

Victims or Intruders? Framing the Migrant Crisis in Greece and Macedonia

Ivo BOSILKOV and Dimitra DRAKAKI

Abstract. Representations of immigrants in media are considered a major factor in shaping immigration attitudes. In the context of the migrant crisis in Europe, we analyze how news content about the migrant crisis is framed by media in Greece and Macedonia, two neighboring countries on the Balkan migrant route. By using framing theory as analytical framework, this study applies Benson's (2013) paradigmatic "security/threat" and "humanitarian/victim" frame dichotomy in migration coverage to the concept of issue framing. The content analysis of six print media outlets in both countries (N = 660) investigates the variety of subframes and framing devices within the scope of the two overarching frames, finding dominant portrayals of refugees as illegal trespassers, potential terrorists and social burdens in both countries. However, positive depictions of migrants are more common in Greece, which we attribute to the absence of ideological consensus and differences between the countries' political and media systems.

Keywords: *media, framing, migration, Greece, Macedonia*

Introduction

Immigration in Europe has been a heated topic in both public and academic debate in the last decades, due to the major implications it has for the political system and the social fabric of European countries. Yet, if during this period immigration has been considered concerning, in the past two years, with the eruption of conflicts in several regions near to the European continent, especially in the Middle East, the issue has transformed into an existential one, becoming a priority in the mind of many European citizens.

A relatively unscrutinized factor in shaping public opinion on immigration are the media. Information relayed via the press has been shown to have an important role in determining how people think about the issue (Boomgaarden and

Vliegenthart 2009; Schemer 2012; Van Klingeren et al. 2014). In the context of the current so-called “European migration crisis”, with fears about terrorist attacks rising rapidly, and the ever-growing debate about multiculturalism versus assimilation (see Borooah and Mangan 2009, also Triadafilopoulous 2011), the media have an even greater significance regarding the issue. Parallel to the media debate on immigration, there is a metadepbate on whether the media’s approach manages to reflect the complexity of migration, sometimes resulting with criticism for reinforcing discourses of prejudice and exclusion (Thorsbjornsrud 2015; Cecchi 2011).

The first step towards investigating media effects is identification of the news content. Thus, the aim of this study is more narrow both in terms of analytical framework and societal context, focusing on the coverage of migration in an environment strongly affected by it. Media influence public opinion in a variety of ways such as agenda setting and priming (Zaller 1992; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007), but one particular mechanism that is especially utilized in migration coverage is news framing. We add to the literature by analyzing how migration is framed in Macedonia and Greece, comparing the news coverage on the crisis in the two neighboring countries which have been directly affected by the mass movement of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants on the Balkans route. What makes this research question even more pertinent is the fact that the two countries have a very different experience with migrants, distinct social and media traditions, as well as complicated bilateral relations, making comparative media research a suitable approach. Thus we also provide an extensive case contextualization, aimed to explain the rationales of migration framing in the two countries.

Framing migration

We define framing as the way in which reality is organized by journalists and news organizations through their working routines, in order to provide the meaning of the story and capture the essence of the issue (Scheufele 1999). From this perspective, the information packages that constitute media frames are effective as discursive devices because they are made intelligible by individual frames, as “information processing schemata” (Entman 1991), or “internal structures of the mind” (Kinder and Sanders 1990). Lecheler and De Vreese (2012) encapsulate this relationship by conceiving frames as patterns of interpretation that are used to classify information sensibly and process it efficiently. Therefore, there is a

fundamental distinction between framing as a microconstruct, represented by the existing cognitive schemas of audiences that make issues accessible, and as macroconstruct, referring to modes of presentation of information by journalists that reduce the complexity of issues (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007).

The focus of this study is on the latter, or more accurately, on the “frame building” part of Scheufele’s (1999) process model of framing, conducted by journalists (p. 115). Journalistic frames on migration are issue-specific, as they are intrinsically related to certain topics and as such differ from generic frames which can be applied on a wide range of topics (De Vreese et al. 2011). As framing has famously been described by Entman (1993) as “the selection of certain aspects of perceived reality and making them salient, in such way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation” (52), framing migration requires the use of specific techniques to reduce the issue’s complexity, by shedding light on selected aspects of it. Journalists draw such techniques from a repertoire of existing frames based in and bound by culture, and as such, frames result not only from media practices, but also from the specific historical, political and social context in which they occur (Van Gorp 2005: 488). Accordingly, the approach to covering migration is the outcome of the sociopolitical circumstances, reflecting the economic, cultural, and (especially since September 11th) security threat seen in the arrival of newcomers. At the same time, Western democratic values and the political system in Europe assume equal rights for minorities, tolerance of different cultures and protection from persecution through asylum.

