

Media Coverage of Migration in 2015 and 2018 in Five European Countries: United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain and Sweden

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Abstract

Original Research Article

Media and news agencies in general shapes public opinion. This study argued that there would be a shift to less favorable opinion about migration in the newspaper in 2015 than in 2018. This is largely due to the increasing rate of terrorist attacks that occurred within the periods under study. To prove the argument for this study, content analysis was used to analyse newspapers in five different European countries- Germany, Spain, United Kingdom, Sweden and France. It was evident in the study that, different attitudes by the countries were developed in dealing with the issues of migrations. Nonetheless, there was a general shift in the focus of coverage across Europe showing similarities across the cases studied.

Keywords: Migration, Humanitarian concern, Border Control, European Countries, Media, Terrorism, Migration Crisis, Newspapers, Immigration.

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INTRODUCTION

The migration crisis was a topic which received considerable attention of the European press in 2015. However, migration seemed to be covered differently across countries. Even though migration crisis is less mediatized than in 2018, the support to anti-immigration policies by political parties seemed to have increased since 2015, especially for electoral purposes. Since public opinion tends to be shaped by the most distributed newspapers in each country, the hypothesis tested in this study is that there would be a significant shift to less favorable opinions about migration in newspapers in 2018 compared to 2015, especially since there were numerous terrorist attacks. In order to test this hypothesis, there was a selection of articles from 5 European countries in 2015 and 2018 from the two or three most distributed newspapers in each country. This study covers European countries, which are Germany, Spain, United Kingdom, Sweden and France because their migration policies are different and because the number of migrants they welcomed differs significantly. For instance, in 2015 Germany received 476,000 first time migration applications, whereas Spain received just over 5,000 [1]. A list of codes was prepared according to the ideas most likely to be conveyed in the articles. They were then compiled for each article, for each year and for each country. Afterwards, the codes were combined to get results for

all articles and all countries in 2015 and 2018. The method preferred was content analysis because it has the advantage to generate categories of codes close to opinions expressed articles and it is a method which combine advantages of qualitative and quantitative methods. Our work contributes to the academic literature on the similarities and differences of views in the migration crisis' media coverage both within and across countries. It intends to give insight on various countries answers such as how they responded to mass migration and policy outlooks that will aid development in future occurrences. Also, this study give cues about an important. Also, this study also paved way to grant future researchers an idea and the trends of migration crisis in the global world general mass migration trend in the world from Africa to Europe.

SCHOLARLY WORK ON MIGRATION

The thesis 'News coverage of immigration issues in Europe: A content analysis on how international news agencies portray immigrants to the world' which points out discrepancies in migrants' representation in four news agencies: Agence France Presse, The Associated Press, Reuters and Inter Press Service inspired us in our research process. The method preferred was to code a definition to each article selected according to nine categories: "quantity, length, main destination country mentioned; immigrant's region of origin, topic, frame

behind the news, represented voices, writing style and tone"[2].(News coverage of immigration issues in Europe: A content analysis on how international news agencies portray immigrants to the world, p. 5) The hypothesis is that media coverage of these four international news agencies would be different according to their missions, their media focus, their perception of valuable information and their internal structure. All of those factors influence the migration coverage they would go for. Our research is based on a similar assumption that media coverage differs along values, priorities and conceptions of news values of medias. The coding method and the content analysis method we advocated for is similar. However, we focus on migrants' representation in three to four different medias of five European countries, which are Sweden, Great-Britain, France, Germany and Spain, instead of news agencies.

The doctoral thesis 'The European 'migration crisis' and the media: A cross-European press content analysis' of Prof Lile Chouliaraki, Dr Myria Georgiou and Dr Rafal Zaborowski also built a media coverage of eight European countries in 2015 from July to December [3]. They based their results on 20 articles for each newspaper in three periods for a total of 1200 articles analyzed. The countries included were Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Serbia and the United Kingdom. This doctoral thesis convinced us to undertake a media coverage instead of a social media analysis since traditional medias played a more important role in shaping public opinion on this topic. Indeed, traditional medias were still perceived as a more trustworthy source of information than social medias since 'the scale and speed of mediated information to make sense of developments on the ground as well as the lack of familiarity with the new arrivals, their histories and the reasons for their plight meant that many Europeans depended exclusively on the media to understand what was happening.' (Chouliaraki, Georgio, Zaborowski, p.4) Also, we were interested in the evolution of media coverage over a long time period, beginning at the commonly accepted peak of the 'migration crisis 'in summer 2015 and finishing in 2018, which is considered to be approximately the end of it.

