Vertical and Horizontal Polarization

Comparative Analysis of German and British Newspapers' Coverage of Refugees from 2006 to 2018

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A project on securitization in the media

- Mass media's emphasis on threats allow the government's tough response to refugees
  - ISIS was rapidly expanding its territory in Syria and Iraq in 2015
  - Terrorist attacks and sexual assaults happened in European cities in 2015-2016 (Paris, Nice, London, Berlin etc.)
- Why German and British responded to the 2015 refugee crisis so differently?
  - British politics was divided over immigration before the Brexit referendum in 2016
  - Germany accepted many refugees under its "open-door" immigration policy
- We explain the different by the form of press-party parallelism
  - We propose "vertical polarization" and "horizontal polarization"

Horizontal and vertical polarization

- Horizontal polarization
  - Competition between *conservative* vs *liberal* groups
    - Conservative vs Labour (UK)
    - Republican vs Democrat (US)
    - CDU/CSP vs SPD (Germany)
- Vertical polarization
  - Competition between *established* vs *emerging* groups
    - CDU/CSP/SPD vs AfD (Germany during the refugee crisis)
      - AfD took xenophobic and nativist positions and emerged on the online media
      - Mainstream media and parties tried to prevent AfD from rising

A project for cross-lingual text analysis

- Started in mid 2019 with 3 languages
  - Arabic (Dai Yamao)
    - *Re-securitization as Evasion of Responsibility: A Quantitative Text Analysis of Refugee Crisis in Major Arabic Newspapers* (Yamao, 2020)
  - German and English (Oul Han and Kohei Watanabe)
    - We submitted the first version was submitted to a political communication journal (April 2021)
    - Major revision is requested (July 2021) but we were too busy…
    - Revision was submitted (January 2022)

Multi-lingua and cross-lingual analysis

- Multi-lingual text analysis
  - Analyze texts in different languages
  - Develop lexical tools/methods for the languages
- Cross-lingual text analysis
  - Measure the same quantity/concept in different languages
    - Measurement should be comparable across languages
    - Good way to test text analysis tools/methods
  - Collect equivalent texts from different languages
    - Align analysis between languages as much as possible
    - Still needs to adjust for the differences between languages/countries
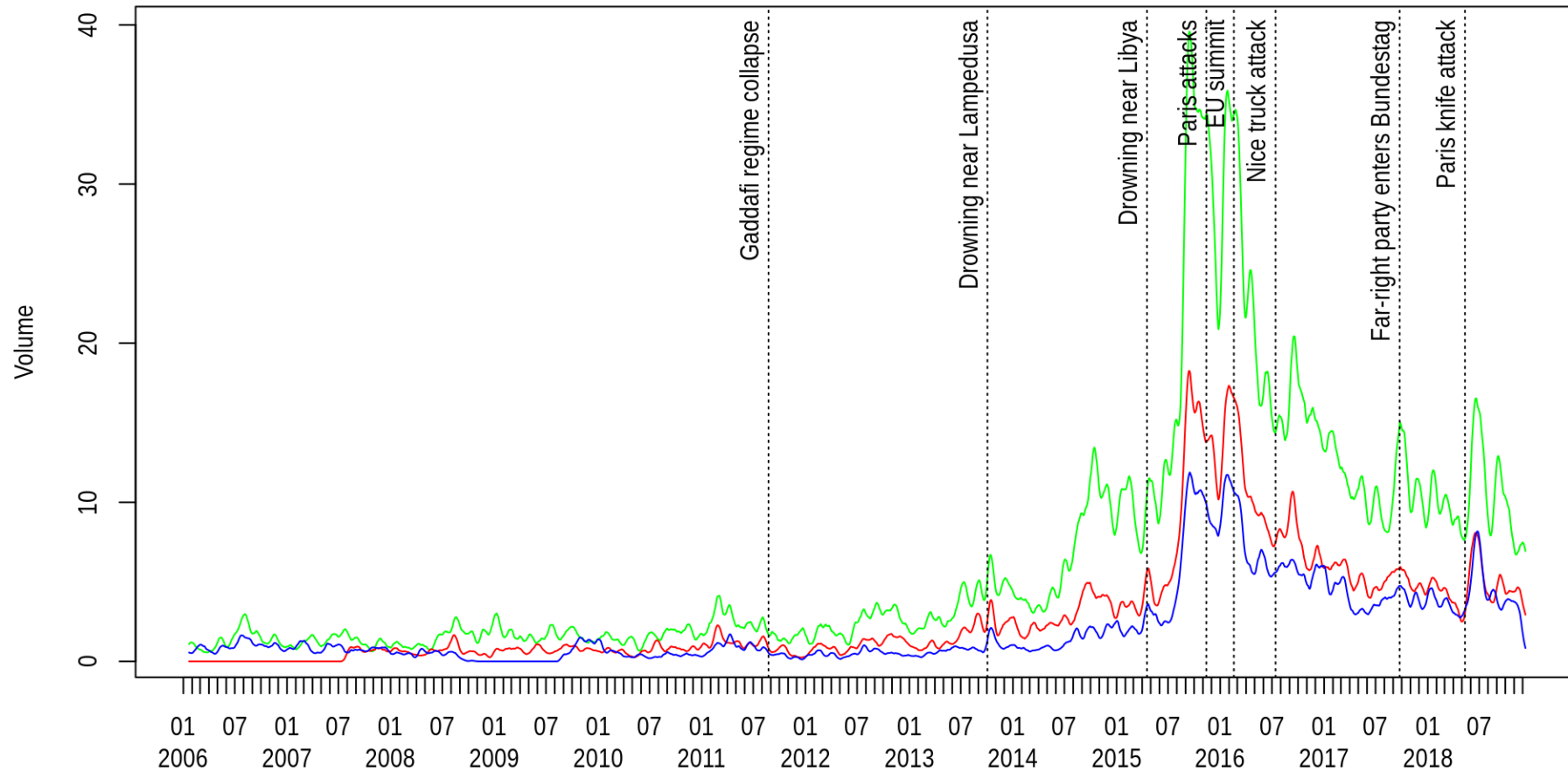
Our cross-lingual analysis

