		0.164***		0.150***	0.240***	0.015	0.217***
		(0.012)		(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.03)
Post Crisis		0.053***		0.045***	0.036	0.075***	0.016
		(0.011)		(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.024)
terror				0.336***	0.397***	0.284***	0.315***
				(0.022)	(0.035)	(0.037)	(0.04)
labor				-0.032	-0.032	-0.013	-0.066
				(0.017)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.034)
crime				0.231***	0.199***	0.241***	0.252***
				(0.014)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.029)
welfare				-0.173***	-0.235***	-0.037	-0.166***
				(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.047)	(0.045)
culture				-0.845***	-0.859***	-0.914***	-0.685***
				(0.02)	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.043)
Terror: during				0.164***	0.109	0.241***	0.132
				(0.042)	(0.074)	(0.069)	(0.076)
Terror: Post				0.059	0.031	-0.019	0.188**
				(0.034)	(0.06)	(0.057)	(0.059)
Labor: during				0.014	-0.083	0.075	0.076
				(0.036)	(0.061)	(0.057)	(0.069)
Labor: post				-0.048	-0.075	-0.036	-0.017
				(0.03)	(0.052)	(0.048)	(0.055)
Crime: during				-0.039	-0.002	-0.051	-0.017
				(0.033)	(0.057)	(0.05)	(0.063)
Crime: post				0.071**	0.110*	-0.006	0.151**
				(0.027)	(0.049)	(0.041)	(0.051)
Welfare: during				-0.042	-0.12	-0.165	0.102
				(0.051)	(0.079)	(0.094)	(0.094)
Welfare: post				-0.038	-0.005	-0.089	-0.063
				(0.041)	(0.062)	(0.079)	(0.075)
Culture: during				-0.082	-0.052	-0.021	-0.201*
				(0.046)	(0.081)	(0.069)	(0.095)
Culture: post				-0.111**	-0.088	-0.121*	-0.108

	Dependent variable						
	Threat framing of refugees						
	Newspaper	Crisis	Other Var.	Issue_crisis	Hayat	Quds	Sharq Awsat
				(0.037)	(0.066)	(0.054)	(0.075)
Asylum Application			0.000				
			(0.000)				
Fatality			0.000***				
			(0.000)				
Detection			0.000				
			(0.000)				
Intercept	-0.083***	-0.120***	-0.076***	-0.103***	-0.108***	0.079***	-0.091***
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.021)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.014)
sigma	0.967	0.965	0.984	0.923	0.943	0.931	0.866
adj. R-squared	0.005	0.009	0.005	0.094	0.083	0.098	0.095
F	130.72	109.48	25.819	260.757	101.83	116.23	67.744
p	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Log-likelihood	-66,057	-65,969	-34,987	-63,829.5	-25,651	-24,249	-13,794
AIC	132,122	131,951	69,989	127,701	51,340	48,536	27,625.2
BIC	132,157	132,003	70,045	127,885.2	51,489	48,684	27,763.7
N	47,693	47,693	24,937	47,693	18,860	18,005	10,828

*** $p<0.001$; ** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$

Note: Created by the author

Table 4: Threat framing of refugees (geography and issue)