The report prepared for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees 'Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU : A Content Analysis of Five European Countries' [4] strengthened our intention to go for a media coverage content analysis since it is mentioned that the mass media 'can set agendas and frame debates. They provide the information which citizens use to make sense of the world and their place within it.' (Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore p. 5) Indeed, social media users tend to refer to mass media articles in their Facebook or Twitter publications to support their opinions. This report analyzed the media coverage of migrants and refugees

in five European countries (Italy, United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, Spain and Germany) in 2014 and 2015. They considered over 1500 articles from numerous medias and from different political affiliations for representativeness matters. Key questions which championed their research were: 'Who are the key sources in coverage? Which political parties are most cited? Where are refugees and migrants identified as coming from? What terms are used to describe those trying to enter the EU? What is the prevalence of different themes in coverage? What explanations are offered for why people trying to enter the EU? What solutions to the migration crisis are present in coverage?' (Berry, Garcia-Blanco and Moore p. 6) We kept those questions in mind while pondering which newspaper articles' elements to put in our analysis such as actors, main arguments expressed, migrants' representation and solutions proposed. This report bear resemblance to our research a lot in the sense that five European countries were selected and that the method applied is a content analysis, but coding contrasts. We ascribed numerous keywords to each articles' paragraphs reflecting the main ideas conveyed, the actors involved and solutions put forward. This method is thus more systematic and easier to perform. Also, the time frame of articles selected is longer, which makes our results more up-to-date. For those reasons, our research is relevant in order to draw long term conclusions of European migration crisis' consequences over the years.

Research Design

As it has been evidently demonstrated above, there were studies that examined the extent to which the media demonstrated the activities of issues of the immigration. To do this analysis in a more appropriate manner, content analysis was used and coding were done manually. In our approach we print out each article, divide into paragraphs, and code each paragraph with a topic. Content analysis was chosen to allow us to do vigorous understanding of the text since we decided to code each paragraph. As put by Krippendorff [5], this type of techniques allowed the researcher to make replication and draw inferences from texts. Similar explanation was given by scholars such as Bryman [6] that this technique is a good tool for quantification which are basically done in terms of categorization of variables in a systematic way.

The main categorization of variables or the topics used in this paper is in line with other scholarly work as well as carefully fitting this variables to the objective of the study. The topic and frame of each newspaper was coded to show how the various articles examined were portrayed to the readers by their agencies. In all, 19 topics were adequately defined and coded. In the process of counting this codes, there is likelihood of mistakenly missing some variables in our data collated. This has the tendency of creating biases in our work. To address this problem, we employed an

approach which we termed as ‘double counting’. By this we mean a different person verify the collated results by also counting them again. This help us to be transparent as much as possible and remove any possibility of biases that may come due to missing values. The following topics were identified and coded:

1. Challenges of Integration (the potential difficulties of integrating a large number of migrants/refugees from another culture as well as the economic and social difficulties this might cause.)
2. Humanitarian Issues (the plight of migrants and refugees.)
3. Crime (concern about a possible rise in the crime rates in the host country due to an influx of migrants/refugees.)
4. Border Control (focus on securing border and the challenges posed by migration for this.)
5. Trafficking (concern with human trafficking in the context of the migration crisis.)
6. Terrorism (concern that the migration crisis could lead to an increase in terrorism.)
7. National Sovereignty (worry that national sovereignty could be diluted by an influx of migrants/refugees.)
8. Identity (concern that national identity could be diluted by an influx of migrants/refugees)
9. Economic Benefits (a focus on the potential economic benefits of increased immigration.)
10. Inclusion (call for integration of migrants and refugees)
11. Uncoordinated response (Focus on the difficulty experienced by European countries in finding a united front in the face of the crisis.)
12. Panic (sense of panic in the face of the migration crisis.)
13. Informative (Purely informative.)
14. Rise of Right wing (Concern at the possibility of a rise in the popularity of right-wing

populism in Europe in the wake of the migrant crisis.)