- Data collection
  - Search data bases for refugees/migrants
    - German: "flüchtling*"
      - It cooccur with "immigrant*", "einwander*", "geflüchtet*" 90% of times
    - English: "refugee* OR immigrant* OR migrant*"
- Analysis methods
  - Geographical classification (Newsmap)
    - North/West/South/East Europe, North Africa (e.g. Libya), or West Asia (e.g. Syria, Iraq)
    - Multi-lingual seed dictionary in 11 languages for newsmap
  - Thematic classification (dictionary analysis)
    - Security or social (housing, labour, crime, welfare, culture) issues
  - Threat scaling (Latent Semantic Scaling)
    - Emphasis on threats

Data collection from newspapers

- Germany
  - *Tagesspiegel* (center-left), *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt* (center-right)
  - Search for "flüchtling*"
  - 95,047 articles in total
- Britain
  - The *Guardian* (center-left), the *Telegraph* (center-right)
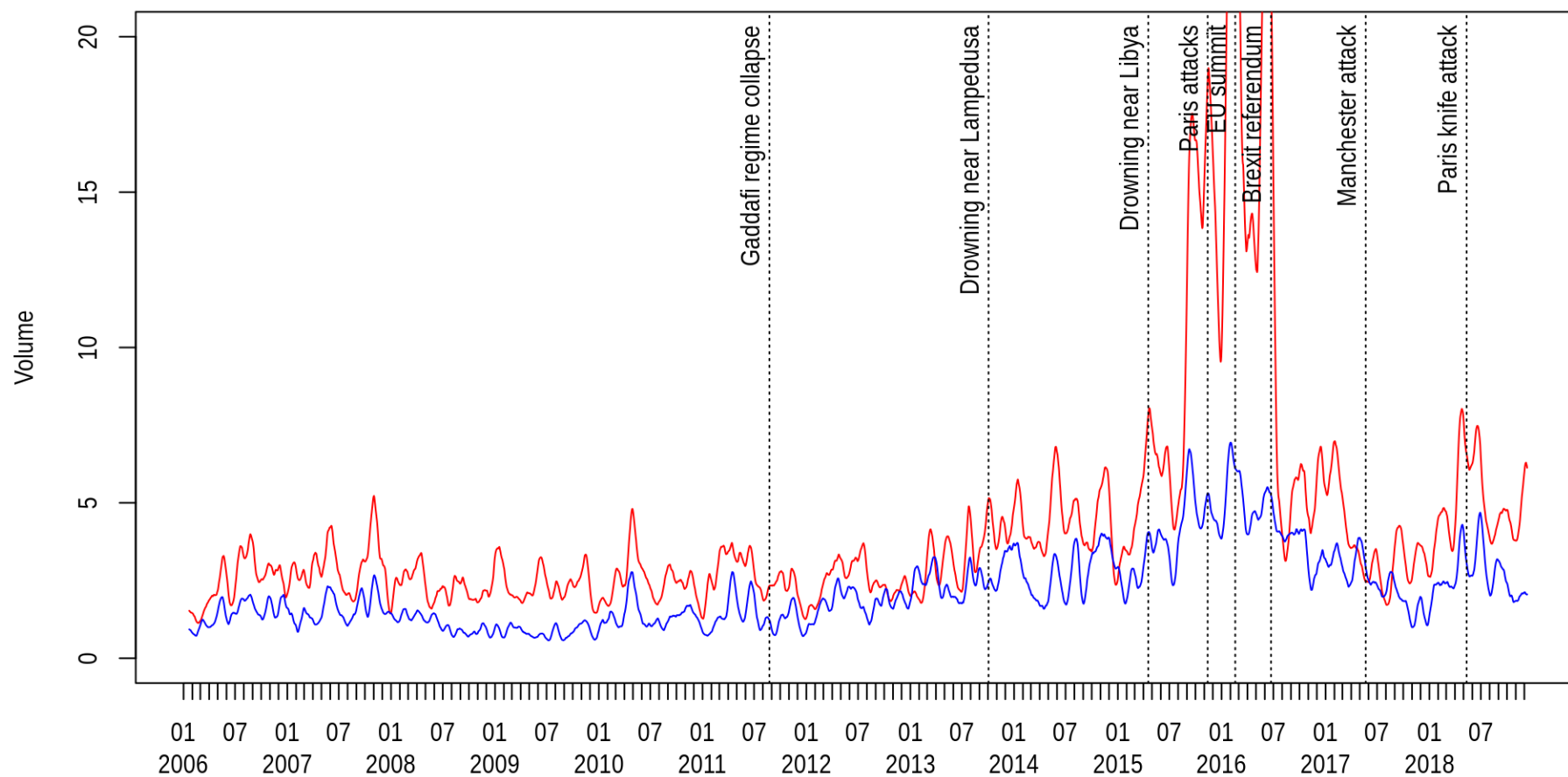 - Search for "refugee* OR immigrant* OR migrant*"
  - 31,949 articles in total