It is in this setting that media frames on migration are constructed. Some scholars argue that the focus on irregular immigration in Europe is unbalanced and disproportionate considering its complexity (Benson 2013; Horsti, 2007; Suro 2011; Thorsbjornrud 2015) and media representations of immigration tend to be selective and negative, resulting with “demonisation” of migrants that tends to erode social cohesion and lead to marginalization and exploitation of migrants (Miloni et al. 2015). According to them, issue of immigration is securitized through the discourse of existential fear and othering, which becomes embedded into the constitution of political community and practice (Huysmans 2006), and perpetuated by media through use of terminology such as “illegals”, “clandestines”, “overstayers”, “economic freeriders” with reference to migrants. However, at the same time the tradition of quality journalism in Europe institutes distinct normative commitments

such as diversity of content in political, social and cultural terms, and trustworthy and balanced news (Van Cuilenberg and McQuail 2003). Applied to the issue of migration, this “social responsibility” paradigm has materialized through a strive for serious, in-depth coverage, often utilizing a generic frame of human interest to bring a human face or emotional angle to the presentation of migration, countering stereotypical narratives (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). In the context-specific extension of this framing strategy, media present asylum seekers as vulnerable victims forced to leave their countries due to a fear of persecution because of race, religion, ethnicity or political opinion, and therefore, under international humanitarian laws have the right to protection in another country (Van Gorp 2005).

According to Van Gorp (2005) it is these two conceptualizations which establish a parsimonious dichotomy of migration framing in media; the “intruder” frame; a cultural manifestation of ‘the other’ as a threat to one’s own cultural and economic achievements, and the “victim” frame; a common dramaturgic technique used to portray those find themselves helpless in a situation. The preponderance of the typology in the news is also corroborated by Beyer and Matthes (2015) specifically for illegal migration, and by Benson (2013) in his analysis of immigration coverage in the United States and France. Within these two broad generalizations exists a diversity of subframes; Horsti’s (2007) discourse analysis reveals two underlying frames which fit the threat description: the illegality frame, which portrays the undocumented asylum seeker in the context of criminality and human smuggling, and the control frame, which implies the danger of asylum seekers leaving the reception centres, or their border registration. The enforcement frame and immigration reform frame are characteristic for the American media discourse with regards to Latin immigration (Kim et al. 2011), and even public health is included in the variety of threatening aspects of migration. Within the humanitarian frame, prominent representations are those of migrants as being victims of human smugglers, or suffering from racism (Miloni et al. 2015).

This range of subframes that comprise the categories are necessary for the construction of a more exhaustive codebook that would encompass all the ways in which migrants are framed in media. However, on a higher level of abstraction that we consider essential in order to round up this theoretical overview, we believe our contrasting frames correspond with the idea of valenced frames (Schuck and De Vreese 2006), which assess frames as carrying inherently positive or negative meanings. We depart from the premise that the victim frame highlights

considerations of humanism, empathy and solidarity, thus evoking a compassionate outlook and altruistic sentiment vis-a-vis migrants. In turn, the intruder frame unequivocally depicts migrants as a danger to society. Hence, in substantive terms, from the perspective of “native” media’s portrayal of migrants, the threat frame is negative, while the humanitarian is positive. This is, we argue, is an important distinction when it comes to a cross-national comparative evaluation of how the media represents migration. In this study, we compare Greece and Macedonia, the first EU and non-EU country on European soil respectively, along the Balkan migrant route.

Case contextualization

Despite being neighbouring states on the Balkans, Greece and Macedonia diverge significantly in terms of government characteristics, political tradition and media environments. This would indicate not only strong differences in the authorities’ management of the recent migrant crisis sparked by the violence in the Middle East (especially the Syrian war) and the general public perception of the crisis, but also the media coverage of the migrants, as endogenous to the other two aspects.

The relationship between the two countries is also difficult and controversial, as they have been locked in a dispute over Macedonia’s name and identity since its declaration of independence from communist Yugoslavia in 1991 (see Floudas 2002; International Crisis Group,2009). The antagonisms stemming from the dispute didn’t help bilateral cooperation regarding the migrants, which added to the lack of coordination, confusion and chaos on the Greek-Macedonian border, as migrants attempting to reach Western Europe were held in the Idomeni camp in tense conditions that frequently turned violent and reached international notoriety (Smith and Tran 2016).

Macedonia

Beyond the impact of the dispute, the specific internal political, social and media characteristics of the two countries had a prominent effect on their approach to the crisis. Macedonia is a post-communist state which during the last decade has been governed by a right-wing nationalist-populist party VMRO-DPMNE, in a rule

characterized by authoritarianism (Sisovski and Kolozova 2015). The party's authoritarian tendencies have been most strongly felt the media sphere; Freedom House (2016) downgraded the status of the country from "partly free" to "not free", due to government wiretapping of journalists, corrupt ties between officials and media owners, and an increase of attacks on media workers. The Media Sustainability Index (2015) reports that "traditional media are almost completely dominated by pro-government editorial policies, as a result of the active effort of the ruling parties to exert control over the leading broadcast and print media" (78). To facilitate the domination in the political debate, methods such as bribery (or blackmail) of media owners through awarding government advertising contracts and inciting public hatred against certain media and journalists have been employed (Belicanec and Rizliev 2012).

This deeply pessimistic description of the media situation serves to establish its correspondence with the basic outline of the Mediterranean polarized pluralist model by Hallin and Mancini (2004), although with much more extreme characteristics. This model differs from the North Atlantic liberal and the North European democratic corporatist model by the level of political parallelism, which in the Mediterranean type is high, as well as the high role of the state in the media system through intervention and subsidies, in addition to low journalist professionalization. The media situation in Macedonia resembles even more the post-communist Eastern European countries according to the updated Hallin and Mancini media systems analysis. For example, striking similarities can be found with Poland, where media partisanship, political advocacy and clientelism is omnipresent (see Dobek-Ostrowska 2012); however, the media culture is even more dire in Macedonia, where the polarization is more strongly reflected in every sphere of society.