15. Solution (solutions that were proposed in the articles)
16. Deportation (preconized solution is deportation of migrants)
17. Selection of migrants (need for more selection before migrants come/be more selective for migrants and refugees)
18. Inevitability (the increase of migration and of refugees is inevitable/it is necessary to adapt)
19. Relativizing problem (problems faced by Europe are not comparable to those faced by migrants and refugees)

Sample

To be able to draw the sample easily for this study, Google Advanced Search was used. This sample is made of issues of migration crisis in the news agencies that was chosen. In doing these, a lot of article pops up which becomes bulky and could results to selection biases. We Minimizes these likelihoods by reducing the articles to a relative manageable size. This was done by actually searching for various articles that contains words such as: immigration, migration, immigrants and migrants, but however they must be closely related to migration crisis. This means, we excluded articles that may have our key words but has nothing to do with the issues of immigration or they are not related to our goals.

Furthermore, to see a trend and to be able to understand the representation of migration in the media of different European countries, this research focused on two main periods. First, 2015 where the migration crisis was in ascendancy and 2018 which is the aftermath of the crisis. This approach helps us understand how the media in each country portray migration issues. At the same time, it gave us greater incites on the cross country analysis of this phenomenon.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

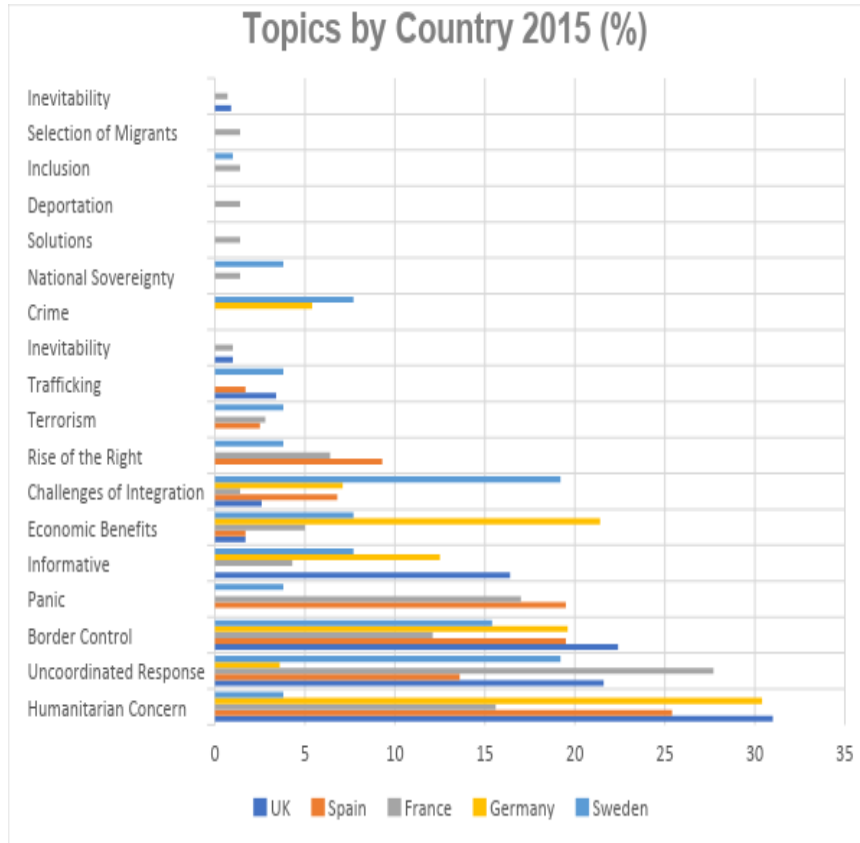


Fig-1: Bar Chart showing the distribution of topics used by countries in 2015

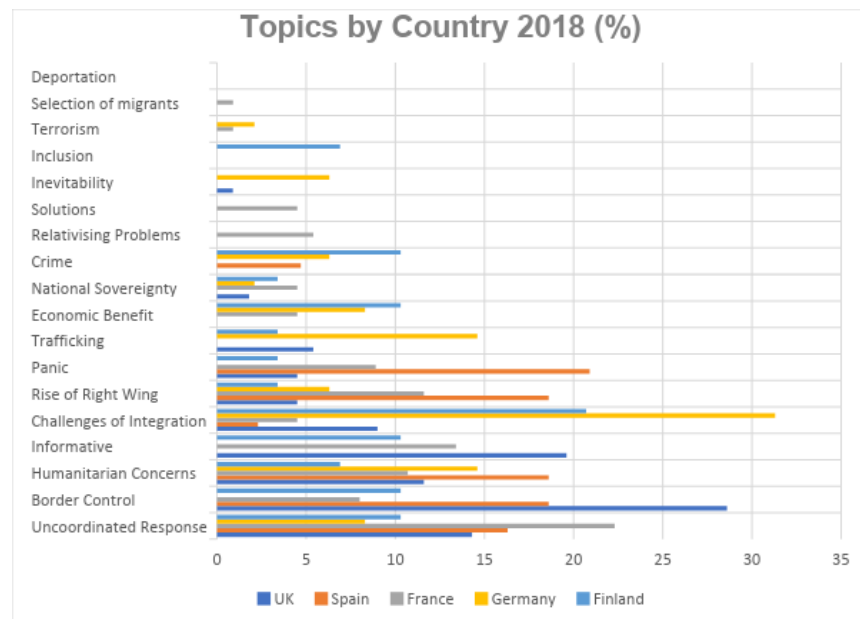


Fig-2: Bar Chart showing the distribution of topics used by countries in 2018

France

The three media that were selected in France were *L'Express*, *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* based on the importance of their distribution. These three newspapers were noted to be the most read papers by a large population of France. Four articles of each media were selected in 2015 and 2018, which makes a sample of 24 articles in total for both years. In 2015, the most

recurrent codes for France were in decreasing order:3 uncoordinated responses (39), panic (24), humanitarian concern (22), border control (17), rise of right wing (9), economic benefits (7), informative (6), terrorism (4), solutions (2), deportation (2), integration (2), national sovereignty (2), challenges of integration (2), selection of migrants (2), inevitability (2). According to these results, we can see that the most important concern of

the actors portrayed in the media were by far oriented towards the lack of coordination between the European countries. In some countries as Germany, the general dominating political line was to encourage European countries to welcome more migrants whereas some other countries such as Greece and Italy preferred a more severe border control. In the articles of *Le Figaro*, *L'Express* and *Le Monde*, it was a common concern that Europe would not be able to come to a coordinated response to the migrant crisis. This explains the high number of results of the code panic. However, the migrants and refugees situation was depicted as highly difficult. Even in the most commonly agreed right wing media