German newspapers

Volume of news articles about refugees by *Süddeutsche* (green), *Tagesspiegel* (red), and *Welt* (blue).
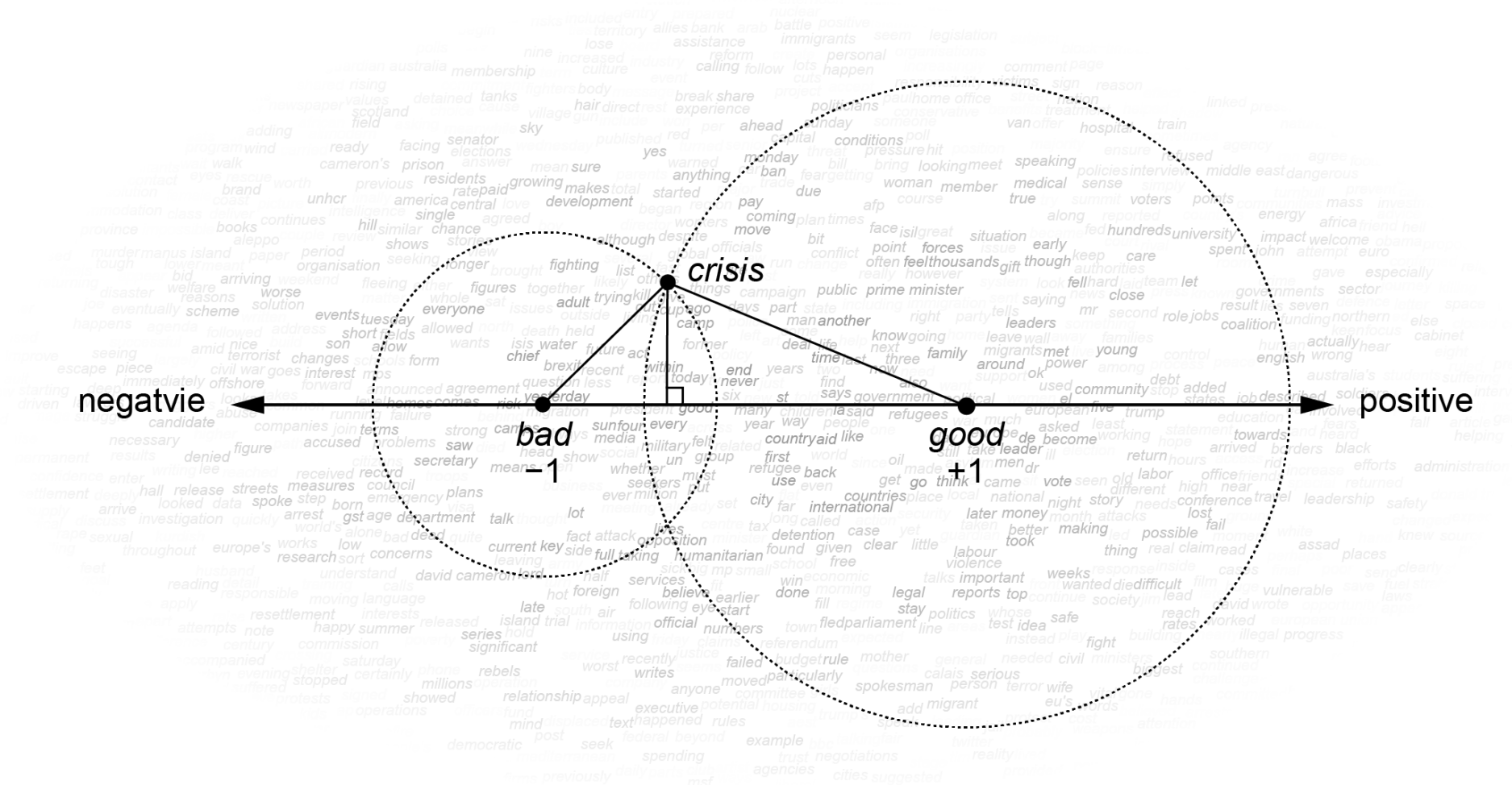
British newspapers

Volume of news articles about refugees by the *Guardian* (red) and the *Telegraph* (blue).

Our Hypotheses

- German newspapers deemphasized threats of refugees

    H1: The threat emphasis by newspapers increased in both Germany and Britain, but the *change was smaller in Germany* than in Britain.

- German newspapers emphasized threats in social issues less

    H2: In Germany, the threat emphasis by newspapers *increased less in social issues than security issues*, but it was the opposite in Britain.