Finally, Macedonia has not only internalized and upgraded corruptive media practices, but also the general media and public discourse vis-a-vis the migrants that has been characteristic for Eastern Europe, one of intolerance, xenophobia and prejudice, further expressed in Eastern EU members' rejection of migrant quotas proposed by the EU (Gross 2015). With the number of migrants on the border rapidly increasing, the government overcame the initial confusion and began implementing a more restrictive policy, eventually refusing entrance for migrants altogether (Kroet 2016). Pro-government media were eager to follow the regime's cues, further solidifying the perception of migrants as a

threat, especially from terrorist attacks. In a situation where most media are controlled by the government, the narrative of danger and emergency quickly became dominant.

Greece

Contrary to Macedonia, Greek media had longer time to evolve since the fall of junta in 1974 and the consolidation of democratic governance. The abolition of state monopoly in the early 90s has led to rampant commercialization of radio and television with hundreds of new channels and stations proliferating at national, regional and local levels (Papatheodorou and Machin 2003). However, media legislation did not contain specific checks to prevent high levels of horizontal concentration of ownership (Media Pluralism Monitor 2014) and as a result, six publishers own the biggest nationally circulated newspapers, many magazines, a handful of broadcast media, as well as press distribution agencies. Furthermore, these owners of the biggest media conglomerates, the 'oligarchs' as commonly known in Greece, are also active in other sectors of the economy and often receive favourable government deals. In such ambient, media are used as instruments for strengthening of relations with politicians to facilitate acquisition of state contracts, as also reported by a US Embassy cable by Wikileaks (Embassy Athens 2006). In general, the media culture in Greece is traditionally seen as being one of clientelism and instrumentalization (Nevradakis 2014), with media and state being intertwined, a phenomenon broadly witnessed in southern Europe (Hallin and Papathanassopoulos 2002).

The fiscal crisis that broke out in Greece in 2009 inevitably affected all existing societal structures including the media landscape, challenging the status-quo as the vast majority of the population started expressing a tendency of questioning the established media organizations. Traditional narratives were gradually starting to get rejected by a more skeptical Greek public scoring some of the lowest levels of trust for the mainstream media institutions in European Union according to the Eurobarometer 2016 survey. The crisis of the predominant media structures led to a shift towards alternative channels of information (Donadio 2013). Simultaneously, the Greek population also punished traditional political elites, leading to the triumph of the leftist party SYRIZA that came into power in January 2015. As the party pledged to regulate the lawlessness of the media scene and dismantle the link between state and private media, a parliamentary examination

committee started an investigation of the legality of advertising expenditure of Greek banks to media and political parties over a period of the last ten years.

The action towards ending corruption in media has been slow and inconsistent as the government of the ruling left-wing Syriza party struggles also on various other fronts: dealing with the long-standing debt crisis and managing the refugees and migrants influx that saw 857 thousand people entering Europe through Greece in 2015, while the closure of the Balkan route in March 2016 left tens of thousands of migrants stranded within the country's borders. The unprecedented influx and the makeshift refugee camps on the borders exacerbated the instability of the press, leaving mostly ideological affiliation as orientational device for covering the crisis.

Data and Methods

To identify the frames in the two countries we employed a quantitative content analysis. Using a deductive approach, we adapted the work of Milioni et al. (2015) to devise a codebook consisting of twelve categories. Seven categories (“smuggling”, “refugee”, “othered”, “scapegoat”, “helpless”, “journey”, “success story”) represented the subframes of the overarching “victim” frame, while the other five (“illegal”, “alien”, “social intruder”, “civic threat”, “health threat”) made up the dimensions of the overarching “intruder” frame. We complemented the coding scheme of Million et al. (2015) with the instructions for identifying ‘framing devices’ of Van Gorp (2005), as well as specific frame properties (prevalence of themes, explanations offered for why people enter the EU, and proposed solutions for the migrant crisis) from a recent UNHCR report on the press coverage of the refugee crisis in the EU (Berry et al. 2015) to increase validity in the particular context.¹ According to coding instructions, for each article frames were coded as present (1) or absent (0). From the subframe variables, we created an additive index for the victim frame (ranging from 0-7) and for the intruder frame (0-5), thus generating the overarching frames by mean calculation.

We selected six newspapers, three from Greece (*Ef Syn*, *To Vima* and *Kathimerini*) and three from Macedonia (*Utrinski Vesnik*, *Vecer* and *Dnevnik*) for our

¹ A detailed codebook containing the full descriptions, problem definition, problem source, responsibility and possible solutions that make up the subframes, is available upon request to the authors.

comparative analysis. The newspapers are considered quality press, and have among the largest circulations in both countries. We took special care to choose print media that belong to all sides of the ideology spectrum, in order to account for the ideological/partisan affiliation factor; as such, *Ef Syn* and *Utrinski* are considered to be generally left-leaning, *Dnevnik* and *Kathimerini* are known as neutral or centrist media, while *To Vima* and *Vecer* have a right-wing bias.

The period we have chosen for analysis were the whole months of February and March 2016. The reason for this particular time frame was due to the escalation of the migrant crisis on the border between the two states and the ultimate closure of the Balkan migrant route, which also spiked media coverage during this period. We gathered the data through searching for the keyword “migrant(s)” and “refugee(s)” in the newspapers online databases. While the online databases don’t encompass all the articles that are published in the print edition, they do account for most of these articles, and more importantly, reflect editorial policy of the newspapers.