selected such as *Le Figaro*, Journalists reported a great feeling of empathy of French people towards migrants and refugees which is depicted by the higher number of humanitarian concern. On the other hand, it was also common to find concern about border control. For instance, many journalists stated the idea to review the Schengen area, particularly in *Le Figaro*, as a mean to assure a certain border control. The actors were also highly worried about the rise of the right wing, especially with Marine Le Pen's gain of popularity in 2015. Generally, this kind of important wave of migration in Europe was perceived as economically challenging in the beginning but economically beneficial in the long run. Unsurprisingly there was a common concern about terrorism. Afterwards, it is difficult to draw more conclusion, since diverging ideas obtain equal number of codes such as deportation (2) and integration (2). To sum up, the results are a lot more mitigated than what we thought terrorists attacks such as the Bataclan in France in 2015.

In 2018, the most common topics in the articles were uncoordinated responses (25), informative (15), rise of right wing (13), humanitarian concern (12), border control (10), panic (9), relativizing problems (6), economics benefits (5), challenges of integration (unemployment/identity) (5), solutions (5), national sovereignty (1), terrorism (1), selection of migrants (1). There were no codes for deportation, inclusion, trafficking and crime. According to the smaller number of codes about panic, there is less a feeling of panic equally for the population, for the incumbents than between journalists. The number of codes for uncoordinated responses between European countries is still high, but is significantly lower (almost twice). The support for right wing ideas seems to have increased a bit and was a recurrent topic in *Le Monde* articles. Humanitarian concerns codes have also decreased significantly between 2015 and 2018 but it is still one of the main topic which makes the population, journalists and some politicians worry. Conversely, there was still an important support of the reinforcement of border control, from which the most recurrent solution proposed was to review the Schengen area. Furthermore, some journalists intended to relativize the problems of Europe compared to those of the migrants, which was a lot less present in 2015. Thus, the articles

seem to contain more nuanced arguments than in 2015. The perception about migration being economically beneficial or challenging has exactly received the same number of codes. This tendency strangely coincide with the European cooperation barometer facts sheet about migration for France which states that there are 55% of respondents which considered migration which have an overall positive impact on the national economy, 40% thought this was not the case, and 10% did not know. Indeed this mitigated public opinion about the economic impact of migration is the same as the ideas reported in the newspapers. Unsurprisingly, there are less concern towards terrorism than in 2015 in France or at least it seems to be less mediatized. In light of what has been said, there appears to be a slight rise of right wings anti-immigration thoughts in France and still a lack of coordination between European countries responses. Hence, the general opinion seems to be more mitigated and the preferred solutions to migrations a lot different for the French population in 2018.