- German newspapers stayed cohesive during the crisis

    H3: In Germany, the threat emphasis by newspapers remained the same relative to each other during the crisis, but it changed dramatically in Britain.
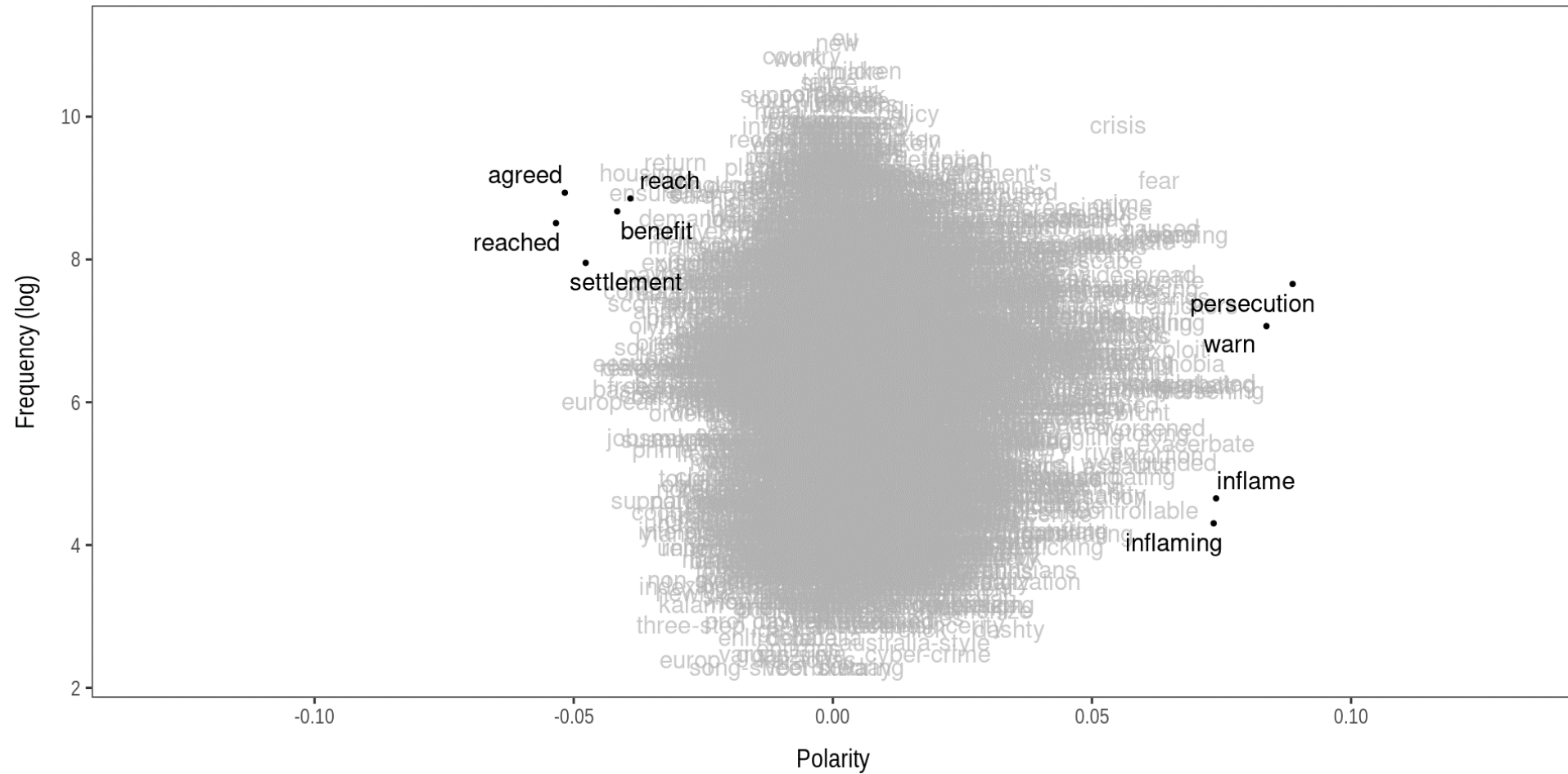
Document scaling by LSS
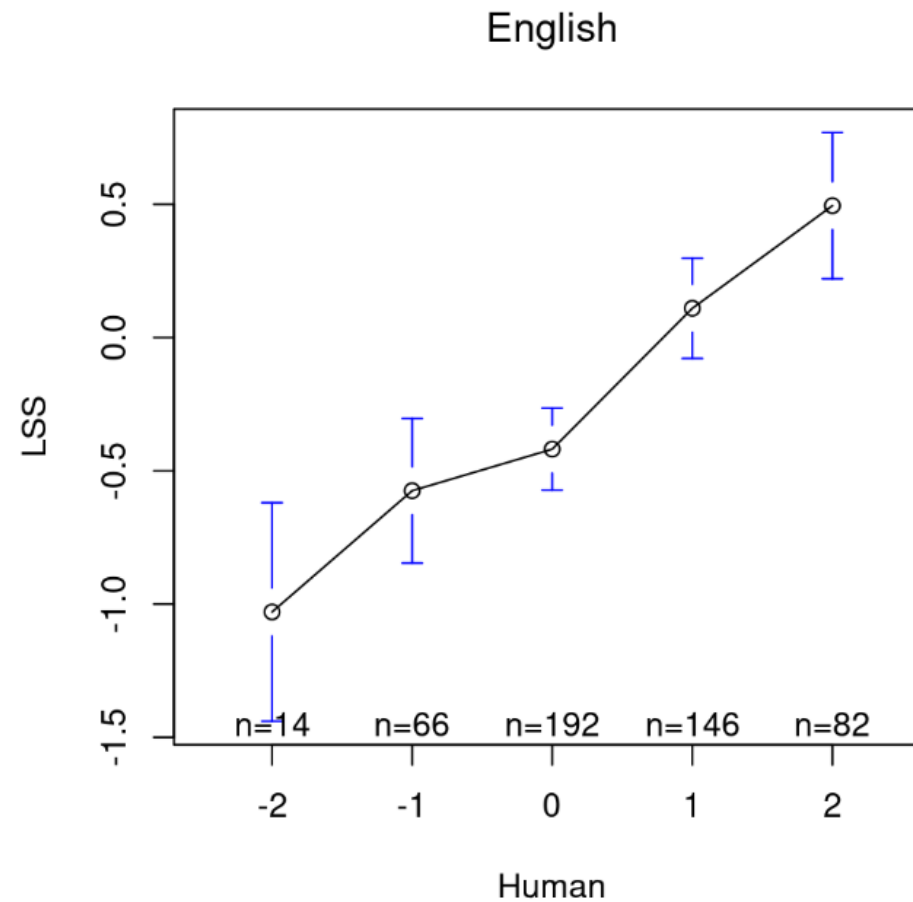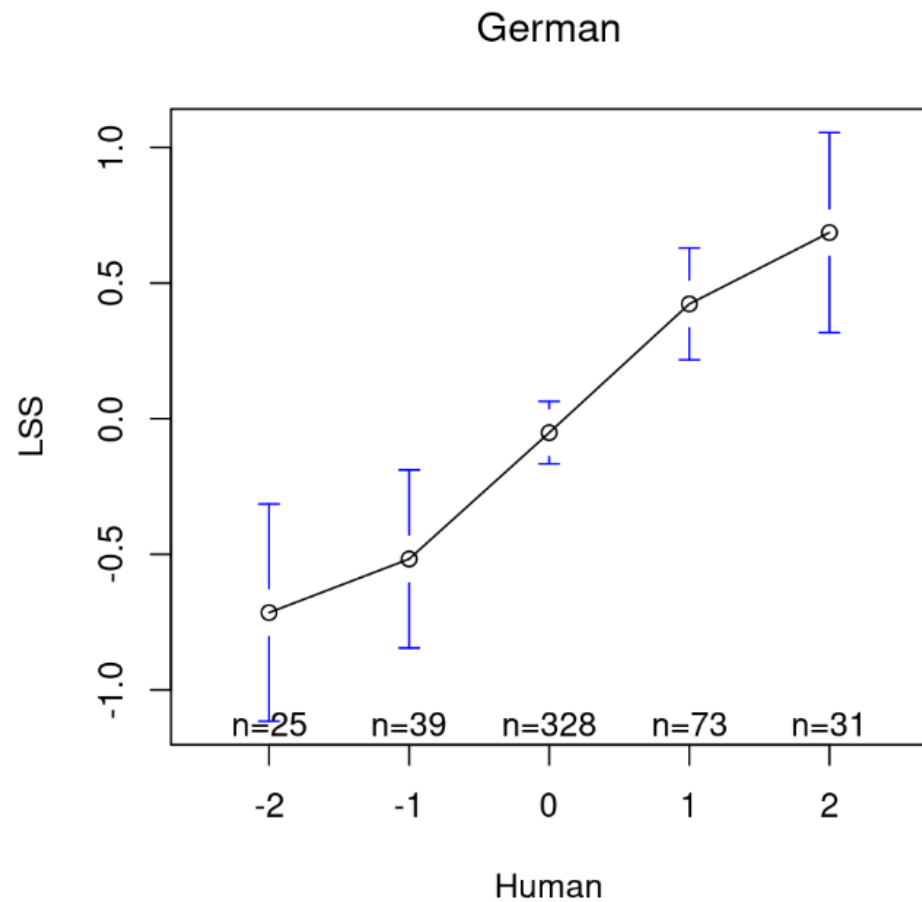
Measuring intensity of threat