During our preliminary sampling procedure, we identified 927 articles on migration in Macedonian media and 2865 articles in Greek media. A design decision was not to analyze the entire population, rather to aim for approximately hundred articles per outlet, a number that would yield a representative sample. Thus we performed systematic sampling, analyzing every third article from the search results in Macedonian newspaper archives, and every eighth article in Greek media, arriving to a total number of 660 articles. The intercoder reliability was assessed with Krippendorff’s alpha and was found satisfactory for both the Greek ($\alpha = 0.67$) and Macedonian media ($\alpha = 0.62$).²

Results

We start the analysis by an overview of the frames present in Macedonian and Greek media separately, establishing a general picture of how the migrant crisis was reported in the newspapers of both countries. Table 1 shows the presence of frames discovered in the articles of *Utrinski*, *Dnevnik* and *Vecer*, allowing comparison between the coverage in the three outlets. The immediate impression is that positive frames (119 in total) are vastly outnumbered by the

² A subsample of ten randomly chosen articles for each outlet was coded by two research assistants, each for the articles of their own native language.

negative ones (291). Among the victim frames, the most utilized is the one portraying migrants as helpless with 48 occurrences, where the three newspapers exhibit a significant difference ($\chi^2(2) = 5.649, p = .059$) with Utrinski using it 24 times. The illegal/criminal frame is the most present one from the negative frames (164), and right-wing Vecer is employing it 71 times, significantly more than Utrinski (51) and Dnevnik (42), $\chi^2(2) = 7.208, p = .027$.

Table 1. Frames in Macedonian newspapers

Frame	Media			Total (N=313)
	Utrinski (N=113)	Dnevnik (N=93)	Vecer (N=117)	
Victim	49	33	37	119
Smuggling	6	8	9	23
Refugee	8	4	8	20
Othered	0*	2*	0*	2
Scapegoat	4*	8*	3*	15
Helpless	24*	10*	14*	48
Journey	6	1	3	10
Success	1	0	0	1
Intruder	103	83	105	291
Illegal	51**	42**	71**	164
Alien	7	4	3	14
Social intruder	33	26	29	88
Civic threat	8**	5**	0**	13
Health threat	4	6	2	12
Total	152	116	142	410

Note: Values represent total number of frames counted. *Row values significantly different from each other at $p < .10$. **Row values significantly different from each other at $p < .05$

The case with Greek print media is the opposite. The positive frames in total are used 403 times among all newspapers, while the negative frames appear 191 times. Chi-square tests reveal statistically significant differences in five of the seven victim subframes, where left-wing Ef Syn is reporting on the crisis with a strong sympathies towards the migrants. The three outlets also are significantly different in intruder framing in three out of five subframes (illegal, social intruder and civic threat), where Kathimerini scores the highest percentage of negative depictions. The entire distribution is provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Frames in Greek newspapers

Frame	Media			Total (N=337)
	<i>Ef Syn</i> (N=106)	<i>Kathimerini</i> (N=136)	<i>To Vima</i> (N=95)	
Victim	192	131	80	403
Smuggling	17*	15*	6*	38
Refugee	15	13	9	37
Othered	31***	7***	6***	44
Scapegoat	21	23	14	58
Helpless	40***	33***	12***	85
Journey	46***	32***	19***	97
Success	22***	8***	14***	44
Intruder	22	111	58	191
Illegal	3***	22***	3***	58
Alien	0	3	2	5
Social intruder	18***	79***	50***	147
Civic threat	0***	5***	0***	5
Health threat	1	2	3	6
Total	214	242	138	594

Note: Values represent total number of frames counted. *Row values significantly different from each other at $p < .10$. **Row values significantly different from each other at $p < .05$. ***Row values significantly different from each other at $p < .001$.

Table 3. Country comparison on Victim frame

Country	Frame						
	Smuggling	Refugee	Othered	Scapegoat	Helpless	Journey	Success
Greece	11.3*	11.0**	13.1***	17.2***	25.2**	28.8***	13.1***
Macedonia	7.1*	6.2**	0.6***	4.6***	14.9**	3.1***	0.3***

Note: Values represent percentages. *Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .10$. **Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .05$. ***Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .001$.

The totals from the previous two tables are presented as percentages in a country comparison in tables 3 and 4. Greek media have within them a distinctively larger percentage of victim frames than Macedonian media. These discrepancies are most highlighted in frames where migrants are portrayed as ‘othered’ by xenophobia or racism with only 0.6 percent of Macedonian reports including this frame, compared to 17.2 percent in Greek media, $\chi^2(1) = 39.349$, $p < 001$. There is a similar significant gap between countries for the “journey” and “success” frames.

On the other hand, framing the migrants as illegals or criminals is much more frequently used in Macedonian media, as more than half the coverage involves this frame, compared to 17.2 percent in Greek media, $\chi^2(1) = 83.230$, $p < .001$. Interestingly, the situation is the opposite with the social intruder or burden frame, which Greek media use significantly more than Macedonian, $\chi^2(1) = 19.289$, $p < .001$. The alien, civic and health threat frames are not heavily utilized.