Spain

The data for Spanish newspapers shows a significant difference in the topics addressed by the Spanish print media when we compare our results for the year 2015 with the year 2018. One of the most striking differences was the fall in the total quantity of codes assigned for any topic: from 118 for 2015 to 43 in 2018, a drop of over 63% on the original figure. The reason for this was a discernible change in focus from 2015 to 2018. Articles written in 2015 tended to direct their attention to the migrants themselves, and to the inability of European countries to respond to their arrival in a unified way. In contrast, articles from 2018 had a noticeably weaker focus on the migrants themselves, although they were ostensibly about the migration crisis. Instead they tended to focus to a far greater degree on the internal politics of Spain as well as the politics of the European Union. This does not mean that the articles selected were not about the migrant crisis, only that the focus of the print media seems to switched from the migrants themselves to the impact they were having on the ordinary politics of their destination – the subject turned from being a dramatic crisis to one of the 'issues of the day'. In terms of specific topics, the topic which saw the biggest rise in terms of percentage points is 'the rise of the right', which became much more prominent in the coverage of 2018 than it was in 2015. This may be to do with the after-effects of the crisis on the political landscape of Europe – while it may have been foreseeable that large scale migration would cause a rise in right wing sentiment in 2015 the actual results of this rise were only observable in the years after as various European countries had elections. In general we can observe a greater focus on five main topics in 2018: Panic, Humanitarian, Border Control and the Rise of Right wing parties, each of which represent about a fifth of topics for that year.

Germany

For Germany we selected four different newspapers that cover the political spectra in this country. The newspapers were selected due to their ideological representation of large sways of the German public: the centre-right tabloid “BILD-Zeitung, the centre-right newspaper “DIE WELT”, the left-of-centre newspaper “ZEIT” and the left-wing tabloid “tageszeitung”. These are some of the biggest newspapers in Germany with an accumulated readership of millions of people, therefore these newspapers provide a good sample of representative coverage of the so-called “refugee crisis” of 2015. For each newspaper we analyzed 2 articles from the year 2015 and two from the year 2018 which gives a sample of 16 articles for Germany. In 2015 the most recurring codes for Germany in decreasing order were: Humanitarian (17), Economic Benefits (12), Border Control (11) Informative (7), Challenges of Immigration (4), Crime (3) and Uncoordinated Response (2). Codes such as Terrorism, Rise of right Wing and National Sovereignty were not covered in depth. These results correspond with our observation of the German publics’ mood in 2015 which can be best described by the German word *Willkommenskultur* (culture of welcoming) and the general concern of the German elite that Germany has to import labor due to the demographic crisis that hit Germany as a result of the ageing German workforce, therefore especially economic benefits were emphasized in the coverage of the migration crisis. In 2015 even the newspaper that we classified as centre-right tabloid, the BILD Zeitung was mostly reporting in positive and informative terms (e.g. the article “Seven prejudices against refugees” BILD, 2015). Hence it is possible to call the German newspaper coverage of the crisis in 2015 a *media-consensus* that highlighted the humanitarian aspects and focused on the economic benefits of immigration. Some newspapers decided that the humanitarian aspect was so important that they were not just reporting about the ongoing crisis, but becoming actors themselves: This is notably elucidated by the “#refugeeswelcome” campaign of the centre-right BILD tabloid.

In 2018 the most recurring codes were: Challenges of Immigration (15), Trafficking (7), Humanitarian (7), Uncoordinated Response (4), Economic Benefit (4), Rise of Right Wing (3), Crime (3), Inevitability (3) National Sovereignty (1) and Terrorism (1). It is possible to observe a change in attitude and emphasis through these codes. The number of Humanitarian Codes was halved compared to the 2015 coverage and *Challenges of immigration, Trafficking* and *Right Wing Parties* were dominating the coverage in 2018. This change in attitude could have arisen out of the fear of terror attacks, after a number of attacks were committed by refugees (e.g. Berlin 2016) and the right wing party Alternative for Germany gained considerable seats in the last parliamentary elections (from 4% in 2013 to 13% in 2017). We can see

a trend that in the years following the crisis that started in 2015 the media consensus of *Willkommenskultur* decreased and the focus went from benefits of immigration and humanitarian issues to problems concerning immigration.