- Our original threat-security seed words

Concept	German	English
Threat	krise, brisant, schaden, angst, angespannt, aggressiv, eskalieren, extrem, warnen, krieg	crisis, dangerous, harm, fear, tense, hostile, escalate, extreme, warn, war
Security	normal, sicherheit, vorteil, zuversichtlich, locker, zuvorkommend, stabilisieren, gemildert, garantieren, frieden	normal, safe, benefit, confident, relax, friendly, stabilise (stabilize), moderate, assure, peace

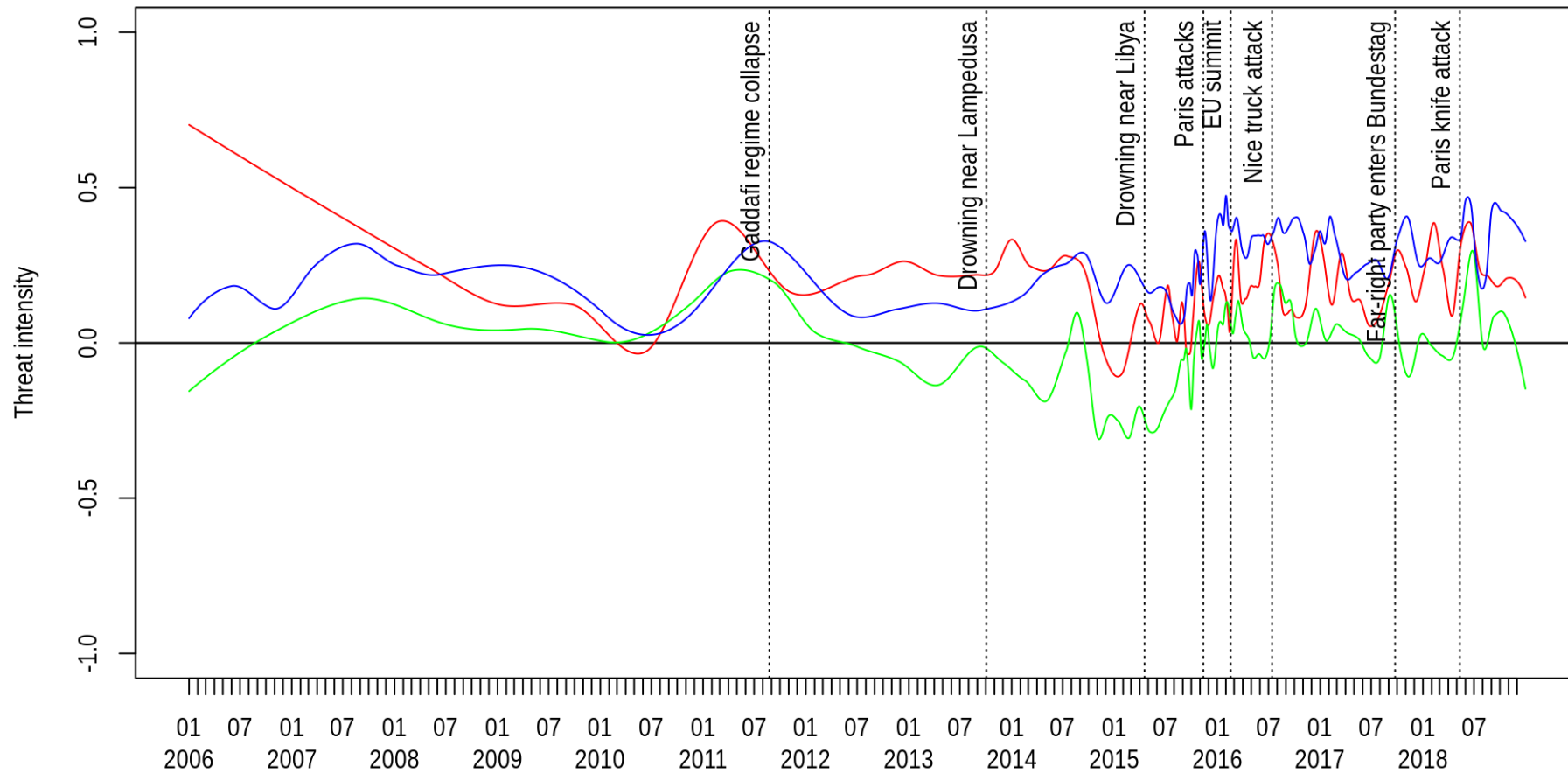# Polarity of German words

Polarity of English words
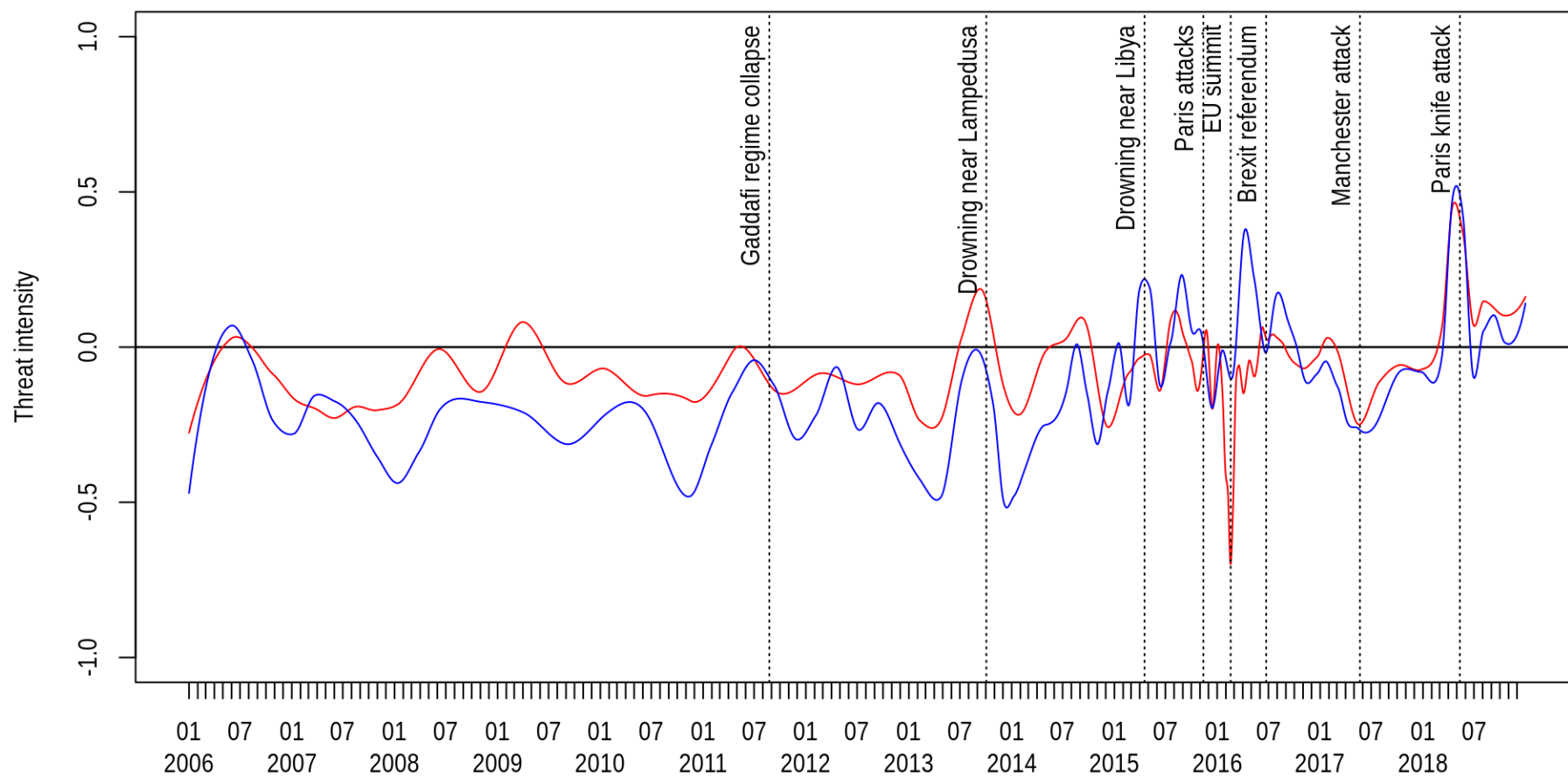
Correlation with manual coding