Table 4. Country comparison on Intruder frame

Country	Frame				
	Illegal	Alien	Soc. intruder	Civic threat	Health threat
Greece	17.2***	1.5**	43.6***	1.5**	1.8
Macedonia	50.8***	4.3**	27.2***	4.0**	3.7

Note: Values represent percentages. *Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .10$. **Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .05$. ***Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .001$

Table 5. Country comparison on dominant frame

Country	Dominant frame			
	Victim dominant	Intruder dominant	Neither/Equal	No frame
Greece	53.0***	33.0***	14.0	4.2*
Macedonia	20.5***	62.4***	17.1	7.7*
Total	37.1	47.4	15.5	5.9

Note: Values represent percentages. *Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .10$. **Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .05$. ***Column values significantly different from each other at $p < .001$

In order to have a clearer picture of what is the overall approach in terms of migrant framing in the two countries, we checked for the dominant frame in each article. We define “dominant” frame as in the one that contains more of the specific positive or negative subframes; if victim subframes outnumber the intruder subframes in a particular article, we considered the overall frame victim dominant, and vice versa. We found that in Greek outlets the victim dominant frame was present in more than half of the articles, while in Macedonian outlets, it is barely over 20 percent, $\chi^2(1) = 74.344$, $p < .001$. Meanwhile, almost two thirds of the articles in Macedonian outlets have intruder dominant framing, significantly different than the 33 percent in Greek outlets, $\chi^2(1) = 56.950$, $p < .001$. There were

47 articles in Greek media and 55 in Macedonian media that didn't have a dominant frame (the number of positive and negative subframes was equal), out of which a small percent didn't have any type of framing (Table 5).

We conducted a one-way ANOVA to find out the differences in framing between the specific outlets for the victim and intruder indices. For the victim frame, there is a significant effect of the individual outlet on the frame utilization, $F(5, 652) = 38.370, p < .001$. Greek newspapers use the victim frame significantly more than Macedonian newspapers. However, there is also a significant difference between Ef Syn on one side, and Kathimerini and To Vima on the other side. The latter two don't exhibit a difference between their reporting, and neither do the Macedonian newspapers between them. The means are presented in Table 6. In the second row of the same table we see the differences in the use of the intruder index by outlet. A significant effect exists, $F(5, 654) = 17.611, p < .001$, but it is caused singlehandedly by Ef Syn whose mean for intruder framing is significantly lower than all other newspapers, which are largely at the same level.

Table 6. Mean scores of Victim and Intruder frame by outlet

Frame	Greece		Macedonia				Total
	Ef Syn	Kathimerini	To Vima	Utrinski	Dnevnik	Vecer	
Victim	1.81 (1.36)	0.97 (1.06) ^a	0.84 (1.14) ^a	0.43 (0.75) ^b	0.36 (0.54) ^b	0.32 (0.51) ^b	0.79 (1.08)
Intruder	0.21 (0.43)	0.82 (0.73) ^a	0.93 (0.82) ^a	0.91 (0.79) ^a	0.89 (0.61) ^a	0.90 (0.64) ^a	0.78 (0.73)

Notes: Means for 'Victim' generated from a 0-7 scale. Means for 'Intruder' generated from a 0-5 scale. Values in brackets represent standard deviations. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Tukey. ^{a,b,c,d,e,f,g} Row values with different subscripts were significantly different from each other at $p < .05$.

Expectedly, these tendencies spilled over into the findings from analysis exploring specifically the effects of country and ideology on the indices. From the examination by means of multivariate ANOVA, there is a notable main effect of country, $F(1, 652) = 125.888, p < .001$, indicating that average presence of the victim frame was significantly higher in Greek ($M = 1.20, SD = 1.25$) than in Macedonian media ($M = 0.37, SD = 0.61$). The main effect of ideology also yielded a significant difference, $F(2, 652) = 18.474, p < .001$ between left-leaning ($M = 1.10, SD = 1.28$), centrist ($M = 0.72, SD = 0.93$) and right-leaning ($M = 0.55, SD = 0.89$) media (see Table 7). The interaction between country and ideology was also

significant, $F(2, 652) = 11.919, p < .001$; the effect of ideology is greater for Greece, than it is for Macedonia. The Greek left-leaning newspaper is significantly different from both centrist and right wing ones at $p < .001$, while Macedonian newspapers are not significantly different from each other based on ideological position.

Table 7. Victim frame means by ideology and country

Ideology	Country		
	Greece	Macedonia	Total
Left-leaning	1.81 (1.36)	0.43 (0.75)	1.10 (1.28)
Centrist	0.97 (1.05)	0.36 (0.54)	0.72 (0.93)
Right-leaning	0.84 (1.14)	0.32 (0.51)	0.55 (0.89)
Total	1.20 (1.25)	0.37 (0.61)	0.79 (1.07)

Note: Values in brackets represent standard deviations.

For the intruder frame, the main effects of country, $F(1, 654) = 10.179, p < .001$, and ideology, $F(2, 654) = 7.738, p < .001$, are also significant. The presence of the intruder frame is significantly smaller in Greece than it is in Macedonia, and left-leaning media are significantly different from both centrist and right-wing, although there isn't a significant difference between centrist and right-wing media ($p = .601$). In this case there is also a significant simple main effects, driven clearly by the difference between utilization of the intruder frame among leftist outlets in both countries ($p < .001$), since there is no significant difference between center ($p = .411$) and right-wing ($p = .762$) outlets. As shown in Table 8, the effect of ideology on employment of the intruder frame disappears in the case of Macedonia.