United Kingdom (UK)

For UK, the Daily Mail, the Daily Telegraph, the Mirror, the Sun and The Guardian were the main news agencies that were selected for this work. Again, these are among the most widely read papers and by selecting them is capable of shaping public opinion and remains to be objective as much as possible. This by extension put this work in minimizing the tendency of biases that may arise due to problems of selecting newspapers. Two articles each from all five newspapers were selected in each year. Except that, instead of the two articles for the 2015 only one from Telegraph was selected. This was due to unavailability of data. In all, 19 articles were used in UK for both years. Unlike France and other countries, the most recurrent code for 2015 was the issue of humanitarian. These are illustrated below in decreasing order. Humanitarian (36), Border Control (26), Uncoordinated response (25), Informative (19), Trafficking (4), Challenges of integration (3), Economic benefit (2), Inevitability (1). In the year 2015, there were no codes on Crime, Terrorism, Rise of Right Wing, and Panic.

The main reasons for the dominance for the issue of humanitarian concern was due to the fact that, there was a strong opposition by the Prime Minister David Camaron in accepting immigrants especially refugees. He was of the view that to stop the problem particularly on the refugee crisis is not about opening your borders for them, but by putting measures that will end the wars and conflicts in the country these people were coming from. However, there has been series of pressure on the government to accept these people after dead body of a young boy was found at Turkish beach. The calls for the government came from the public, civil society organizations, politicians and the media citing many humanitarian reasons why the government needs to accept more migrants. This has dominated discussions in the public space for a very long time in United Kingdom.

Conversely, in 2018, border control dominated the discussions both in the media and the political cycle. The results for the coding in 2018 are illustrated below also in decreasing order : Border Control (32), Informative (22), uncoordinated response (16), Humanitarian (13), Challenges of integration (10), Trafficking (16), Panic (5), Rise of Right Wing (5), National Sovereignty (2) Inevitability (1). In this year, there was no code for Crime, economic issues, deportation and inclusion.

In 2018, the crisis declined gradually. However, there has been growing concern that many of

those who kept coming to UK do not come there because they were victims of wars in their country, but because they came for their own opportunities. Such people only took advantage of the crisis to enter into the country. The government of United Kingdom try to ensure measures that will control their borders. Common words that were used to describe such immigrants were ‘unwanted migrants, illegal migrants, undocumented migrants’ among others. As it is evident above, humanitarian issues dropped significantly, where border control became an important issue for them.

Sweden

Even though our initial idea was to choose Greece and its media, we thought it would be more informative to choose Sweden instead for several reasons. First, Sweden has become one of the most important actor in accepting migrants and refugees from syrian civil war started. Second, Swedish migration policies has gained much more attention in international media, compared to any other country. Third, it was much easier to find original articles and data in English from Swedish newspapers, than from Greece, so we could gather the right amount of diverse articles and code them correctly. For the purposes of our research, we selected 3 main Swedish newspapers in English: *The Local*, *Nordstjerman*, and translations of articles of *Aftonbladet* – the most popular newspaper in Sweden. With overall sample of 16 articles in total for both years. In 2018, the most recurrent codes for Sweden were in decreasing order: Uncoordinated Response(5), Border Control(4), Challenges of Integration(3), Economic concerns (3), Economic Benefits (4), Inclusion (4), Informative (2), Humanitarian Issues(2), Crime (2), Right Wing Parties(2), Identity(1), Trafficking(1), National Sovereignty(1), Panic(1), Terrorism(1).

Comparing with the articles from 2015, we can observe that Swedish population continues to believe in economic benefits of migrants and refugees and the importance of their inclusion into Swedish culture. Media portrayal and general attitude of the population towards migrants and refugees continues to be relatively positive. This also goes in accordance with Eurobarometer survey 469 on "Integration of immigrants in the European Union", 2018 from the European Commission. What started to raise more concerns and questions after 2015 is the problem of border control and the uncoordinated response of the public service – all because of the huge number of migrants and refugees from Syria, which created chaos in 2015, and continues to exist, but in a less extent. A question of inclusion gained a new turn in the papers – because of the huge number of migrants and refugees, they formed their closed communities and had troubles learning Swedish language or culturally assimilating. Also some attention was gained to highly raised crime rates in migrant areas of Sweden, which radicalized a minor group of population and led to the rise of Right

Wing party’s agenda. To conclude this, despite all the problems of assimilation, up to this day Sweden continues to be one of the most liberal and migrant-friendly country across all the EU, viewing its migration policy as its strength, and advocating other European countries to share their stance on migration and refugee issues.