German newspapers

Intensity of threat of news articles about refugees by *Süddeutsche* (green), *Tagesspiegel* (red), and *Welt* (blue).

British newspapers

Intensity of threat of news articles about refugees by the *Guardian* (red) and the *Telegraph* (blue).
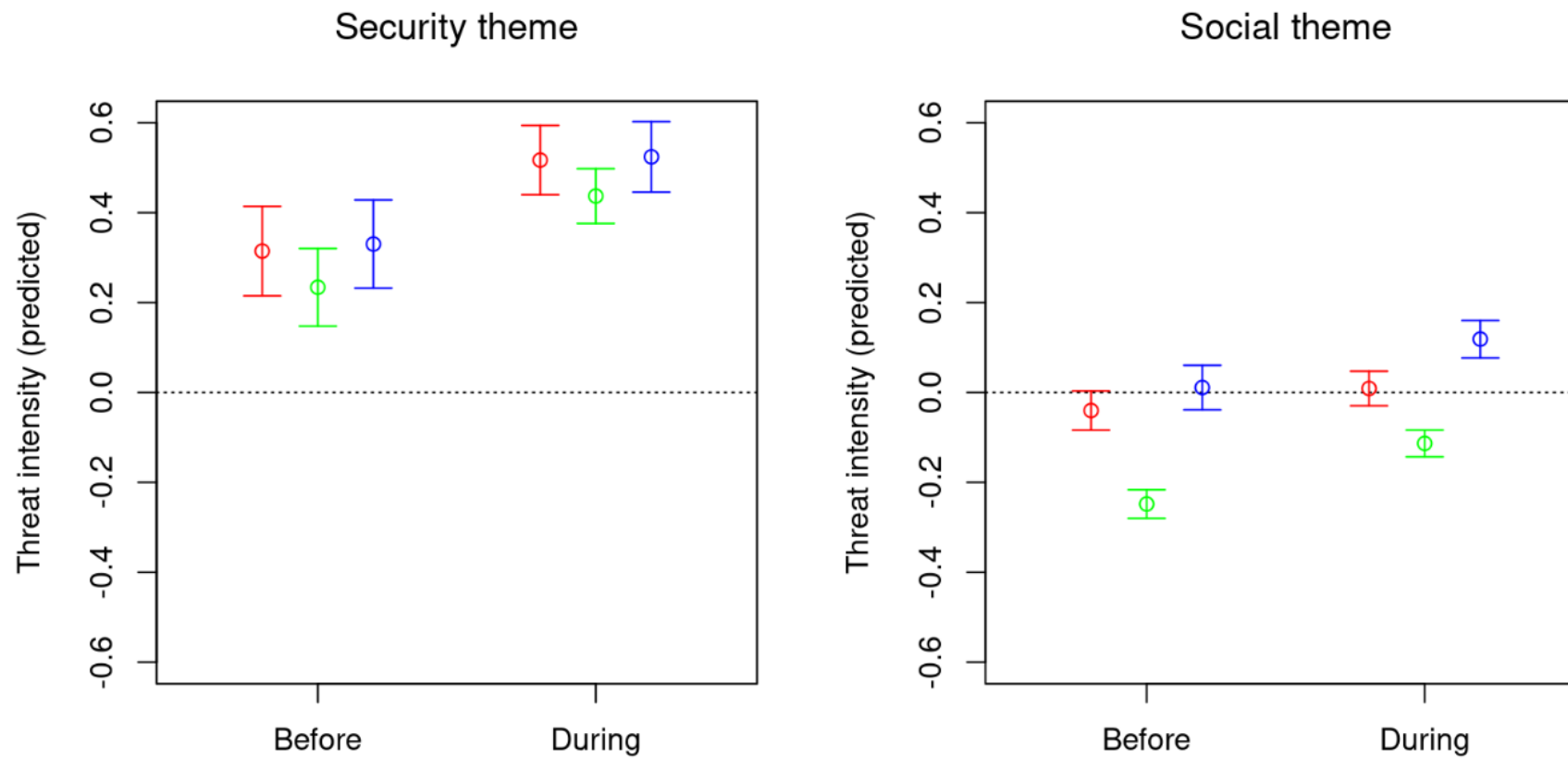
Regression analysis