Table 8. Intruder frame means by ideology and country

Ideology	Country		
	Greece	Macedonia	Total
Left-leaning	0.21 (0.43)	0.91 (0.79)	0.57 (0.73)
Centrist	0.82 (0.73)	0.89 (0.61)	0.85 (0.68)
Right-leaning	0.93 (0.82)	0.90 (0.64)	0.91 (0.73)
Total	0.66 (0.74)	0.90 (0.69)	0.78 (0.73)

Note: Values in brackets represent standard deviations.

Finally, we demonstrate the effect of the type of article (news report, commentary or feature) on the victim and intruder frames used by the analyzed outlets. There is a main effect of the type of article, but only in the case of victim

frames, $F(3, 640) = 14.181$, $p < .001$, while for intruder frames the main effect of type of article is not significant, $F(3, 640) = 1.462$, $p = .224$. News reports frame migrants as victims significantly less than editorials or features ($p < .001$), while for the intruder frame differences between all article types are non-significant.

The interaction between type and media is not significant for the victim frame $F(8, 640) = 1.309$, $p = .236$, however it is significant for the intruder frame $F(8, 640) = 2.066$, $p < .05$. Further examination of this effect shows that *To Vima* uses the intruder frame significantly more in editorials ($M = 1.57$, $SD = 0.25$) than in news reports ($M = 0.87$, $SD = 0.07$), at $p < .05$, while *Utrinski* is the opposite: the intruder frame is less present in editorials ($M = 0.40$, $SD = 0.30$) than in news reports ($M = 0.95$, $SD = 0.06$) at $p < .05$. This is seemingly causing the interaction effect, since the other outlets do not exhibit significant differences between article types.

Conclusion

This study employed a framing analysis of online newspaper articles on immigration during February and March 2016, when the refugee crisis became the most reported issue on the media agenda across Europe. The research aimed to compare the way Greek and Macedonian press utilized frames on migration when reporting on the refugee crisis, focusing either on the positive or negative coverage of the phenomenon. Although the press from the two neighboring countries reported heavily on immigration, they did not do so in uniform ways.

In most Macedonian articles mainly negative framing of the refugees is employed, with 62.4 percent of the articles portraying them as clandestines and social intruders of society. The illegal frame appeared in more than half of the examined articles, placing it by far the most commonly used frame in the Macedonian media. However, although the “illegality” rhetoric appeared more in the right leaning newspaper *Vecer*, the difference between the Macedonian newspapers was not big. This means that political ideology did not seem to play a defining role in the editorial decision when covering immigration. When the Macedonian press utilized the victim frame, it was mainly to portray the refugees as helpless (14.9 percent of the articles) and victims of inadequate assistance in the borders and the refugee camps.

On the other hand, Greek media took a more positive approach with half of the articles framing the refugees as victims and focusing on the perils of their

journey, the insufficiency of aid supply and poor rescue operations and the hard living conditions in the squalid refugee camps. It is even more noticeable that some victim subframes used heavily by the Greek press such as the “journey”, “othered” and “success” sub-frames, barely appeared in the Macedonian news articles. In fact, there were only two articles which addressed the xenophobic attitudes towards refugees in Macedonian media, as this dimension of reporting in the context of the migrant crisis was largely ignored.

While Macedonian press utilized mainly the “illegal” sub-frame by both left and right wing newspapers, in the Greek press the illegal frame was used 17.2 percent of the time, but almost only in the conservative and right leaning press. In general the coverage of the three Greek newspapers reflected their respective political positions. This was also evidenced in the use of the most predominant subframe. While the Greek press deployed more positive frames in total, what is interesting is that, unlike in Macedonia, the most predominant sub-frame was the “social intruder/burden” frame (43.6 percent), with many articles highlighting the impact of the refugee influx upon Greek society, the difficulties of the Greek state to cope with the high demand for humanitarian aid and the “irresponsible” decision of some of the European Union members to close their borders. This sub-frame was heavily used by the conservative Kathimerini (79 out of 136) the right leaning To Vima (50 out of 80), but the left-wing newspapers Ef Syn abstained from the trend and adopted a by far more humanitarian approach towards the crisis with 192 out of 214 sub-frames to be positive, confirming the existence of strong ideological slant in the Greek news arena.

Despite these findings, one possible caveat of this study is that low reliability alphas between the subframes indicate that the deductive scheme doesn’t fully correspond to the theoretical framework of the overarching victim and intruder frames. Cronbach alpha was especially low ($\alpha = 0.17$) for the “intruder” subframes, of which surprisingly none had significant Paerson correlations among them. Whats more, principal component analysis showed that the subframe variables load highly on four factors, instead of two, further blurring the rationale of the particular analytical approach. This indicates the need for a more inductive approach which would identify frames not accounted for by existing literature. Furthermore, the selection of outlets is far from exhaustive: although the selected newspapers are among those with largest readership in the two countries, the validity of the study would undoubtedly be improved with the inclusion of more outlets. In addition to

controlling for the partisan/ideological affiliation, an important dimension which is overlooked here is the distinction between broadsheet daily newspapers and tabloids. Any future work extending on this research would do well to control for this difference, instead of analyzing only quality broadsheets.