	Dependent variable								
	Threat framing of refugees								
	Middle East			North Europe			West Europe		
	Hayat	Quds	Sharq Awsat	Hayat	Quds	Sharq Awsat	Hayat	Quds	Sharq Awsat
Middle East(ME)	-0.132***	0.157***	0.008						
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.026)						
terror	0.357***	0.508***	0.533***	0.431***	0.327***	0.419***	0.434***	0.325***	0.401***
	(0.067)	(0.072)	(0.056)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.028)
labor	-0.047	-0.101	-0.067	-0.062**	-0.009	-0.052*	-0.060**	-0.007	-0.068**
	(0.053)	(0.058)	(0.053)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.025)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.025)
crime	0.095	0.225***	0.226***	0.212***	0.230***	0.285***	0.210***	0.224***	0.292***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.049)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.023)
welfare	-0.176*	-0.116	-0.076	-0.254***	-0.086*	-0.171***	-0.250***	-0.086*	-0.165***
	(0.076)	(0.098)	(0.084)	(0.026)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.027)	(0.035)	(0.034)
culture	-1.341***	-1.215***	-0.960***	-0.886***	-0.951***	-0.754***	-0.876***	-0.948***	-0.761***
	(0.057)	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.027)	(0.024)	(0.033)	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.034)
ME: terror	0.089	-0.203**	-0.136*						
	(0.073)	(0.077)	(0.064)						
ME: labor	-0.017	0.099	0.014						
	(0.058)	(0.062)	(0.059)						
ME: crime	0.141**	0.002	0.072						
	(0.054)	(0.053)	(0.055)						
ME: welfare	-0.086	0.026	-0.11						
	(0.081)	(0.105)	(0.091)						
ME: culture	0.580***	0.303***	0.273***						
	(0.065)	(0.069)	(0.076)						
North Europe(NE)				-0.08	-0.429***	-0.321**			
				(0.122)	(0.09)	(0.099)			
NE: terror				0.765	0.195	0.388			
				(0.569)	(0.269)	(0.266)			
NE: labor				0.07	-0.057	-0.225			
				(0.405)	(0.217)	(0.198)			

|	Dependent variable								
	Threat framing of refugees								
	Middle East			North Europe			West Europe		
	Hayat	Quds	Sharq Awsat	Hayat	Quds	Sharq Awsat	Hayat	Quds	Sharq Awsat
NE: crime				0.201	0.269	0.135			
				(0.357)	(0.199)	(0.192)			
NE: welfare				-0.718	-0.246	0.145			
				(0.569)	(0.367)	(0.402)			
NE: culture				-0.473	0.197	0.146			
				(0.327)	(0.293)	(0.278)			
West Europe(WE)							0.158***	-0.256***	-0.01
							(0.045)	(0.042)	(0.045)
WE: terror							-0.073	0.08	0.245**
							(0.143)	(0.126)	(0.092)
WE: labor							-0.025	-0.16	0.207*
							(0.115)	(0.117)	(0.103)
WE: crime							0.055	0.205*	-0.107
							(0.108)	(0.09)	(0.089)
WE: welfare							-0.123	-0.251	-0.052
							(0.154)	(0.214)	(0.178)
WE: culture							-0.384**	-0.138	0.131
							(0.142)	(0.143)	(0.135)
Intercept	0.049*	-0.032	-0.057*	-0.062***	0.103***	-0.047***	-0.068***	0.111***	-0.051***
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)
sigma	0.944	0.929	0.87	0.947	0.931	0.87	0.946	0.93	0.87
adj. R-squared	0.081	0.102	0.086	0.077	0.098	0.086	0.077	0.099	0.086
F	152.867	187.292	93.965	143.249	178.758	93.653	144.471	181.765	93.291
p	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Log-likelihood	-25,673.719	-24,211.203	-13,847.531	-25,722.444	-24,253.446	-13,849.098	-25,716.241	-24,238.54	-13,850.923
AIC	51,373.438	48,448.405	27,721.061	51,470.887	48,532.893	27,724.196	51,458.482	48,503.079	27,727.846
BIC	51,475.421	48,549.784	27,815.83	51,572.869	48,634.272	27,818.965	51,560.464	48,604.458	27,822.614
N	18,860	18,005	10,828	18,860	18,005	10,828	18,860	18,005	10,828

*** $p<0.001$; ** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$

Note: Created by the author

Differences between newspapers (Hypothesis 1)

Figure 12 plots the marginal effect of the threat framing by each paper based on the 'Newspaper' column in Table 3. We can see from this figure that the intensity of threat framing is the highest in *Quds* and the lowest in *Hayat*. The fact that the most liberal paper, *Hayat*, had the least intensity of threat framing is in accordance with our prediction. Although the difference among the newspapers is not extreme, it is statistically significant, and thus the first hypothesis is supported.