- Social and security themes separately in German/British newspapers (2 themes x 2 countries)
  - Social and security corpora are subsets of the full corpus
- Dependent variable
  - Threat intensity (LSS scores)
- Independent variables
  - Newspaper indicator
  - Time indicator ("crisis" is from June 2015 to May 2016)
  - Geographical focus
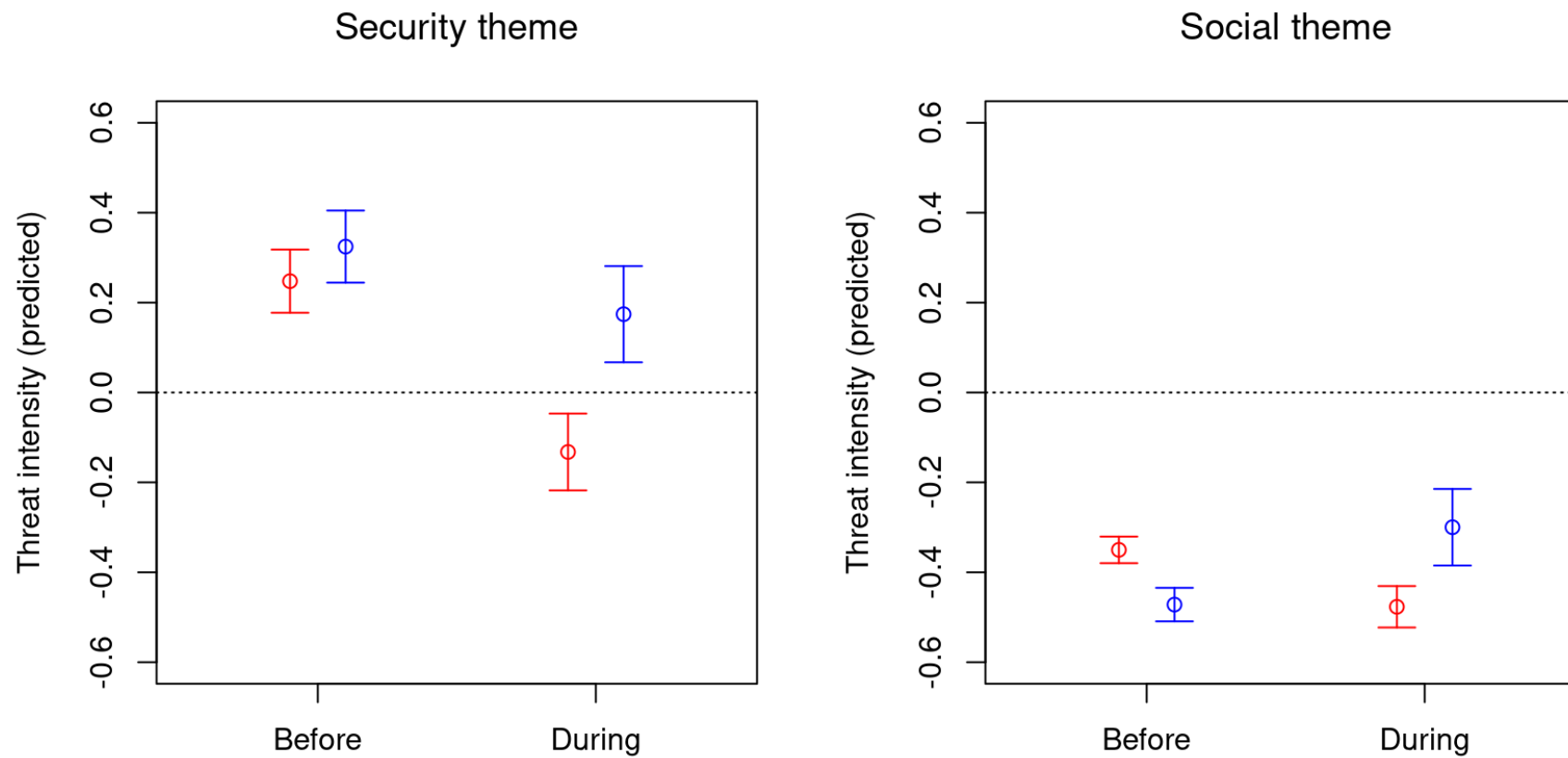 - Interactions between them

Intensity of threat in West Europe

Intensity of threat of news articles about refugees by *Süddeutsche* (green), *Tagesspiegel* (red), and *Welt* (blue).

Intensity of threat in North Europe

Intensity of threat of news articles about refugees by the *Guardian* (red) and the *Telegraph* (blue).

Findings

- Germany newspapers emphasized threats much less than the *Telegraph*
  - Partially supports H1
  - *Die Welt* could have responded like the *Telegraph* without vertical polarization
- German newspapers and the *Guardian* emphasized threats less in the social theme
  - Partially supports H2
  - The *Guardian* became highly sympathetic to differentiate from the *Telegraph*
- German newspapers became more cohesive, while British newspapers were more divisive
  - Fully supports H3
  - Contrasting reaction to peer newspapers in the crisis due to the vertical and horizontal polarization

Conclusions

- There are two forms of polarization
  - Our typology of polarization (horizontal and vertical) seems to be useful in explaining difference between Germany and Britain in the crisis
  - However, vertical polarization is not the permanent feature of German media system
- The structure of media systems is dynamic
  - Media systems are sharped by two sets of factors
    - *Media context*
      - e.g. development of media markets, professionalism of journalists, and state regulations (Hallin and Mancini 2017)
    - *Media event*
      - e.g. mass migrations, epidemics, economic downturns, and wars
- Our secure-threat seed words should work in other projects too