That being said, our findings do unequivocally demonstrate the difference between the Macedonian and Greek print media. Macedonian outlets followed a more traditional way of reporting on immigration, focusing on the illegality of the intruders and the perils for society, while Greek media approached the topic in more diverse ways, as political affiliation of the newspapers played a crucial role in the editorial decisions. We argue here that the variation observed in patterns of media coverage between the two examined countries is due to three crucial factors: the difference between their media systems, the policies supported by their respective governments, and the political and social consequences for each of the countries, with regards to the closure of the Balkan route in March 2016. Concerning the first, although characteristics of the media systems in both countries correspond to the polarized pluralist model (Hallin and Mancini 2004), Macedonian media are under much greater direct control of a right-wing ruling party, thus being effectively coerced into following ideological cues supplied by the government's position on migration, even in the case of left-leaning outlets. The Greek media, albeit far from independent, are only indirectly influenced by political elites through oligarchic interests, and therefore do not universally employ hardline anti-migrant discourse. The comparatively greater diversity of perspectives in Greek media is also facilitated by the emergence of alternative media, and not least the rise to power of a far-left party intent on reforming the media system.

The latter also relates to the other two factors we mentioned. Three days before the EU-Turkey deal, the Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras was claiming that Greece will press its European counterparts for solidarity with refugees and fair burden-sharing among European Union countries (Georgiopoulos 2016), while Macedonia like the other countries on the Balkan route was erecting fences in an attempt to reduce the influx of migrants. Greece's position was that it was about to become overwhelmed by about 60 thousand desperate people left in limbo, most of whom live in squalid makeshift camps, while Macedonia was preoccupied with sealing the deal and keeping the refugees out of its territory. In that sense, the actions of the Greek government were confounded by leftist principles, while Macedonia's elite combined the ethno-nationalist narrative encountered frequently

in Eastern European countries vis-a-vis the migrants (see Edwards 2016), with a pragmatic insulation strategy, citing lack of resources to deal with the crisis. The media in the two countries simply reflected elite consensus (or lack thereof) concerning the issue.

References

- Belicanec, Roberto, and Zoran Riclev. "Mapping Digital Media: Macedonia", Open Society Media Program (2012): 4-84.
- Benson, Rodney. *Shaping Immigration News: A French-American Comparison*. S.I.: Cambridge Univ Press, 2013.
- Berry, Mike, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, and Kerry Moore. *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*. United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 2015. Accessed October 6, 2016.
<http://www.unhcr.org/protection/operations/56bb369c9/press-coverage-refugee-migrant-crisis-eu-content-analysis-five-european.html>
- Beyer, Audun, and Jorg Matthes. "Public Perceptions of the Media Coverage of Irregular Immigration: Comparative Insights From France, the United States, and Norway", *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 7 (2015): 839-857.
- Boomgaarden, Hajo, and Rens Vliegthart. "How news content influences anti-immigration attitudes: Germany, 1993-2005", *European Journal Of Political Research* 48, no. 4 (2009): 516-542.
- Borooh, Vani, and John Mangan. "Multiculturalism Versus Assimilation: Attitudes Towards Immigrants in Western Countries", *International Journal Of Economic Sciences And Applied Research* 2, no. 2 (2009): 33-50.
- Campbell, Donald T. "Ethnocentrism and Other Altruistic Motives". In *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, edited by David Levine, 283-311. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965.
- Cecchi, Sergio. "The Criminalization of Immigration in Italy: Extent of the Phenomenon and Possible Interpretations", *Italian Sociological Review* 1, no. 1 (2011): 34-42.
- de Vreese, Claes, Hajo Boomgaarden, and Holli Semetko. "(In)direct Framing Effects: The Effects of News Media Framing on Public Support for Turkish Membership in the European Union", *Communication Research* 38, no. 2 (2011): 179-205.
- Dobek-Ostrowska, Boguslawa. "Italianization (or Mediterraneanization) of the Polish Media System? Reality and Perspective". In *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*, edited by Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini, 26-50. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Edwards, Maxim. "Rethinking 'eastern European racism' ", *openDemocracy*. March 23, 2016. Accessed May 26, 2016. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/maxim-edwards/rethinking-eastern-european-racism>
- Donadio, Rachel. "Greeks Question Media, and New Voices Pipe Up", *The New York Times*. October 29, 2013. Accessed June 11, 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/30/world/europe/greeks-question-media-and-new-voices-pipe-up.html>
- Entman, Robert. "Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrast in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents", *Journal of Communication* 41, no. 4 (1991): 6-27.
- Entman, Robert. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm", *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58.