Figure 12: Marginal effect of newspapers
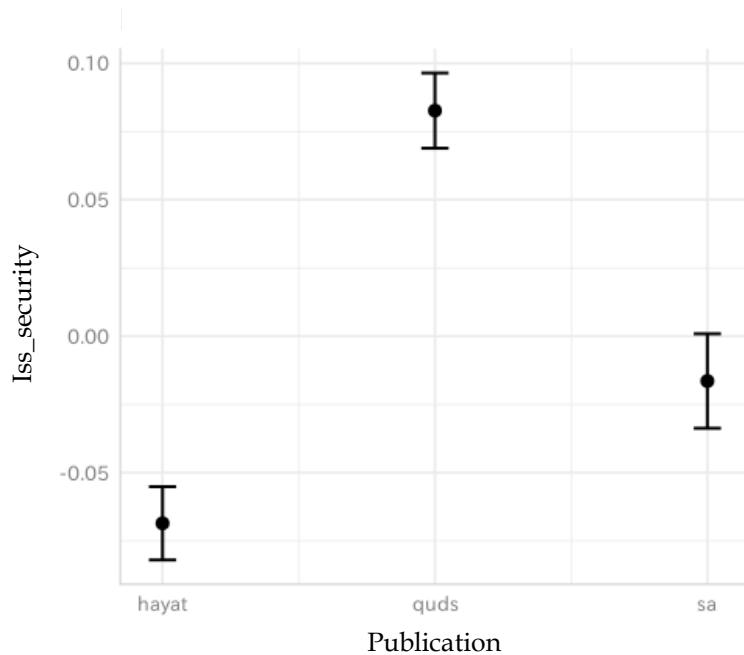
Note: Created by the author (the bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

The impact of other indexes (Hypothesis 2)

Second, the association between threat framing and other variables were tested, such as numbers of asylum applications, fatality, and detection. As indicated in the 'Other Var' column in Table 3, only the number of fatalities is statistically significant. Figure 13 plots the marginal effect of fatality, showing that an increase in the number of refugee fatalities are more likely to make a threat framing intensified. Thus, Hypothesis 2, stated that deterioration of refugee status intensified threat framing was partly supported.

Figure 13: Marginal effect of fatality
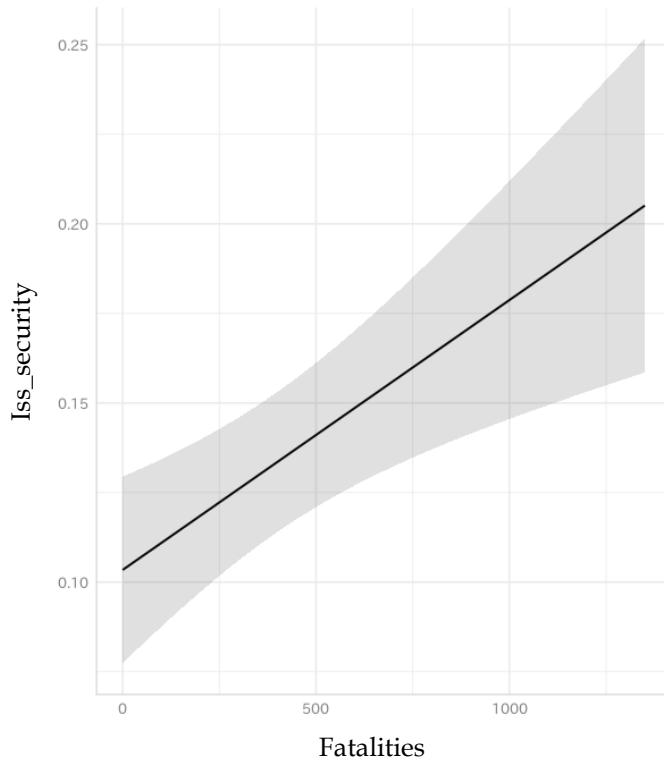
Note: Created by the author (shaded area indicates standard errors)