General Analysis

Having discussed the most noticeable trends in each country which are revealed by our data we can move on to a more informative discussion to address the question of the portrayal of migrants across European countries. In general the clearest difference between coverage in 2015 and 2018 was a shift from focusing on three main topics (Humanitarian Concerns, Uncoordinated Response and Border Control) to a more balanced focus on five important topics (Uncoordinated Response, Border Control, Humanitarian Concern, Informative, and the Challenges of Coordination). Whereas in 2015 those three key topics dominated all the others, representing by themselves nearly two thirds of the codes assigned, we can see a much more even share in 2018, where the top five topics all have between 10.8% and 16% of topics assigned. This difference perhaps represents the greater temporal distance between journalists writing in 2018 from the crisis when compared with journalists writing in 2015, who were faced with the challenge of reporting on an unprecedented and fast developing crisis in real time. In those circumstances the tendency of coverage to focus on a narrow range of topics is understandable. The nature of these topics themselves is also logical - the most immediately visible aspects of the crisis were naturally the human suffering it entailed, along with the paralysis and lack of coordination which characterized the initial European response and the issue of border security. The broader spectrum of topics represented in newspaper coverage from the year 2018 likely represents a more considered response on the behalf on journalists, facilitated by the decrease in the tempo of the crisis in comparison with 2015.

If we take some of the most prominent results for our two years we see that in 2018 the UK press afforded a considerably larger proportion of coverage to the topic of Border Control than any other country, which represents a change from 2015 when the main topic in the UK was Humanitarian Concern. This is an interesting result, and may reflect a hardening of public opinion against migration as the crisis wanes and political discourse in the country becomes more focused on issues of borders and the control of immigration in the context of BREXIT. Spain occupies second place for the coverage of border security in its newspapers, which we may attribute to the increased migration it is experiencing along its southern borders and the pressure being experienced by its African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. Similarly, in Germany we see a spike for the topic Challenges of Integration in 2018, perhaps

reflecting a recognition of the challenges to be faced in the assimilation of the large number of refugees and migrants accepted by that country in the course of the crisis - a recognition which may be sharpened by the emergence of populist right wing parties such as Alternative for Germany, which came third in the 2017 federal elections. If we consider one final interesting result for 2018 we might take Spain, which has an unusually high result for Panic - again, possibly a result of the increased migratory pressures that country is facing.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

In this work, we showed that since public opinion is often shaped by various news agencies they cover in their respective country, we argue with our hypothesis that we would see a shift to less favorable opinion about migration in the newspaper in 2015 than in 2018. This is in particular due to the fact that there were a number of terrorist attacks that occurred during the migration crisis. We chose Spain, Germany, United Kingdom, Sweden and France as our case study. In conducting this investigation, content analysis was used to properly understand how this phenomenon unfolded in all the countries we chose. By choosing to focus on two years we hope to be able to trace changes in the press coverage over time. Our results show that in 2015 "Humanitarian Concerns, Uncoordinated Response and Border Control" dominated discussions among the media, the political cycle and the public at large. In another dimension in 2018, the top five topics were "Uncoordinated Response, Border Control, Humanitarian Concern, Informative, and the Challenges of Coordination". The results of our data showed the different attitude each country developed in dealing with migrations, but we also found a general shift in the focus of coverage across Europe. Also, as to when it was necessary for these countries, there is similar attitude they had towards the migrants. While the press coverage differed to a certain extent from country to country we in general surprised at the degree of

similarity across the sampled European countries. We suggest that despite the fact that there has been terrorist attacks and other associated violence that came with migration crisis, it is not enough to conclusively claim the obvious option is to ensure border control. However, there should be broad policy outlooks by these countries to make room for people who may have genuine reasons for migrating from their countries. Additionally, we cannot directly link various violent experiences to the migration situation per se, because people who are not migrants could even take advantage of the situation and engage in their attacks. As a result, we suggest that there is the need to improve both internal and global security systems to ensure the safety of the society.

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