- Floudas, Demetrius Andreas. "Pardon? A Conflict for a Name? FYROM's Dispute With Greece Revisited", In *The New Balkans: Disintegration and Reconstruction*, edited by George A. Kourvetaris, 1-11. Columbia University Press, New York, 2002.
- Freedom House. "Freedom in the World", Freedom House. 2016. Accessed May 14, 2016. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FITW_Report_2016.pdf
- Freeman, Gary P. "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States", *International Migration Review* 29, no. 4 (1995): 881-902.
- Georgiopoulos, George. "Greece says Europe in nervous crisis over migrants, needs to share burden", Reuters. March 6, 2016. Accessed June 6, 2017. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-greece-migrants-pm-idUSKCN0W80JI>
- Gross, Jan T. "Eastern Europe's Crisis of Shame", Project Syndicate. September 13, 2015. Accessed May 17, 2016. <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/eastern-europe-refugee-crisis-xenophobia-by-jan-gross-2015-09>
- Hallin, Daniel, and Paolo Mancini. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Hallin, Daniel, and Stylianos Papathanassopoulos. "Political clientelism and the media: southern Europe and Latin America in comparative perspective", *Media, Culture & Society* 24, no. 2 (2002): 175-195.
- Hope, Kerin. "Highest Greek court blocks Syriza media law", *Financial Times*. Accessed January 10, 2017. <https://www.ft.com/content/c8d5347e-9bd0-11e6-8f9b-70e3cabccfae>
- Horsti, Karina. "Asylum Seekers in the News: Frames of Illegality and Control", *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal* 1 (2007): 145-161.
- Huysmans, Jeff. *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.
- International Crisis Group. "Macedonia's Name: Breaking the Deadlock", *Europe Briefing* 52 (2009): 1-14
- Iyengar, Shanto. *Is Anyone Responsible?*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Kim, Sei-hill., John Carvalho, Andrew G. Davis, and Amanda M. Mullins. "The View of the Border: News Framing of the Definition, Causes, and Solutions to Illegal Immigration", *Mass Communication and Society* 14, no. 3 (2011): 292-314.
- Kinder, Donald., and Lynn Sanders. "Mimicking Political Debate with Survey Questions: The Case of White Opinion on Affirmative Action for Blacks", *Social Cognition*, 8, no. 1 (1990): 73-103.
- Kroet, Cynthia. "Macedonia: Balkan route will shut down if Austria hits migrant cap", *Politico*. February 29, 2016. Accessed June 3, 2016. <http://www.politico.eu/article/macedonia-president-warning-austria-migrant-cap-refugees-influx/>
- Lecheler, Sophie, and Claes H. de Vreese. "News Framing and Public Opinion: A Mediation Analysis of Framing Effects on Political Attitudes", *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 89, no. 2 (2012): 185-204.
- McQuail, Dennis. *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. London: SAGE, 2000.
- Media Pluralism Monitor. "Country report: Greece", Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom. Accessed January 6, 2017. <http://monitor.cmpf.eu/results-2014/greece/>
- Media Sustainability Index. "The Development of Sustainable Independent Media in Europe and Eurasia". IREX. 2015. Accessed May 11, 2016. <https://www.irex.org/sites/default/files/pdf/media-sustainability-index-europe-eurasia-2015-full.pdf.pdf>
- Milioni, Dimitra, Lia-Paschalia Spyridou, and Konstantinos Vadratsikas. "Framing Immigration in Online Media and Television News in Crisis-stricken Cyprus", *The Cyprus Review* 27, no. 1 (2015): 155-184.

- Nevradakis, Michael. "Corruption, Clientelism and Censorship in Greece's Media Landscape", Truthout. September 29, 2014. Accessed January 13, 2017. <http://www.truthout.org/news/item/26302-corruption-clientelism-and-censorship-in-greeces-media-landscape>
- Papatheodorou, Fotini, and David Machin. "The Umbilical Cord That Was Never Cut: The Post-Dictatorial Intimacy between the Political Elite and the Mass Media in Greece and Spain", *European Journal of Communication* 18, no. 1 (2003): 31-54.
- Schemer, Christian. "The Influence of News Media on Stereotypic Attitudes Toward Immigrants in a Political Campaign", *Journal Of Communication* 62, no. 5 (2012): 739-757.
- Scheufele, Dietmar. "Framing as a theory of media effects", *Journal of Communication* 49, no. 1 (1999): 103-122.
- Scheufele, Dietram, and David Tewksbury. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models", *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007): 9-20.
- Sisovski, Jordan, and Katerina Kolozova. "Macedonia: the authoritarian challenge to Europe", *OpenDemocracy*. June 23, 2015. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/jordan-%C5%A1i%C5%A1ovski-katerina-kolozova/macedonia-authoritarian-challenge-to-europe>
- Smith, Helena, and Mark Tran. "Teargas fired as refugees try to breach Greek-Macedonian border", *The Guardian*. February 29, 2016. Accessed July 8, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/29/teargas-fired-as-refugees-try-to-breach-greece-macedonia-border>
- Suro, Roberto. "Introduction". In *Writing immigration: Scholars and journalists in dialogue*, edited by Marcelo Suarez-Orosco, Vivian Louie and Roberto Suro. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.
- Tajfel, Henri. *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Thorbjørnsrud, Kristi. "Framing Irregular Immigration in Western Media", *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no. 7 (2015): 771-782.
- Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos. "Illiberal Means to Liberal Ends? Understanding Recent Immigrant Integration Policies in Europe", *Journal Of Ethnic And Migration Studies* 37, no. 6 (2011): 861-880.
- Van Gorp, Baldwin. "Where is the Frame?", *European Journal of Communication* 20, no. 4 (2005): 484-507.
- Van Klingeren, Marijn, Hajo Boomgaarden, Rens Vliegenthart, and Claes de Vreese. "Real World is Not Enough: The Media as an Additional Source of Negative Attitudes Toward Immigration, Comparing Denmark and the Netherlands" *European Sociological Review* 31 no. 3 (2014): 268-283.
- Van Cuilenberg, Jan, and Denis McQuail. "Media Policy Paradigm Shifts" *European Journal of Communication* 18 no. 2 (2003): 181-207.
- Zaller, John. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.