Temporal analysis (Hypothesis 3)

Now, let us consider a temporal effect. Figure 14 plots the marginal effect of threat framing by temporal term ('pre', 'peri', and 'post' indicate before, during, and after crisis respectably). The intensity of threat framing, which was the lowest before the crisis, reaches the highest point during the crisis period and goes down again in the post-crisis period. Therefore, the third hypothesis is supported.

Figure 14: Marginal of temporal term (pre, peri/during, post crisis)
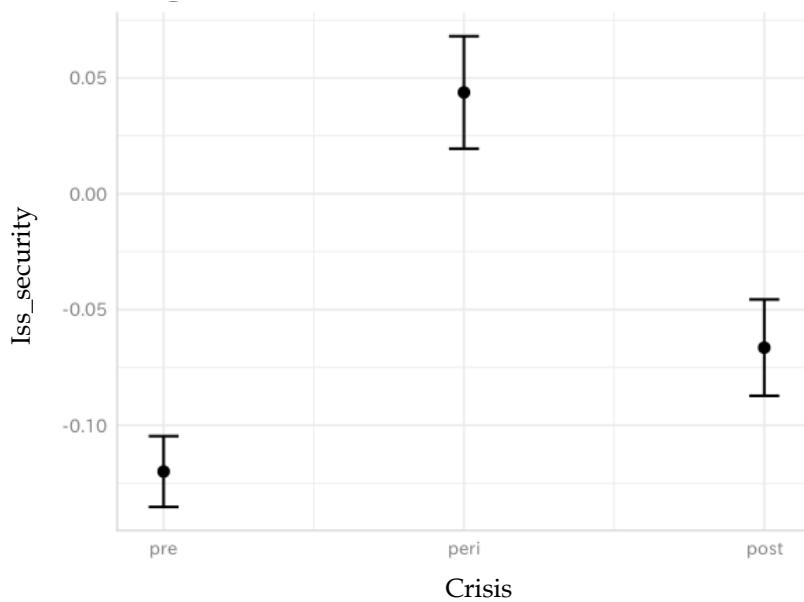
Note: Created by the author (the bars indicate 95% confidence intervals)

Impact of issue (Hypothesis 4)

As for the Hypothesis 4, 'the Middle Eastern newspapers tend to emphasize threat framing associated with security issues rather than the social ones', overall result shown in the 'Issue crisis' column in Table 3 indicates that threat framing is statistically significant and more substantial in news articles associated to terrorism ('terror') and crime ('crime') issue. In contrast, issues, such as welfare ('welfare') and culture ('culture'), are statistically significant in the negative direction. Figure 15 predicts threat framing of the interaction term between terrorism ('terror') and temporal term ('pre', 'peri', and 'post') based on the result of each paper listed in Table 3 (Hayat, Quds, and Sharq Awsat). The data reveals that threat framing becomes the highest in the issue of terrorism during the crisis, compared with other issues in every paper.

Figure 15: Intensity of threat framing on terrorism issue pre, during, and after a crisis
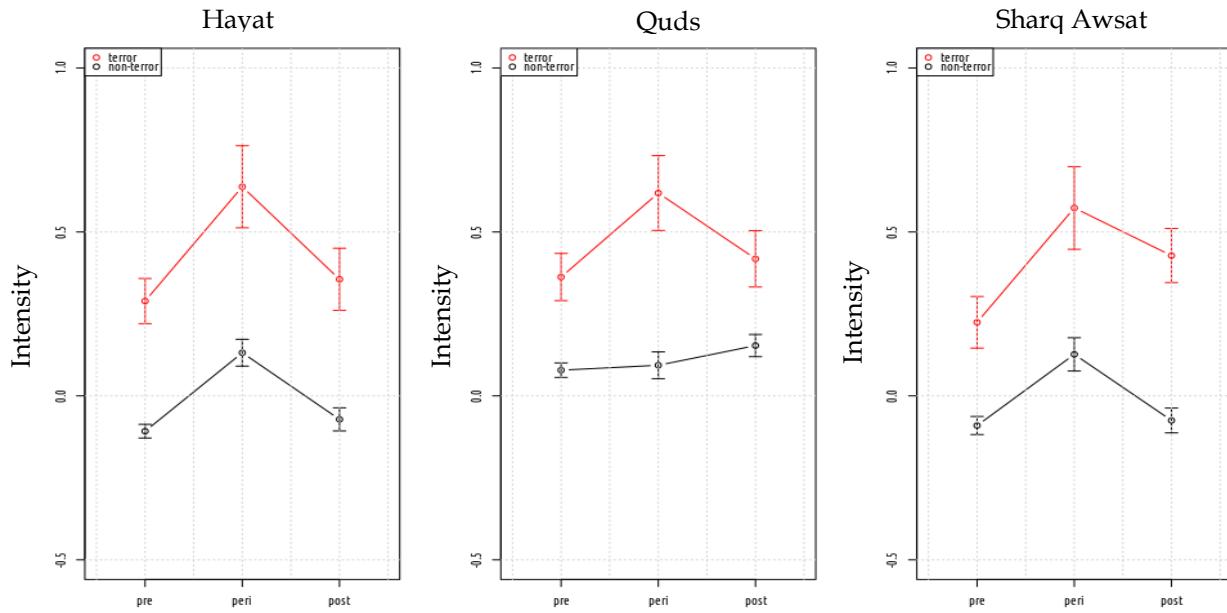
Note: Created by the author (crime articles (red) and non-crime articles (black) before (pre), during (peri), and after (post) the crisis. The bars indicate 95% confidence interval)

On the other hand, the threat framing does not necessarily reach the highest level during the crisis, when it comes to the issue of crime. As we can see from Figure 16, crime-related articles increased threat framing after the crisis compared to that of during the crisis in *Quds*. Thus, hypothesis 4 is supported.

Figure 16: Intensity of threat framing on crime issue pre, during, and after a crisis
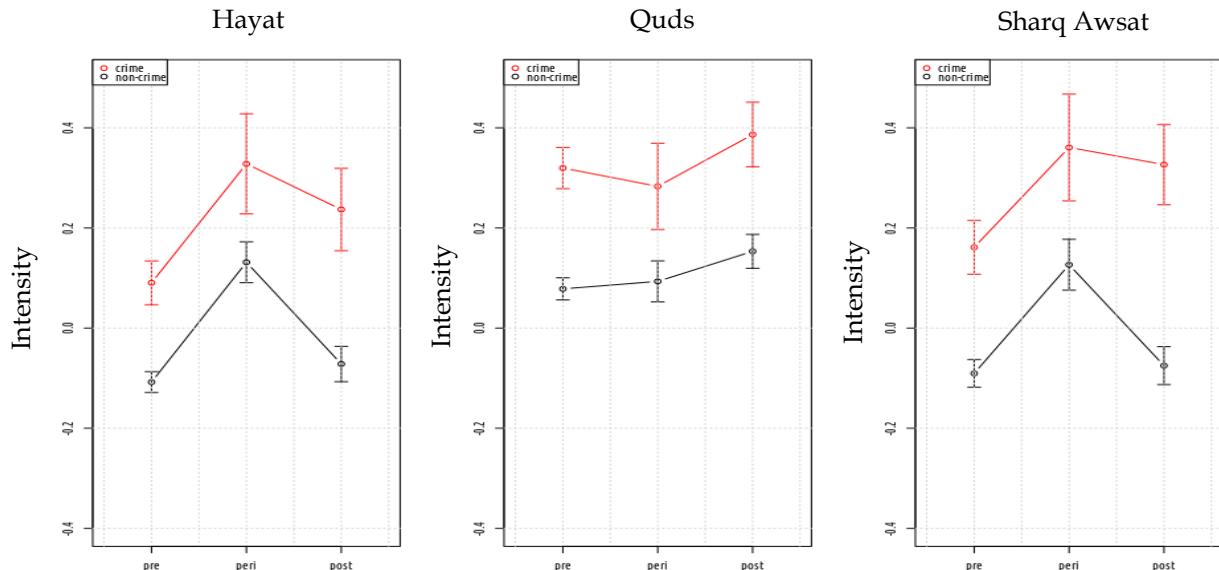

Note: Created by the author

Geographical impact (Hypothesis 5)

The fifth hypothesis stated that *the news articles do not always perceive refugees by threat framing when they are associated with the Middle East.* Figure 17 indicates the coefficient of each independent variable in the 'Middle East' columns in Table 4. As this figure indicates, the threat framing in articles related to the Middle East (indicated as 'meTRUE' in Figure 17) is more likely to be lower in *Hayat* but higher in *Quds* and *Sharq Awsat*. This means that threat framing is not necessarily high when it comes to the articles associated with the Middle East. Rather it depends on the newspapers. Although the tone of reporting refugees reveals threat framing, the newspapers do not always persist threat framing when they report refugees in the Middle East related news, possibly because refugees in this region might be perceived as experiencing a vulnerable existence not directly associated with a security threat. Therefore, Hypothesis 5 is supported.

Figure 17: Coefficient of issues and geography by the papers on the Middle East
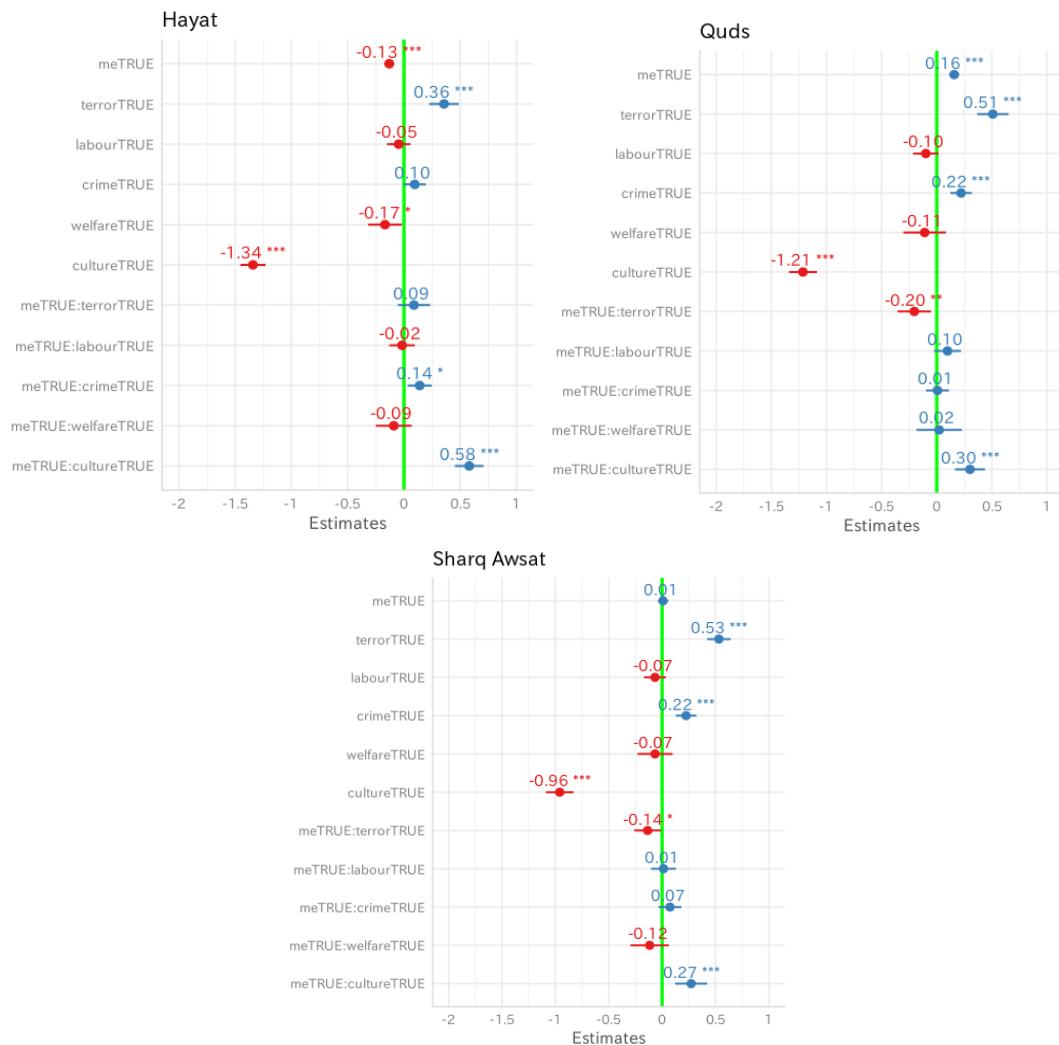
Note: Created by the author

Impact of geography and issue (Hypothesis 6)

Finally, interaction terms between the Middle East and culture (indicated as "meTRUE: cultureTRUE" in Figure 17) shown in Figure 17 are all statistically significant in a positive direction in all three newspapers. This means that the news articles associated with the Middle East are more likely to perceive refugees as a cultural threat, although overall articles tend to report threats from refugees with regard to issues such as terrorism and crime, as previously mentioned. Thus, Hypothesis 6 is also supported.

Conclusion

In conclusion, as we have seen, threat framing can be different from the newspaper, refugee status, timing, issue of the article, and geographical factors. The most liberal paper (*Hayat*) is more likely to report refugees with the lowest intensity of threat framing (H1). An increase in the number of refugee fatality tends to intensify threat framing (H2 partly). The threat level continued to rise over time and reached the highest point during the crisis (H3).

The Middle Eastern newspapers tended to emphasize threats associated with terrorism and crime, rather than social issues, such as housing, labor, and culture (H4). Considering that terrorists, such as IS fighters, flew into Europe under the cover of refugees and committed crimes, such as the Paris attacks, this result is consistent with our observation of the crisis.

Nonetheless, when geographical variables were added into the analysis, this study found that the newspaper articles, if they are associated only to the Middle East, do not always perceive the refugee by threat framing (H5). They are more likely to perceive refugees as a cultural threat, not terrorism or crime (H6), even though overall articles tend to walk on those lines.

This suggests that in the major newspapers in the Middle East, the threat of refugees associated with terrorism and crime is primarily reported as a story in European countries, far from the Middle East. Furthermore, the Middle Eastern papers attempted to converge various issues of the refugees related to cultural threats, such as brain drain, cultural outflow, cultural conflict, and conflicts caused by differences of religion and religious sects. By doing so, the Middle Eastern papers have been trying to 're-securitize' the refugee crisis. In other words, the newspapers tried to perceive the threat of terrorism and crime only within Europe. They also tried the threat of culture, which they cannot address only within the Middle Eastern context. Thus, the refugee crisis was 're-securitized' and perceived as problems not directly caused by this region. This tone of reporting is consistent with that of the governments in the region, who did not want to face the seriousness of the refugee crisis and the ways to tackle these problems. Thus, 're-securitization' is an 'evasion' of their responsibility.

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